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COMMUNITY ANTICRIME ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1973

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-THIRD CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

ON

H.R. 9175, H.R. 9809, and H.R. 10602

COMMUNITY ANTICRIME ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1973

FEBRUARY 21, 1974

Serial No. 49

PART 2

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary

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COMMUNITY ANTICRIME ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1973

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1974

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIME OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:08 a.m., in room 2141, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. John Conyers, Jr. [chairman of the subcommittee] presiding.

Present: Representatives Conyers, Cohen, and Fish.

Also present: Maurice A. Barboza, counsel; and Constantine J. Gekas, associate counsel.

Mr. CONYERS. The committee will come to order.

I am very pleased to open the fourth hearing of the Subcommittee on Crime on the Community Anticrime Assistance Act. Briefly, this legislation would provide Federal assistance to involve citizens, citizens organizations, cities, and public agencies, in cooperative programs in the criminal justice system.

We are pleased to announce that additional Members of the Congress have introduced the community anticrime assistance bill, including the distinguished Senator, Claude Pepper, a Representative from Florida; Congressman Esch of Michigan; and Representative Patten.

Today the subcommittee will hear testimony from Congressman Pepper, who is the former chairman of the House Select Committee on Crime. He is a distinguished Member of the Congress, a former Senator and serves on the Rules Committee. As chairman of the Select Committee on Crime, this subcommittee, Congressman, recognizes the thorough study you engage in, and the extensive hearings you held on important subjects of crime, including drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, organized crime, corrections, street crime, and other very important topics which caused your committee to compile over 12,000 pages of testimony. I wish I could pledge that this subcommittee chairman will be able to read and evaluate all of those pages. The recommendations that came from your committee's studies have been highly regarded not only by Members of Congress but by criminal justice professionals and other people across the country. Incidentally, when your committee came to Detroit, I was very pleased to have been invited to share that experience with you.

I think the subcommittee is indebted to you for the work you did, the diligence with which you went about your task, and I suppose most of all the cooperation that you have indicated to the Judiciary Committee in attempting to familiarize us with the great part of the work of the Select Committee on Crime.

The point that brings us here today, of course, is the question of citizen involvement in the criminal justice system. The bottom line, I suppose, on a report that you submitted on street crime summed it up—I think as succinctly as any I have seen anywhere—where it stated that, "Contemporary events suggest that crime control lacking citizen cooperation is simply not possible."

So it is in this spirit that we are pleased to welcome you here today as our first witness. We will receive your statement into the record and you may proceed in any way you please.

TESTIMONY OF HON. CLAUDE PEPPER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA; ACCOMPANIED BY JAMES SUTHERLAND, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Mr. PEPPER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, for the privilege of being here today before your distinguished committee. Thank you particularly for your very kind words of introduction.

I am very much pleased that you and your distinguished committee have undertaken the matter of crime. I know you are going to have fruitful work. You are going to come up with legislation that will be very helpful to the country. And as I have done previously and privately, I want to do publicly now, that is, to assure you that as chairman of the former House Select Committee on Crime, I and the members of our committee are anxious to cooperate with you and your committee in every way we possibly can, and we welcome the privilege of bringing to your committee's attention the recommendations that our committee has made in respect to curbing crime, growing out of the little over 4 years of inquiry that we made into various aspects of that subject.

Mr. Chairman, as I said, I am particularly pleased to have the opportunity to appear before you today to report some of the findings and recommendations of the Select Committee on Crime and to express my support for H.R. 10933, which is my companion bill to H.R. 9175, the Community Anticrime Assistance Act sponsored by the distinguished chairman, Mr. Conyers, and the distinguished ranking minority member, Mr. Fish, of this distinguished Subcommittee on Crime.

The Select Committee on Crime, as you know, conducted extensive hearings and made numerous trips to various parts of the country in an effort to learn the extent of the crime problem in America and hopefully what could be done to cope with this grave social problem. In this endeavor we were able to compile a great deal of information on the subject, which was incorporated in our numerous reports. We have been pleased to make these reports available to the members of the House and especially to the members of the Judiciary Committee who have assumed the responsibility for continuing the focus on crime which we believe our select committee was able to establish.

There can be little doubt that the people of this country are intensely concerned about crime, particularly about the violent crimes of murder, assault, rape, and robbery, and the associated crime of burglary. But it was equally obvious to us that most people and most communities lack effective mechanisms for channeling their concern

about crime into constructive and effective action to deal with the crime problem. Too often our citizen's concern with crime is translated into anxieties and antagonisms that build barricades between people and lead to greater isolation of the citizen and of the law enforcement officers who seek to protect the citizen from the growing problem of crime.

The Community Anticrime Assistance Act provides a way for more Americans to join the fight against crime in a manner designed to complement our present law enforcement efforts. It offers especially an opportunity to utilize the broad experience in community interaction that has been gained in recent years by the Community Relations Service in the Department of Justice.

When the police chief of Indianapolis testified before our select committee, Chief Winston Churchill, he pointed out that "In the final analysis the department does not control crime in the community. In truth the citizens themselves control crime."

I think other law enforcement officers throughout the country would agree—that if they do not have active citizen support for the battle against crime, there is little hope that the police alone can prevail in that continuing battle. I am sure any of us who ever heard of it will never forget that sad story in a certain area of New York when a lady was assaulted on the street by an attacker, threatening—I mean, striking her with a knife, stabbing her, and she—people were looking out of their windows and saw this episode. She later crawled into the doorway of the apartment building. Other people saw it. And the man pursued her and finally killed her there and nobody would even call the police. They did not want to get involved.

Now, one of the great efforts that the enlightened and innovative police departments of the country have been engaged in is to try to get the people themselves not only to report what they see, but to take a personal interest in curbing crime.

Citizen support and citizen involvement can take many forms. We explored a large number of them in our hearings and others were brought to our attention by law enforcement officers themselves—especially in the hearings last year that were the basis of our final Crime Committee report entitled, "Street Crime: Reduction Through Positive Criminal Justice Responses."

Among the outstanding examples of police-community interaction we found in operation was the Chicago police community service aide program.

The goals of this project in Chicago were to fight crime by saturating specially designated areas with foot patrol teams to improve community relations using trained community aides. These aides helped interpret the role of the police to the community and vice versa. They increased the effectiveness of uniformed officers by freeing them from nonarrest functions and by developing greater community responsibility toward combating crime. These aides were recruited in the areas they served and they were familiar with the people and the problems.

Innovative programs were developed by the aides to reach into almost every aspect of community life. They included such things as tutoring programs, camping trips, family counseling centers and many others.

The results of this project were extremely encouraging. In the target areas the incidence of murder and rape was cut in half. Robbery and burglary were reduced by one-third.

Unfortunately, the project has been curtailed drastically due to lack of funds. And incidentally, Mr. Chairman, you know, the people of this country can do almost anything they determine to do and that applies to the problem of crime as well. If we are really willing to spend the money, to exert the effort to do the things that we know to do, we can very drastically reduce crime in this country, but what I said about this project in Chicago that proved so successful is true all over the country. Not enough funds. People just do not really want to curb crime badly enough to pay a greater price in order to accomplish it.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, Congressman, would you say that it is more a question of what we are going to do with the funds we have? We have gone up to nearly a billion dollars in LEAA with the last appropriation, so that it comes down to perhaps a closer oversight on the part of the Congress with regard to what types of programs they are going to encourage. Citizen kinds of programs that would involve community groups have just not been given, it seems, the kind of attention they might. Would you agree with that?

Mr. PEPPER. I agree, Mr. Chairman, and I am sure that your distinguished subcommittee is going to render great service to the country by more careful oversight over the programs that are authorized by the Federal Government.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, we hope to do that.

Mr. PEPPER. Good.

The number of aides has been reduced from 422 in 1972 to 81 when we conducted our hearings last spring. The Illinois Law Enforcement Commission, which had been granting $1.3 million to the program, cut off its funds and told the Chicago Police Department to apply directly to the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration for a discretionary grant to continue the program. According to Chicago deputy superintendent of police, Samuel Nolan, this appplication was rejected by LEAA because, he was told, it did not "fit into any category they (LEAA) had under which they could fund our program." It might be well for them to examine the problem rather than being bound altogether by their own categories.

Mr. CONYERS. Of course, that clearly is a misstatement of fact by LEAA. They could go under a general program for which they have funding for anything that they consider to be a special kind of project. Is that not correct?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes.

As the members of the subcommittee are aware, LEAA has the authority under the legislation we have enacted to give Federal financial support both directly and indirectly for community action programs related to the reduction of crime. The bloc grant funds can be used for this purpose and LEAA can make discretionary grant funds available directly to communities for the development and maintenance of these community programs.

Unfortunately, community involvement programs have been given relatively low priorities both by the criminal justice coordinating groups in the States who are responsible for developing and im-

plementing the State plans and by the dispensers of the discretionary funds here in Washington. This is not surprising, I think, since the coordinating groups in the States and LEAA here are dominated principally by professionals in the criminal justice field and their natural inclination has been to fund the kinds of programs with which they are familiar.

It is this natural tendency to do what one knows how to do, to give support to the kinds of programs one has had experience with in the past in trying to deal with the problem—it is this accepted fact of administration and policy, of government, that caused me to give strong support to the suggestion that the Community Relations Service be employed on a national scale to help mobilize citizen involvement in the fight against crime.

There is great merit, I believe, in giving a responsibility to the man who believes it can be done and who is eager to do it. This applies to agencies of government. However well-intentioned and able two groups of government officials may be, the group that believes in the program or in the tactic is the one that is most likely to making a meaningful impact on the problem.

We could well afford, I believe, to invest $50 million a year for 2 years in the capacity of the Community Relations Service to show what can be done by those who believe in citizen action, in community involvement, and action in the field of crime.

I believe your hearing record will demonstrate, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that the prospect of getting substantially greater support for community action programs through our existing grant procedures is not very great, in the absence of the kind of demonstration I believe CRS can make through a dedicated effort to challenge citizen initiative in communities across the land.

I understand that the most the Justice Department claims was spent by the States from LEAA bloc grant funds for this kind of community action program is something less than $15 million for fiscal 1972. And, as your staff has already pointed out, the figure, according to other published LEAA claims, may be only half this tiny amount.

Mr. Chairman, in connection with a nutrition program which I have been sponsoring, I requested the other day the Comptroller General to give me a report on how the Federal revenue-sharing funds given to the States and local communities are being expended in respect to the nutrition program, and I believe we found that one-half of—two-tenths of 1 percent of the total amount of money received by 218 grantees or recipients in the United States that were studied, two-tenths of 1 percent only went to helping the elderly in any way in the respective communities of this country, I know in one city the funds were used that were received by that city from Federal revenue sharing to raise the salaries of the employees of the city. Well, that is a meritorious project, but all the needs of the needy elderly and the other unfortunate people, unemployed and the like in the communities, might well have been given priority consideration, it seems to me.

Now, that is one possible source of funds. If the States and the communities which are the recipients of these Federal revenue-sharing funds determine to do so, they could use very effectively or very helpfully in supplement of the other funds that are available for that

purpose such sum of—some of their money to aid these community action programs in an effort to curb crime, and that is one of the desirable objectives of the Federal revenue-sharing program, is law enforcement.

Mr. CONYERS. Is it your point that there is a connection between the nutrition program and the LEAA operation?

Mr. PEPPER. What I was talking about, there was no money given by—only two-tenths of 1 percent of the amount of money received from Federal revenue sharing by 218 typical States and communities in the country went in any way to the aid of the elderly in their respective area.

Mr. CONEYRS. I see.

Mr. PEPPER. Two-tenths of 1 percent. Despite the meagerness of this financial support from the large sums we are appropriating each year for criminal justice and anticrime assistance, there have been many encouraging examples of what can be done. One Indianapolis program, for example, and the reason I am referring to these cases, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, we had, I believe it was 13 of the police departments of the country come in and tell us about innovative programs that they had experimented with and had received success from in curbing crime, and one of them was Indianapolis, for example. It simply encourages citizens to ride in police cars during an officer's tour of duty, so they can understand the kinds of problems their police face. Another program in Indianapolis urges private citizens to purchase police band radios to become better informed about the work of the law enforcement community in their city.

The Indianapolis Police Department told us that in the 2 years of these and several other trial projects the overall crime rate declined by 26 percent and they credited this largely to the increased community cooperation and understanding resulting from these programs. In other words, people were getting involved in trying to curb crime in their own community.

The use of volunteers has also been highly successful in various cities. The New York City Police Auxiliary program, about which you already have heard, enlisted the support of more than 5,300 citizens serving without pay. Wearing the regular police uniform and with a shield only slightly dissimilar, they expanded the uniformed presence as a great deterrence to crime and in doing so freed regular officers from routine patrols and for more hazardous duty. They also have freed officers from many time-consuming administrative duties.

One great significance of such community involvement programs is the relatively low cost of such projects, especially in comparison with the costs of other elements in the criminal justice system, from police training to the high cost of incarceration of criminals when all preventive efforts have failed.

One of these preventive programs is in St. Louis, where an effort was made to reach hardcore young delinquents by getting them into recreation centers and then providing extensive counseling by police probation officers as well as trained recreation counselors. The cost of this program was only $325 per youth per year. This compares with the many thousands of dollars and even tens of thousands of dollars that some States have been paying for the incarceration of a youth for 1 year.

I remember I made what they call a commencement speech in Memphis at a correctional institution where they had classes. They graduated classes in various subjects, who had been trying to help themselves. And I found out that in the city of Memphis prominent business and professional men were every week spending some time with a particular individual whom that citizen had agreed to try to help.

Now, look what it meant to a fellow that is incarcerated in prison to have a prominent lawyer, a doctor, a businessman sit down and talk to him at least once a week, and counsel with him, encourage him, and give him information that might be helpful to him. That contact alone is very encouraging and very valuable to that individual.

That is just one type of volunteer program and I will speak further about that. I heard—we were told about another case where a very well-to-do, very successful man who makes records that are sold commercially took off time from his own work and at his own expense took five or six boys who had been in trouble, what were called delinquent youth, and took those boys on a canoe trip from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean accompanied only, besides those boys, by a photographer. Now, imagine what it meant to those five boys to be able to have the exciting experience of going across the country on a canoe trip with a man who was a successful man. I imagine that that excitement was such that they did not have any time to think about crime while they were engaged in that exciting journey.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, your emphasis on not only preventive methods but also on real contact with youngsters while they are in youth homes is extremely important to me because it was through your visit as chairman of the Select Committee on Crime to the Detroit youth home that got me, Martha Griffiths, and other members interested in this problem. I just visited it again only last month, and we are going to begin to see what has happened since we went through the many problems that were brought to your attention over 2 years ago when you made that trip. But it is important that we begin to look at preventive methods and then provide real contact with citizens, prominent or otherwise in the community, which also keeps the authorities feeling as responsible as they can about this.

We also visited the Wayne County jail in Detroit to let them know of our deep concern about this matter. Another subcommittee in Judiciary, as you know, is handling that.

Mr. PEPPER. Very good, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CONYERS. But it is this kind of oversight, if you will, that is critical to our beginning to treat the real problem, because the one thing I have learned from the great amount of work you have done, Senator, is that until we begin to look at how people get caught up in the criminal justice system—that is, as youngsters, juveniles, and what happens to them when they go to our prisons and jails—we will be unable to determine in a very real way how much crime there is going to be in the community.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Chairman, you have touched on a very critical area in this field. The two great areas where we have the influx into the criminal population are school dropouts and the people who are repeaters, recividists, from our criminal institutions, from our institutions that we call correctional institutions, penal institutions.

Now, in both of those areas enormous challenges are found for voluntary effort that would be helpful. For example, here in the Congress, and I checked up on it a little bit ago, I think $2 million is all that is available for doing anything to help a boy or girl from dropping out, keep them from dropping out of school. Well, you and I know, as does your committee, that a school dropout is the best possible candidate for crime. The chances of having dropped out in the seventh, eighth, ninth grade, somewhere along in there, as most of them do, without any education that is adequate to get a decent job, and without any skill that is marketable in the commercial market of today at any reasonable price, why, that individual finds himself with his normal desires but no legitimate means of fulfilling them.

Now, if we would just try to stop those school boys and girls from dropping out of school, and that is why counseling and voluntary programs could be particularly valuable—I was making a talk to the Florida State Bar Association and I mentioned to that group of prominent lawyers throughout the State that when they were going next on a fishing trip or camping trip with their son or sons, what about asking their son or sons if they knew a boy that had been a friend of theirs in school who was having trouble, had dropped out or was about to drop out of school, how about asking that boy to go along on the trip. There is no telling what that kind of association might mean in saving the life of that boy, keeping him from getting into a career of crime.

When immediately a dropout occurs, community agencies, of course, in all of their official efforts and voluntary efforts, should immediately get in touch with that boy or girl and try to save them, try to get them back in school, try to get them interested in something. If some way or another they are not accommodated to the teachers or school curriculum, consult with the school authorities and see maybe if something cannot be done for them because that is the best way in the world to curb crime and relatively inexpensive.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, it is amazing how our experiences coincide. I was at Central High School in Detroit only last week and I spoke to the attendance officer, who happened to be a woman, and it is really frightening the number of children who are dropping out at the high school level. Something like a third in the Detroit schools never finish and they are prime candidates, of course, to get in trouble with the law. I think that suggests that all of our public institutions are tied up together in the struggle against crime. If we do not see that the right programs and sufficient Federal funding go into those public schools, we get indifference, negligence, and an attitude that develops among some of the students that nobody is concerned about what happens to them. This woman pulled out records of children who had been skipping school; after they have missed 3 days in a row, the record comes to her and she has to go out to the home. She says she has seen some of these kids in school walking the halls and hanging around; they do not have anything to do. She was surprised because they recognized them right away—she thought they were in school. This is a very sensitive problem that ties into our other institutions.

Inherent in this, as you stated already, is the whole question of citizen involvement: how do we relate to these young kids who are potential dropouts, potential delinquents, real candidates for the crime

system, and then what we do to them at the other end, after they get into some of these things which we know really professionalize their criminal instincts and harden their antisocial attitudes? Involving more people in constructive ways at really low cost is the most commonsense approach to the reduction of crime, and I am really pleased to have you relating the actual experiences that have led you to share this view with us.

Mr. PEPPER. Well, thank you. You are so right, Mr. Chairman. From the other side, that is, those coming out of correctional institutions, while our committee was visiting Attica the latter part of the week in which the rioting occurred, I was talking to a man in a cell and I said to the man, look here, here you are confined in this big iron cell, with these high walls, cut off from society, with all the limitations and everything that you experience here. I said, when a man once gets out of a place like this, why in the name of goodness does he ever want to come back, ever come back? He thought a minute. He said, well, it is perhaps more difficult than you might think. He said, those of us who are kept here for a considerable time, many of us lose contact with our families, antagonisms sometimes develop with the families, estrangement has come about between the man and the family. He has lost his friends, practically, during the years that he has been here. He gets out with a cheap suit of clothes and a few dollars, I think $47 or something like that, and he is turned loose.

Well, he is pretty well disassociated from society. About all he knows to do, maybe, is finally go back to the area from which he came and he does not know enough—various—I believe 80 percent, at least 80, mayby 90 percent of the people confined in our main penal institutions have not had a high school education. So he is not educated, he is not skilled, he does not have any money, he does not have any friends much to go to, and he drifts around and pretty soon his money is gone. He inquires about a job and most people ask him have you ever been convicted of any crime and if he says no, they find out about it later and fire him if they have given him a job. If he says yes, most people just rather naturally do not want to give a fellow who has been a convict, as we say, a job, and the result is in a little while he feels—he is lonely and estranged and he has the tendency to become hostile against society and he needs money and the first thing you know, he has committed one or more crimes and there he is back again.

Now, think what difference there might be in the life of that individual and think how some victim of that man's crime later might be spared the agony of that if there were some way that people could find out when these men are coming out and they could—they would give them some counsel and advice and give them some help, give them some consideration, show some concern for them. It would have the double advantage of reducing crime and saving perhaps an individual.

I have been especially impressed with the need to provide alternatives to incarceration as well as more effective programs of rehabilitation for the young people who fall into crime and, after training in one of our expensive large colleges for crime, one of our large prison facilities, go on to repeat crime after crime, to conviction after conviction, and to commitment after commitment.

I attended additionally in England last year a conference and it was generally agreed there that the long-term criminal, a fellow who was in for more than 10 years, had usually been in three times before, so he was a long-time convict, a long-time person incarcerated, and is likely to be serving his fourth conviction.

Mr. CONYERS. In England, are they looking at the question of community involvement and its impact upon crime reduction?

Mr. PEPPER. Yes. They are working on that. I do not think they have gone quite as far as we have gone in certain places. But they have set up one model institution and they are trying to work community involvement in with that institution. They are now becoming aware of the need for community involvement and they are taking steps to try to get that done, to do that.

The Crime Committee received testimony from numerous correctional officials on the economy of the community-based correctional facility, as well as on the greater effectiveness of these smaller facilities, located within the home communities of those incarcerated or committed. The total cost of establishing and maintaining these smaller community-based facilities frequently amounts to only 20 percent or less of the usual cost of maintaining inmates in large State correctional institutions. In my State we have a State penal institution called Raiford, which is a pretty good counterpart of Attica in New York. It is vastly overcrowded. It was built a long time ago. It is located in a rural area where there are not any jobs to speak of available for any of the inmates who might be permitted to go outside and get employment after a certain amount of incarceration.

We found so much in favor of the smaller, and I mean by that an institution housing not over 300 to 400 inmates, being located in urban areas, generally where the individual incarcerated previously resided, we found such advantage in that, such a great need for it, and yet so little is being done in providing such institutions, that I have introduced a bill, and I appeared before another committee a little bit ago, one of your fellow subcommittee's headed by Representative Kastenmeier, able chairman that he is, and in behalf of that, my bill would provide that the Federal Government, and I would certainly be pleased to see this committee which is very much concerned with the whole problem of crime give some consideration to that bill. My bill would provide that the Federal Government would pay half the cost with the States to build this community-type correctional institution in urban areas.

Now, once we get them built, the States I think can operate them thereafter without Federal participation. But if we do not give them the help to get them built, not many of the States are going to build many of those institutions because they are short of funds and they all have their budget problems and the like. So that would be a very significant contribution.

Then community programs—excuse me just a minute—community programs are so much more appropriate to that type of institution than an institution like Attica or Raiford way over in a rural area.

Mr. CONYERS. I see. So you are urging the relocation of prisons inside the city to avoid creating the geographical isolation that frequently occurs?

Mr. PEPPER. Right.

Mr. CONYERS. And ethnic isolation, too.

Mr. PEPPER. Quite right.

Mr. CONYERS. You are in the right subcommittee in a way because Mr. Cohen, who is our new ranking minority member, is on Mr. Kastenmeier's subcommittee and Mr. Hamilton Fish of New York and myself are recent ex-members of that subcommittee. As such, we have a deep concern for what Mr. Kastenmeier is doing and we will watch the legislation.

Mr. PEPPER. Very good.

But even more significant for effective rehabilitation is the possibility in these community-based facilities of involving substantial local resources, including volunteer and part-time aides, in the rehabilitation process. Volunteers can help find special training programs that may be needed, or special medical assistance. Or they can be effective in finding jobs for work-release programs, or in helping prisoners improve their adjustment to their families and to the other supportive institutions in their home communities.

These are programs which the Community Relations Service could fund on a demonstration basis. Or they might cooperate in establishing such programs with their sister agencies LEAA and the Justice Institute in the Justice Department. They might also reach out to draw upon the expertise in volunteer programs that has been developed in ACTION through its VISTA and related programs. They might coordinate with other grant agencies, such as the antidropout efforts of the schools and the juvenile delinquency preventions programs of HEW, which we are currently funding so inadequately.

There is much, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, we can do to mobilize volunteers and involve the community in the battle against crime if we will harness the enthusiam of those who believe this can be done. The Community Anticrime Assistance Act offers us an opportunity to make this demonstration of the capacity of the citizen to contribute significantly to the anticrime effort. I commend it to the members of the subcommittee, and I wish again very deeply to thank you for the opportunity and the honor of appearing before you.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, we are grateful to you and we want to acknowledge that you have with you Mr. James Sutherland, your administrative assistant. We also note that Chris Nolde, who formerly served you in a top capacity in your Select Committee on Crime, who has subsequently joined Judiciary, is also here.

Mr. PEPPER. I am very much pleased that you have Mr. Nolde, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, because he served with great distinction and dedication as general counsel for the House Select Committee on Crime for quite a period of its last stages of operation. He did a very good job. He will be of great service to you.

Mr. CONYERS. I would now like to turn any questioning over to the gentleman from Maine, Mr. Cohen.

Mr. COHEN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Senator Pepper, for your usual elaborate and complete statement on the problem that confronts us.

I do not think anyone on this committee will take issue with the need to involve citizens in the fight against crime. There may be some difference of opinion as to how we can best accomplish that. And I have voiced from time to time here in the course of these hearings

questions which I have concerning what we call the reproductive rate or capacity on the part of the Federal Government to reproduce agency after agency or program after program to get at specific problems.

One of the questions that I have is why could we not simply amend either the language of the LEAA legislation or the thrust and focus of that legislation to accomplish some of the same objectives we would accomplish by this bill, and thereby achieve the same results without getting into the formulation of a new program with new personnel and new guidelines?

Mr. PEPPER. It could be done through LEAA. As I said in my prepared statement, however, I will say to the distinguished counsel, the LEAA people have primarily been involved in the ordinary forms of law enforcement. I think if they had certain money to spend, the likelihood is that out of their past experience they would say, well, I would rather put more police on the streets rather than using this money for a community aide program and the like. I think an agency with the cooperation of LEAA and encouragement of LEAA could do in that area all they will, but I think an agency that was set up for the specific purpose of developing the maximum community participation in curbing crime would have a little better attitude toward the subject, be a little more friendly to the objective, and I believe be a little bit more effective.

Mr. COHEN. Well, in response to that and consistent with what you are telling us I would only suggest, the lack or inability of people at the local level to apply general revenue moneys for nutrition and programs for the elderly, is best overcome by leadership from the top, not from the bottom. What I am suggesting to you, and perhaps to the committee chairman, is that we can take the leadership role in Congress by altering again either the language or even the philosophical thrust of that program. Now, Chairman Conyers is going to undertake a very vigorous oversight program on LEAA. I am going to work as closely with him as possible on this. But I think under this sort of vigorous leadership that he is going to give us that we could change the thrust of the LEAA program to have more community involvement, more citizen participation. I think the gentleman who is going to testify following you, sir, will focus upon the need to have more community citizen involvement in our LEAA program. That brings me to the specifics of the bill.

For example, on page 7 of the proposal that we have we see that some of these funds would be directed or diverted to social services. I think that again not too many people would question that there is a connection between the revision of social services and the incidence of crime. But looking down through section 202(b), we can look at "programs to enhance the delivery of social services into neighborhoods, such as a removal of waste, street cleaning, building inspection, recreational facilities, and improved street lighting."

I believe there are other programs already in existence that presently provide for such programs.

Mr. PEPPER. Well——

Mr. COHEN. If I could continue, "programs to provide counseling to ex-offenders, narcotics addicts, and persons on probation", and finally on subsection (6), "to provide alternatives to incarceration,

including release to the custody of community programs, for persons convicted over minor victimless crimes."

You have been testifying as you indicated before, Senator, about Congreeman Kastenmeier's committee where we are now dealing with pretrial diversion bills and penal reform, et cetera. I am just wondering can we not accomplish all of these objectives by simply having a consolidation of our existing programs with a change perhaps of philosophy and having more community involvement?

Mr. PEPPER. You mean under LEAA?

Mr. COHEN. And the other programs we are dealing with.

Mr. PEPPER. Well, if you could give the attention to LEAA's work which effective oversight would provide, and if you could get LEAA to agree with you that that was a very desirable thing to do and really share your enthusiasm for it, and look with a friendly eye upon the efforts, of course, it is possible for them to be the coordinating agency. LEAA could make these same grants that we are saying here that the director of this community program that we provide for in the bill could make. The difference would be, and your oversight would have to be careful to see that that difference would not deter the effectiveness of their work, the difference would be this Director that we contemplate in our bills would be one chosen because he was believed to be sympathetic to the idea of getting community involvement, whereas the LEAA people have a much larger field, a very much larger mission, and generally a different background of experience.

Now, you would have to bear down on them, I think, a little harder, as it were, to maybe let them put somebody in their agency that comes from a community service area and is experienced in getting community cooperation. If they let that kind of a man be their agency, be their hand, as it were, to aid the program, it could be done, of course, there.

Mr. COHEN. I think the major criticism, and a justifiable and legitimate one, against the LEAA is that too much attention has been focused upon hardware, upon police cars, upon weapons, and so on.

Mr. PEPPER. Right.

Mr. COHEN. Very little in the way of community involvement and participation.

Mr. PEPPER. Right.

Mr. COHEN. It seems to me it is our responsibility to alter that and it strikes me as being ironic that this initiative has to come from us. Of all the witnesses we have had testify before this subcommittee, practically every person involved in law enforcement said we have to have the citizen participating if we are going to do an effective job. It seems to me all we have to do is take a little leadership here and alter the thrust of LEAA to accomplish this.

Mr. PEPPER. If you could get—the police departments that we heard, the ones that we selected out of the police departments of the country, nearly every one of them had chiefs of police that did realize how dependent the police department really was upon the cooperation of the community, and they were able to induce that kind of cooperation. Take any city in the country. Look at the size of the police department compared to the population of the city. Now, here thousands and thousands of young people of high motivation, noble motivation, if their motivation should simply be harnessed and applied to

helping to curb crime—thousands or millions of citizens, many of whom would welcome an opportunity to get into an area like this if they just had some encouragement or some leadership that induced them to do so. So you have got a vast reservoir of aid in law enforcement and curbing crime. The problem is how to mobilize that great army that is available to help the law enforcement officer.

Mr. COHEN. Thank you very much.

Mr. CONYERS. I would like to recognize now the gentleman from New York, Mr. Fish.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to welcome you, Mr. Pepper, and to thank you so much for this statement this morning. One of the most significant parts of it, Mr. Chairman, is the enthusiasm and optimism Mr. Pepper has brought to this subject. I really feel that from his long inquiry in this field he knows better than we the importance of potential citizen response to help in this vital area.

Mr. PEPPER. Excuse me. Mr. Chairman, I would like to say I served here in the Congress many years with the distinguished father of the able gentleman from New York and I guess after a while I will be serving with the grandsons of many with whom I formerly served.

Mr. FISH. If I can go off the record.

[Discussion off the record.]

Mr. FISH. One question, Mr. Pepper, that relates largely to title II on pages 6 and 7 of your bill and the bill of our chairman which is entitled, "Grants to Nonprofit Agencies."

It seems to me that in talking about urban crime, you have to look to the top elected official, principally a mayor, to be responsible for the anticrime programs in his community, and that ultimately he is the one that is responsible. Here we have a provision which would authorize the Federal grants directly to nonprofit private agencies, and I just wanted to get your thinking, not on the specific language, but on whether you agree with me that professional police direction of citizen involvement is important in light of your comment about the wisdom of having grants channeled outside of this responsible elected official in any city.

Mr. PEPPER. I will say to the able gentleman that after all, these members of nonprofit organizations are people. They are citizens. They are community motivated people, most of the time. And I realize that giving money to what appears to be a private group has to be looked upon circumspectly, with care in the making of the grants and care in the supervision of the expenditure by it.

For example, down in Guatemala recently, I had a very interesting visit for a quick while with a local representative of the CARE organization. Well, I did not know, I regret to say, that CARE was doing anything except sending packages. They had a great program that they were carrying on there in Guatemala, and undoubtedly in other countries, where they were working with the people to help them build schools and do other things that would give economic and other assistance to those people.

Now, I guess that is a private corporation, but it is a corporation not for profit. And I would think that the funds that a group like that employ are well and wisely used. So what I had in mind would be responsible organizations that are nonprofit in character, whose repu-

tation is good, and there would be, of course, proper scrutiny of the manner in which they expended the funds, but if those having the responsibility for the use of the funds thought that that group would be able to mobilize by virtue of its experience and prestige in the community, mobilize a good many citizens, young and old, in this effort to curb crime, I think it would be a permissible objective.

Mr. FISH. But would you like to see in the language in this legislation a provision mandating coordination between nonprofit agencies and local government officials and local police commands?

Mr. PEPPER. I am sorry. I did not quite get the import of the question.

Mr. FISH. Well, I understand your position on the value of nonprofit private agencies, but shouldn't we now mandate a degree of coordination between nonprofit private groups and local government, and the responsible police commands in the cities?

Mr. PEPPER. It would depend on what public agency it was that you put in charge of it, in my opinion. If you had a police department which was really attuned to community cooperation and sensitive to it and appreciated the value of it, knew how to induce it, it could be well under that kind of a police department, but if you had a police department, for example, that was not basically sympathetic, say, that is just a waste of money, what we need is more patrol cars and more patrolman on the beat, what we need is more hardware, we need a better radio station, or something like that, and did not have any real sympathy for the program, no rapport with those who are going to be called upon to serve, why, then, it would not be desirable for the private agency to have to work under that kind of public authority.

We should try to find—it might be well to put voluntary coordinators, voluntary supervisors, and managers, in charge of the program so that they would be citizens themselves and would be charged with the responsibility of developing the program, of course, to work in cooperation with public authorities which are concerned with that area, with that field. They should not be antagonistic or working at cross-purposes, of course, with the public authorities. They should complement the public authorities and assist the public authorities, cooperate with them, with the public authorities, but you should be careful not to restrain or to dampen the enthusiasm of these volunteer citizens, young and old, who want to do things by having people over them that disparage their efforts and did not seem to appreciate very much the importance of what they were doing.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Pepper.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CONYERS. Well, we have been impressed by your confidence and enthusiasm. I think we have been also inspired by the experience that you bring to this whole subject and are very grateful for the expression of continuing cooperation I think, as you do, that we can begin in the Congress to have a much greater impact on the prevention and reduction of crime than we have by the kind of careful analysis that we are giving now to ideas that you developed through some 18 months of your chairmanship of the Select Committee on Crime. Now we are at the critical point of trying to transform them into legislation.

So thanks again, Congressman Pepper.

Mr. PEPPER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I know your committee is going to do a great job.

Mr. CONYERS. Our next witness is attorney Herbert Miller, who is the director of the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure, Georgetown University Law Center. We are going to invite him to come forward. We have his prepared statement which will be a part of the record. We will allow him to proceed in any way that he chooses.

I would like to just note that he is a former member of the Department of Justice, and that he has been counsel to the State legislature in Oregon. He is active in the American Bar Association and the Virginia Bar Association. He has been highly involved in community affairs, and I think he is quite prepared to give testimony and some further insights, based on his experiences on the subject that brings us here today, involving the community in the war against crime.

Welcome, and you may proceed.

TESTIMONY OF HERBERT S. MILLER, DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINAL LAW, GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Mr. MILLER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, I appear before this committee as a citizen deeply concerned about the criminal justice system and the role citizens can play in its reform. I am also a member of the governing board of Common Cause, which is a national citizens' organization that has as one of its primary aims the effective participation of citizens in the development of policy at all levels of national, State, and local government. Common Cause is vitally interested in ways and means which offer citizens and citizens' organizations help in their efforts to be "present at the creation" of policy.

For too long citizens have been the ignored factor in the entire criminal justice system. For too long those who direct and operate the criminal justice system have regarded it as theirs—and have often viewed efforts by citizens to play a significant role in policy development with varying degrees of indifference or hostility. And the system has been run for the convenience of everyone but the citizens.

In the last decade, there has been a remarkable explosion of voluntary citizen participation in the system, primarily through the establishment of over 2,000 programs throughout the country involving citizens playing a role with juveniles, probationers, and prisoners. This has been a counseling and helping role. Citizens interact with offenders on a 1-to-1 basis and search our jobs and necessary services.

Mr. CONYERS. Is this one organization you are referring to when you say that 2,000——

Mr. MILLER. There are innumerable local, State, and several rather large national organizations which coordinate some of these programs. I suspect that the 2,000 figure may be conservative because any time I speak to anybody or go anywhere I find out about another "unknown" voluntary program.

Some actors in the criminal justice system have viewed this entry with misgiving, but most welcome this kind of participation, provided the operation is run and controlled by those in the system. The typical view has been, give us the citizens and we will tell them what to do.

When crime became a national political issue 10 years ago, Congress enacted legislation establishing the Office of Law Enforcement Administration in the Department of Justice. I believe that was back in 1965.

Nothing in this act referred to citizens or community to any marked degree. Its successor, the Safe Streets Act of 1968, initially had no language pertaining to citizens, community, or volunteers. In 1971, an amendment provided for volunteers and paraprofessionals for the first time in correctional programs.

To allocate the funds at the State and local levels the Safe Streets Act provided for State, regional, and local planning boards and councils composed of public officials and members of the criminal justice establishment. No provision was made for representation on any of these boards by citizens or community representatives until 1973. At that time, at the insistence of Common Cause, an amendment was passed by the House Judiciary Committee which mandated such representation. This was changed on the floor of the House and ultimately passed by Congress to permit (rather than require) citizen, community, and professional organizations to be represented on the State and regional planning boards.[1]

I emphasize that the amendment only applied to State and regional councils. It did not apply to the local councils which are authorized in communities over 250,000.

The history of allocations made under the Safe Streets Act indicates that major funds have gone for hardware, as opposed to program efforts. Studies of the operation of the act also indicate that the various planning boards are dominated by public officials and law enforcement personnel. Individuals from corrections, citizen, and community groups are represented only at the most minimal levels.

I serve on local and regional planning boards in northern Virginia as a citizen's representative. I might add, Mr. Chairman, that although I am an attorney and a professional in the field of criminal justice, my entire perspective this morning is based upon my experiences as a citizen at the local, State, and National level in trying to change the system. I can attest to the fact that unless there are knowledgeable and articulate citizen and community representatives on such planning boards, the decisions too often represent the point of view of those who operate the system. Each such group has a vested interest and there are unspoken and implicit rules of the game which mandate acceptance of each other's programs. I believe it is called log rolling in this environment here.

Only citizens unencumbered by the provincialism that comes from representing a vested interest can or will speak for the public interest and for the citizen's point of view. I do it all the time and I know how it feels to be a pariah.

It is essential, in my view, that the amendment made last year be refined to require such representation on these planning boards. I know that there has been renewed interest in having citizens in the criminal justice system and this was most recently highlighted by a recent address of the Administrator of LEAA, Mr. Santorelli. But even here his primay concern is with issues that would cause citizens to cooperate

[1] Title 42 U.S.C.A. sec. 3723(a).

in the processing of cases in the criminal justice system. I know this is extremely important. Immediately upon his speech being published, at the local and regional level in Virginia, in northern Virginia, we immediately approved a study to explore specific ways and means to find out why citizens are not cooperating in our area and what can be done to persuade them to cooperate. So I know his speech had immediate impact locally. But there was little said about active citizen participation in the system and input at the policymaking level. The syndrome appears to be that citizen participation and involvement is welcome but only up to a certain point. When citizens become involved, to the point where they want to start changing the system and play an active role, the welcome starts cooling. This has been my experience for many years.

The approach in H.R. 9175 offers opportunities for such citizen input in a variety of levels and a variety of ways—and this is essential. We live in a decade of aroused citizen interest in the processes by which we are governed. No longer are citizens content to sit back and permit elected or appointed representatives to do all their thinking for them. Citizens believe the system is their system; that they as taxpayers support the system; and citizens have concluded that the experts, the bureaucrats, the legislators, executives, and judges who operate our system have given us a disastrous criminal justice system. It features high crime rates, low rates of clearance by the police, an almost complete failure to prosecute white collar and economic crimes, a system which discriminates against the poor, the young, and the black, and a correctional system which does not correct. Many citizens refuse to cooperate with this system when they are asked, and frequently with cause.

H.R. 9175 is a beginning in the effort to focus attention of the plight of the citizen and what role he can play and how he can best be assisted to play this role. But H.R. 9175 appears to establish different classifications of citizens—those citizens who live in the cities and those citizens who live in the counties. Title I of the bill offers assistance in the establishment of community relations programs and volunteer service programs in the criminal justice system. Cities by themselves may apply for such assistance. It appears that counties may only apply if they are combined with other jurisdictions or as part of a region.

Now, I understand that the population of many counties, particularly those in metropolitan areas, may be more affluent and more highly educated than their brethren in our long-suffering cities. But they are bedeviled by ever-increasing crime rates, serious drug problems, vandalism, break-ins, burglaries, and their fair share of violent crime. And if you look at the rate of increase of crime in the United States, it is suburban counties which have been hit the hardest in terms of rate of increase. Citizens in the counties are just as frustrated and alienated insofar as their criminal justice system is concerned as any city resident.

Frequently, county residents are burdened with an outdated and obsolete form of government and a criminal justice system dating back to colonial days. I might add, Mr. Fish, that there is no one single head in the typical county who can exercise overall coordination or control of the criminal justice system. In my county, Fairfax,

which is a suburban, highly educated, and affluent, we have a constitutionally elected Commonwealth attorney who is a key figure in the criminal justice system. We have a constitutionally elected sheriff who operates the jail. We have judges chosen by the State legislature, and in a fundamental sense, really chosen by the local bar associations.

These are key components of the criminal justice system over which the local county board has very little control. It is simply a fractionated nonsystem, to put it bluntly, and I suspect in many cities it may be almost the same way. I do not believe that pointing to one official, such as the mayor or a chairman of the county board, really solves the problem of coordination in most of our criminal justice systems.

I might add that in Virginia only last year did the legislature enact a Bail Reform Act. We are cursed with the money bond system in Virginia. With rare exception, for minor misdemeanor crimes, 80–90 percent of the people, most of whom live in the local area, have to pay bond. The bondsmen are operating a vast ripoff, and our conservative estimates are that in Fairfax County alone, just on misdemeanor crimes, the 10 percent which they get and which they keep may go up to $1½ million a year. That is in one county.

As a result of this new law, some jurisdictions are taking active steps to implement it by instituting pretrial release services. In Fairfax County, the thrust for steps that are being taken has come from a citizen coalition which produced a study on pretrial release. I acted as counsel for this coalition. The study has been distributed throughout the entire State, and other citizens groups are now trying to do something about it.

Mr. COHEN. I think I understand why you are considered to be a pariah in some circles, Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. In any event, I urge the chairman to consider amendments to H.R. 9175 which would assure that grants under title I could be made to counties over 100,000 population.

Mr. CONYERS. Is it clear to you that that is not now the case?

Mr. MILLER. I spoke to Mr. Barboza about it. I felt that it was unclear. I felt it could be read to exclude counties of over 100,000 unless they combined with another jurisdiction or as part of a region. I would welcome clarifying language.

There are several other specific amendments I would like to suggest to the bill, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

In section 102(b)(8), authority is given to establish community structures to coordinate all citizens programs. I would like to see language which would require such community structures to include broad representation from citizen and community organizations.

Section 103(b)(7) requires applications under title I to contain a description of community relations and citizen volunteer programs in the criminal justice system which have been established in a community governmental unit. It appears to exclude programs which have been established by private or citizens' organizations. I would like it clarified so a full description is included.

Section 202(b)(6) authorizes grants to nonprofit private agencies to carry out programs to provide alternatives to incarceration for persons convicted of minor or victimless crimes. I think that is a fairly narrow definition, Mr. Chairman, and as a matter of fact, many of the people involved in such crimes probably are not going to need the help that

these programs can give them. I would respectfully suggest that this really should be broadened to include all crimes but those of a violent nature, or those which involve organized crime or substantial trafficking in drugs. Some of the people who may be convicted of serious crimes may need the kind of help that these programs could provide.

Section 203(a) requires a nonprofit private agency to have been in continuous operation for a period of at least 1 year before it can apply for a grant. I understand and fully support the year requirement as a safety element in making sure that you have a developed organization which can function. I would like to refer to our experience in Fairfax County in establishing a program called offender aid and restoration. It trains citizens, all kinds of citizens, to work with the inmates of our local jail and our local prison camp. We put together a coalition of citizens groups representing every major organization in the county, from the community action program to the chamber of commerce, and including the bar association and the League of Women Voters. We also included in our coalition right from the start the sheriff of our county and the chief judge of our county court, as well as representatives of several other organizations. However, we were not a functioning or operating operation until we were funded. We obtained funds after a year of effort from a local foundation here in Washington, D.C., the Meyer Foundation, which helped us get started. Since that time we have supplemented the foundation money with local LEAA funds from the State and region.

If that year requirement had applied, we would not have been eligible under the standards you have set forth here because we did not have a year of operation. We were simply a paper organization waiting to get funded.

Mr. CONYERS. In other words, it might become impossible to exist for a year to get funding.

Mr. MILLER. For a group of citizens who have a creative idea to do something in the criminal justice area, it would be very difficult. To assure that the group represents something worthwhile, there should be two qualifications. It should include broad representation from a wide variety of citizen, community, and professional organizations, and the coalition should include representatives of the pertinent parts of the criminal justice establishment, be it the courts, the police, or correctional officials. This would assure two things, the kind of support in the community that means something and cooperation and coordination with the system. And I would hope that with this definition, a citizens' group could be exempt from the year requirement.

Mr. CONYERS. How do you feel about making the Community Relations Service the operating agency to determine which grants or which programs should be funded?

Mr. MILLER. I do not know enough about the community relations service to really answer that question. The only way I can approach that question is to say that LEAA as presently constructed offers little hope to citizens groups. Amending LEAA to provide for citizen and community representation on the various councils and planning boards is only one step. I regard these boards as planning agencies, the setters of policy, the defining of basic allocation of resources. Now, citizens may get together; they have an idea, they have a program, and they want to apply for funds. Whether it is in the city or in the county,

whether they are an affluent group or not, most citizens groups simply cannot contend with the bureaucracy, with the grantsmanship game. It is extremely difficult. It is difficult for professionals to contend with it. When you get citizens who know very little about the system, it is extraordinarily difficult. The planning boards do not represent the vehicle for providing assistance to groups which have creative ideas, and I do not think they should be such a vehicle. I think their role should be planning, and the citizens' role on those boards and councils should be that of participating in this planning role, setting of basic policy on allocation of resources. I think we need another mechanism geared to helping the citizens groups with specific proposals. H.R. 9175 offers that mechanism.

When the amendment to the Safe Streets Act was being discussed before the House Judiciary Committee last year, the present Administrator of LEAA opposed that provision. Now, unless there has been a substantial change in attitude and view toward citizen participation, I do not have a feeling that LEAA at this time is the vehicle.

Mr. COHEN. Is this on the mandatory participation by citizen groups?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, Mr. Cohen.

Mr. COHEN. I raised that specific point, as I recall, with Mr. Ruckelhaus, who came in to express the administration's opposition and objections to this particular bill. It seemes somewhat inconsistent for the Justice Department to oppose mandatory participation by citizens groups and at the same time take the position that we want more citizen involvement. So I think you are quite right in pointing out the double standard—on the one hand opposing, and on the other hand advocating, more citizen involvement.

Mr. CONYERS. Can you tell me how many other citizens who have been active in anticrime programs would share your view about the difficulty of getting inside the LEAA bureaucracy and really having a meaningful input? Is the view that you have expressed widely held?

Mr. MILLER. I have spoken before many groups, not only in this area but in other areas, and I have discovered a substantial feeling that it is very difficult to crack the system.

I wrote an article, Mr. Chairman—I think copies of it were supplied to the members of this subcommittee—on the citizen's role in changing the criminal justice system in which I attempted to lay out step by step how you get inside the system, how you start changing it, and I can only say that the reaction to that article has been phenomenal. It has been picked up by three national organizations and reprinted in whole or in part. I get persistent requests from all over the country for additional copies of it. It is being used in conference after conference where the citizen's role is being discussed. What I detect is that citizens do not feel they have the ability to really crack the system. Many of them do not know how to do it. They are not familiar with the whole setup. They are not familiar with the dynamics of how the political system operates, with how they can play an effective role. So I feel that there is a widespread frustration in this respect.

Mr. CONYERS. You brought home to us today the point that we have not really talked to too many citizens who really have been out there in the field, right at the battleline. We have talked to a lot of experts and sympathizers and supporters of this concept but, as far

as I can recall, you are the first citizen—veteran that has come before us and I think this is going to be helpful.

I am just wondering how many more of those kinds of people from different parts of the country can really tell us about their experience. I am impressed with the notion that just integrating citizens on to the planning boards is not the whole answer.

Without us getting too deeply involved in it as Members of Congress, it sounds great. Add more citizens, that is, more involvement, therefore, more participation—result; a more community—and citizen-oriented program.

Well, that might happen and maybe, as you say, they just are caught up in the bureaucracy of fighting at a different level in an inadequate way and against resources that are far greater and more sophisticated than theirs.

Mr. MILLER. I might add, Mr. Chairman, that as you see the flow of grant proposals coming through your local and regional boards, the people in the criminal justice establishment have adapted extremely well to this, whether it be the police, the courts, or the corrections people. They all have staff people who have become experts in the art of grantsmanship; they can crank out the grants; they know the procedures; they have conquered the system; and the proposals just flow out. But for a citizen's group which does not have access to this expertise, and most do not, it is an excrutiatingly difficult problem on how you write up a grant, who you go to see, how you make the contacts. They simply feel it is a vague, foggy area to them and they do need direct help.

Mr. CONYERS. What do you think of the idea of stripping the law enforcement agencies of many of the programs that they have started because of their inherent ability to get off from the starting line first and fastest with the mostest? I mean, there are a number of programs that exist that are police-controlled, and that are clearly the brainchild of some law enforcement organization. Could you make a case for those organizations being better operated and being more effective, especially those kinds of programs that involve citizen participation, if they were not handled by agencies?

Mr. MILLER. I can tell you our experience. We established Offender Aid and Restoration as a citizen-operated organization. We have resisted attempts by correctional authorities to coopt us.

We structure our advisory boards and we have advisory boards in six Virginia jurisdictions. We have a State board that is incorporated. We now have got a national program which is exporting OAR to three jurisdictions right now, North Carolina, Maryland, and New York City. All of the money for national OAR is coming from foundations and church groups, at this time. Throughout we have consciously built into our articles of incorporation and our bylaws citizen control. This citizen control represents a wide variety of groups and organizations. We feel that the creative impulse which gave rise to this tremendous grassroots program started with citizens. They approached the sheriffs and the courts to obtain their cooperation. We feel it is essential to its health, to its continued growth, and to its continued creativity that it remain controlled by citizens. I am not saying this should be the case for all programs. But I do believe that many programs operated without citizen participation might profit

from this kind of input. As to whether they should be controlled by citizen's groups I really do not know.

Mr. CONYERS. Are there any organizations that intend to embrace this proliferation of citizen groups as you have described them? It seems to me that this subcommittee ought to get a clearer focus of how many citizens' groups at various levels there are throughout the 50 States. I am sure we really do not have a handle on that yet.

Mr. MILLER. There is one organization in Boulder, Colo., the National Information Center on Volunteerism, which has made a specialty of inventorying all the citizen volunteer programs it knows about in the country. There is a study published on it. It was funded by LEAA and it is this Boulder group that conducted the survey. So far as I know, they have the best inventory of such organizations in the United States. The head of that program, Dr. Ivan Scheier, would have a great many insights to offer this committee in terms of what is going on and what some of the implications are for the criminal justice system in the United States.

Mr. COHEN. I do not have any questions, Mr. Chairman.

By accident I guess I happened to pick up an article about your boss, Mr. Garner of Common Cause, which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, the Wednesday, February 20, edition, and I noticed his statement which I thought was rather eloquently put:

> Whether we have the kind of society in which individuals can participate, feel that they have some importance as individuals, just anonymous numbers, grains of sand in a bucket and this has to do with whether they have open, accessible, accountable government, responsive government. Because this is the citizen's most important instrument for getting a grip on this enormous, intricately organized society. We want citizens who have an alive sense of being part of the community, part of the social venture.

Mr. CONYERS. I think that is quite appropriate. It is a little bit of what we are hopefully all about.

I would like to recognize now the gentleman from New York for any questions.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you, Mr. Miller, for your very helpful testimony.

Last fall when we had our initial hearings and had Mr. Ruckelshaus before us, reference was made to the report of the "National Advisory Commission on Justice, Standards Goals-Community Involvement," and if I understood Mr. Ruckelshaus, at that time it was a preliminary report. There was a chapter in that, I think it is chapter 4, dealing with community crime prevention and the full report was going to be forthcoming and that he was sort of advising us to go slow until we see that full report, that there were changes in Public Law 9383, that 15 percent of the funds that LEAA received are discretionary. Let us see what they are going to do with that money in terms of community involvement.

I have not followed this subsequently. Could you tell us, is the final report out? Does it cast any light on LEAA's thinking in this field?

Mr. MILLER. Yes. They have put out a whole volume on Community Crime Prevention and the community's role. I have not studied it. I have looked at it. They have a great deal in there about community involvement, community participation, but I do not detect a commitment to the kind of community involvement which involves participation at all levels. I am concerned with the process of

how decisions are made and I am concerned that there be built into the law provisions which guarantee that citizens are involved at all processes of the policymaking decisions.

I am not talking so much about what programs should be emphasized but the process by which citizens have input. I do not detect in this National Advisory Commission report a commitment to see to it that citizens are truly involved at all levels of the process by which decisions are made. This is my primary concern.

Mr. FISH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CONYERS. We have benefited in a number of ways by hearing from you. Your suggestions, I think, bear out the years of experience that you have had. Had you been around when we were putting this together, I frankly think many of those recommendations would have been incorporated into our first bill.

Thanks very much for coming here and I am hoping that, in some kind of volunteer way, you can stay in touch with our staff and the committee. We have not only Mr. Barboza but also Mr. Gekas, who is also counsel working with the subcommittee, and I am sure that we will be able to get the benefit of those perceptions of being out in the field that are so important.

Thanks again.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CONYERS. I would like to place in the record the article to which Mr. Miller referred, entitled, "Citizen's Role in Changing the Criminal Justice System."

[The article follows:]

[From Crime and Delinquency, July 1973.]

The Citizen's Role in Changing the Criminal Justice System

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Trial Attorney, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice, 1961-65; Chairman, Fairfax County (Fairfax, Va.) Offender Aid and Restoration Board, 1971-72
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Since crime became a national political issue, Americans have been deluged with studies and reports. The money poured into the states by federal legislation for criminal justice reform has not been spent wisely, and citizen participation in decisions on allocation of these funds has been minimal. Citizens must participate at the planning level and should become involved in the system itself.

To involve citizens effectively, programs must be devised to offer volunteers an opportunity to work with offenders. This effort should focus on juveniles, minor offenders, and, especially, local jail inmates. More than any other institution, the jail presents great challenges and opportunities because of its diverse population and its location in the community.

To be effective in reforming the criminal justice system, citizens must form broad coalitions composed of a variety of community organizations. From the time planning begins, members of the criminal justice establishment must be included.

The system should be examined carefully to determine which part needs attention. Defined goals must be modest and nonthreatening to the establishment; the important thing is to get citizens inside the system. Their understanding of the realities of the system, combined with contacts with actors in the system, can lead to pressures for fundamental change.

SINCE 1964, when crime became a national political issue of the presidential campaign, we have been subjected to an avalanche of commissions, committees, studies, surveys, reports, and congressional and state legislative investigations. The resulting literature has been vast enough to defy absorption by the experts, to say nothing of the citizens who pay for the criminal justice system and its failures. In addition to the numerous reports have been the calls for correctional reform, led by the chief justice

of the United States Supreme Court, and the drastic upheavals occurring in our prison systems.[1]

One result of these studies, exhortations, and political pressures has been the establishment of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in the Department of Justice and the massive injection of federal funds into the states through the Safe Streets Act of 1968. Numerous state and local criminal justice planning boards have been organized to make decisions affecting the allocation of these vast sums of money. The Act establishing LEAA does not require citizen and community representation on these planning boards,[2] but it encourages the funding of community correctional projects and the use of volunteers.[3]

According to most analyses of the priorities and allocations, much of the money has been given to the police for "hardware." Substantial funds have been earmarked for the planning and construction of new jails and prisons. The allocations look more like a slicing up of the pie than a hard look at the system.

No significant change in the criminal justice system will occur unless citizen participation and citizen influence become realities. The first obstacle is psychological—the feeling that only experts can make valid decisions concerning the new directions that criminal justice should be taking. But the dismal record of failure and neglect only accentuates the paraphrase of a famous dictum: "Criminal justice is much too serious a matter to be entrusted to lawyers, judges, correctional officials, and politicians."

Citizen participation can be accomplished in a variety of ways. This article will attempt to describe the contributions the citizen can make and some of the techniques through which they can be made effective.

Citizens and Planning

The obvious first step is to increase citizen representation in criminal justice planning groups at all levels—state and local. Citizens interested in correctional reform should obtain rosters of the memberships of these commissions and boards in their jurisdictions. They will find them dominated by members of the criminal justice establishment and employees of state and local government, with minimal

1. "Perhaps the real evil underlying our penal system is not its concepts, whether rehabilitation or vengeance or something else, but the lack of any agreed concept, the absence of plan and purpose, and worst of all the indifference that underlies the neglect.... This indifference and impatience with the slow and painful process of changing human beings have developed systems of corrections which do not correct and the harsh reality is reflected in painful figures: two-thirds of all the 200,000 inmates of federal and state prisons in this country are 'alumni' of our non-correcting correctional systems." Address by Chief Justice Burger, Association of the Bar of the City of New York, Feb. 17, 1970.

2. 42 U.S.C.A. § 3723 (a) requires only the following membership: "Law enforcement agencies, units of general local government, and public agencies maintaining programs to reduce and control crime."

3. 42 U.S.C.A. § 3731 (b) (9) encourages "the development and operation of community-based delinquency prevention and correction programs, emphasizing halfway houses and other community-based rehabilitation centers for initial preconviction or postconviction referral of offenders; expanded probationary programs, including paraprofessional and volunteer participation; and community service centers for the guidance and supervision of potential repeat youthful offenders."

citizen representation and relatively minor representation from community correction. The membership of these boards and commissions at the state level is established by the governor's office and by local governments for local bodies. Citizens should look to their elected representatives at the state and local levels for increased representation and should press for 42 U.S.C.A. 3723 (a) to be amended so that citizens' groups will be represented on planning boards.

If federal funding for criminal justice reform becomes a type of revenue-sharing, laws mandating the creation of these planning boards may be repealed. The funds would then come into states and localities solely as law-enforcement revenue-sharing, and citizens' organizations would then have to fight for the modification of these planning boards so that they represent diversified viewpoints.

Expanded citizen representation is important to assure an overall examination of the system and the establishment of clear priorities (as opposed to the provincialism of vested interests). Moreover, proposed programs involving community correction and citizen participation may need such representation to ensure their adequate consideration by these planning boards and commissions.

Citizen Involvement in the System

Membership on planning boards is generally a form of surface involvement; usually it means that organizations are represented. Unaffiliated individuals in the community may want to play a role in changing the criminal justice system but don't know how or do not have the entry that organizational membership offers; moreover, their interests may lie not in meetings or in planning but in actual participation in the system through working with offenders. A key principle of involvement, therefore, is that ways must be devised for citizens to directly influence lives of persons trapped in the system. This must be preceded by an examination to determine which part of the system offers an opportunity for direct contact with offenders who can benefit from it. How people are screened through the system and ultimately disposed of lends itself to this kind of direct citizen involvement. Following are some examples:

Juveniles

Most juvenile courts have an intake service to determine broadly the best procedure in each case. Most juveniles are not subjected to formal proceedings in juvenile court; their problems are handled informally. In a small but growing number of jurisdictions Youth Services Bureaus, not connected with the juvenile court, provide counseling and referral services for juveniles and their families.

What may be needed are foster homes, special counseling, or other community services. Many juvenile courts have inadequate probation services and can benefit from citizen volunteers. A citizens' group might want to discuss with juvenile authorities what the specific needs are and what particular services citizens might perform.

The Lower Courts

The municipal or county courts usually deal with minor offenders (misdemeanants). Most defendants who have any contact with the criminal justice system appear in these

courts, which are notorious for inadequate probation services. Thus, the judge may impose a sentence without a presentence report on which he could base a rational decision. The court may also have no supervisory probation service to help the offender in the community. Research studies and interviews with judges indicate that, given a presentence report and adequate supervision in the community, many offenders now sentenced to jail would be placed on probation.

Citizens should push for lower court probation services and should make themselves available as volunteers to assist professional probation officers in working with minor offenders in the communty.

THE LOCAL JAIL

Most counties and cities have a jail. A national jail census conducted by the Department of Justice and the Bureau of the Census in 1970 found that there are 4,037 locally administered jails confining an average daily total of 161,000 persons. In general about 48 per cent of the inmates are serving sentences after conviction; 35 per cent are awaiting trial; the remaining 17 per cent are being held for other authorities. Some of the inmates are juveniles.

Many of the jails are overcrowded; most have no provision for exercise or other recreation; most have no educational program; only half have any medical services; one-fourth have no visiting facilities; and some have inadequate sanitation. One-fourth of the cells in these jails are over fifty years old.

Jails are generally run by elected sheriffs or appointed jailers, most of whom are untrained in correction. The jail staff is primarily custodial, untrained, and poorly paid. Time in jail is "dead time"; no one benefits—not the offender, or the criminal justice system, or the community.

The dominant characteristic of jails is that they are full of people who don't belong there. (1) Juveniles may end up in jail because of inadequate community resources. (2) Over two million arrests for public drunkenness each year consume valuable police time and clog the courts and jails. (3) More than one-third of the inmates are awaiting trial, many because they cannot afford even modest bail set by the court. (4) Many minor offenders are sentenced to jail because of the lack of local probation services.

What these different statuses suggest is a variety of ways to relieve the congestion in the system by providing alternatives to incarceration, hastening the release of inmates, and planning programs to assure they will not return.

If, for instance, a substantial portion of those in the local jail at any one time are there for public drunkenness, a group might want to explore the possibility of a medically operated detoxification center. These exist in some urban areas, notably St. Louis and Washington, D.C.

A survey might determine how many are in jail awaiting trial and why. If a substantial number are unable to make bond or bail, the group might consider the establishment of a pretrial release program in conjunction with the court.

Individuals may be serving short sentences. Exploration with the court of the desirability of local probation services might indicate a more generous use of probation by sentencing

judges if offenders were given adequate supervision in the community.

The important thing to remember is that merely building a bigger and better jail results only in the jailing of more people. Parkinson's Law applies: "If it's there, it will be used!"

The economic arguments against mindless use of a mindless institution are overwhelming:

1. Keeping an individual in the community helps him keep his job and eliminates the expense of keeping him in jail.

2. A worker is a taxpayer supporting community services; a jail occupant is an unproductive consumer of local taxes.

3. A worker supports his family, thereby saving the costs of welfare.

The social costs of incarceration cannot be assessed. The traumatic strains on family ties are enormous. We know that there is a high degree of coercive homosexuality in jails and prisons throughout the United States. To subject young offenders to it is unconscionable.

A look at the jail might indicate that its diverse inmates are receiving no help at all in preparing for a return to the community. The sheriff or chief jailer should be consulted on the desirability of a jail program. Changes in the jail achieved in Fairfax County, Virginia, illustrate some of the techniques that should be considered by citizens in their own communities.[4]

4. Fairfax Offender Aid and Restoration (OAR), a citizen-operated program, trains citizens to work on a one-to-one basis with local jail inmates and help prepare them for release back to the community.

What Kinds of Citizens?

We have been talking about citizens and citizens' groups—all kinds. And it is all kinds of citizens and citizens' groups that should coalesce into an effective and representative group to impress—and, if necessary, confront—the local governing body, the members of the criminal justice system, and the planning agencies with the importance of allocating funds for community correctional programs.

Specifically, who are the "citizens and citizens' groups" we are talking about?

1. *Ministers and interested lay churchmen* are frequently involved in one way or another in working with persons caught in the criminal justice system.

2. Most communities have some form of *community action program.* Frequently these provide services which may be relevant to the needs of some offenders and their families. Many jurisdictions also have a *Human Relations Commission or Council.* The interests of such bodies may be related to programs geared to rehabilitate or reintegrate offenders back into society. The local or regional *Health and Welfare Council* is an obvious resource for dealing with problems faced by offenders. The interests of your *Federation or Council of Citizens' Associations* are frequently quite broad and could easily include local criminal justice reform.

3. In recent years local chapters of the *League of Women Voters* have produced notable studies of court problems, bail, prosecution, and jails.

4. The national *Chamber of Commerce* has recently produced several remarkable publications on police,

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courts, and the correctional system, which contain suggestions on what citizens can do to improve them.[5] The *Junior Chamber of Commerce* has expressed strong interest in problems of prisoners and has pioneered in establishing local prison chapters of the Jay Cees.

5. No group is more representative of the "establishment" or more closely connected with the criminal justice system than lawyers. It is most important that the local *Bar Association* and *Legal Aid* or *Public Defender* agency be represented in any coalition that hopes to have an impact on the criminal justice system.

6. As noted above, many jails have minimal or no medical services. Members of the local *Medical Association or Society* are in a position to supply them where needed.

7. In most jurisdictions teachers have banded together to form a local *Education Association*. Few jails have educational facilities. Many local school systems provide a wide range of adult educational programs, usually conducted at night. A representative of the association could provide useful information and an entree into such programs. In Fairfax County, OAR is co-sponsoring, with the Adult Education Division, a program to train carpenters, in short supply in a fast growing area.

The groups mentioned above are private, professional, business, and community organizations. In addition there are certain governmental agencies which can provide valuable resources. For example:

8. Most jurisdictions have a *Department of Welfare and Social Services*. Including a representative of this agency would provide a ready and accessible source for obtaining needed assistance.

9. Every state has a *Vocational Rehabilitation Department*, whose regional offices provide job training and similar forms of assistance to disabled individuals. In Fairfax County we found this organization to be a fruitful source of help to a number of the inmates in our jail.

In presenting the county jail program to foundations for funding, Fairfax OAR representatives impressed them with the nature of the support being given to the proposed project. After the program was funded, the sheriff and the chairman of the OAR Board (composed of the organizations mentioned above) went before the County Board of Supervisors to inform it of the project and ask for cooperation. The County Board was favorably impressed with the presentation and with the involvement of a broad-gauged citizens' group and the sheriff in the project.[6] It immediately passed a resolution directing the county executive to offer all possible assistance to the project. The next day the chairman of the OAR Board asked the county executive to consider a request for office space; the following day an office, complete with necessary equipment

5. *Marshaling Citizen Power against Crime* (1970); *Marshaling Citizen Power to Modernize Corrections* (1972). For copies, write to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

6. It was even more favorably impressed with not being asked for any money, since independent funding had been secured.

and a free local phone, was offered to the project—which thus became a going concern even before its director had been chosen.

The ultimate importance of putting together a powerful coalition is that this broad and diverse representation gives foundations, local government, and state and local planning agencies assurance that the project will have the resources and capabilities for permanent operation. Too often pilot and experimental projects, some of which show excellent chances of success, disappear when the funding stops. This is why it is essential that the power structure of the community be involved in the project from the very beginning and be prepared to fight for regular budgeting when the original sources dry up.

Many organizations use volunteers in a variety of roles in the judicial and penal system. A citizens' group might consider contacting one or more of these groups to obtain details on how they may initiate programs in their jurisdiction. These organizations can be helpful, but they cannot supply the impetus to participation, which can come only from a broad-based community group.[7]

The Criminal Justice Establishment

At the same time that the citizens group is being organized it is essential to contact the appropriate members of the criminal justice agencies most affected by the project. The importance of their cooperation cannot be overestimated.

If your project involves the juvenile system, you must obtain the support of the juvenile court judge and his chief probation officer.

If you are concerned with adult probation services for the lower court, you should contact the chief judge of that court and the court administrator.

If your target is the jail, the local sheriff or chief jailer should be contacted. In the Fairfax County jail project the sheriff was one of the first persons called. His willingness to cooperate with the program was essential to its success.

If you are interested in a pretrial release project to release many charged (but not convicted) individuals under appropriate conditions, you must contact the key personnel in the criminal justice process—the judges, the sheriff or chief jailer, and the prosecuting attorney.

The understanding and assistance of these persons is basic to your chances of initiating a project. Their cooperation, however, may be influenced by the depth and extent of

7. For information on programs using volunteers in jail, contact the author at the Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure, 600 New Jersey Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. For volunteer programs involving the courts, contact Ivan H. Scheier, Director, National Information Center on Volunteers in Courts, P.O. Box 2150, Boulder, Colo. 80302. For specific programs involving juvenile and misdemeanant probation, contact Judge Keith Leenhouts, Volunteers in Probation, 200 Washington Square Plaza, Royal Oak, Mich. 48067. For information on volunteers as parole aides, contact David Linden, Project Director, National Volunteer Parole Aide Program, 1705 De Sales St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 For information on establishing regional, state, or local chapters of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, contact Justus Freimund, Director of Action Field Services, NCCD, Washington Headquarters, 2215 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. For information on volunteers generally, contact the National Center for Voluntary Action, 1735 I St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

community support which is in evidence.

The Scope of the Project

The group cannot cure all the ills of the criminal justice system. It should select a small and manageable segment of the criminal justice process for the project and then resist the constant pressures to expand it. An expansive tendency can be damaging, for two reasons:

1. An excessively wide project scope, covering more than one component of the criminal justice system, would make your selling job that much harder. You would have to convince many persons (some of whom are not accustomed to talk to one another) that the project was useful.

You should keep in mind, however, that any project, no matter how narrowly focused on one particular segment of the criminal justice system, inevitably impinges on other components of the system and does have some kind of impact. In that respect, therefore, you will have to approach representatives of these other parts of the system; but at least the project will not have the kind of direct impact that will demand their acquiescence from the very beginning.

2. Some persons in the system may be amenable to sweeping changes, but most would be upset by a citizens' group that appeared intent upon widespread and sweeping reforms.

Do not approach key individuals in the criminal justice system with grandiose ideas of changing the system. Keep your approach low key, with modest aims; by itself the project will not effect great changes in the system as it now operates.

A better approach is to concentrate on effective removal of persons from the system by making widespread use of various community resources. Emphasize the impact of the program on the offenders; don't orate about a system which, if operating properly, would have made your project unnecessary. Most people in the criminal justice system know that it has grave defects and that not enough is being done to reintegrate offenders into society. That kind of emphasis will receive a sympathetic response—and it will get citizens inside the system.

The Fairfax County project made clear from the outset that its sole purpose was to enable citizens to get involved with the jail inmates and prepare them for their return to society. It was not intended to change jail policies and procedures; it was not a threat to the jail's managers, whose cooperation was necessary for it to be initiated. The important thing was to get the citizens involved inside the system.

Under this approach citizens will receive a visceral (as opposed to an abstract) education in the realities of the system. Those operating the system will get used to seeing, hearing, and interacting with interested citizens. Properly handled these contacts can be a beginning in the process of of change.

Money and Publicity

Money for any project has to be found so that staff can be hired. Funding agencies are deluged with solicitations from a wide range of individuals and organizations. A common failing of many applications is their vagueness and failure to key in on a specific weak area in the system. The

proposal should be pointed, clearly indicating the weaknesses and the way a program involving citizens can help the offender.

Publicity for a project as it gets under way should not be neglected. Local newspapers and radio stations will happily give coverage to any interesting development in the criminal justice system. If the project is properly focused on a weak and dramatic part of the system, major metropolitan dailies and TV stations may also carry the story. Such publicity impresses the funding agencies and the governing bodies which may be asked to provide some form of assistance. It will also stimulate interest among potential volunteers. Mention of key people and key organizations involved in the project (e.g., the sheriff or chief judge of the court) will also have important psychological effects.

Really Changing the System

The OAR project is now two years old. It has had an impact on the jail and the criminal justice system in ways not originally foreseen. As trained citizens entered the jail and started working with the inmates, confidence in the project grew. Judges now ask citizens working with the inmates to testify at sentencing hearings; in some cases the testimony of the OAR volunteer has resulted in probation rather than a jail sentence.

One consequence of this exposure is the OAR volunteers' awareness of disparities in the sentencing practices of some judges, and this, in turn, has raised questions about procedures in the selection of judges.[8]

8. A statewide citizens' group, Citizens Association for Justice in Virginia (CAJV), which includes OAR representatives, has called for merit selection of judges and citizens' participation in such selection.

There are no transitional facilities for inmates being released from jail in Fairfax County (or, for that matter, in any part of Northern Virginia). Some needs have been so pressing that OAR volunteers have taken released inmates into their own homes, sometimes for a month or more. OAR is, in effect, operating a decentralized halfway house for releasees.

The OAR participants' heightened knowledge of offenders' problems gained through these and other experiences has resulted in a proposal for a major halfway house in northern Virginia that would meet a variety of needs of offenders being processed through the system. It could accommodate persons awaiting trial, probationers placed there as a condition of probation, work releasees, and prisoners being released on parole.

The OAR volunteers have also become increasingly concerned about the inadequacies of the total system with which they have dealt. Their personal experiences and observations have caused them to seek ways of improving the system—beyond their contribution as volunteers. As a result, a number of volunteers and friends of OAR have formed a new citizens' organization to assure OAR's continuation and work for changes in the system.

A recent further development has been the formation of a citizens' coalition, spearheaded by OAR volunteers and a group of churches. Originated as a forum for the exchange of ideas and information, it has become a vehicle for specific changes in the criminal justice system. After extensive discussion, the group agreed to concentrate on establishing a pretrial release program in Fairfax County.

In short, there are several keys to effective change in the criminal justice system. First, it is important for citizens to gain entree into the system. Second, the understanding they gain can result in pressure for changes in the system. Third, once judges, lawyers, and jailers see that effective work is being done by citizens, the groundwork is established for cooperative effort to change the system.

The Fairfax jail project is having an impact on the system in many ways not foreseen by its initiators. It has intimately involved over 250 citizen volunteers—policemen, prison officials, lawyers, educators, behavioral scientists, housewives, graduate students, etc.—in the inner workings of the process. Many of these volunteers had no prior contact with the system or offenders. They have been educated in a way no classroom can duplicate. They represent a true grassroots force for change.

The citizen program has been accepted by lawyers, judges, correctional officials, and the governing body of the county. An OAR representative sits on the Fairfax County Criminal Justice Coordinating Council. The program, originally started in the county jail, now also services a state prison camp located in Fairfax County. OAR has been successful in having local people transferred from other parts of the state prison system so that it can begin preparing them for their release.

All of this has generated a more relaxed attitude toward change and toward the citizens' role in achieving change. The citizens themselves, with the confidence of actual experience, are expressing themselves knowledgeably and with impact.

The criminal justice system is largely administered at the local level. If it is to be changed, and if the pressure for change is to be based on more than fear and irrationality, that is where changes in attitudes and practices must occur.

Mr. CONYERS. We will also place in the appendix a pamphlet entitled, "OAR Volunteer's Book," which outlines the work of the offender aid and restoration project in which Mr. Miller is an active participant.

[The document referred to will be found in app. 3, at p. 265.]

Mr. CONYERS. The subcommittee stands adjourned until its next hearing.

[Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.]

APPENDIXES

Hearings before the Subcommittee on Crime of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, 93d Congress, 2d session, on H.R. 9175, H.R. 9809, H.R. 10602, H.R. 10933, H.R. 11791, H.R. 11380, Community Anticrime Assistance Act of 1973, February 21, 1974, Serial Number 23, Part 2.

APPENDIX 1

Following are extracts from six reports, issued by five commissions' that focus upon the issue of whether or not the participation of the citizen is necessary to the reduction of crime in America:

Exhibit A.—National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, A National Strategy To Reduce Crime, chapter IV, "Community Crime Prevention" (1973).

Exhibit B.—National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Community Crime Prevention, part I, chapter I, "Citizen Action" (1973).

Exhibit C.—Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, State-Local Relations in the Criminal Justice System, chapter V, "The Public's Role in Law Enforcement" (1971).

Exhibit D.—United Nations, Participation of the Public in the Prevention and Control of Crime and Delinquency, a Working Paper Prepared by the Secretariat (1970).

Exhibit E.—National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, report, part III, chapter 10, "The Community Response" (1968).

Exhibit F.—President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, chapter 1, Whole item at 13–15; chapter 2, "Crime in America" at 49–53; chapter 11, "Science and technology" at 260–61; and chapter 13, "A National Strategy, pp. 279–91.

EXHIBIT A

CHAPTER 4—COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION

The term "community crime prevention" can mean citizens patroling their neighborhoods or conducting campaigns to improve streetlighting and reduce auto thefts. The term also can mean the renovation of slums, the improvement of schools, jobs for the unemployed, and the counseling of troubled young people.

These and many other activities are part of community crime prevention. Any public or private activity outside the conventional criminal justice system which is directed toward reducing crime is, in fact, community crime prevention.

MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

The Commission's standards and recommendations regarding community crime prevention cover such diverse but critical areas as:

Citizen volunteers in criminal justice.

Expanded public employment programs in areas of high unemployment.

Career education in elementary and secondary schools.

Individualized community drug abuse treatment services.

Physical design of buildings, parks, and thoroughfares to reduce criminal opportunities.

Ethical codes of conduct for governmental officials.

These varied approaches to community crime prevention are based on the assumption that there is no single solution to the crime problem. Indeed, actions designed to combat one type of crime may have no impact on another. A methadone maintenance program, as an example, might be useful in preventing shoplifting by addicts but may have no significant effect on the murder rate. A streetlighting campaign may prevent auto theft and vandalism but may not reduce aggravated assault.

Similarly, one type of program may not be beneficial to all offenders. Alternative strategies must be designed to deal with particular cases—treatment programs for the addict and the alcoholic; special counseling for the young offender; and job training and placement for the unemployed offender.

The following synopsis of the Commission's *Report on Community Crime Prevention* focuses on three areas of activity outside the traditional criminal justice system that can contribute significantly to reducing serious, high-fear crime. These areas are citizen action, the delivery of public services, and the reduction of criminal opportunities. In a fourth and final area, integrity in government, the Commission presents recommendations for reducing another serious crime problem—official corruption.

CITIZEN ACTION

Action by private citizens is at the heart of community crime prevention.

Citizens can improve education, employment, and recreation; citizens can devise programs to reduce criminal opportunities by designing safer buildings; citizens can insure the integrity of elected and appointed officials.

In recent months, citizens in many communities have contributed directly to the prevention and reduction of crime by:

Conducting campaigns to improve streetlighting.

Serving as volunteers in probation departments or corrections institutions.

Providing employment and training for ex-offenders, disadvantaged young people, or ex-addicts.

Counseling young people on such diverse problems as drug abuse, alcohol, and family disputes.

Reporting crime to the police and serving as volunteers in neighborhood security programs.

No national inventory exists of the time and effort Americans freely give to others and to their communities. The Commission's staff, however, reviewed hundreds of accounts of successful citizen action projects reported in daily newspapers, magazines, professional newsletters, and scholarly journals. It followed up the most promising projects with hundreds of discussions with people who have knowledge and experience in these areas, and, in the case of several, with on-site visits. The staff also interviewed dozens of community leaders, some heading local efforts and others affiliated with national organizations such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, and the National Alliance for Safer Streets.

The Commission drew two important conclusions from its investigation. First private group activity specifically directed at preventing crime is increasing. Although no hard statistics are available, during the late 1960's and early 1970's hundreds of local projects emerged in communities across the country. Second, most citizen efforts are designed to complement, not supplant the existing operation of the criminal justice system. Although occasionally given wide publicity, extralegal vigilante efforts are not characteristic of most citizen crime prevention activity.

The benefits of responsible citizen action appear to be many. A community spirit often develops when neighbors join together to solve common problems. Volunteers frequently can provide more personal attention and care to a particular problem or individual than can a harried professional. Citizen involvement also can plug many holes in the delivery of needed community services that otherwise would be unavailable because of lack of funds, personnel, or other resources.

Citizen action crime prevention efforts often fall into three general areas: neighborhood security, volunteers in criminal justice, and multipurpose community improvement activities. Each of these types will be discussed below.

Neighborhood Security

In many communities the only response to crime has been a retreat behind locks, bars, alarms, and guards. Although these prophylactic measures may be steps in self-protection, they can lead to a lessening of the bonds of mutual assistance and neighborliness.

Other communities, however, have developed collective means of protection in addition to traditional self-protection measures. The principle behind neighborhood security efforts is group action to make blocks, apartments, streets, and parks safer from and less vulnerable to crime.

In some areas, citizens have banded together to report crimes in progress or suspicious activities in their neighborhoods. Organizations offer rewards to those reporting criminal activity or hold special crime prevention clinics to reduce robbery and burglary. Citizens have initiated campaigns to educate people to the seriousness of shoplifting or to give tips on preventing auto theft.

In Roxbury, Mass., residents joined a self-help program by signing house-watch contracts under which they agree to be alert to and report to police suspicious behavior in the neighborhood. To combat increased burglaries, thefts, and robberies in the area, they refused to buy or even tolerate the sale of stolen goods. They also marked belongings with social security numbers, so that stolen goods could be identified and returned. This evolving sense of community was in evidence in early 1972 when the planned opening of a bar by alleged organized crime elements was successfully opposed by the neighborhood.

Often the byproduct of group action is a heightened sense of security. Tenants in a New York City apartment building, for example, called a meeting in response to a series of burglaries. They not only resolved to watch out for each other but found that getting to know each other had enhanced their safety. As one tenant remarked, ". . . we now have friends to run to, not just faceless, nameless neighbors. . . . I know know when to be suspicious of people I pass in the halls and when to smile and say hello." [1]

Volunteer Programs in Courts and Corrections

While some citizen efforts are designed to increase the safety of persons and property or to prevent certain crimes, other efforts are aimed at strengthening agencies in the criminal justice system.

Perhaps the largest group of citizens assisting the system are volunteers who work in the courts or in corrections institutions. In the early 1960's, a few pioneer courts began to use volunteers to provide desperately needed probation services. The idea spread quickly and the national director of Volunteers in Probation estimates that today there are about 250,000 volunteers working in courts, prisons, and juvenile institutions. These volunteers, most of whom work individually with offenders, provide services and counseling not otherwise available.

Volunteers in San Diego County, Calif., contributed more than 30,000 hours of service to probationers in 1971; in Royal Oak, Mich., some 500 individuals furnished more than $250,000 a year in services on a $17,000 budget from the city. When probationers from Royal Oak were compared with probationers from a nonvolunteer court, it was found that Royal Oak probationers were less hostile and had substantially lower recidivism rates: approximately 15 percent of the Royal Oak probationers committed subsequent offenses, compared with nearly 50 percent of the other group.[2] Massachusetts, noting the success of these programs, has passed a law that requires the commissioner of probation in that State to initiate and develop volunteer programs.

Studying the court system is another effective citizen action approach. Groups of housewives, professionals, and businessmen have undertaken court-watching programs, studies of the pretrial process, or surveys of courtroom efficiency. Based on these studies, citizens have recommended more efficient methods of selecting judges, reducing court backlog, and improving juvenile care procedures.

The Washington, D.C., Pretrial Justice Program, for example, is concerned with practical alternatives to pretrial detention. Studies and reforms have been suggested to minimize the use of pretrial detention consistent with public safety. The group has helped those detained in jail by reporting and attempting to resolve cases of error and delay, and by securing the admission of some defendants into community programs. Other citizen groups have implemented projects to divert defendants from the criminal justice system at a point between arrest and trial, thereby reducing caseloads.

Citizens now are also a part of a substantial movement for correctional reform. Many citizen groups such as the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD) are concerned with educating the public and legislators to the potential benefits of work release programs, community-based corrections, and other diversion measures.

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[1] "The Cities Lock Up," *Life Magazine* (November 19, 1971), p. 32.
[2] National Institute of Mental Health, "Royal Oak, Michigan, Municipal Court Research Study," p. 3.

Citizen organizations are promoting correctional reforms by conducting jail studies, by informing others about the problems faced by offenders while in prison and after release, by encouraging the construction of halfway houses and community-based facilities, and by supporting reform legislation.

In one project, citizen volunteers inspect jails in Jefferson City, Mo., and report their findings to the county court. As a result, 12 antiquated jails have been closed; the citizens' group has recommended that they be replaced with new regional facilities.

Community Improvement

Successful citizen programs have been directed against the building blocks of crime—unemployment, substandard education, drug abuse, and inadequate or nonexistent recreational opportunities. Programs include encouraging dropouts to stay in school, tutoring students with learning problems, and offering alternative educational experiences such as street academies or vocational programs.

In Philadelphia, Pa., for example, the Urban Coalition has developed a vocational program for inner city youth. In this program, the business community and the school system cooperate to train a youth for a specific job in a specific industry. Other citizens counsel youths, establish scholarship funds, or work to familiarize students with the law.

Many businessmen have assumed responsibility for crime prevention by hiring disadvantaged youths and by employing ex-offenders. Some businesses have agreed to fill a certain percentage of their openings with the hard core unemployed. The JOBS program of the National Alliance of Businessmen has placed almost 1 million disadvantaged youths in businesses, unions, and industry.

The religious community, with its concern for human dignity and justice, has much to offer in crime prevention resources. Some congregations have contributed their buildings, facilities, and equipment for community programs, especially those for children and youth.

In Chicago, Ill., for example, an inner city parish has become over a period of years a service center to the entire community. A child care center and Head Start program in the church have helped neighborhood children through their preschool and school years, while also allowing mothers to obtain job training and employment in lieu of welfare assistance. A drug awareness center has been opened in the basement of the rectory, and sports and social activities are supervised in the parish community center.

There are also multipurpose citizen groups that become engaged in a wide variety of neighborhood security, criminal justice volunteer, and general community improvement activities.

In one example of effective citizen mobilization, the Indianapolis Crime Crusade has organized 80,000 women who have been instrumental in the return of more than 1,000 dropouts to school, formed a court-watching program, supported increases in police salaries, and, with the Jaycees, initiated a campaign for improved streetlighting.

In the area of government reform, the Better Government Association in Chicago, Ill., has investigated instances of waste and inefficiency, as well as corruption, in government. The group estimates that up to 60 percent of their investigations are effective and result in the passage of new laws changes in regulations, or indictments of corrupt officials. Group representatives claim that these investigations saved taxpayers up to $50 million in 1970.

The importance of citizen involvement at the neighborhood level is reflected in the 1974 New York City budget, which carries a $5 million proposal for a block security plan. Under the program, block associations and tenant groups would develop their own crime prevention plans and the city would provide the funds to implement them. Such support might involve direct funding, as in New York City, or it might mean making puplic facilities available for group meetings or providing public recognition for outstanding service to the community.

> The Commission recommends that every citizen contribute to local community crime prevention efforts. Government agencies should encourage and support citizen action programs to prevent and reduce crime. Existing community organizations should explore ways they can relate their activities to crime prevention.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS

Some of the problems faced by the criminal justice system can be alleviated to some degree by responsive action on the part of other segments of government.

Open, responsive governments can encourage citizen involvement in crime prevention. When citizens find government complex, confusing, and uninviting, a chasm can develop between city hall and the community. The burden of cutting through the red tape of an impersonal bureaucracy falls primarily on those most dependent on its services and least equipped to deal with its complexity—the elderly, the poor, the uneducated, those with language barriers, and minority and ethnic populations unfamiliar with governmental structures.

To maximize government responsiveness, the Commission recommends that government units open neighborhood offices and that local governments develop complaint centers. These programs, together with a greater flow of information, can bring the community together.

> City governments should establish neighborhood facilities, such as multiservice centers and "little city halls," to aid in dispensing government services and to improve communication between citizens and government agencies.

In this way citizens can receive effective services close to their homes with a minimum of bureaucratic red tape. A neighborhood center can help to convince citizens that government is concerned about their needs. The objective of decentralization are a more citizen-oriented service delivery system and increased citizen participation in government.

The concept of decentralized municipal services is not new. Since the late 1920's, branch city halls that provide most city services have been operating in Los Angeles, Calif., to reach more conveniently more than 40 subcommunities in the city.

Before community involvement in government process can become a reality, community members must be able to obtain information on which government decisions and programs are based. Informing citizens about the activities of the local government will help assure the public that the government is working in its best interest.

The Commission believes that local governments should provide access to such information by:

Enacting "right to know" laws that provide citizens with open and easy access to agency regulations.

Permitting local radio and television stations to cover official and public meetings on a regular basis.

Holding public hearings to acquire an understanding of the real concerns of the community.

An orderly and effective mechanism for general redress of citizen grievances will also bring local government closer to its citizens. Individual agencies often do not have the time or personnel to respond to complaints. In addition, citizens sometimes find bureaucracy so confusing they are unable to locate or identify the department that could help them. Citizens' attitudes toward government are adversely affected when local governments rely solely on haphazard procedures to respond to citizen complaints, and when there is no regular monitoring to insure the public is served adequately.

> Municipal governments should establish a central office of complaint and information to improve government effectiveness and to permit citizens to obtain information and direction on any problem with a minimum of "red tape."

The Commission also proposes the establishment of mass media action line programs that will assist government officials to respond to citizen requests and complaints. Direct exchange can allow the public to become familiar with city officials and to gain insight into the complexities of government processes. It also will help insure greater accountability to the public of elected and appointed officials.

The remoteness of government and a declining sense of community have been noted as two significant characteristics of urban America. They are undoubtedly linked, but they need not become permanent conditions. There are signs of a renewed interest among citizens in the problems—including crime—of their cities and towns. A responsive government can help sustain this interest.

DELIVERY OF PUBLIC SERVICES

The need to deliver all public services in a comprehensive fashion is becoming increasingly apparent in urban areas. Education, employment, health, sanitation, and criminal justice agencies frequently have found themselves addressing mere

segments of larger problems. An illustration of the fact that social ills rarely occur in isolation comes from the Model Cities Program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. What follows is a profile of a 1970 neighborhood typical of many depressed areas in cities and towns across the country.

Unemployment in the low-income model neighborhood (MN) is 6.2 percent, compared with 3.4 percent for the entire city. Ten of the 11 schools in the target area have mental maturity, reading, and arithmetic norms one and two grades below the national average. The high school dropout rate is 16 percent, compared with 9 percent for the school system as a whole. Only 4 percent of the model area housing is "standard." Existence of outside toilets attests to primitive conditions.

Overcrowding is characteristic in the model neighborhood. Since 1960, the population has increased but the number of housing units has decreased. The target area has only three supervised playgrounds with a combined area of 2.6 acres. Thus 5.9 percent of the total city-supervised playground area serves 15 percent of the city's population. There are 8 miles of unpaved streets and sidewalks in the MN, in sharp contrast to the historic section of the city, with its beautiful old buildings and well-kept parks and gardens.

Health conditions in the MN are below the city and county rates. In 1968, infant mortality rates per 100,000 persons were 42.5 in the county and 60 in the MN; tuberculosis rates were 42 in the county and 105 in the MN; infectious syphilis rates were 27.6 in the county and 115 in the MN.

Dependence on public welfare is heavy, yet few social service agencies are located within the MN or have outreach services there. Residents complain of inadequate coordination between the public and private agencies that provide social services.

Finally, life in the target area is threatened by a high incidence of crime. With only 15 percent of the population, the MN experiences 33 percent of the homicides and rapes and 27 percent of the felonious assaults. Juvenile delinquency, as represented by the number of arrests, is also high. The arrest rate of persons under 18 years of age in the target area is 48.2 per 1,000, compared with 33.8 per 1,000 for the whole city.

As the Model City example suggests, public services are not always adequate to meet the pressing needs of many individuals. Those in need of public services are likely to have multiple problems: youths involved in crime are often dropouts and unemployed; a drug-dependent person may require not only medical treatment, but employment counseling and skill training as well.

In some neighborhoods important services are simply not available or are severely deficient. Low income areas often suffer while middle- and upper-class neighborhoods receive a high level of service.

> The Commission believes municipal services should be allocated to neighborhoods on the basis of need.

Achieving this end will require the expenditure of sufficient funds to maintain equally effective services in all areas of the city or jurisdiction. Also needed is a means of coordinating existing social, medical, and rehabilitative services so that persons may be treated comprehensively.

Social Service Delivery Mechanisms: Youth Services Bureaus

In addition to the equitable delivery of services, there is a need for coordinating existing social, medical, and rehabilitative services. Efforts must be made to develop comprehensive service delivery systems that avoid wasteful duplication, open lines of communication to the community, and better assist individual clients through a coordinated delivery of services to arrive at their best functioning level. One of the most important examples of comprehensive services delivery is the youth services bureau.

These bureaus in large part were the result of a recommendation by the 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, which urged communities to establish them to serve both delinquent and nondelinquent youth referred by police, juvenile courts, schools, and other sources. The bureaus were to act as central coordinating units for all community services for young people.

A national census in 1972 identified 150 youth services bureaus in operation in many States and territories. In the absence of national standards, local youth services bureaus have developed according to the needs and pressures of each community.[3]

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[3] William Underwood, *A National Study of Youth Service Bureaus*, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration (December 1972).

In most localities, however, the youth services bureau, at a minimum, is a link between available resources and youth in need. It first identifies services and resources in the community and then refers clients to an agency that can provide the required services. Social services made available might include employment, job training, education, housing, medical care, family counseling, psychiatric care, or welfare.

Once a young person has been directed to another agency, the youth services bureau follows up to assure that adequate services are being provided. The bureau acts as a services broker, matching the young person with the service he or she needs. When services are not available through governmental or volunteer sources, they may be purchased from private agencies or independent professionals.

In Worcester, Mass., for example, coordination of services for individual youths is taking place through case conferences. Representatives of all agencies involved with a young person meet to gain a complete view of the youth's problems and to develop a comprehensive plan to meet his needs. In some instances, the youth or the youth and his parent attend the case conference. In order to strengthen the youth's responsibility, he is encouraged to contribute to the decisions that will affect him. After the youth is referred to another agency, the bureau systematically follows up to assure that services are being provided.

Specialized services often are needed to help a child and to keep him out of trouble with the law. A child might need services that are not available in the community, such as an alternative educational experience, career training, drug treatment, a group residence, or psychiatric services. It is frequently the responsibility of the youth services bureau to identify these gaps in service and to promote the development of needed resources.

The Youth Development Service in Billings, Mont., as an example, provides little direct service to youth. Instead, it brings agencies together to develop community priorities, to eliminate service duplication, and to redirect resources when current projects are inappropriate. The Youth Advocacy Program in South Bend, Ind., attempts to influence youth-serving agencies to develop innovative programs. Field workers are assigned to five agencies—the recreation department, schools, a family and child agency, city government, and Model Cities—with the task of making them more responsive to youth.

Youth services bureaus sometimes provide specific services themselves when the services are not easily available through other public or private agencies. A number of bureaus, for example, provide temporary shelter for runaways. In Los Angeles County, Calif., the Basset Youth Service Bureau sponsors a free clinic in conjunction with other community groups, staffed primarily with volunteers. The clinic includes a counseling center in addition to an outpatient medical clinic. Venereal diseases, unwanted pregnancies, and drug use are the most frequently treated medical problems.

Clients come to youth services bureaus from a variety of sources. Individuals may be referred to bureaus by schools or other community agencies, or young people may come to the bureau on their own seeking help. The police and juvenile court can also be major sources of referrals. A nationwide sample of more than 400 cases from 28 youth services bureaus showed that 13 percent of the referrals were from law enforcement; 30 percent were referred by self, friend, or family; and the remainder were referred by schools and other public and private agencies.[4] (See Youth Services Bureau Chart.)

Enough information has now been gathered on existing youth services bureaus for the Commission to recommend that bureaus be established in communities experiencing serious youth problems. Each year a vast number of young people become involved in the justice system for acts that are not crimes for adults: incorrigibility, truancy, running away, and even stubbornness. In addition, many youths are processed through the juvenile justice system for minor offenses that are neither recurring nor a serious threat to the community. Such behavior is often an indication that a young person needs special attention, but not necessarily punitive treatment.

Many of what are now considered delinquency or predelinquency problems should be redefined as family, educational, or welfare problems and diverted from the juvenile justice system. Such diversions can relieve overburdened probation offices and courts and allow them to concentrate on offenders that need serious attention. In addition, diversion through youth services bureaus can avoid the unnecessary "delinquent" label that frequently accompanies involvement with the juvenile court.

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[4] *Ibid.*

Unfortunately, existing youth services bureaus have been underutilized as a diversionary resource by law enforcement. In many communities, police seldom refer young people to community agencies. In 31 interviews with juvenile officers in one large metropolitan area, fully one quarter of the officers could name no community resources and only two of the 31 used direct referral practices. Some police agencies have a policy of no diversion—all arrested juveniles are processed in the system.[5]

Youth services bureaus should make a particular effort to attract the diversionary referrals from the juvenile justice system. At the same time, law enforcement agencies and courts should make policy changes that would allow for the diversion of every juvenile who is not an immediate threat to public safety and who voluntarily accepts referral to a youth services bureau.

The Youth Service Project in San Antonio, Tex., provides an example of how an administrative policy change is bringing about diversion in that city. The police chief has ordered his officers to deliver to one of the three neighborhood youth centers in the city juveniles picked up for such offenses as glue or paint sniffing, liquor violations, and running away.

Accessibility of the bureaus' offices to law enforcement is another asset in encouraging diversion. Until recently, the Youth Service Bureau of Greensboro, Inc., in Greensboro, N.C., was across the street from the police department. Not only did this enable bureau staff to pick up "paper referrals" each day from the police department, but it also increased understanding between the police department's juvenile officers and the bureau staff during the youth services bureau's developmental stages.

Legislation is another means of overcoming the reluctance of law enforcement and court personnel to utilize diversionary alternatives. Legislation accompanied by State funding also would increase awareness of the youth services bureau concept and could stimulate the creation of bureaus in the less affluent and less powerful communities of each State.

> Each State should enact enabling legislation that encourages local establishment of youth services bureaus throughout the State and that provides partial funding for them. Legislation also should be enacted to mandate the use of youth services bureaus as a voluntary diversion resource by agencies of the juvenile justice system.
>
> To avoid misunderstanding, criteria for referrals should be developed jointly and specified in writing by law enforcement, courts, and youth services bureau personnel.

Diversion can take place only if there is cooperation and communication between concerned parties.

In California, some of the criteria presently considered by juvenile justice agencies in diverting youth to youth services bureaus include: nonprobation status, first offense, age, minor offense that does not threaten the public safety, residence in that project area, cooperative attitude toward voluntary referral, and the need for additional services the bureau can provide.

In a few communities, what masquerades as a youth services bureau is actually a field office for probation surveillance. Where probation services are particularly limited, court referrals ordering youths to participate in the bureau's programs may seem to be an expeditious alternative. But such action negates the role of the bureau as a program in which young people participate by choice. The bureau becomes part of the traditional enforcement machinery by deciding, in effect, whether or not a youth must be returned to juvenile court. Thus, the stigma of a coercive officially mandated service remains, without the legal safeguards currently emerging in the justice system itself.

> Referrals to the youth services bureau should be completed only if they are voluntarily accepted by the youth. Youths should not be forced to choose between bureau referral and further justice system processing.

In making this recommendation, the Commission departs from the original recommendation of the President's Crime Commission. In its report, that Commission said that the youth services bureau could be vested with the authority to refer back to court within 30 to 60 days "those with whom it cannot deal effectively."

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[5] Malcolm W. Klein, "Issues in Police Diversion of Juvenile Offenders: A Guide for Discussion" (unpublished paper, University of Southern California), pp. 7, 16.

Such a practice can result in an extension of control over the youth by community institutions, without providing the legal safeguards of the justice system. Sherwood Norman, writing in *The Youth Service Bureau: A Key to Delinquency Prevention*, stated that to refer to court upon a young person's failure to cooperate ". . . would be a clear indication to him that the youth services bureau was not a voluntary agency but rather part of the justice system and therefore coercive."

The essence of any social service delivery system is the marshaling of resources in a coordinated way to bring clients to the best functioning level. As stated earlier, the youth services bureau provides a useful model for delivery of service systems which should be applied to adults as well as young persons.

Employment

There is a definite association between unemployment or underemployment, and crime. Some individuals who cannot find satisfactory jobs or who are discriminated against in the labor market will turn to illegal activity as a source of income. The President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia in 1965 found that of adult offenders surveyed, 60 percent had no history of regular employment at the time of arrest and the majority, whether employed or not, were in unskilled occuaptions. Among the offenders about whom income information was available, 69 percent earned less than $3,000 annually and 90 percent earned less than $5,000.[6]

A 1972 study comparing national youth arrest rates, unemployment rates, and labor-force participation rates over 2 decades concluded that lack of employment opportunities among white and black youths was a key factor in generating property crime.[7]

Assisting those with severe employment problems is, in the Commissions' judgment, an important way to prevent crime. As in other areas, particular attention must be given to programs for young persons. Unemployment among young people became gradually more serious during the 1960's. In 1960, the unemployment rate for teenagers aged 16 to 19 was three and one-third times the adult rate; in 1971, it was more than four times the adult rate.[8] The problem is even more critical among minority youths in cities. In 1971 the unemployment rate among nonwhite teenagers aged 16 to 19 in low income urban areas was 38 percent compared with an overall unemployment rate for all teenagers of 16.9 percent.[9]

Ex-offenders are another group that has traditionally experienced difficulties in the labor market, particularly in periods of rising unemployment. Evidence from manpower programs suggests that in slack labor markets, training, placement, and job development tend to be less effective than when there are many unfilled jobs. In the Manhattan Court Employment Project, which has continued up to the present time, placements have dropped from 270 in the first year to 135 in the third, even though, judging by placements per referral, efforts have apparently improved. The problem is that fewer employers are willing to talk to or hire ex-offenders as long as qualified candidates without criminal records are available.

It is increasingly doubtful that the private sector alone can provide enough jobs to produce satisfactory changes in unemployment rates among urban youths and ex-offenders. Even in the best of times, meaningful public employment will be needed if the chronically unemployed are to be put to work.

> The Commission urges expanded public employment programs in areas of high unemployment. Programs should offer full-time, part-time, and summer employment.

Most likely, these programs will require joint cooperation and funding from two or more levels of government. There are a number of different public employment strategies whose adoption depends upon community priorities: transitional jobs that would serve as stepping stones to permanent jobs in the public sector; permanent jobs that would provide a program of education, experience, and training needed for advancement; temporary job slots for offenders immediately after their release from confinement; and jobs that would serve as an alternative to incarceration for misdemeanants.

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[6] *Report of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia* (1966), pp. 127, 130.
[7] Llad Phillips, Harold L. Votey, Jr., and Darold Maxwell, "Crime, Youth and the Labor Market," *Journal of Political Economy* (May/June 1972), pp. 491-504.
[8] *Manpower Report of the President*, U.S. Department of Labor (March 1972), p. 79.
[9] *Manpower Report of the President*, U.S. Department of Labor (March 1972), Table 1, p. 78, and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 93rd edition (1972), Table 356, p. 223.

In the private sector, the Commission urges employers and unions to institute or accelerate efforts to expand job or membership opportunities to the economically and educationally disadvantaged. Various employment approaches could include work-study programs, summer and after-school employment, and job training and development for out-of-school, youths.

In its *Report on Community Crime Prevention*, the Commission notes outstanding examples of private initiative. One of the most successful summer programs was developed by the Philadelphia Urban Coalition's High School Academy in 1970 and repeated in the summer of 1971. This effort provided work for students under 17 who were too young to get regular summer jobs. Under the auspices of the Urban Coalition and with the assistance of Junior Achievement, the students formed their own company, the Edison Electric Shop. The youths earned $1.75 an hour, and functioned under their own management with the help of a teacher-director, whose salary was paid by the Coalition.

Youth for Service in San Francisco, Calif., developed jobs for inner city youth by contracting with urban development and community action programs to build, repair, and maintain mini-parks in the blighted areas of the city. A similar group in Chicago, Ill., is running a food store, a boutique, a paper recycling program, and a restaurant.

The success of public and private efforts to expand employment opportunities depends to a large extent on general economic conditions. The close relationship between poverty area unemployment and national economic conditions suggests that a high national employment rate is essential if inner city unemployment is to be reduced. From 1968 through 1971 unemployment rates in urban poverty areas dipped below 5.5 percent only twice,[10] a level that most economists and politicians decry as unacceptable. At both times the national unemployment rate was around 3.5 percent.[11] The increase from 3.5 percent total unemployment at the end of 1969 to 5.9 percent in 1971 was accompanied by a rise in urban poverty area unemployment from 5.5 to 9.7 percent.[12]

> The Commission recommends that economic policy be concentrated on maintaining aggregate employment at a high level. The Commission believes that the ultimate goal of such policy should be to assure that the unemployment rate in poverty areas is no greater than the national rate.

Consideration must also be given to changing credit, taxation, and expenditure policies that may have an impact on unemployment.

Criminal Records and Employment

Surveys estimate that approximately 25 percent of the national population may have nontraffic arrest records. The chances that a black male from an urban area will be arrested have been estimated at from 50 to 90 percent.[13]

There is little doubt that arrest records are a barrier to employment. In the private sector, few firms exclude former offenders as a blanket policy, but often selection criteria tend to have this effect in practice.

In a survey in New York City, 75 percent of the employment agencies contacted said they would not recommend an individual with an arrest record, regardless of the disposition of the charges against him.[14]

Barriers to employment are at least as forbidding in the public sector as they are in the private sector. Most States, counties, and cities ask questions about prior arrest records when hiring. Few of the applications state that a record does not automatically bar the applicant. Civil service statutes that govern hiring often use language that could be and apparently is grounds to exclude large numbers of individuals with mere arrest records.[15]

Responses from employers indicate that employees with criminal records are not different from other employees. Agencies in a national survey were asked whether employees with criminal records were better than, the same as, or worse than other employees in each of eight categories: punctuality, attendance, honesty, judgement, initiative, cooperativeness, accuracy, and industriousness. There was

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[10] Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, *Handbook of Labor Statistics—1971*, p. 104, and *Handbook of Labor Statistics—1972*, p. 113. The poverty neighborhood classification used is based on a ranking of census facts according to 1960 data on income education, skills, housing, and a proportion of broken homes. The poorest one-fifth of these tracts are considered poverty neighborhoods.

[11] *Handbook of Labor Statistics—1970*, p. 125.

[12] *Handbook of Labor Statistics—1972*, pp. 113, 129.

[13] Herbert S. Miller, *The Closed Door* (prepared for the U.S. Department of Labor, February 1972), p. 147.

[14] Albert G. Hess and F. Le Poole, "Abuse of the Record of Arrest Not Leading to Conviction," *Journal of Research on Crime and Delinquency* (1967).

[15] Miller, *The Closed Door*, pp. 4, 6, 7.

little difference between employees with criminal records and other employees. What little difference there was in the reports was favorable toward employees with records.[16]

The Commission's standards on information systems (see Chapter 3) prohibit the dissemination of criminal records to private employers, provide for the return of arrest records of individuals not convicted of a crime, and direct the purging of criminal records after certain periods of time.

> To eliminate arbitrary barriers to employment, legislation should be enacted prohibiting employers from inquiring about an applicant's criminal history after records have been purged or returned.

Government civil service regulations, moreover, should specify that no person can be barred automatically from taking a civil service test because of a criminal record.

Education

Schools are the first public agencies that most children contact. For this reason, the schools inevitably have been proposed as vehicles for the solution of a host of public problems including the problem of crime. In making its recommendations, the Commission is well aware of crushing demands already placed upon local schoolteachers, principals, and school boards.

Nevertheless, individuals sometimes come to the attention of the criminal justice system because the educational system has not met their personal needs. The fact that the public schools have not helped a large portion of young people is reflected in high youth unemployment rates and high droupout rates.Twenty percent of those who now enter grade five leave before high school graduation, and only 28.7 percent of 1971 high school graduates went on to college. Yet 80 percent of the effort in schools is structured to meet college entry requirements.[17] Too often classroom instruction is not related to life outside. Undoubtedly many of the 850,000 students who left elementary and secondary schools in 1970 and 1971 did so because they felt their educational experiences were irrelevant.[18]

The Commission believes that the primary goal of American education should be to prepare and interest people in satisfying and useful careers.

> Schools should plan programs that will guarantee that every child leaving school can obtain either a job or acceptance to an advanced program of studies, regardless of the time he leaves the formal school setting.

The San Mateo, Calif., school district, for example, formally accepts responsibility for insuring that students are employable whenever they choose to leave school—whether as dropouts from the 10th grade or with advanced degrees.

If schools are going to make guarantees of this kind there must be a shift to career education. In career education programs, instruction is related to the world of work and opportunities are provided to explore or receive training in a career. Career education may begin in first grade or earlier and continue beyond high school graduation. It should bring an awareness to students of the wide range of jobs in American society and the roles and requirements involved.

The Seattle, Wash., public school system has a prototype career education program that offers occupational information to students at all grade levels, from kindergarten to grade 12, and integrates materials into every subject of the curriculum. Another program inverts the curriculum. Students choose preparatory trade areas as electives, staying in each long enough to become oriented to the occupation, explore it, or be trained in it. A core of general education courses—communications and humanities—accompanies the program.

A significant approach to career education is a cooperative education program, Project 70,001, operating since 1969 in Wilmington, Del. The program provides on-the-job work experience and related classroom instruction to students unable to participate in or benefit from regular programs of education and training. Similar programs have been started in Dover, Del.; Harrisburg, Pa.; Kansas City, Mo.; and Hartford, Conn. The Wilmington project combines the efforts and re-

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[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

[17] Statistical data abstracted from: (1) Kenneth B. Hoyt, R. Evans, Edward Mackin, and Garth Mangum, *Career Education: What It Is and How to Do It* (Olympus Publishing Co., 1972); (2) U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—Office of Education Materials; and (3) U.S. Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States—1972*.

[18] National School Public Relations Association, "Dropouts: Prevention and Rehabilitation" (Washington: NSPRA, 1972), p. 3.

sources of a large shoe manufacturer, the Distributive Education Clubs of America, the Delaware Department of Public Instruction, and the Wilmington Public Schools.

In the Education chapter of the Commission's Report on Community Crime Prevention, additional approaches designed to make school systems more responsive to the individual student are recommended.

> Varied alternative educational experiences should be provided to students who cannot benefit from classroom instruction. School counseling and other supportive services should be available. There should be bilingual programs for young people who are not fluent in English. There should be a guarantee of functional literacy to every student who does not have serious emotional, physical, or mental problems.

Aside from fulfilling the primary objective of preparing young people for adult life, school systems may also contribute to community crime prevention by serving as centers for community activities. The traditional school operating 5 days a week for 39 weeks a year is an unaffordable luxury. Schools can become total community opportunity centers for the young and the old, operating virtually around the clock, 365 days a year.

In Flint, Mich., schools are used for a wide variety of community services: adult education and retraining; recreation and counseling; civic meetings; health clinics; YMCA, YWCA, Boy and Girl Scouts, Big and Little Brother activities; job counseling and placement; senior citizen activities; and parent aid in developing curriculums. Members of the community are represented by a neighborhood council that advises the school and expresses the desires of the residents. There are 92,000 people per week using schools after hours; 80,000 adults enroll in classes each year. The accessibility of the school and the wide variety of programs offered there have greatly increased citizen involvement in the community. Special programs for men and women in trouble with the law have been tremendously successful in Flint schools. Among the total population, there are indications of decreasing rates of juvenile crime, dropping out of high school, and parole recidivism.

The Flint experience and others like it provide positive examples of the multipurpose use of educational facilities. The Commission urges authorities to make schools available to all citizens as centers for community involvement and adult education.

Drug Abuse Treatment and Prevention

During the past decade, the nonmedical use of drugs by increasing numbers of people has become an urgent problem. In addition to the familiar alcohol and nicotine, doctors, researchers, and criminal justice professionals have had to become better acquainted with other types of drugs—amphetamines, heroin and other narcotics, barbiturates, hallucinogens, and antidepressants.

A link between some drugs, particularly heroin, and criminal behavior does exist, although many myths and inaccuracies surround that link. Drug abuse does not automatically cause crime. Many heroin or multidrug users were involved with crime before drug use and would continue their illegal activities whether addicted or not. Many recent heroin-dependent persons have grown up in a subculture in which both criminal and addict lifestyles are common. Crime and addiction can be two sides of the same coin.

The National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse in 1973 reported that recent estimates on the daily cost of supporting a heroin habit range from $20 to $100, fluctuating accordingly to availability and location. Assuming that a heroin dependent person had a daily habit of $20, the cost of his habit could amount to $7,300 per year.

It seems relatively safe to assume that most addicts cannot support their habits without supplementing their income through illegal means since judging from available evidence, cited by the National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse, a majority of heroin-dependent persons have below-average incomes.

This illegal activity usually takes the form of property crime—primarily burglary and shoplifting—rather than crimes against persons. Pimping, prostitution, and drug dealing are also major sources of income for heroin-dependent individuals.

To combat drug-related criminal activity, communities must take steps to prevent further drug abuse or addiction and to offer treatment to those individuals already involved with drugs.

> The Commission urges the establishment of multimodality drug treatment systems that would provide a comprehensive range of services in communities with a significant number of drug abusers.

Nonmedical drug use involves different kinds of people who are drug-dependent in varying degrees and ways, who live in a variety of cultural settings, and who use drugs for different reasons. A multimodality approach enables the drug abuser or user to be treated in a program suited to his individual needs so that he may regain his position as a functioning member of society. Some of the recommended elements of multimodality treatment systems include crisis intervention and drug emergency centers, methadone treatment programs, therapeutic communities, and narcotics antagonist programs.

The Commission does not recommend the inclusion of heroin maintenance in a multimodality treatment system. After careful consideration, the Commission has concluded that heroin maintenance is a potentially harmful method of treatment both to the individual and to society as a whole.

Modality: Crisis Intervention Centers

Basic to any system of care are the lifesaving, hospital-based emergency room forms of service designed to treat overdoses, toxic drug reactions, transient psychotic episodes, and severe withdrawal illness. These centers, located in a hospital or community clinic, should offer both medical aid and psychological services, such as hotline telephone help and various types of counseling.

Modality: Methadone Treatment Programs

Methadone is a synthetic narcotic that is being distributed to an estimated 80,000 of this country's several hundred thousand heroin addicts. When administered in maintenance doses, methadone permits some chronic compulsive heroin users to become law-abiding, productive members of society. Opportunities can be provided to addicts to withdraw completely from methadone maintenance when they have made a satisfactory adjustment to a heroin-free existence and when they express a desire to end all involvement with drugs.

Methadone treatment has passed through a phase during which many observers felt it represented the solution to the heroin problem. However, a more moderate position seems to be indicated at present. The rate of those retained in treatment was once thought to be as high as 80 percent or more, but studies over a period of time indicate it actually approaches 50 percent.

High-dose methadone maintenance, nevertheless, is viewed today as an important treatment method for heroin addicts. It retains in treatment, on a voluntary basis, a much larger percentage of patients than other approaches. Evaluations performed on individuals undergoing methadone maintenance indicate that their rearrest record is low and that, in time, significant numbers find their way back to employment, school, or training.

Modality: Therapeutic Communities Staffed in Part with Ex-addicts

Therapeutic communities are drug-free environments in which the drug user is treated as an underdeveloped, immature personality. The existence of a community prepared to accept or reject the individual is at the core of the process. Banishment from this "family" group is a severe punishment.

Therapeutic community treatment is generally a less successful approach than methadone maintenance but one that may be effective for certain individuals. The treatment is wholly free of drugs and is often demanding and difficult. Few individuals "graduate" into self-sufficiency outside the therapeutic community. Residents are expected to remain in the community for extended periods of time ranging from 18 months to 2 years or more. In many program settings, there are no nonaddict representatives establishing limits or rules of conduct. Rather, participants are confronted by ex-addicts who themselves abstained from further drug use. In cases in which primary responsibility for operating the program does rest with ex-addicts and paraprofessional staff, the Commission believes that backup services of psychiatrists, teachers, and employment specialists should also be readily available.

Modality: Narcotics Antagonist Programs

When taken in adequate amounts, narcotics antagonists such as cyclazocine and naloxone block the effects of heroin and other narcotic drugs. Although some success with narcotics antagonists has been achieved, it has been with relatively small numbers of patients. Many of the drugs used as antagonists produce undesirable side effects. Cyclazocine, a long-acting antagonist first used in 1966, is not well received by many narcotics addicts who complain they feel uncomfortable while taking the drug. In addition, patients are able to interrupt its use for a day in order to experience the euphoric effects of heroin. Naloxone, another drug utilized, has few side effects, but its short duration of action has limited its usefulness.

A major effort is now underway to find a safe long-acting antagonist. Should such research be successful, a much more extensive use of antagonists in treatment will be possible than now is the case. The Commission does not necessarily endorse the narcotics antagonist concept, but only recommends that this concept be considered and carefully evaluated as one more potential element of a multimodality approach.

Modality: Variations in Treatment Approach

Communities might also consider variations in the four treatment approaches discussed above. For example, they might consider low-dosage methadone programs, or closed or open residential centers and halfway houses. A closed facility provides a therapeutic environment in which addicts can live free of their drug use and with the help of constraints while an open facility operates without physical and other restraints.

Compulsory Drug Treatment

Many drug-dependent individuals live from day to day, experience one crisis after another, and are unable to relate to any kind of treatment on a voluntary basis. Probation, deferred prosecution, and civil commitment all can and are used to structure compulsory treatment for such individuals. When compulsory treatment is indicated, individuals should be assigned to a coordinating body that is capable of making appropriate treatment decisions. Courts should be encouraged to rely on these coordinating committees through statutory action or through procedural means. Due process should always be assured. Compulsory treatment by deferred prosecution, probation, or civil commitment need not be equated with institutional confinement. Rather, all possible treatment options should remain open and existing public and community resources, including private treatment agencies, should be brought to bear on the treatment process.

Drug Abuse Prevention

In addition to treatment modalities, the Commission also recognizes the importance of drug abuse prevention. Past prevention efforts, however, often have been misdirected. Scare tactics have been used to stress the dangers of durg use. These efforts were discredited by many young people who had tried one or more drugs, and who find antidrug representations not substantiated by their own experiences. Prevention programs frequently failed to point out that each individual will respond to a drug in a different way, depending on such factors as the amount taken and the frequency of use.

The Commission believes that each community should implement a carefully designed program to prevent drug abuse. When information on drugs is misrepresented to young people, it can often discredit an entire prevention effort.

> Drug education should begin in the home before the child enters school. Teachers in the school should receive special training in drug education and prevention. Programs also should concentrate on helping the individual solve the problems that led him to durg use and should provide him with constructive alternatives.

The Commission urges that effective drug abuse prevention programs be established. Such programs should present information objectively on drugs and drug abuse.

Coordinating Prevention and Treatment Efforts

> Both prevention and treatment activities should be coordinated through a central State agency and local coordinating agencies.

These agencies should assume responsibility for setting priorities for delivery of services, avoiding duplication, and determining the extent to which funded programs are effective. Basic standards on training, staffing, administration, and programing also should be adopted by such agencies. Coordinating agencies should work closely with the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, the Federal agency charged with overall responsibility for Federal drug abuse prevention programs.

REDUCING CRIMINAL OPPORTUNITY

An important assumption throughout the delivery of services section is that the provision of lawful alternatives to crime—satisfying employment and drug abuse treatment, for example—will persuade some persons to abandon or avoid criminal careers. But as this chapter emphasized at the outset, it is unrealistic to expect an improved delivery of service strategy to be effective in all cases. The

Commission believes that protective measures taken by public authorities, commercial establishments, and private homeowners can also play an important role in deterring criminals.

Of all the things a citizen or community can do to reduce crime, the most immediate and most direct approach is to eliminate obvious opportunities for criminals. Locked cars, well-lighted streets, alarm systems, and properly designed and secure housing make crime, particularly acquisitive crimes such as larceny, burglary, auto theft, and robbery, more difficult to commit.

The following section contains the Commission's general recommendations for security precautions that can be taken by both individuals and public officials.

Building Design

The physical design of residential complexes and housing can increase or decrease the probability that crime will occur. A housing complex designed so that all areas may be easily and frequently observed by tenants, passers-by, and police patrols can discourage criminal behavior. On the other hand, elevators, fire stairs, and underground parking garages that are hidden from public view easily mask the activities of unlawful intruders.

In *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Jane Jacobs describes the loneliness and apprehension that large, anonymous housing projects evoke in many city dwellers:

> The corridors of the usual high rise low income housing buildings are like corridors in a bad dream: creepily lit, narrow, smelly, blind. They feel like traps and they are. These traps are what people mean when they say, time and again, "Where can we go? Not to a project! I have children, I have young daughters . . ."[19]

In a recent book, partially funded by LEEA and entitled, *Defensible Space*, Oscar Newman has identified spatial arrangements that improve the security of buildings by opening certain areas to public view. He recommends that: (1) semipublic areas such as stairways and halls be visible to residents and passers-by; (2) front entrances be positioned along the street; (3) lobbies be well lit and designed so that all activity is visible from the street; (4) semiprivate areas such as paths and hallways be easily seen by tenants from apartment windows; and (5) elevators be monitored with electronic surveillance devices.

Newman's findings confirm the beliefs of those who fear massive housing complexes. Public housing projects with more than 1,000 units and seven or more stories were found to have crime rates almost one and one-half times higher than similar projects with less than 1,000 units and fewer than seven stories.[20] Newman also found that feelings of anonymity and lack of community pervade many large projects.

There are, however, positive actions that can be taken to make even the largest projects safe. By subdividing the interiors of these buildings (so that certain stairways and halls serve only small groups of families), small social groups are formed whose members jointly maintain and survey this shared area. Small walkup or garden apartments that are subdivided this way have lower crime rates.

Unfortunately, most public housing is planned and designed without considering the security system that should be built in. The placement of elevators, doors, or windows, or the installation of locks and burglar-resistant glass can be costly once a building is constructed. Many architects and physical planners are not aware of crime prevention construction techniques, and the information and experiences available through law enforcement agencies are rarely utilized.

> Law enforcement agencies, criminal justice planners, and professions involved in architectural design and physical planning should coordinate their efforts to reduce criminal opportunity through improved design of buildings, thoroughfares, parks, and other public places.

Security Codes

Many communities are attempting to reduce residential and commercial burglaries by adopting security codes or by revising building codes to include security measures. The usual approach is to set specification standards for security devices and hardware in terms of specific styles and materials to be used. Thus a code might prescribe the thickness of a door or the type and design of locks. The materials and devices specified by such standards frequently become

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[19] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, as quoted in the Rand Institute, *Improving Public Safety in Urban Apartment Dwellings: Security Concepts and Experimental Design for New York City Housing Authority Buildings* (Rand: 1971), p. 105.

[20] Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space* (Macmillan, 1972), p. 28.

obsolete as better products are developed. Such codes also provide little incentive to manufacturers to develop better products. They divert attention from what security devices can accomplish to how they are made.

> Security requirements should be included in building codes and stated in terms of effectiveness, not design.

The test of lock systems, for example, would not be their construction, but the degree of force and the length of time needed to overcome particular systems.

The formulation of these requirements or standards should be primarily the task of building, fire, and public safety departments. There should also be consultation with community criminal justice planners, transportation and sanitation departments, architectural firms, and proprietors.

At this writing, California is considering statewide standards for buildings. The standards would be based on performance and effectiveness of security hardware rather than design. [21]

Lighting

Reports from a number of urban cities and counties generally support the use of lighting as one means of achieving safe streets.

In St. Louis, Mo., as an example, a program of improved streetlighting was initiated in 1964. The first area completed involved the downtown business district, which consists of large department stores, brokerage firms, investment companies, and comparable business establishments.

In a comparison of crime in 1963, the last full year before improvements, and in 1965, the first full year after improvements, it was found that crimes against persons in the improved lighting area decreased by 40.8 percent. Auto thefts decreased by 28.6 percent and business burglaries decreased by 12.8 percent.[22]

Other reports of crime reductions associated with improved streetlighting have come from New York City, Detroit, Mich., and Washington, D.C. Proponents of streetlighting argue that it deters would-be criminals and increases the chances that actual offenders will be seen, recognized, and apprehended. Streetlighting also reportedly encourages nighttime use of the streets, itself an important deterrent to street crime.

Even the most enthusiastic advocates of streetlighting, however, admit a need for further evaluation and research. Factors such as police patrol levels, displacement of criminal activity, and seasonal change must be taken into account in rigorous studies so that the advantages and disadvantages of lighting will be more completely known.

> On the basis of available evidence, the Commission recommends that units of local government consider the establishment of improved streetlighting programs in high crime areas.

The wishes of the residents and property owners should be considered at the outset of such programs and the experiences of comparable jurisdictions should be reviewed before such programs are begun.

Other Considerations

In addition to security measures already mentioned in this chapter, other measures such as alarms and intruder detection devices, legislation to aid police in tracing stolen cars, anti-shoplifting programs, and multimedia campaigns to encourage motorists to lock their cars must be considered.

One problem common to many measures designed to reduce criminal opportunities is that of the displacement of crime or the "mercury effect." Simply put, this term refers to the shifting of criminal activity from relatively secure high-risk areas to unprotected low-risk areas. Skeptics of the usefulness of security measures argue that they merely move criminals around, rather than reduce crime. There are two responses to such arguments. First, many crimes are crimes of opportunity; locking cars and removing keys can prevent spontaneous joyriding; secure doors and windows will discourage the casual burglar. Second, criminals are not infinitely mobile; their area of operations can extend just so far before robberies, thefts, and burglaries become less profitable and not worth the trouble or risk.

The Commission is persuaded that systematic programs to reduce criminal opportunity will reduce crime if they are implemented with the joint cooperation of public agencies, citizens, and police.

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[21] State of California, Office of the Attorney General, Attorney General's Building Security Commission, "Preliminary Report to the California Legislature: Building Security Standards" (1973).

[22] J. Parker Heck, "Light Up for Safety" (prepared for the Street and Highway Safety Lighting Bureau, Cleveland, Ohio), pp. 9–10.

Although many of the recommendations in this report are directed toward reducing street crime, the Commission also considers official corruption to be one of the most damaging forms of criminal activity in society.

The Commission recognizes that most people in public service are honest and dedicated. Official corruption, nevertheless, does exist, and in some jurisdictions has involved the highest elected and appointed officials.

Charges of corruption, some of which have led to convictions, have been brought against officials throughout the United States. Since 1969, more than 60 elected or appointed officials in a large Eastern State have been indicted or convicted on Federal or State criminal charges. In another, smaller State, similar charges have been brought against at least 24 officials, including a former Governor, two State senators, a State attorney general, and several other State and local officers or employees.

Corruption, as defined in this report, is not limited to its most egregious and sensational form—cash purchase of official favor. Corruption includes all of the circumstances in which the public officeholder sacrifices or sells all or part of his judgment on matters within his official purview in return for personal gain. Corruption thus defined includes a direct or tacit agreement between the official and the person requesting action that would benefit the official (cash, securities, a share in a business venture, or the promise of a future job on the outside) in exchange for official action or inaction.

Conflict of Interest

Certain types of activity are clearly incompatible with the responsibility of public employment. A conflict of interest exists when an official intentionally disregards the public's interest in return for personal gain, or when, because of financial interest or outside pressures, he is unable or unwilling to perform his duties impartially.

The Temporary Commission of Investigation of the State of New York included in its report to the 1971 State Legislature the story of a resident engineer in the city of Yonkers Engineering Department. In that position, the man (Mr. S.) was responsible for verifying compliance with his department's specifications for all contractors doing business with the city.

In the course of the commission's investigations, testimony revealed that Mr. S. and at least two construction inspectors also employed by the city were privately employed by the contractors whose work they were charged with inspecting. The three city employees were moonlighting in the largest sewer project ever handled by Yonkers, a contract totaling $916,431; at the same time they were acting in their official capacity to insure the project's compliance with city regulations.[23]

Conflicts of interest can be a problem whenever public officials exercise power and discretion over decisions that affect many citizens. Because of the enormous impact such measures can have on special interest groups and individuals, public officials are approached continually by people who want to influence official action.

A proper system of conflicts regulation and a code of ethical principles to guide officials are needed. Present conflict of interest regulations are inadequate at the State and local levels. As of 1969, only 26 States had any laws on this subject, and none of these States included local government employees within the scope of the law's coverage.[24] Among the States that have enacted laws, only a few approach the requirements of an adequate safeguard.

Another failing of current legislation is that it often does not deal with borderline or minor cases of official misconduct that do not warrant criminal prosecution. The purchasing agent who accepts a dinner invitation or a small gift from a supplier should be subjected to a reprimand rather than criminal prosecution. The Commission believes that no single law or type of law is sufficient to deal with the gamut of ethical problems that underlie an official's conduct. A system of various types of provisions—criminal laws, ethical guidelines, and an enforcement body—is essential to assure the public that officials will act with integrity.

> The Commission recommends that States in addition to criminal sanctions, adopt provisions for an ethics code and an ethics board to enforce and interpret the provisions of the code and to apply administrative sanctions.

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[23] *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Temporary Commission of Investigation of the State of New York* (March 1971), pp. 96–109.

[24] All statistics are taken from *Assembly of the State of California, Ethical Conduct and Governmental Integrity: The Conflict of Interest Issue* (1970).

This code should require that public officials disqualify themselves from taking official actions when a conflict of interest might exist; should prohibit acceptance of gifts, favors, services, or promises of future employment that might influence their performance of official duties; and should prohibit acceptance of positions of employment that might involve conflicting duties.

> States also should adopt provisions requiring public officials to disclose fully and openly their financial and professional interests.

This is perhaps the most effective method of conflict of interest regulation; it seeks to deter wrongful conduct by giving the public access to information on areas of an official's professional and private life that offer the greatest potential for conflict.

Political Campaign Financing

A potential for corruption or conflict of interest exists when a candidate for political office is forced to rely on large contributions from special interest groups. Such contributions might be made as an attempt to purchase goodwill and influence future decisions or they might be payment for favors or preferred treatment already received. These practices are certainly widespread. Various studies have estimated that 15 percent of the money for State and local campaigns comes from persons engaged in illegal gambling and racketeering who seek protection for their illegal activities.[25] If correct, this would mean that well over $15 million might have come from criminal elements in the 1972 State and local elections.

> In order to reduce opportunities for corruption in campaign financing, the Commission recommends that States impose and enforce realistic campaign spending limitations, require full disclosure of financial contributions to all parties and candidates for local and State office, and prohibit contributions from significant government contractors, labor unions, trade associations, and corporations.

Government Procurement, Zoning, Licensing, and Tax Assessment

Government procurement, zoning, licensing, and tax assessment are functions of State and local governments often known for inefficiency, mismanagement, and corruption. Commercial enterprises and individuals dealing with government have a tremendous stake in these areas and the opportunity for graft exists when explicit and precise standards are not adhered to.

In the competitive area of governmental purchasing, the unethical vendor needs only a slight edge to beat the competition on a given contract. With the cooperation of the corrupt government employee, the vendor can utilize various devices to maximize his profits at the expense of the purchaser. The losers in such transactions are the government and ultimately the taxpayer, who will pay more than the goods or services are worth or who will purchase materials that cannot be used.

Most States have taken steps to upgrade the integrity of the government procurement function by creating centralized State purchasing agencies. Centralization has encouraged efficiency and economy in purchasing as well as the professionalization of purchasing agents.

> States should adopt formal procedures for setting and disseminating commodity specifications, handling complaints, encouraging competition, and insuring timely delivery of goods and services. A State purchasing agency should be established with an advisory board composed of the heads of the finance committees of the legislature, the purchasing director, and the heads of the various sections of the purchasing agency.

Some of the corruption in zoning, licensing, and tax assessment occurs because otherwise honest citizens become so frustrated with government bureaucracy and red tape that they are will to offer bribes and kickbacks just to get action in governmental decisions. In New York City, there are at least 40 different licenses or permits required to construct a new building. A construction delay of several days resulting from a pending permit would cost contractors substantially more than they lose in payoffs to officials to speed up permit processing. According to

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[25] According to Alexander Heard, this estimate "embraces funds given in small towns and rural areas by individuals operating on the borders of the law who want a sympathetic sheriff and prosecutor, but who are not linked to crime syndicates. This estimate applies chiefly to persons engaged in illegal gambling and racketeering. It does not extend, for example, to otherwise reputable businessmen who hope for understanding treatment from building inspectors and tax assessors," Alexander Heard, *The Costs of Democracy* (University of North Carolina Press, 1960), p. 165, fn. 73, also pp. 154–168; see also Harold D. Laswell and Arnold Rogow, *Power Corruption and Rectitude*, (Prentice Hall, 1963), pp. 79–80; and Donald R. Cressy, *Theft of the Nation: The Structure and Operations of Organized Crime in America* (Harper and Row, 1969), p. 253.

one estimate, as much as 5 percent of the total construction costs in the city are attributable to graft paid to city employees.[26] Five percent of the estimated $1.5 billion annual construction bill amounts to $75 million.

Cash payments for zoning changes are not uncommon in some communities. A favorable zoning decision can boost the value of certain pieces of land and may mean substantial profits. Corruption in tax assessments also involves large sums. For example, when the assessor of a large metropolitan area discovered he was being investigated by a local citizen group for "arbitrary and manipulative" operation of his office, he "reassessed" nine high rise properties in the city. The reassessment of those nine buildings added $34 million to the city's tax base.[27]

The Commission believes that the greatest single cause of corruption in these three areas of government operation is the availability of excessive discretion involving significant sums of money. Vague and improperly stated decision guidelines invite attempts at manipulation and fraud and are, at a minimum, indicative of sloppy management.

> Each jurisdiction should develop explicit criteria for use by officials in making decisions in zoning, licensing, and tax assessment.

Investigative and Prosecution of Corrupt Officials

An essential part of eliminating corruption and the influence of organized crime in government is a firm commitment on the part of State and local government to seek out and prosecute vigorously all types of corrupt practices in which the government is involved.

The first step is for State and local units of government to assess the nature and extent of their corruption problems. Because each jurisdiction has different statutory powers, administrative organizations, and social and political makeup, the Commission was unable to propose a single set of standards for investigation and prosecution of corruption cases. However, it has set out broad, general guidelines that State and local governments can use in developing their anticorruption approaches.

The Commission strongly believes that the first line of defense against illegal conduct by government officials is a local prosecutor's office staffed by well-compensated and adequately trained personnel. It is recognized, however, that there are cases where local authorities are technically not prepared or are unwilling to handle corruption problems.

> States having a history of public corruption at State and local levels should establish an ongoing statewide capability for investigation and prosecution of governmental corruption and organized crime.

This capability might take the form of a corruption investigation unit under the State attorney general, a special grand jury convened when needed by legislative act or executive order, or a State investigation commission created by constitutional amendment. The experiences of New York and New Jersey with investigation commissions provide useful models for other States.

One of the most vital attributes of an anticorruption unit (and one that currently is absent in all existing State investigation commissions) is its power to prosecute the case as it develops. The Commission recommends that this power be granted to the anticorruption unit.

IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITIES

Many of the programs and activities discussed in this chapter will require financial underwriting. In many instances, sufficient funds should be available at the State or local level, or in the case of many citizen activities, from private sources.

Under certain circumstances, some crime prevention programs might qualify for support from funds provided by LEAA. LEAA makes its funds available to States, which in turn fund projects at the operational level.

In other circumstances, funds might be available from other Federal agencies, including the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW). Aid in the form of information, speakers, films, and expert assistance might be available from such agencies as the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention and the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs, to name only two.

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[26] "5 Percent of Building Costs Are Laid to New York Graft," *Washington Post* (October 20, 1971).

[27] *Moore et al.* v. *Cullerton*, 72-c-680 filed in U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Illinois. See also "A $16 Million U.S. Steel 'Tax Break' Charged," *Chicago Daily News* (May 18, 1971), and "Charge Loop Bank Gets Big Tax Break," *Chicago Today* (July 13, 1971).

Citizens, groups, and organizations should inform themselves fully about the availability of funds for the particular kind of program they have in mind. Congress has directed how the funds can and cannot be used. In some cases, there may be uncertainty about the propriety of using funds for certain projects.

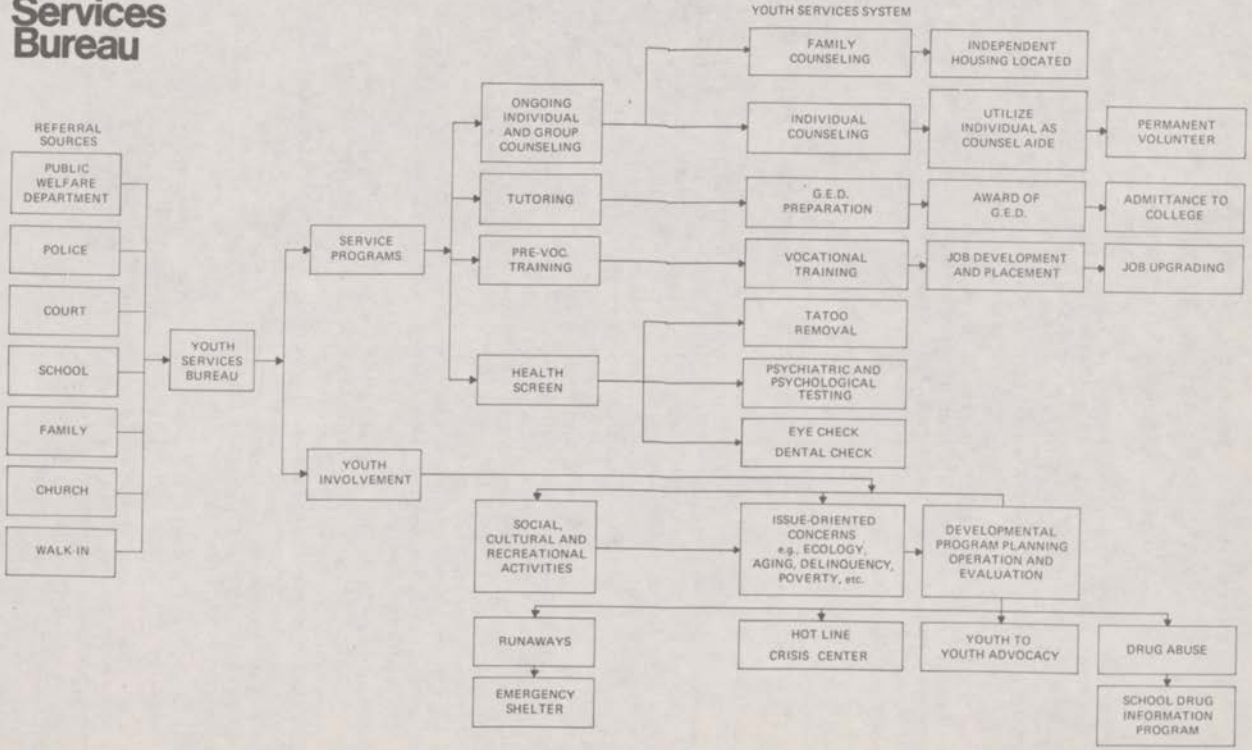
CONCLUSION

The local community is one of the Nation's most underdeveloped and underutilized crime fighting resources. It is a resource that needs to be utilized by everyone concerned about the incidence of crime in his community.

A community may translate its concern about crime into action through the individual and group efforts of its citizens, through its local institutions such as schools, youth services bureaus, and religious organizations, and through the responsible and responsive efforts of its governing bodies.

Neither in this chapter, nor in its *Report on Community Crime Prevention*, has the Commission exhausted the possible approaches that a community may take to reduce and prevent crime. Indeed, there are as many viable approaches to community crime prevention as there are citizens who deplore the conditions that are known to cause crime. What is needed is a positive commitment to action.

Youth Services Bureau



Source: Derived from material developed by the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

EXHIBIT B

PART I—CRIME PREVENTION AND THE CITIZEN

CHAPTER 1—CITIZEN ACTION

Citizen involvement in crime prevention efforts is not merely desirable but necessary. The reports of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice emphasize the need for direct citizen action to improve law enforcement and for crime prevention to become the business of every American institution and of every American. Police and other specialists alone cannot control crime; they need "all the help the community can give them." [1]

Similarly, a task force of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence noted:

> Government programs for the control of crime are unlikely to succeed all alone. Informed private citizens, playing a variety of roles, can make a decisive difference in the prevention, detection and prosecution of crime, the fair administration of justice, and the restoration of offenders to the community.[2]

These and other pleas for citizen action are heeded by too few. Most citizens agree that crime prevention is everybody's business, but too many fail to accept crime prevention as everybody's duty. "There are simply too many important aspects of the private citizen's duty to expect local government to solve the crime problem by itself." [3]

Crime prevention as each citizen's duty is not a new idea. In the early days of law enforcement, well over a thousand years ago, the peacekeeping system encouraged the concept of mutual responsibility. Each individual was responsible not only for his actions but for those of his neighbors. A citizen observing a crime had the duty to rouse his neighbors and pursue the criminal. Peace was kept, for the most part, not by officials but by the whole community.

With the rise of specialization, citizens began to delegate their personal law enforcement responsibilities by paying others to assume peacekeeping duties. Law enforcement evloved into a multifaceted specialty as citizens relinquished more of their crime prevention activities. But the benefits of specialization are not unlimited. Criminal justice professionals readily and repeatedly admit that, in the absence of citizen assistance, neither more manpower, nor imporved technology, nor additional money will enable law enforcement to shoulder the monumental burden of combating crime in America.

The need today is for a more balanced allocation of law enforcement duties between specialists and citizenry—for citizens to reassume many of their discarded crime prevention responsibilities.

> Community leadership appears all too willing to delegate (or default) its responsibility for dealing with anti-social behavior. Eventually that responsibility is assumed by large, public agencies. . . . [The extremely expensive services of these agencies] never seem to catch up with the need. They come too late to be "preventive" in the most desirable sense of the word. Moreover, the policies are controlled from political and administrative centers far removed from the "grass roots" . . . where delinquency and crime originate through obscure and complex processes.[4]

In its report, State-Local Relations in the Criminal Justice, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations noted that:

> The distance between city hall or county courthouse and neighborhoods is often considerable. As a result, the delivery of services may be slow, communications channels may be cumbersome, and policy-makers may be unaware of the real needs of neighborhood areas. Moreover, highly centralized decision-making may deter citizens from participating in crime prevention efforts.[5]

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[1] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police* (Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 221, 228. See also the Commission's *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society* (Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 288.

[2] National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, *Staff Report: Law and Order Reconsidered* (Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 278.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 281.

[4] E. K. Nelson, quoted in Kenneth Polk, *Non-Metropolitan Delinquency—An Active Program* (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1969), p. 11.

[5] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *State-Local Relations in the Criminal Justice System* (Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 269.

Many crime prevention authorities believe that, for some anticrime programs, the responsibility for planning, decision, and action should be placed at the lowest level consistent with sound decisionmaking—that is, in the neighborhood with the individual citizen.

Some authorities advocate that neighborhoods receive government financial and technical assistance to spur grassroots citizen involvement. One authority in the field of juvenile delinquency programs suggested that Federal program guidelines "might require minimum levels of community involvement in a program before it can receive Federal funds. . . ."

As a result of recommendations for government decentralization issued by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, and the National Commission on Urban Problems, many people are advocating the establishment of neighborhood citizen councils that would exercise substantial control over the delivery of certain services, including those related to crime prevention. In 1972, for example, the Indiana Legislature passed an act that will permit first-class cities to create a system of citizen councils beginning in 1974.

The National Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals believes that government sharing of authority with neighborhood organizations, as recommended by the above-mentioned commissions and adopted by the Indiana Legislature, is a logical and essential element of community crime prevention.

This chapter attacks what appears to be one of the major deterrents to citizen action: the relative paucity of information about (1) the many different crime prevention activities available to the public and (2) the experiences of citizens—individually and collectively—who have implemented those activities. It does not merely exhort the reader to become involved in anticrime efforts; it outlines what can be done, who has done it, and how they did it.

But this chapter is not an inflexible, all-purpose prescription for citizen action. To the contrary, it presents concepts, suggestions, and possible approaches with an acute awareness of what is not known about crime and its causes. Incomplete knowledge does not justify inaction; it mandates that crime prevention programs be tailored to local conditions, not merely mimicked because of alleged effectiveness elsewhere.

The first aspect of citizen action treated below pertains to the many levels at which the public may pursue a crime reduction effort. For example, a citizen may help ex-offenders find employment in his capacity as an employee or employer, as well as in his capacity as a member of a private organization established for that purpose alone. Included next are brief descriptions of the many types of crime prevention activities available to citizens, followed by a discussion of basic organizational and managerial questions that almost any citizen group must face during the course of its formation and operational life. An appendix to this report (Appendix C) includes many examples of citizen organizations that have implemented the crime prevention activities described earlier.

LEVELS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The typical citizen response to the crime problem is a demand for greater action by the police, courts, correctional institutions, and other government agencies. The citizen asks too infrequently what he can do himself. And when the public does decide to act, its activities often are short-lived, sporadic outbursts in response to a particularly heinous crime or one that occurred too close to home.

Fortunately, this limited and frequently counter-productive type of citizen action shows signs of yielding to more informed citizen involvement in crime prevention efforts. Today the public is beginning to heed the advice of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice: "Every American can translate his concern about, or fear of, crime into positive action. Every American should." Each citizen can exert his crime prevention leverage through each person with whom he is acquainted and through each organization with which he is affiliated.

But before an individual takes positive action, he should be cognizant of the many avenues of approach to any given problem. For example, an individual may help prevent illicit gambling in his community by insuring that his family and neighbors know that the proceeds from such activities are a principal source of income for organized crime and thus help finance the importation of hard drugs.

A citizen's antigambling efforts also may be pursued through a block or neighborhood crime prevention organization. In one instance, members of a neighborhood association followed numbers runners in order to determine the neighborhood gambling network. This information then was turned over to local police.[6]

Members of a church, social club, fraternal group, or civic association can exert pressure on the organization's officers and other members to discontinue limited and informal but nontheless illegal gambling that occurs on the premises. The slot machine, sports pool slip, and punch board may provide enjoyment for a club's membership, but they also may supply funds to criminal elements.

In his capacity as an employer or employee, a citizen can be alert for signs of inplant gambling. As recommended in 1972 by the Committee for Economic Development, "Individually, businessmen can clean their own houses. Organized gambling need not be tolerated on business premises. . . ."[7] Members of a regional or national crime prevention organization can insure that illegal gambling receives its share of attention.

Other organizations through which citizens can encourage crime prevention efforts include trade associations, educational institutions, political parties, unions, charities, foundations, and professional societies. Several years ago the executive vice president of the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants issued this call to action to his profession:

> There are already cases on record where publicly traded companies have become dominated by hoodlums. A CPA should be watchful of changes in ownership and management of his clients.
>
> If he finds a once solid company taken over or influenced by unsavory elements, he may have to make a difficult decision. He may decide to withdraw from the engagement or he may feel obligated to remain on the scene to protect innocent investors and creditors.
>
> The auditor is expected to have absolute integrity. Any evidence of organized crime coming his way should trigger prompt and drastic action to discharge his professional responsibilities. It should also bring forth cooperation with authorities to discharge his civic duties.[8]

No one is asking an organization to make extraordinary sacrifices on behalf of crime prevention. What is suggested is that decisions relating to daily operations be reviewed in terms of their crime prevention impact as well as other criteria. Does personnel policy permit the hiring of ex-offenders? Are crimes that come to the attention of the organization reported to the police? Do community crime prevention efforts receive adequate consideration in terms of the organization's charitable donations? Is time off for jury duty or court testimony granted grudgingly? Are management controls so loose that they invite crime?

Although crime prevention may not be the main purpose of an organization, crime prevention opportunities still may exist therein. Such opportunities need not focus directly on specific crimes. Tenant patrols may help prevent burglaries in apartment buildings, and cargo security councils formed and supported by local transportation companies may reduce the incidence of cargo theft. But so will programs geared to increasing the employability of the jobless, further the education of the dropout, supplying adequate medical treatment for the alcoholic and drug addict, and providing adequate recreational and other constructive activities for youth.

Almost any organization can support and engage in the latter type of crime prevention activities, which in the long run are far more important than tenant patrols or cargo security councils. Studies reveal that more than 80 percent of those in prisons are school dropouts, and that the majority of inmates in many correctional facilities are functional illiterates.[9] Research indicates a high correlation between unemployment and crime, and that a substantial portion of convicted offenders do not have salable job skills. In some penal institutions, as many as 40 percent of the inmates are without previous sustained work experience. There is also a high correlation between drug addiction and robbery. And, according to the estimates of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Uniform Crime Reports, over 50 percent of the murders in the Nation are committed by persons under the influence of alcohol.

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[6] Interview with the supervisor of a community security program, October 1972.

[7] Committee for Economic Development, *Reducing Crime and Assuring Justice* (New York: CED, 1972), p. 62.

[8] Leonard M. Savoie, "What Issues Will Challenge CPA's in the 1970's?" (paper delivered before the convention of the Ohio Society of CPA's, 1969).

[9] Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *Marshaling Citizen Power Against Crime* (Washington: Chamber of Commerce, 1970), p. 62.

Collective efforts by citizens may be directed at strengthening the crime prevention activities of government agencies (e.g., courts, corrections, and law enforcement agencies), or at bolstering anti-crime measures undertaken exclusively within the private sector. For instance, the focus of a block crime prevention association is often on self-help measures designed to increase the safety of persons and property over and above the protection afforded by local police. Other citizen groups, such as local chambers of commerce, may concentrate on the criminal justice system by sponsoring surveys of police effectiveness, proposing more effective methods of selecting judges, or promoting support for community-based corrections facilities.

Citizens may participate in the crime prevention efforts of government agencies by attending community relations meetings conducted by the local police department, working as volunteers in a probation program administered by the city court, donating time as parole volunteers under the supervision of a State parole commission, or volunteering to help a municipal social or rehabilitative agency improve the delivery of its services.

Voluntary service by citizens within the context of government agencies can occur at several levels. First, the citizen volunteer may act at the direction and under the close supervision of the agency. At another level, the citizen may be involved in an advisory capacity, his role being essentially one of reacting to plans and decisions made by the agency. Finally, citizen participation may involve sharing planning and decisionmaking powers with the agency.

Many organizations play important crime prevention roles as a result of the initiative taken by individuals who comprise them. Organized efforts to reduce crime do not replace individual action; they result from it. Organizations do not relieve a citizen of his crime prevention duty; they offer excellent reasons and opportunities for him to exercise it.

A SENSE OF COMMUNITY

Important as it is, individual action independent of the efforts of others is not enough. Our society is built upon the premise that each person is responsible for himself and for the general welfare of others. Exclusive reliance on a self- or family-oriented approach to crime prevention causes individuals and family units to become isolated from one another. The result is that the crime prevention effectiveness of the community as a whole becomes considerably less than that of the sum of its parts.

Indeed, with each citizen looking out for himself only, there is no community, no strength in numbers, but rather a fragmentation that can serve only to embolden criminal elements. The burglar, for example, is encouraged if he knows that he need not contend with the eyes and ears of an entire neighborhood, but only with the obstacles in the apartment or house he intends to enter.

An overly self-centered approach to crime prevention results in individuals transforming their residences into stronger and stronger fortresses, which, in turn, increases social isolation and the inability of the block or neighborhood to present a united front against crime. As a result, there may be citizen involvement in crime prevention but not community involvement.

Without a sense of community, the crime prevention potential of mutual aid and mutual responsibility is unfulfilled. As noted by one authority on juvenile delinquency:

> Although little systematic research has been done in this area, the reported incidences of communities getting "together" suggest that active "community involvement" in fighting the problems may well be an effective way, and perhaps *the* most effective way, to prevent and reduce crime and delinquency.[10]

For example, in 1971 a rash of burglaries occurred in an economically depressed suburban ghetto on the West Coast. "Outraged by the frequency and prevalence of burglaries, neighborhood residents and store owners got together and forced the local 'fences' out of business * * * and the burglary rate dropped to almost zero."

Noting that a typical response to crime had been the call for more police protection, for extra locks on doors, and for watchdogs, guns, burglar alarms, etc., a group of concerned West Philadelphia, Pa., residents recognized the potential of

[10] Ruby B. Yaryan, "The Community Role in Juvenile Delinquency Programs" (paper prepared for the Fourth National Symposium on Law Enforcement, Science and Technology, 1972).

joining together in a positive program of mutual aid and community development. The rationale for such a program deserves careful consideration by all citizens:

> We have been about the task of organizing ourselves into block meetings for the purpose of strengthening our sense of community and making our neighborhood a better and safer place to live in. As parents and homeowners, we have been particularly concerned to seek out solutions to our problems which avoid racial, class and age polarization, and the quick-draw answers of reactive hardware. It seems clear to us that we do not well serve our children or our community by fostering a "barricade mentality" which would increase our dependence upon locks, guns, data banks and other commercial gimmicks and agencies whose interest may not meet our real needs. Instead, we have tried to encourage our friends and neighbors to come back out onto the streets and begin to share more of our cares and resources in positive community-building activities which recognize the protective and corrective value of greater neighborhood togetherness.
>
> In order to provide some coordination and mutual assistance in this effort, we have recently gathered our blocks into a Neighborhood Block Safety Program. [11]

Whether frayed by the rise of specialization and professionalism, or eroded by the availability of an overpowering and, perhaps, overprotective institutional structure of urban life, the fibers of mutual assistance and neighborliness that bind citizens to a sense of community have grown precariously thin. Citizen involvement in crime prevention, at all levels, must take care to reinforce, not sever, those fibers.

THE RANGE OF CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITIES

A major category of crime prevention activities includes those aimed at what many consider to be the infrastructure of crime; e.g., insufficient education, inadequate job skills, and lack of recreational opportunities. Citizen actions in these areas are brought to bear outside of the criminal justice system and are designed to reduce significantly the need to utilize the sanctions of that system.

Another major category of citizen action encompasses crime prevention measures that are related closely to the three components of the criminal justice system—police, courts, and corrections. In general, these activities seek either to complement the operation of one of the components, as might a citizen crime commission, or to strengthen the component, as might probation volunteers. Efforts in these areas are designed to help the criminal justice system become a more effective crime deterrent.

ATTACKING CRIME'S INFRASTRUCTURE

Citizens can prevent crime by focusing their attention on the social factors that lead to crime, e.g., unemployment, poor education, and lack of recreational opportunities. Because subsequent chapters discuss these subjects in greater detail, this section only outlines some of the opportunities available for citizen action.

Education

Many citizens are involved in encouraging school dropouts to complete their education. The "Keep a Child in School" program in Charleston, W. Va., attempts to meet this objective by working with students on a one-to-one basis, and insuring that they have adequate clothes and supplies. This program also provides tutors for students who have fallen behind in their work or need special help.

Other groups have found it is necessary to offer alternative educational opportunities, such as street academies or vocational programs. New York City's Harlem Prep is one of the best known and most successful street academies. It is supported by contributions from foundations and industry and its purpose is to prepare dropouts for college. The Philadelphia Urban Coalition has developed a vocational program to serve the needs of the inner city high school youth with poor reading skills who is planning to drop out. The school system and the business community will cooperate to give the youth the training he needs for a specific job in a specific industry.

In some areas, citizens are instrumental in familiarizing students with the law and how it affects them. A 16-page booklet, "You and the Law," is produced by Kiwanis International and distributed to teenagers to help them understand the concept of freedom under law.

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[11] Block Association of West Philadelphia, "Neighborhood Block Safety Program" (mimeographed handout, 1972).

Many parents donate their services to schools on an almost daily basis, by preparing instructional materials and assisting teachers in the classroom. Citizen action has contributed to the establishment of community schools and to the formation of neighborhood councils that advise school administrators.

Individuals also assist schools in counseling youths on drug use, pregnancy, family breakdown, employment, and various forms of antisocial behavior. The establishment of scholarship funds is yet another area for citizen action.

Employment

Businessmen and others are working to place disadvantaged youths in summer and part-time jobs during the school year. The National Alliance of Businessmen's JOBS program is the largest program of this type. They have placed almost 1 million youths in part-time and summer jobs provided by private business and industry.

At the urging of the Urban Coalition and other citizen organizations, some companies have agreed to fill a certain percentage of new jobs with the hard-core unemployed and to set new eligibility standards in this regard. In Riverside, Calif., a group of employers founded the Job Opportunities Council to recruit the hard-core unemployed and to handle the paperwork involved.

Citizen groups are promoting "hire first, train later" programs, whereby an applicant undergoes a 2-week orientation program prior to being placed with an employer who agrees to provide on-the-job training and other support.

Many citizens organizations provide job counseling and training. Project Bread began in Salem, Mass., as the idea of one individual, who started teaching ex-addicts how to earn a living as cooks. Other groups are active in disseminating job opportunity information to those who live in high unemployment areas.

Recreation

Citizens organizations are active in financing or operating summer camps for disadvantaged young people. "Send a Kid to Camp" programs, sponsored by many local newspapers, solicit funds to provide disadvantaged youth with new experiences and recreational opportunities. The Fresh Air Fund in New York City has served an estimated 18,000 children by providing free vacations at its camps or at the homes of host families. Many families in rural areas invite city youth to spend the summer with them.

Citizen groups organize sports activities and tournaments, and many individuals, often acting in a big brother capacity, regularly take youths to sporting, entertainment, and cultural events.

Some groups have financed youth centers or spearheaded drives for better parks and other municipal recreational facilities. Current interest in ecology has spurred citizens to develop nature trails in the city and take teenagers for hikes or camping trips in nearby rural areas. In an effort to reach youth from urban areas, the National Audubon Society has established nature demonstration centers at wildlife sanctuaries. Three of these are located on the outskirts of large cities.

A special program in Washington, D.C., teaches young, inner-city children about the ecological relationships within the city itself and encourages them to discover nature trails within their own communities.

A priority item for many citizens is the development of such other forms of organized recreation as talent shows, arts and crafts classes, and special interest programs that focus on car repair, aviation, weather, motorcycle safety, music and dancing.

Citizens in some localities have established neighborhood councils that, in turn, hire gang members to build small parks. Others have organized adventure clubs, which feature such activities as mountaineering and trips to wilderness areas. One citizen group has prepared a booklet on volunteer opportunities for teenagers, in an effort to channel youthful energy into constructive pursuits.

Counseling and treatment

Citizens counsel and advise youths and adults with a wide array of problems, and within a variety of organizational frameworks. For example, this might occur in the context of a hotline established to concentrate on those with drug-related and other problems. There are now over 300 hotlines in the country. Or counseling might occur in the setting of a local YMCA, which refers persons with serious problems to community agencies that supply medical and mental health services, drug abuse rehabilitation, planned parenthood counseling, juvenile aid, and legal and psychological services. The Listening Post in Bethesda, Md., is a telephone hotline and a center to which young people can go for advice and help. Volunteers at the center try to create a warm environment where young people will find acceptance and to provide constructive alternatives for youth in trouble.

Citizens also volunteer at counseling centers designed to develop better and more secure relationships between children and parents. Others work at clinics or treatment centers to assist professionals who treat drug- or alcohol-related cases. The Cincinnati, Ohio, Free Clinic, which offers detoxification and medical services to drug-involved individuals, is staffed in part by 400 professional and nonprofessional volunteers. In addition to medical aid, these volunteers offer telephone counseling and crisis intervention services. Anti-drug-abuse educational campaigns are often supported and conducted by citizen groups. At Auburn University in Auburn, Ala., 22 pharmacy students began a program in Alabama's high schools to prevent drug abuse. Traveling in teams of two or three, they show films, lecture, and distribute literature about drugs. In July 1970, the American Advertising Council, with the support of American businesses and advertising agencies launched an extensive media campaign to fight drug abuse.

In several companies, businessmen and union officials have embarked on a joint program of education, referral, and followup for persons with alcohol-related problems.

Many citizen groups provide the bulk of financial support for treatment centers. In one city, such groups supply over two-thirds of the operating funds for a facility that offers residential care for addicts and heavy drug users. The Memphis House Memphis, Tenn., not only provides residential care for addicts but offers homebound teaching and aids residents in finding jobs and housing before they return to the community. The details of the programs discussed in this section and similar programs may be found in Appendix C.

CITIZEN ACTION WITHIN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

The three components of the criminal justice system—police, courts, and corrections—are supplemented and strengthened by a range of citizen activities so broad that even a modest summary of them would constitute a small book. This section reviews the highlights of such activities.

Police-related activities

An important police-related citizen activity is crime reporting. Citizens can assume this responsibility on an individual basis and as members of a collective effort to promote increased crime reporting by the public.

In cooperation with many law enforcement agencies, many citizen organizations sponsor special areawide campaigns to educate and motivate the public to report (1) crimes in the process of being committed, (2) information that would help police solve crimes, and (3) persons and events considered suspicious. Various names have been attached to these campaigns, such as Crime Check, Crime Alert, Chec-Mate, Citizen Alert, Crime Stop, Project Alert, and Home Alert.

A Citizens Alert Program sponsored by the Sacramento County, Calif., sheriff's department and several business and civic organizations is aided by special citizens committees. These committees encourage area citizens not only to report crimes but to protect their homes and businesses with improved locks, bolts, bars, and lighting.

Another crime-reporting activity, often called community radio watch, involves business firms whose vehicles are equipped with two-way radios. The watch program operating in Buffalo, N.Y., is supported by 46 area firms. The 2,500 drivers employed by these companies report any type of emergency—crime, fire, or accident—to their dispatchers, who relay the message to the police or the appropriate agency.

Another type of crime-reporting activity is informer oriented. An organization offers a sizable reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of lawbreakers. To this end, a special phone number is publicized and callers need not reveal their names. A program of this type, Turn in a Pusher, is operating in Tampa, Fla., and in many other communities. It is specially designed to curb the growing traffic in hard drugs. A similar approach was taken by the Battle Creek, Mich., Chamber of Commerce. The program, however, is designed to provide rewards for citizens reporting all types of crime. Five arrests were made through this "Silent Observer" program in its first 3 weeks of operation.

Frequently neighbors unite and implement a program variously called Operation Identification, Crime TRAP (Total Registration of All Property), and Project Theft Guard. These programs involve a sponsor who supplies an electric etching pencil that citizens use to mark their property. Identifying numbers are filed with a law enforcement agency for reference in the investigation and identification of stolen property.

All items of value should be marked on the main body of the article with the owner's identifying number (social security, etc.). The identification mark should be accessible without dismantling the object. On most items the bottom or underside is the best location for the identification marks.

Lists of property that has been marked should be kept in a safe place and given to the police in the event of a burglary. A decal or other symbol can be displayed on doors or windows of the house, apartment, or business to alert burglars that all property is marked for ready identification by law enforcement agencies.

Cooperative use of local alarms is another neighborhood strategy to reduce crime. Adjoining homeowners each install a bell or buzzer-type alarm, with the understanding that they will call the police if they hear an alarm. Frequently the noise of an activated alarm is sufficient to deter burglars. A similar arrangement can be made by occupants of adjoining apartments, with the alarms wired so that if one apartment is being burglarized, the alarm will sound next door.

Frequently crime-reporting campaigns attempt to help citizens protect their home, person, and property. Brochures are distributed offering tips on these subjects and citizens organizations often provide speakers who answer questions on security matters.

In some apartment complexes, tenant patrols maintain security by screening visitors, inspecting stairs and halls, checking on the elderly or infirm, and running errands for shut-ins. The New York Housing Authority's program has enlisted over 11,000 tenant volunteers, who provide increased coverage and surveillance for about 650 buildings. They are equipped with walkie-talkies and telephones so they can contact police in emergencies.

Some neighborhoods, with the cooperation of police, have established citizen street patrols and block associations. The fiscal 1974 budget for New York City carries a $5-million proposal for a block security program. Under the program, block associations and tenant groups would develop their own crime prevention plans. Before the city could fund a plan, the police would have to approve it. Enabling legislation for the program must be passed by the New York State Legislature.[12]

Many individuals have become actively involved in law enforcement by joining police reserve units. Volunteers in a Kansas City, Mo., unit are expected to devote 24 hours a month to volunteer police work. They must undergo extensive training prior to field assignments.

Many neighborhoods have block mothers—responsible women trained by social welfare and police officials to care for and supervise children. The program is designed to prevent the isolated problem of child molesting and to provide emergency babysitting services. Any threatened, frightened, or runaway child can seek refuge in a block-mother home that displays a clasped-hands sign in the front window. The program can be especially effective where large numbers of children are concentrated in a small area.

There are a number of programs aimed at reducing specific crimes. Street lighting campaigns attempt to reduce the incidence of robbery, auto theft, and vandalism. A spokeswoman for the Indianapolis, Ind., Crime Crusade reported that street crimes dropped by as much as 84 percent in areas affected by the Crusade-sponsored lighting campaign. Special crime prevention clinics sponsored by citizens and business groups focus on shoplifting and robbery prevention. The Philadelphia, Pa., Retailers Association has initiated a multimedia campaign to make people aware that shoplifting is a crime and that violators will be prosecuted. Projects to reduce the incidence of auto theft have been undertaken by some women's clubs, Jaycees, and other citizen organizations.

A variety of hardware-oriented measures—from special alarm activating devices and theft-resistant packaging, to two-way mirrors and video-monitoring devices—are installed in stores by businessmen to deter and detect shoplifters. Merchants participate in a phone alert system whereby they warn one another about attempts to use stolen credit cards or to pass bad checks. Businesses within a given industry frequently join forces to form security organizations designed to combat such crimes as cargo theft, bankruptcy, and fraud. The maritime industry has established a Security Bureau, which serves as a clearinghouse for losses and works to prevent waterfront thefts and pilferage.

Citizen crime commissions and other organizations are fighting organized crime in many cities. Citizens often are less reluctant to convey information and complaints about organized crime activities to these groups than to the authorities.

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[12] Murray Schumach, "The Vital Role of the Block," *The New York Times*, February 2, 1973.

The United States Chamber of Commerce has published a "Deskbook on Organized Crime," which outlines countermeasures businessmen may use when faced with such problems. The chamber may supplement this information with slide presentations, special panels, and action forums to acquaint businessmen with threats posed by the organized underworld. Local chambers also actively promote cooperation between businessmen and law enforcement officials in a number of cities in the United States.

Other citizen groups have sought to improve police-community relations by paving the way for officers to speak at schools or by organizing a program whereby youths ride with patrol officers. Police-neighborhood teams also are being established.

Many organizations have furnished funds, pressured city councils, or taken other action leading to increased police manpower, more equipment, higher police salaries, and better training and education opportunities for officers. Some citizen groups have financed independent surveys of local police operations as well as other projects designed to streamline the police function. These and other police-related programs are discussed in Appendix C.

Court-related activities

According to some estimates, the largest group of volunteers assisting the criminal justice system is found within the court component. Most of them can be designated as volunteers in probation. Some 100,000 volunteers are estimated to be affiliated with well over 1,000 courts.

The following are among the major jobs volunteers perform in court settings:

Advisory council member
Arts and crafts teacher
Home skills teacher
Recreation leader
Coordinator or administrator of programs
Employment counselor
Foster parent (group or individual)
Group guidance counselor
Information officer
Miscellaneous court support services worker
Neighborhood worker
Office worker (clerical, secretarial, etc.)
Volunteer for one-to-one assignment to probationers
Professional skills volunteer
Public relations worker
Community education counselor
Recordkeeping volunteer
Religious guidance counselor
Tutor, educational aide

One of the first court volunteer programs began in Royal Oak, Mich., with eight volunteers. The program, Volunteers in Probation, now is a nationwide organization associated with the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Judge Keith Leenhouts, the present director of the program, said that after a few years, the volunteer program was providing about $250,000 a year in services, on a budget of $17,000 from the city. Studies at Royal Oak indicate that volunteers and professionals working together can provide intensive probation services that cannot be supplied in any other way. When probationers from Royal Oak were compared with probationers from nonvolunteer courts, it was found that not only were those from Royal Oak less hostile, but their recidivism rates were drastically lower. At Royal Oak, approximately 15 percent of the probationers committed subsequent offenses, compared with nearly 50 percent of the other group.

Court watching is an activity that involves many thousands of citizens who note the performance of judges and prosecutors, reasons for delays and continuances, presence of bail bond solicitors, and consistency of sentences for comparable offenses. A group of women in Montgomery County, Md., published a detailed report concerning the juvenile court and care procedures as a result of their court-watching experience.

Many citizens are concerned about the extent to which pretrial detention is utilized and have launched studies and reforms to minimize its use consistent with public safety. The Washington, D.C., Pre-Trial Justice Program shares these concerns and has conducted three studies on the pretrial period. They help those

who have been detained in jail by reporting and attempting to resolve cases of error and delay, and by securing admission of some defendants into community programs.

Our citizen groups have implemented innovative projects to divert defendants from the criminal justice system at a point between arrest and trial, thereby reducing caseloads. Improved communication between lawyer and client is the objective of some citizen efforts. Businessmen have volunteered their time to conduct extensive studies of court systems with a view toward effecting speedier justice without adding to court manpower. The judicial process in New York City has been accelerated due to the work of the Economic Development Council, a coalition of 100 businessmen. They found that court backlogs could be reduced by applying businesslike methods to court procedures, a plan that did not require additional public funds.

In a court-administered program, volunteers counsel delinquent youths and their parents in an attempt to strengthen family ties. Court volunteers in Kalamazoo, Mich., spend several hours a month with their court-assigned families. In addition to listening sympathetically to the families' problems, the volunteers help them find medical and other aid, and provide transportation and similar services.

Citizen organizations finance court studies and propose improved methods for the selection of judges. Under a court referral program, community agencies in Alameda County, Calif., each month receive over 100 misdemeanants who have agreed to contribute several hours of their time to work in nonprofit agencies in lieu of fine or imprisonment.

A family court employs liaison referral workers—that is, volunteers who explain the court process to apprehensive parents, gather information about the family to assist the judge, and help families obtain aid from appropriate community agencies. In some jurisdictions, courts use volunteers to assist the families of delinquents in meeting needs and resolving problems.

Volunteer and other court-related programs are discussed in Appendix C.

Corrections-related activities

The corrections component of the criminal justice system is receiving increased attention from professionals and citizens alike. Corrections-oriented citizens efforts may pertain to prisoners, to ex-prisoners, or to those in transition to or from prison.

Qualified citizens volunteer medical and legal aid to inmates and conduct inspections and surveys of jails, prisons, and institutions for juveniles. The Osborne Society has found these surveys useful in encouraging reforms and reorganizations of State institutions. The Society is a national, nonprofit organization that attempts to help juvenile and adult correctional institutions prepare offenders for useful and successful lives in society. Members of other citizen organizations work with prisoners on a one-to-one basis, offering such services as tutoring and recreational activities. Amicus Inc. in Minneapolis, Minn., matches volunteers with inmates upon request. The volunteer, acting as a friend, visits at least once a month and writes regularly while the inmate is in prison.

Through a program of study and discussion, volunteers help inmates prepare for eventual release. The volunteers act as counselors, listeners, and as intermediaries between inmates and their families. Some citizen programs attempt to improve the self-confidence of inmates, who frequently are convinced they are losers and cannot change their lives. This is the purpose of Project Self Respect, which used over 200 volunteers at the Shelby County, Tenn., Penal Farm. They help inmates improves their attitudes towards themselves and others so they will be better equipped to function in the community upon their release.

Friends Outside, Los Altos, Calif., is an example of a community organization that works to meet the immediate needs of inmates and their families by providing friendship, support, recreation, transportation, and emergency food, furniture, and clothing. Other organizations provide education and job training to offenders, while still others press for needed correctional legislation and try to educate the public about the problems facing offenders and correctional institutions.

Many convicted persons are not in prison but in halfway houses or on parole. Homes for runaways and other children in trouble frequently are funded or staffed by citizens. Such residences may be group homes where 15 to 20 youths live, or they may be foster homes. Group homes usually have regular counseling sessions, study periods, housekeeping chores, and recreational opportunities. In other types of residential programs, offenders work or attend school in the com-

munity while progressing through stages of increasing responsibility prior to release. One home, operating in Little Rock, Ark., offers an alternative to incarceration for delinquent and predelinquent girls. The Women's Prison Association and Home in New York City is for those who must make the transition from institutional supervision to community life.

Upon release, ex-offenders frequently need a number of services that can be supplied by concerned citizens. One organization publishes a guide to services for ex-offenders. Many citizens are active in helping ex-offenders find meaningful jobs and otherwise helping them through the transition from prison to community. Many Jaycee chapters have employment programs for ex-offenders.

One chapter, the Joliet East Jaycees, in Illinois, runs the Ex-Offender's Employment project, which has led to jobs and early releases for 300 inmates. Of the first 287 inmates paroled to jobs, only six have been returned to prison, in contrast to 87 returnees out of a similar group of 244 men who were released but who did not participate in the employment project.

Ex-inmates also are assisted in obtaining welfare and medical and legal aid, as well as adequate clothing and housing. Citizen groups also refer ex-offenders with alcohol or drug problems to appropriate community agencies. PACE (Public Action in Correction Effort), in Indianapolis, Ind., provides family counseling and friendship to ex-inmates as well as services in employment counseling, job contacts, and emergency housing. According to one report, statistics show that ex-offenders who have been aided by PACE have a return rate of less than 15 percent, in contrast to the more than 50 percent return rate for those who have not received PACE support.

Some business associations have job training programs for ex-inmates. The New Jersey Automobile Dealers Association, for example, has initiated a training program to prepare youthful former offenders for automotive-related careers.

Citizen parole officers are increasing in number. Each volunteer is matched with one offender and is under the supervision of an experienced parole officer. In one State, the use of volunteers reportedly represents an annual saving of $200,000. In other programs of this type, citizens do not act as volunteer parole officers but simply as friends to the parolees and their families. South Carolina's Department of Corrections has found this approach successful. The youthful offender is asked if he knows someone in his community who might supervise him and help him return to the community.

In one experimental program, police turn over arrested misdemeanants to volunteers who diagnose the offender's problems and devise appropriate correctional measures.

Many citizen groups such as the National Council on Crime and Delinquency are concerned with educating the public and legislators to the potential benefits of work-release programs, community-based corrections, and other diversion measures. NCCD is a strong advocate of community-based corrections and supports the efforts of those who want to stop construction of large medium- and maximum-security prisons and divert the funds into intensive community treatment. One of their top priority goals is the diversion of delinquents from the criminal justice system by the establishment of youth service bureaus.

NCCD's activities, as well as many other programs on corrections, are discussed in Appendix C.

INSURING OFFICIAL INTEGRITY

Although integrity in government is discussed in depth in another chapter of the report, those aspects of the subject which affect, and can be affected by, citizen involvement are treated in this chapter.

Official corruption erodes the efficacy of our democratic form of government and undermines respect for law. Whether a small compromise with integrity or a major violation of public trust, corruption creates a backlash that alienates large segments of the public from their government. This public alienation may range from apathy and cynicism to the violence of outrage.

A Federal judge, upon sentencing a mayor and a public works director to 10 years in prison for breaches of integrity that, over the years "tore at the very heart of our civilized society and our form of government," asked this question:

> How can we calculate the cynicism engendered in our citizens, including our young people, by these men—how does one measure the erosion of confidence in our system of government, and the diminished respect for our laws, occasioned by those men? These very men who, as government officials, inveighed against crime in the streets, while they pursued their own criminal activities in the corridors of city hall? [13]

[13] Judge George H. Barlow, quoted in *The New York Times*, September 23, 1970.

Corruption does not always foster illegal conduct through diminished respect or the law, but if often does undercut efforts to enlist citizens in crime prevention efforts. In 1971, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations concluded that:

> The willingness of citizens to become involved in crime prevention and control efforts, as well as the extent and effectiveness of their participation, depend a great deal on the status of law enforcement and criminal justice agencies in the community's eyes. If they are viewed as being corrupt, as a means of minority suppression, or as tools of a political machine, then citizens will not become involved.[14]

In this sense, therefore, the preeminent anticrime activity appropriate for citizen action is the sustained pursuit and encouragement of governmental integrity.

The job of maintaining official integrity and combating corruption in government cannot be left solely to those who are paid to cope with the problem. The professionals themselves readily admit that without citizen assistance they lack the resources to do what is required. A former high-ranking official on a state investigation commission was correct in stating that, "The best corruption control is a vigilant public." [15]

A 23-year veteran of a police department, when asked how the attitude of the public affects the integrity problem, replied:

> I think this is the single most important thing. If the public is aroused, . . . if they want a more honest Police Department, they will have it. And if they don't concern themselves with this matter, then we won't have it.

This statement is true not just with respect to the police but to the whole range of governmental functions. The public represents the most comprehensive source of feedback available to those in government who are concerned about integrity and who want to be alerted to misconduct. Citizens can perform an immeasurable service by informing the appropriate public officials, a private crime commission, or the media, of misconduct or inefficiencies that may have been triggered by corrupt practices.

Vocal concern by citizens regarding official misconduct can produce results (1) through the ballot box, by removing slow acting officials and (2) through its mere existence, by creating an overall climate that facilitates the successful implementation of needed reforms.

Sustaining public concern, and making that concern evident to public officials, often requires a citizen-sponsored organization capable of researching the facts, conducting investigations, and effectively communicating the results of its research and investigation to the public and the appropriate government officials. (An example of this kind of organization is presented later in this chapter.) Unfortunately, many such organizations are ineffective. But there is no inherent reason why this should be the case despite the absence of subpena and arrest powers.

Signs of corruption

The telltale signs of corruption are the same everywhere.

These are the signs of favoritism and graft, of "sweetheart" contracts and padded public payrolls, of open illegal gambling and bribes for public licenses and permits.

These signs may flourish in full sight of the public and of government officials. But their significance may be lost on the unsuspecting or on the untutored.

This questionnaire should prove useful to public officials, members of civic groups, and the general public. The list of questions is not exhaustive, however. Public officials could perform a valuable service by developing lists of questions that pertain to their own areas of responsibility and providing them to appropriate citizen groups whose members routinely come in contact with government operations. Such groups include vendors, trade associations, chambers of commerce, and professional associations.

Businessmen should be interested in these questions, especially where the presence of corruption could eliminate all possibility of fair and open competition in doing business with the local government. Although most of the questions are oriented toward the government, some are directed at the private sector, which may be involved in the corrupt practice. Citizens should be concerned with the possibility of corruption on both sides.

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[14] Advisory Commission. *State-Local Relations*, p. 263.
[15] Interview, December 1970.

Citizens should act on the basis of identification of the telltale signs of corruption. They can bring the matter to the attention of police, public officials, or the press. Or they might raise the issue during a local political campaign, and ask candidates to take a position on the question of the suspected illegal practice.

ORGANIZING, IMPLEMENTING, AND MANAGING CITIZEN EFFORTS TO REDUCE CRIME

In their desire to attack the crime problem citizens often fail to devote adequate consideration to such crucial questions as: How do we organize? How do we determine the problem areas? How do we establish priorities? How do we obtain funding, assistance of other citizens, and cooperation from public officials? How do we sustain our crime prevention program once it is under way?

The answers to such questions are not an all-purpose prescription for success, but they supply guidelines that can be adapted to the unique conditions of each locality. Many of these guidelines are presented below and later illustrated by three case studies.

Initial organizational decision

Citizens may decide to embark upon an action program for any number of reasons. Out of a general concern about crime, they may want to make an as yet unspecified contribution to is reduction. Or a particularly brutal crime or series of incidents may motivate a group of individuals to direct their collective attention to what they consider to be a well-defined problem.

Whatever the initial reason sparking citizen action, the natural tendency is to form an organization. This is fine, providing no other group in the community is already actively and effectively engaged in the same activity. Duplication of effort is a luxury that crime prevention cannot afford. If individuals wishing to organize find another organization engaged in what they had planned to do, they should check to see if it needs more members or assistance from another organization. In any case, coordination between groups is essential in order to avoid a counterproductive rivalry in which each organization strives to be recognized as the leading crime prevention group in the community.

Organizing for the right reason

Citizen power is still a scarce resource, and one not to be wasted against phantom or minor problems. A series of robberies may not reflect the need for accelerated crime prevention efforts in this area: the crimes might be exceptions to what is actually a below average robbery rate. A citizen's interest in a specific area, such as shoplifting, may not coincide with what is a significant problem in his locality. It is important to ascertain what others consider to be significant problems. The staffs of social agencies and of criminal justice agencies, and clients of these agencies (e.g., poor people, persons held in pretrial detention, court witnesses, jurors, inmates, ex-offenders, and juvenile delinquents) can provide important insights on the significant crime problems.

Determining priorities

Once significant problem areas are pinpointed, action priorities must be selected, for the opportunities will outstrip the available resources of any organization. The course of action selected should fall within the scope of interest of the organization's members or potential members. For example, programs pertaining to strengthening a component of the criminal justice system often do not interest ghetto residents, who frequently distrust the whole criminal justice system. However, programs designed to increase employment opportunities, to prevent consumer fraud, or to help citizens protect themselves and their property, generally stand a better chance of involving minority groups.

Second, the problem selected for attack must be viable within the organization's geographical base and its available manpower, funding, and other resources. Organizations should avoid the tendency to choose automatically the region's top crime problem as their first priority; the chances are that their manpower and finances will be insufficient. To try and fail is frequently worse than not trying at all, for the resultant disillusionment among citizens and public officials who cooperated in the program will impede the success of future citizen efforts, no matter how well equipped they might be.

The head of a citizen crime commission had this in mind when he wrote:

> From the very beginning we have recognized that each ingredient of the criminal justice machinery required our attention, that we were not financially capable of dealing with them simultaneously and comprehensively, but that

good crime prevention and control required massive improvement at each level (police, prosecutors, juries, courts, corrections, and legislation). And, because more than a century of organized crime had intertwined in the total functioning of criminal justice in [the area], we recognized that professionalization and independence were impossible without making organized crime a primary issue and bringing about the reduction of its power and influence.

The years of controversy generated by our persistence in spotlighting organized crime here, and pressuring for government action against it, has probably been our most conspicuous role. But, in fact, that has only been a means to the far more important end of stimulating improvement in the roles of police, courts, prosecutors, probation and parole and of the City Council, and State Legislature.[16]

A third consideration in determining priorities is to be sure that the action program selected does not create more problems than it solves. For example, in a community where street crime is a severe problem, a citizen group may organize in order to promote the hiring of more patrolmen. Robbery arrests may increase, but the courts and correctional facilities may not be able to handle the increased caseload adequately, with the result that criminals are soon back on the street. In this case a more desirable objective would have been better street lighting, which might have discouraged robberies without adding to arrest totals. This example highlights the need for citizen organizations to become acquainted with the components of the criminal justice system—and their interrelationship—before tackling projects affecting any one of those components.[17]

As one observer has noted:

Simplistic approaches and solutions to the problems of crime . . . should be avoided. For example, it is of little benefit to proclaim that the entire problem of crime on the streets is due to alleged leniency of judges, or policy laxity or restrictive decisions of the United States Supreme Court, etc. The root causes of these problems are deep and complex and any simple cure-all formula is a deception.

Any suggested action in a crime prevention program should be first tested by determining if the objective of that action is obtainable and looking to see if the action will contribute effectively to the desired result. Attempts to solve unreachable problems at the outset is not only frustrating but will lead to the failure of the program.[18]

Recruiting Citizen Assistance

Word of mouth, publicity by media, and talks before community organizations are among the many ways the initial members of a crime prevention effort can attract added manpower.

In one city, a citizen-administered program, Volunteers in Probation (VIP), reported the following:

With virtually no formal recruitment, citizens apply to VIP at the rate of about 50 persons per month. Most VIP prospects learn of the program from staff, friends actively involved in VIP, from instructors, or from service clubs. Only minimal use is made of mass media.

Community organizations which actively support VIP include the Kiwanis Clubs, Junior League, Circle K Clubs, Community Involvement Bureau, Bar Auxiliary, National Council for Jewish Women, Alcoholics Anonymous, Sierra Club and many other community organizations.

Most persons who are interested in Volunteers in Probation are college educated. Almost half are male. About five percent represent minority races. About 80 percent attend school or are employed. About ten percent are housewives.

Every effort is made to select mature, stable, reliable persons, to serve in VIP. Each applicant must attend orientation classes, submit an application, and be interviewed.

Police, sheriff, and probation records are checked. An arrest record does not necessarily obviate membership. VIPs include former offenders who contribute much to the program. The applicant's attitude, not his record, is the final determining factor.

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[16] Letter from Aaron M. Kahn, Managing Director, Metropolitan Crime Commission of New Orleans, La., to the National Advisory Commission on Crimmal Justice Standards and Goals, October 2, 1972.

[17] *Marshalling Power Citizen Against Crime*, published by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, summarizes the problems shared by components of the criminal justice system.

[18] Herbert B. Newberg, "Building Local Citizen Alliances to Reduce Crime and Create a Fairer and More Effective Criminal Justice System," *Journal of Urban Law* (February 1972), p. 470.

> Reference letters are sent to three persons named by the applicant. Usually the application is approved when two favorable references are recorded.
>
> In special projects, some aspects of the screening are waived. In these projects, either the volunteer is closely supervised or the project coordinator is responsible for selection.[19]

Volunteer recruitment and selection practiced in a sampling of programs funded by LEAA reveals a somewhat less rigid approach, as described in the LEAA publication, *Volunteers in Law Enforcement Programs* (1972):

> Volunteers are generally becoming aware of the needs of law enforcement programs through verbal communications from a speaker at a meeting, conference or in an academic situation. He usually knows someone who is already involved with the program.
>
> Screening of volunteers seldom is formalized. They fill out an application, may or may not be interviewed, and seldom are they required to give references. Education requirements are not of primacy. One director in a southern city indicated that the average level of education of his volunteers was 10.5 grades of high school and he emphasized that the over-educated individual sometimes has difficulty in relating to the inmate and his family problems. Minority members are actively recruited, but are difficult to obtain, because of a barrier in the community attitudes on the police. In the corrections and probation activities, there does not appear to be any difficulty in recruiting minority members.
>
> One Project Director screens volunteers to discourage those who have such high values and rigid mores that they would not be able to understand the youth or man who was in trouble and needed assistance and a sympathetic friend to guide him. Most of the volunteers are white collar workers and a lower proportion are in the crafts or hard hat occupations. Many already belong to some type of community organization such as a church group, CIVITAN, fraternal and veterans organization.

Programs that attempt to prevent specific crimes have fairly well-defined recruitment targets. A campaign against shoplifting, for example, might require the involvement of merchants. Programs pertaining to self-help protection against burglary, for example, would enlist the participation of each neighborhood resident. In this type of effort, neighborhood block leaders are helpful.

> Motivation for a program is most effective when it comes from a peer member. Black leaders should initiate programs among black people; young leaders should commence and lead programs among youth; business leaders should guide businessmen; suburban leaders should inspire suburban leaders, and so forth.[20]

A Chamber of Commerce publication advises that citizens should not be recruited for a crime prevention effort "unless they have the time to fulfill these assigned responsibilities and unless they are prepared to serve for reasonable periods. High turnover and do-nothing . . . members spell failure." [21]

Dealing with Public Officials

Although almost all citizen crime prevention organizations stress the need for cooperation and cordial relations with officials, there is substantial opinion that public servants should not be admitted as members. A book entitled *Marshaling Citizen Power Against Crime* advances three reasons for this opinion:

> 1. The absence of public officials on the [crime prevention] committee better assures the committee's independence, impartiality, and objectivity, which in turn enhances the stature of subsequent recommendations not only among the general public but also among legislative bodies and the public officials themselves.
>
> 2. A nongovernmental membership promotes franker, more productive discussions regarding criminal justice problems. For example, a lawyer giving information to the committee might have second thoughts about fully disclosing criminal court problems if a judge before whom he has a case is sitting on the committee. Or if someone is informing the committee about police problems or deficiencies, he may be considerably less than forthright if the chief of police is serving on the committee. And a former inmate of a local correctional facility may be hesitant to criticize its operation if a correctional officer is represented on the committee.

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[19] San Diego County Probation Department (mimeographed report, February 1972).
[20] Newberg, "Building Local Citizen Alliances," p. 468.
[21] Chamber of Commerce, *Marshaling Citizen Power*, p. 81.

3. A policy of no public officials minimizes both the chances and the impact of charges that the committee is being manipulated by, and to the advantage of, its members holding public office.[22]

The executive director of a citizen crime commission remarked that:

> It is a proven fact that a citizen crime commission, or civic improvement organization, being of a non-official character, has available to it, from the public, information not readily available to agencies of the Government and law enforcement departments. The public feels secure in the fact that they can furnish information to a non-official citizens organization and not become involved.[23]

Citizen groups, far from regarding public officials as adversaries, usually attempt to work with them and depend on their assistance to achieve goals of mutual interest. In most cases, the relationship is harmonious and productive. A policy guideline memorandum adopted by a citizen organization thus might contain the following items:

> First, give public officials an initial benefit of the doubt by supporting them and helping them achieve agreed-upon crime prevention objectives.
>
> Second, do not attempt to preempt the responsibilities of officeholders nor occupy the spotlight of public acclaim for whatever is achieved through cooperation with public servants. Be content to stay in the background and give credit to those within the system, who, after all, are the ones the public will blame in the event of failure.
>
> Third, impress upon officials that your citizen group has thoroughly researched its proposed program and has the necessary resources to help implement it. In other words, anticipate and attempt to overcome a certain amount of cynicism by public officials, who may have dealt previously with do-gooders who were long on promises and short on results.
>
> Fourth, implement projects on a pilot basis at first and select those that will yield visible results within a year. Pilot projects are more likely to gain the support of officials. Mistakes can be made—and profited from—without jeopardizing the entire program. Projects whose positive results become visible relatively early boost the morale and reputation of the group and inspire confidence in the program by officials, who will be encouraged to expand the program or, as has frequently happened, adopt it as a government service or reform.

The difficulty of gaining official support for new programs is intensified by the fact that:

> Some agencies have developed sophisticated defenses against outside pressures for change which involve cumbersome administrative procedures that can block new proposals at various steps. For this reason if active support for the new program can be gained, at least in part, from someone within the agency, the program stands a better chance of overcoming the diversion and delay tactics sometimes employed.[24]

When such delay tactics cannot be overcome by a citizen organization, or when malfeasance, misfeasance, or nonfeasance is involved, the usual approach is to take the organization's case directly to the public via the media.

Financing citizen action

The greatest limitation imposed on citizen groups is often a lack of funds. Common funding sources include membership dues, foundation grants, corporate donations, private contributions, and government aid. Some organizations are able to generate sufficient funds through bazaars, suppers, and speaking fees.

Realistic estimates of financial requirements are essential, as are assurances that funding needs will be met on a continuing basis. Too often programs are begun without adequate planning for long-term financing. For instance, one citizen group obtained a sizable grant for initial action, but its project died as soon as the initial funds were drained.

Several advocates of citizen action recommend that such efforts receive increased Federal funding, but in a way that preserves independent action:

> In reflection, while the independent character of a citizen organization can best be assured through funding by corporations, businesses, financial insititutions, organizations, and individuals, this area continues to pose a

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[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

[23] Letter from a member of a citizen crime commission to the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, October 5, 1972.

[24] Polk, *Non-Metropolitan Delinquency*, p. 19.

problem. . . . The financial market to fund civic, service and other organizations is highly competitive. In keeping with the Constitutional guarantee that ours is a Government "of the people, for the people and by the people," and since a citizen organization . . . provides a truly genuine system of "checks and balances," I personally believe that the Federal Government, through an independent agency or corporation, could provide funds to assist these organizations to function within their area without the peril of succumbing due to lack of funds. Such funds could be made available to organizations which meet specific guidelines with respect to character and operation and should be administered directly from the Federal agency or corporation to the citizen group.

The State should not be involved as intermediary in the disbursement or allocation of such funds. On the other hand, when the local citizen organization has qualified for such funds it should be permitted the freedom to dispense and use this financial assistance to the best interest of the community. I believe you will find that areas of the country which are in need of such citizen organizations are economically depressed and cannot adequately fund a citizen operation to function in the best interest of the community.[25]

The Commission believes that government should give support, including financial support, to citizen efforts aimed at preventing crime and improving the environment. State and local funding agencies should earmark for community organizations a portion of funds available under the recently enacted revenue sharing legislation and a portion of the funds granted to them under the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration program. A possible vehicle for the use of such funds might be found in the establishment of neighborhood subunits of government. This approach is embodied in legislation enacted by the Indiana State Legislature in 1972.

Training requirements

Almost all citizen crime prevention efforts require considerable self-education by key participants. Frequently members of an organization must receive special training. Citizens in a police reserve unit receive 160 hours of training prior to field service. Probation volunteers in one city attend a 5-week series of training sessions held in conjunction with a community college. Members of a corrections-oriented citizen group undergo 8 hours of training that includes a visit to the local jail, a discussion with judges and the prosecuting attorney, attendance at one or more court sessions, and a number of workshops.

Consideration of training requirements at the outset of volunteer programs could mean the difference between a positive contribution to crime prevention and a disappointing experience for all concerned.

Sustaining the momentum of citizen action

The history of citizen crime prevention organizations is replete with examples of initial enthusiasm, followed by a burst of activity, and extinction a few months later.

Perhaps the most important factor in sustaining momentum is adequate leadership. For example, a citizen anticrime effort involving an analysis of the case flow through a criminal court system might be headed by businessmen. On the other hand, an organization whose success depends on grassroots participation might find that the best leaders are the respected residents on the block or in the neighborhood.

Thus a leader might hold a Ph. D., or a pick and shovel. If an individual commands respect and is able to produce results by working with people whose involvement is essential to the success of a crime prevention program, that person is a leader. "The presumption that all people of central importance in a community are generally known is false. Many go unrecognized by most people and others prefer not to have their names thrust before the public."[26] The reputed, highly visible leaders are not always cognizant of the real problems of the community.

Many anticrime organizations are born as the result of a local crisis, and became crisis-dependent for their continued existence. If subsequent crises do not materialize, the organization loses motivation and momentum. A citizen organization should draw sustenance not from the recurrence of crises, but from the programs it devises to meet such crises and the positive results of those programs.

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[25] Letter to the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals from a citizen crime commission, October 5, 1972.

[26] Chamber of Commerce of the United States, *Forward Thrust—A Process for Mobilizing Total Community Resources* (Washington: Chamber of Commerce, 1969), p. 8.

A common cause of organizational lethargy is the failure to delegate responsibility sufficiently far down into the organization. When this happens, capable people are left out of the policymaking process or receive assignments that are incompatible with their talents and personalities. As a result they lose interest and drop out. Delegation of responsibility and accountability is an essential ingredient in the success of any organization.

Delegated assignments should be unambiguous. A member should know precisely what he is supposed to do, the limits of his assignment, and the time he has to complete it. Slipshod performance should not be tolerated or rationalized on the basis that the work is being performed by volunteers.

A major reason for the success of many citizen organizations is their enlightened use of the press and other media. Media coverage spurs funding and recruitment efforts, enhances the morale of an organization's members, and promotes the credibility and influence of the group.

To foster good press relations, the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, under its "Operation Opportunity" program, advises the following:

1. See the right persons at the right time. Do not take up their time when they are close to their deadlines.
2. If the press asks you for information, give it quickly and without qualification.
3. Do not be offended when the press checks your story. That's their job.
4. Be sure the story has news value and deserves press attention.
5. Contact the press personally whenever possible. Keep articles brief.
6. Furnish photographs when appropriate.
7. Do not expect to be shown an advance copy of your story.
8. Use news conferences sparingly.
9. Be honest with media. Give them only facts.
10. Create and maintain good feelings with other individuals and groups who are assisting you in your efforts. Never hesitate to give credit where credit is due.[27]

Evaluating results

Have robberies declined because of better street lighting? Is there less juvenile crime as a result of the stay-in-school campaign? Is recidivism reduced because of an employment program for ex-offenders? Most citizen organizations do not have the means to obtain rigorous statistical answers to such questions. Full-scale evaluation often costs more than all other projects combined. Nevertheless, citizen groups need to obtain some sort of feedback about their programs.

If a program focuses on dropouts, an evaluation of its effectiveness could be obtained inexpensively through answers to such questions as these: How many dropouts are school administrators aware of? Of this number, how many has the program contacted? Of those contacted, how many have permitted program members to help them? And, of those assisted, how many returned to school—and have stayed there?

Although basing results on reported crime is often unreliable, some measure of the effectiveness of a neighborhood's improved lighting, for example, can be obtained from the trend of street crimes reported to the police on a before and after basis. Further, the trend of reported street crime in the adjoining neighborhood can serve as a rough indicator of whether crime in the well-lighted neighborhood was merely displaced.

A citizen organization promoting a property identification program might ascertain how many burglaries participating families experience over a given period in comparison with a similar number of nonparticipating families in the neighborhood.

Without feedback, citizen programs can flounder without anyone realizing it. With no means to evaluate results, slight changes in emphasis or direction, which could mean the difference between success and failure, cannot be made on a rational basis.

In addition, morale can suffer because members have no sense of accomplishment. Finally, if results cannot be documented, the organization is likely to lose credibility, financial support, and acceptance by the community. Although evaluation may pertain to the end product of citizen efforts, it is a procedure that must be built into an operation at its inception.

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[27] U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, "Operation Opportunity" Program, in Junior Chamber publication (Tulsa, Okla., 1970).

ESTABLISHING AND OPERATING A CITIZEN ORGANIZATION: THREE CASE STUDIES

The following case studies of three citizen organizations, which differ from one another in several significant ways, are presented to show how the managerial or administrative guidelines discussed above can be tailored to local conditions, problems, and objectives.

The Indianapolis Anti-Crime Crusade channels the energies of thousands of Indianapolis, Ind., women volunteers into a wide range of crime prevention efforts. Though primarily citywide in scope, the Crusade's impact is felt at the State and national levels as well. In contrast, men and women in the Roxbury section of Boston, Mass., focus their anticrime activities on a 21-block minority neighborhood, often referred to as the Sav-More area. The organizational problems involved in forming and sustaining a coalition of diverse citizen organizations are explored in the third case study, which spotlights the New York, N.Y.-based, National Alliance for Safer Cities.

The Indianapolis Anti-Crime Crusade

Five years after its formation in 1962, the Indianapolis Anti-Crime Crusade was described by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice as the "most dramatic example in the country of a citizens' group that has addressed itself forcefully and successfully to the problems of crime and criminal justice."

Incensed by the death of a 90-year-old psychologist and retired teacher at the hands of a teenage purse snatcher, 30 leaders of the major women's clubs of Indianapolis held a meeting in March 1962, at the suggestion of the assistant publisher of the Indianapolis News. Within weeks, local women's organizations, representing about 50,000 members, combined resources and formed the crusade.

Today, according to a crusade publication, the group has over 60,000 participants and its pattern for reducing crime has been used in 50 major cities and in 500 smaller ones.

Organizationally, the crusade is a federation, but one with no dues, bylaws, constitution, budget, governmental financing, or membership list. A woman does not become a member of the crusade; she participates as a volunteer worker in it. The emphasis is on action.

The crusade federation has an executive board comprised of a general chairwoman, vice chairwoman, executive secretary, coordinator, and the chairwomen of 14 divisions (program areas). The board meets every 6 to 8 weeks to discuss goals, plans, and problems.

The 14 division chairwomen are delegated responsibility—and accountability—for work in their respective areas, such as street lighting, dropouts, corrections, police, drug abuse, and vocational guidance. (The crusade's major programs are discussed in detail later in this chapter.) This delegation of responsibility far down into the organization is consistent with sound decisionmaking and contributes significantly to meaningful participation, sustained interest, and continuing momentum.

After the initial luncheon meeting, the women spent 6 months studying the crime problem and setting priorities. They avoided plunging headlong into projects before there was a demonstrated need for them. Committees of two contacted all agencies of local government whose activities had a bearing on crime reduction—from educators to law enforcement officials. The women asked officials what they were doing in the crime prevention area and how women could help. They probed areas that others had overlooked, or that experts had neither time nor money to address adequately.

Gradually, a number of problem areas were identified and marketed for attention, including those within and outside the criminal justice system. At this point, the crusade avoided another common mistake by deciding to tackle each problem initially on a modest, pilot basis. As a crusade publication noted, the women started simply: they "curbed one crime, put one dropout back in school, got one bright new light on one dark street, sat one day in court to observe, helped one problem child, assisted one father to get a job."

This pilot project approach enabled the volunteers to correct and profit from initial mistakes without jeopardizing an entire program, and served to facilitate cooperation from public officials. Once a pilot program is successfully implemented, public officials are much more disposed to permit a full-scale effort.

A good example of this strategy, and of how volunteers work with rather than against or independently of government personnel, is the way the crusade implemented its stay-in-school program.

Having discovered from police records that dropouts were responsible for the majority of juvenile crimes, a committee of women met with school counselors and received a number of insights. The women proposed to contact dropouts personally to discover why they discontinued their schooling and to attempt to remedy the causes on a face-to-face basis.

The women persuaded principals to release the names of 28 dropouts. Twenty-six returned to school. Of the two who did not, one was too ill and the other had moved from Indianapolis. On the basis of the success of the pilot project, school authorities gave the volunteers the names of 500 additional dropouts, and the program expanded accordingly. The crusade estimates that it has returned more than 2,000 youths to school.

From the beginning the crusade has operated on the premise that it should avoid areas in which public officials already have the resources to do the job. When necessary, volunteers spur officials to perform the tasks for which taxpayers have already provided the supplies, equipment, and salaries.

In pursuing their activities, the volunteers learned that, while a dark alley could be lighted within days, great patience and tact were required before other projects would yield the desired results. To effect court reform, for example, the crusade advises that "this may take six years as it did in Indianapolis." Also the crusade does not engage in internecine crime prevention rivalry with other groups. On the contrary, it has sought and welcomed assistance from such groups as the local chamber of commerce, Jaycees, Rotarians, Kiwanis, and Optimist and Exchange clubs.

Initial selection of chairwomen for the crusade's various divisions or program areas was based on the interest exhibited by volunteers at early organizational gatherings. For example, the person who spoke up and suggested that better street lighting would be an appropriate area of concern was designated to head that effort. Whenever a replacement is needed, the executive board selects the new chairwoman. The capable leadership resulting from this process is a major reason for the long and productive life of the crusade.

The original group of 30 women recruited additional volunteers by canvassing their various clubs for support. Strong media support also was of great assistance. Today the crusade has achieved such momentum that outside recruitment assistance is not necessary. However, continued media backing for the group has proved to be a major factor in attracting volunteers.

Although the crusade operates without a formal budget, it must raise money to finance the incidental expenses of its many programs. One year, for example, the dropout program required $4,000. Volunteers generated funds through bazaars, chili suppers, benefit book reviews, and speaking engagements.

Costs for mimeographing, printing, and mailing may be underwritten by industry, foundations, and other organizations. Business firms frequently donate space for meetings. In 1968, the crusade received $12,500 as first prize in the Community Improvement Program sponsored by the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Sears-Roebuck Foundation. In 1972, this money, plus the $2,500 in accumulated interest, helped establish the crusade's most recent venture—Girls Living Centers, Inc. The one residence now in operation provides a home for preteen girls in need of attention.

The Anti-Crime Crusade has played a major role in launching similar efforts in other cities. Those who believe the Indianapolis pattern might be appropriate for their communities may obtain additional information from the Anti-Crime Crusade, 5343 North Arlington Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind. 46226.

The Sav-More neighborhood of Roxbury, Mass.

Residents of the 21-block area comprising the Sav-More (Savin and Moreland, two of the district's streets) neighborhood in the Roxbury section of greater Boston, Mass., have much in common with the citizens of Indianapolis, Ind. There is crime in their neighborhood and they are concerned about it. They realize that if private citizens are unwilling to accept responsibility for crime prevention, little progress will be made.

But there are major differences, too. Of the approximately 5,000 residents, about 50 percent are under 21 years old; 93 percent are black; and 27 percent are members of families whose incomes are beneath the poverty level. Sav-More residents experience significant unemployment, poor health, housing problems, and, according to one observer, "urban anonymity and lack of recourse to responsive social service systems." As a result, crime prevention frequently has a lower priority than more immediate problems such as no heat or no water.

Citizen involvement in crime prevention is not absent from Sav-More, but the realities of the neighborhood have precluded application of the Indianapolis strategy. There is no array of women's service organizations in the neighborhood that can be mobilized. Although women outnumber men, they are preoccupied as the head of household in about 40 percent of the families. Existing civic associations have difficulty finding financial support within the neighborhood and do not possess the influence of organizations whose members are closer to the power structure.

About 17 percent of the respondents to a survey conducted in 1971 believed they could not contribute to the well-being of the neighborhood, and 34 percent stated they did not want to help. The survey concluded: "Hence we see that most residents do not see the need for a united community nor do they think it is a feasible idea." [28]

In 1969, Sav-More had the eighth highest crime rate of the 74 neighborhoods of Boston, Mass. Between 1969 and 1971, the year of the survey, many categories of crime increased in Sav-More—some at a rate substantially above the citywide figure. The fear of crime had developed to the point that residents were not only afraid to venture into the streets at night but were resigned to the inevitability of being attacked in broad daylight in busy streets.

Procedures to inculcate a sense of community and to spur individual action were set in motion by a citizen association, a community service agency, and an infusion of government funds. The Sav-More Neighborhood Association and the Roxbury Multi-Service Center (RMSC) played prominent roles.

The Sav-More Neighborhood Association and the Roxbury Multi-Service Center both became operational in 1965. The former is operated by area residents and deals with a variety of neighborhood concerns through its many committees, one of which addresses the crime problem.

The RMSC serves an area of 28,000 inhabitants—including those in the Sav-More neighborhood. It is a community service agency located in the district it serves and, under one roof, provides counseling, guidance, and action on corrections, mental health, housing, legal neighborhood, family, and personal problems. The RMSC is staffed by professionals and shares decisionmaking with area residents to a singificant extent.

One component of RMSC is a community organization and development unit, which sponsors the Sav-More Community Security Program, an "effort to decrease crime in our neighborhood through citizen participation and better police services." This program resulted from the combined action of the Sav-More Association and the RMSC.

During 1968–69, both the RMSC and the Sav-More Association felt the need for organizational mechnisms that would help residents build enough community strength to deal effectively with their problems, and to learn organizational skills helping them compete for actual resources benefiting neighborhood development. Both felt that social unrest and the deterioration of community life had resulted from an inability of city officials and community institutions to meet the area's needs. And both knew that the vast majority of residents were not affiliated with a community organization despite the fact that they were apprehensive over the deterioration of the area and their property and the rising crime rate.

Both groups concluded that increased citizen participation would evoke feelings of self-identity and pride, decrease social apathy, and facilitate organizations for purposes of social control. Accordingly, they decided to empahsize better police-community relations and to rebuild a sense of community.

In March 1971, the RMSC received government funding to establish a 6-month pilot project—the Sav-More Community Security Program, which was subsequently refunded. Funding was provided by the Boston Mayor's Safe Streets Act Advisory Committee, which, through its citizen security program, strives to combat crime by reducing public apathy and by minimizing the citizen's tendency to leave crime reduction to the professionals. The committee, in turn, receives funds from the Governor's Public Safety Committee, through which Law Enforcement Assistance Administration monies are channeled.

Early efforts

At its inception, the program's goals were to open lines of communication between residents and police through community meetings, to create more responsible interaction among neighbors, to strengthen the informal crime controls of the community, and to reduce burglaries and other crimes. Efforts to achieve these goals have benefited by close cooperation between the Sav-More Association

[28] Roxbury Multi-Service Center, Boston, Mass. (survey report, 1972), p. 7.

and RMSC Sav-More Community Security Program. Joint community meetings were held to describe Sav-More crime fighting ideas and projects to an audience wider than either organization could have reached separately. Several Sav-More Association members are also Sav-More Community Security Program workers.

A director, three full-time, and nine part-time workers were hired to staff the security program. Salaries and expenses were met by governmental funding. The part-time workers were recruited from the Sav-More neighborhood and were given responsibility for introducing residents to the ideas and projects of the program and for encouraging attendance at periodic community meetings.

The three full-time workers patrolled the area in a rented car equipped with a two-way radio. Possessing neither firearms nor power of arrest, they were able, nonetheless, to spot antisocial incidents, assist parties requiring aid, contact the police when necessary, and generally exemplify the benefits of citizens helping other citizens.

Full- and part-time workers filed incident reports, on which they listed types of incidents handled, antisocial behavior observed, illegal activity suspected, and crimes reported. Citizens began reporting many types of suspicious activities to the workers, particularly the movement of vans taking furniture from houses—a testimony to their growing concern for neighbors' property. In some cases, the vans were being driven by blatant daylight burglars.

Part-time workers kept a record of persons they contacted on their assigned streets. The workers noted the person's name, address, phone number, and any comments made about the security program or the problems facing the area. The program was thus a block-by-block effort to solicit new ideas and obtain feedback from citizens regarding current projects. Full-time workers also engaged in this activity along with their patrol duties.

In addition, RMSC staff, in conjunction with the Sav-More Association, conducted a survey to ascertain residents' attitudes toward crime. Among the findings were: (1) in descending order, the groups considered to contribute most to area crime were blacks, teenagers, whites, outsiders, neighbors, drug addicts, and Puerto Ricans; (2) burglary was felt to be the most serious problem, followed by street robbery, assault, drugs, rape, auto theft, prostitution, and gambling; (3) the police were felt to be only somewhat cooperative with community residents in their efforts to improve the neighborhood; and (4) dialogue among neighbors on a block or within the Sav-More area was limited, although most residents wanted friendly neighbors.

The survey also revealed some paradoxes. Most respondents did not call policemen when in trouble, but 36 percent wanted more police. Although most recorded crimes occurred in the home during daylight hours (breaking and entering when residents were away from the premises), the major concern was nighttime safety. The most frequent suggestion of respondents was "more lights."

The Sav-More Community Security Program experienced some administrative problems. Internal communication and coordination among the program's staff, and between the program's director and his RMSC supervisor, were not all they could have been. Completion of incident report forms, community contact sheets, etc., was uneven.

Better means had to be devised to evaluate changing crime patterns and staff performance. There was some evidence of misuse of agency time and incompetent performance by some workers, which might have been avoided by a more rigorous screening of applicants. Staff turnover also posed a problem. The resignation of the program's director hampered progress for several months, until a replacement was found.

During the early stages of the program, some staff members were disappointed with the community's response. They met indifference and vague promises to attend the next meeting. Workers found that, in addition to crime, other issues had to be addressed to stimulate attendance at the biweekly community meetings. The resultant barrage of complaints (abandoned cars, empty dwellings, rusty water, etc.) "added to administrative difficulties as the staff tried to provide adequate referrals to appropriate sources of help and maintain some sort of systematic follow-up on complaints." [29]

Also, neighborhood workers frequently observed that community expectations of what the program could accomplish exceeded reality. A promise to "see what we can do" about the many security and city service complaints was taken as a guarantee of immediate relief. Sharp disappointment resulted whenever conditions did not improve.

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[29] *Ibid.*

The same applied to the community's reaction to the security patrol car and staff. Residents were relieved that someone was watching out for them, and this heightened their feeling of security. But the staff members on patrol were not meant to be police and had to cover a 21-block area. When, inevitably, the patrol could not respond to an incident, neighborhood disappointment was much greater than it would have been after a slow police response, which was more or less fatalistically accepted.

The patrol team itself felt it received an inadequate response from police, even though the precinct's captains supported the security program. The problem was that the officer on the beat was unfamiliar with the program. Because few patrolmen lived in the area, it was difficult to meet with them as a group; for example evening meetings of officers on daytime patrols would have involved overtime pay unavailable to the precinct.

Change of Emphasis

As a result of these and similar problems, the Sav-More Community Security Program staff decided to change its emphasis from an effort to protect the community, to one designed to help the community protect itself. Thus the staff patrol car project was discontinued in July 1971. However, monthly police-community meetings were continued and attendance increased as time went on.

To cultivate self-help, mutual assistance, and an increase in overall citizen involvement in crime prevention, a number of new projects were initiated. One was the Sav-More House Watch Contract, a mutual agreement among neighbors to be alert to, and report to police any suspicious behavior around another's house and property. Though not legally binding, the contract went one step beyond mere verbal agreement and, as such, was a big step for most to take. It emphasized that a concerted effort by all was in progress to decrease crime, and deepened the feeling among residents that community protection was their responsibility.

In conjunction with the House Watch project, residents were urged not to tolerate traffic in stolen goods or buy goods suspected of being stolen. In addition, the security program initiated a property engraving campaign. As neighborhood workers spoke with residents about House Watch Contracts, they also encouraged them to engrave their social security numbers on household goods and to list items so marked. The workers supplied the engraving tool and maintained a record of each participating household. As neighborhood workers made their rounds, they offered residents crime fighting tips, household security suggestions, and referral information.

A drive for improved street lighting succeeded in mobilizing strong community support. An 800-signature petition was sent to the appropriate city agency. Because city funds were not available, street lighting remains an area of great concern.

An evolving sense of community was dramatically in evidence when, early in 1972, the planned opening of a lounge bar by alleged criminal elements was regarded by the neighborhood as a threat. Spurred into action by the Sav-Mor Association and the Sav-More Community Security Program, residents successfully opposed licensing of the proposed bar, whose owners were allegedly connected with prostitution, drugs, and gambling.

The regular police-community meetings also increased the level of citizen involvement. After five or six such meetings, residents were able to voice complaints and indicate why they did not cooperate with police at times. And the police, in turn, explained the difficulties they face in terms of manpower and facilities. The police also indicated how residents could utilize police services more effectively.

According to one observer, police now note a definite improvement in community cooperation and an increase in the number of incidents reported to police. Increased reporting has led to police investigations of three bars, resulting in "31 arrests on various charges including possession of narcotics, gaming violations, and violations of the alcoholic beverage laws." [30]

In short, the Sav-More Community Security Program has achieved a heightened sense of community, an increased desire on the part of residents to protect themselves and their neighbors, and the belief that neighborhood crime can be fought successfully by concerned citizens.

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[30] Boston Mayor's Safe Streets Advisory Committee, *The Sav-More Community Security Program* (draft, 1972), p. 34.

Additional information about the management, administration, and other policies of the security program can be obtained from the Director, Sav-More Community Security Program, Roxbury Multi-Service Center, 310 Blue Hill Avenue, Roxbury, Mass. 02121.

National Alliance for Safer Cities

Citizen groups working within a coalition can avoid duplication of services, working at cross-purposes, and wasting valuable human and material resources. A coalition with carefully framed internal policies and procedures fosters inter-organization cooperation and the presentation of a united front, and at the same time insures the independence of each member.

With these objectives in mind, the National Alliance for Safer Cities was initiated in 1970 by the American Jewish Committee, with the cosponsorship of 12 other organizations whose memberships cut across racial, occupational, political and religious lines. By October 1972, the alliance had expanded to embrace 6 national and regional organizations, including the AFL–CIO Urban Affairs Department, Americans for Democratic Action, Fortune Society, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Businessmen's Council, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, National Urban League, and the Vera Institute of Justice.

Local autonomous alliances, whose creation was spearheaded by the national organization, are found in Boston, Mass., Chicago, Ill., Cleveland, Ohio, Dallas, Tex., the District of Columbia, Houston, Tex., Kansas City, Mo., Miami, Fla., Newark, N.J., New York, N.Y., Philadelphia, Pa., Phoenix, Ariz., and St. Louis, Mo. As of July 1972, the Philadelphia Alliance had 38 members, ranging from the Council of Spanish Speaking Organizations to the Philadelphia Bar Association. At about the same time, the addition of 10 new members, including the New York Junior League and the Bedford Stuyvesant Ex-Offender Program, raised the membership of the National Alliance to 61 organizations.

The common goal of the diverse groups comprising the National Alliance is to reduce crime and the fear of crime in America by establishing various educational programs and related activities "designed to counteract repressive concepts and activities whether by extremists of the right or left and to prevent the expropriation by them of issues of crime and violence for repressive or similar ulterior aims."

By attempting to depolarize the crime issue, the alliance has attracted a wide spectrum of organizations, including some that had not previously addressed the problem of crime in the streets to any significant degree. But to build and sustain a broad base of support, the alliance had to devise dissension procedures that did not preclude the continued participation of the dissenting agency.

First, the alliance takes action or a position on an issue only when there is a substantial consensus. Second, as stated in the bylaws:

> Participating organizations retain their autonomy and distinct identities and are the sole arbiters of their own positions, policies and programs. Policies and recommendations arrived at by consensus in the Alliance are not binding upon the participating organization, providing that any dissenting members shall notify the secretary of the Alliance to that effect.

A member may publicly register its dissent or abstention from a consensus position by (1) directing the alliance to omit the member's name from the list of organizations supporting the position or (2) pursuing any other method of dissent mutually agreed upon by the alliance and the dissenter.

The wide range of organizations—both large and small—belonging to the alliance precludes the use of a flat fee dues system. A provision in the bylaws of the alliance addresses this problem as follows:

> Participation in the activities and program of the Alliance carries with it an equal responsibility to participate in the financing of the common enterprise. Each participating organization is expected to make an annual financial contribution commensurate with its means and resources.

The National Alliance does not receive government funds, although some local member groups do.

Possible alliance programs are screened and priorities are established through a committee process. Thus, while the organization does not depend on external crises to sustain its momentum, it is nevertheless affected by such occurrences as the Attica revolt, which spurred the alliance to propose a bill of rights for prisoners based on the United Nations minimum standards for the treatment of prisoners. This event also led the alliance to study the alternatives to incarceration.

Organizationally, the national board of the alliance is composed of one representative from each member organization and from each local alliance. Ex, officio members are the alliance's officers—its chairman, vice chairman, secretary and treasurer.

The national board elects an executive board, which functions as a board of directors. In addition to the alliance's officers, this board consists of chairmen of all committees and not more than 15 additional representatives from alliance members, plus six representatives of local alliances.

The National Alliance requires local alliances to enlist a membership that adequately represents the political, racial, and religious makeup of the community. To the extent this is the case, the local alliance stands a much better chance of being regarded as the voice of the community, rather than as one of many factions.

Outside of this requirement, local alliances operate independently of the national organization. The latter does provide local groups with information pertaining to funding, bylaws, and other organizational matters, but the local alliances may accept or reject this advice as they see fit.

Essential ingredient in the organizational process of local alliances is the designation of a person—not a committee—to act as a full-time organizer and as the one responsible for subsequent followthrough. In the absence of such a person, the chances of success in launching and sustaining the organization are said to be greatly diminished. The matter of securing adequate funding to provide a salary for this individual is thus of immediate concern.

A strategy frequently recommended to those attempting to organize local alliances is to interview and enlist representatives of key groups before holding the initial organizational meeting. Those invited to this meeting should be representative of the community, otherwise excluded groups may take offense and later refuse to join the alliance.

Another recommendation is that government officials should not participate as members because subsequent positions taken by the alliance could embarrass such members. Finally, alliance organizers are encouraged to develop an intelligent program to motivate the group, and not to depend on local crises to sustain interest.

An official of the National Alliance reports that prospective members of local alliances often ask why another citizen group is needed, and whether the new group wouldn't duplicate other efforts. The appropriate reply, he notes, is that no other organization fulfills the objectives of the alliance; and that although there are many excellent citizen organizations in the crime prevention field, only the alliance seeks to embrace the full spectrum of citizenry.

Although a number of citizen anticrime groups may operate in a given city, they frequently are unaware of the existence of one another. Thus, far from contributing to duplication, the official contends, a local alliance tends to minimize it by bringing together organizations and facilitating coordination among them. By addressing the full range of crime prevention activities, a local alliance can expand the horizon of each of its members—particularly those who previously have not directed their attention to anticrime measures. Thus the alliance sees itself as supplementing and expanding the effectiveness of each of its member organizations.

Cited as an example of such increased effectiveness is the role played by the New York, N.Y., local alliance in opposing a proposed annex to the Tombs, a local jail. The alliance pressed for an "expansion of pretrial diversionary programs and community-based facilities in order to relieve overcrowding at the Tombs without building a costly, mammoth new structure. . . ." This alternative had been proposed for many years and by many different organizations. But while these groups were unsuccessful as individuals, the collective voice of the alliance prevailed and the Tombs project was canceled.

Additional information about the National Alliance and its local groups is available from the National Alliance for Safer Cities, 165 East 56th Street, New York, N.T. 10022.

These three citizens' organizations, the Indianapolis Women's Crusade, the Roxbury Sav-More Program, and the National Alliance for Safer Cities, illustrate the importance of citizen involvement in crime prevention. Criminal justice agencies need citizen support at the national, State, and local levels if they are to be effective in the fight against crime.

EXHIBIT C

Chapter 5

The Public's Role in Law Enforcement

The emergence of the "law and order" issue as a focal point of national concern beginning in the mid-1960's reflects the growing politicization of the crime issue. Linked with this is the popular belief that law enforcement is primarily the responsibility of elected public officials as well as policemen, judges, prosecutors, and corrections officers. Successful law enforcement obviously depends heavily upon the actions of these professionals and on the support they receive from political leaders. Yet, centering attention on the efforts of only these groups obscures and downgrades the role of the ordinary citizen in crime prevention and control.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the ways in which the public can participate in crime reduction. This involves the various types of action that can be taken by individuals or citizens' groups on their own. Moreover, the discussion includes steps that cities and counties can take to stimulate greater citizen involvement in anticrime efforts and develop better relationships between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve.

THE ROLES OF CITIZENS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

In order to be effective, law enforcement must be a joint effort. In other words, the entry and movement of an offender through the criminal justice process, his return to society, and his inclination to recidivate are dependent on not only law enforcement agencies and professionals, but also on the general public. The capacity of police to detect and apprehend suspected offenders, for example, is conditioned by the extent citizens cooperate by reporting violations of the law and suspicious incidents or persons. The prosecution of an alleged offender depends on the willingness of persons to provide information, to testify in court, and to serve on jury duty. And the rehabilitation of offenders and their successful re-entry into society are closely linked to the community's acceptance of ex-convicts.

Clearly, then, "law enforcement is not a game of cops and robbers in which the citizens play the trees." [1] Instead, citizens have a basic responsibility to assist law enforcement agencies in preventing as well as controlling crime. Moreover, the public's role here extends well beyond facilitating crime reduction through informing, testifying, and other cooperative approaches. Citizens can and should play an action role in reforming and revitalizing the components of our criminal justice system.

Organizing citizens for crime prevention

Citizens often serve on the policy-making boards of voluntary community organizations providing services designed to prevent crime and delinquency. These include: boys clubs, family and child welfare, mental health, education, prisoner aid, labor, and religious groups; and national organizations such as the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (NCCD). Not to be overlooked, of course, is the financial support these groups receive from the public. It is estimated that more than 100,000 non-governmental agencies currently exist, each of which, to varying degrees, is involved in preventing crime.[2]

Another type of organized public involvement in crime reduction is service on the policy boards of State and regional law enforcement planning agencies described in Chapter 4. Public members of such boards sit as co-equals with State and local police, court, corrections, and prosecution professionals and with elected public officials. They participate in decision-making in connection with the contents of comprehensive law enforcement plans and action projects to help prevent crime. ACIR staff surveys indicate that as of the end of 1969, 17 percent of the members of the 50 SPA supervisory boards were public representatives.[3] With respect to the regional policy boards, of 291 substate regions listed in the 1970 comprehensive plans of 31 States, 27 percent of the membership were citizens.

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[1] U.S. Chamber of Commerce, *Marshaling Citizen Power against Crime* (Washington, D.C.: The Chamber, 1970), p. 11.

[2] United Nations, *Administration of Justice in a Changing Society: A Report on Developments in the United States—1965 to 1970.* Prepared for the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, (Kyoto, Japan: August 1970), pp. 78–9.

[3] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Making the Safe Streets Act Work: An Intergovernmental Challenge* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, September 1970), p. 25.

A third approach is through membership on criminal justice committees or task forces of local chambers of commerce, leagues of women voters, urban coalitions, and other "good government" organizations. These groups are usually funded by the business community, private foundations, or individual contributions. They conduct a wide range of crime prevention activities, including fact-finding, information dissemination, promotion of improved street lighting, operation of programs such as court watching and corrections volunteers, and development of improved legislation. Often, public officials serve on these bodies in an advisory capacity.[4] A problem identification checklist developed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce for use by citizens' committees and task forces in determining law enforcement and criminal justice administration needs and problems appears in Appendix A–14.

Types of citizen action

In several cities in the nation, citizen-sponsored crime reduction programs have been operating successfully. The types of agencies vary widely in accordance with such factors as the personnel and financial resources of the group, the severity of the crime problem, and the responsiveness of law enforcement agencies and public officials. Listed below are a number of typical citizen-initiated efforts in the police, courts, and correctional areas.[5]

Police-related activities.—Some citizens' groups have set up programs to educate citizens concerning the importance of and procedures for reporting information to the police in connection with suspected criminal activity and the ways to better protect themselves from crime. Many are tied in with the establishment of a special fast-response police telephone number. These programs—called "crime check," "crime alert," "crime stop," or the like—rely heavily on the public media, billboards, window decals, bumper stickers, and bulletin boards to convey their message.

Closely related to crime check programs are citizen preventive patrols. One such effort is community radio watch in which business firms equip their vehicles with two-way radios to be used to report crimes or other emergencies to their dispatchers, who in turn report the incident to the police. Operators of these vehicles do not make arrests or perform other police responsibilities. Another approach is civilian police reserve units which, in cooperation with regular police officers, patrol recreation areas, assist in handling crowds during special events, direct traffic, and help in search and rescue missions.[6] Youth patrols also have been formed to serve as a watch-dog for crime in neighborhood areas.

Several cities have provided better lighting of streets and buildings at the urging of citizen groups. Often these groups assist in identifying suitable locations or in generating support for increased funds for this purpose. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce reports that improved illumination has resulted in a 60 to 90 percent decrease in certain categories of crime.

Many citizens' organizations have prepared and distributed booklets dealing with the prevention of shoplifting and some have set up chain-call warning systems for merchants to use in alerting one another about shoplifters and bad check passers. Another common information service is the dissemination of facts regarding drug abuse and addiction, particularly in the schools.

Finally, some citizens' groups have assisted in police recruitment, such as setting up police cadet and minority officer programs. A few also have provided financial and technical support for in-service training and educational programs for policemen or have worked with colleges and universities to set up such programs. Citizen organizations often campaign on behalf of pay raises for police.

Court-related activities.—Many citizens' groups conduct court watcher efforts, where individuals sit in courts daily and identify weaknesses in the judicial process. Data sheets are often used to record such information as the names of the judge, defendant, and prosecuting and defense attorneys, the race and age of the offender, and the charge, plea, finding, and sentence. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce study found that court watching in Indianapolis resulted in the following improvements ". . . nonappearance of arresting officers is less frequent; most judges appear in court on time; fewer pro tem judges; fewer delays; absence of police witnesses occurs less often; prosecutors prepare cases more thoroughly." [7]

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[4] U.S. Chamber of Commerce, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–81.

[5] Except where otherwise noted, this description relies heavily on Chapter VIII of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce report, *Marshaling Citizen Power Against Crime*

[6] President's Crime Commission, *Task Force Report: Police* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 223.

[7] U.S. Chamber of Commerce, *op. cit.;* p. 113.

Some citizens' groups have provided financial support for court reorganization studies and analyses of case-scheduling problems. Another common activity involves improvement of the administration of jury service.

Several groups and individual citizens provide volunteer services to the courts. It has been estimated that in 1969 volunteers contributed three million hours of service to the 1,000 courts where they were at work.[8] Between 15 and 25 percent of the juvenile courts make use of this manpower source. The availability of trained volunteers is particularly helpful in the probation area and the types of tasks they perform range from recordkeeping to actual casework.

Corrections-related activities.—Several citizens' organizations have sponsored volunteer efforts in the corrections field, including counseling inmates, involvement in work-release programs, aiding with educational and vocational training, and performing clerical tasks. Other types of citizen action include support for reform legislation, promotion of detention and foster homes, financial aid for academic and vocational courses for institutional personnel, advice to corrections officials concerning the relevance of prison education and training programs, and provision of job opportunities for released offenders. For example, California's 70 Management-Labor Advisory Committees, which perform most of the above functions, consist of over 1,000 citizens.[9]

In some States, citizens still serve on the boards of directors of State correctional institutions and local jails. In recent years, however, the administrative responsibilities of these boards have been assumed by State correctional agencies.[10]

Finally, some national organizations have attempted to mobilize citizen support for new legislation, increased appropriations, better administration, higher personnel standards, and other correctional improvements. NCCD, for example, has set up Citizens Councils in 21 States composes of representatives from business, labor, news media, religion, agriculture, civic associations, and the general public to spearhead this movement. It also has created Citizen Action Committees in 130 cities to undertake special crime and delinquency prevention projects.[11]

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

The willingness of citizens to become involved in crime prevention and control efforts, as well as the extent and effectiveness of their participation, depend a great deal on the status of law enforcement and criminal justice agencies in the community's eyes. If they are viewed as being corrupt, as a means of minority suppression, or as tools of a political machine, then many citizens will not become involved. Yet, the fact that many times such views are based on hearsay rather than on fact underscores the information gap that often exists between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve. The task of developing closer ties between these parties should be a top priority item if public participation in this area is to be meaningful. The alternative may be continued distrust, alienation, and apathy on the part of key sectors of the citizenry.

Police-community relations

Friction between police and segments of the public hinders the citizen cooperation and involvement so necessary for both curbing crime before it begins and apprehending those suspected of committing offenses. Most law enforcement officials concede they cannot do the job alone. Not only is crime prevention rendered ineffective by the absence of cooperative citizen action, but bad community feeling toward the police actually stimulates crime for a number of reasons: [12]

—Violations of the law and suspicious incidents or persons are not reported;
—Witnesses refuse to testify or provide information;
—Actions against police occur which, in turn, may result in an improper police response that sets off widespread rioting;
—Fearing citizen charges against them, police may become reluctant to enforce the law in hostile neighborhoods or against certain individuals.

These factors underscore the conclusion of the President's Crime Commission that, "No lasting improvement in law enforcement is likely in this country unless police-community relations are substantially improved." [13]

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[8] United Nations, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 81.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 80.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 82.
[12] President's Crime Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
[13] *Ibid.*

Basic Problems.—The police-community relations problem is not an entirely new phenomenon in this country. Historically, many Americans have been distrustful of the police.[14] Prior to the 1840's, there was no police organization as we know it today. And the establishment of organized forces in larger cities was not an easy matter. The typical police officer was paid very little and usually was not highly respected.

The fairly low status of the police in the community in the mid-nineteenth century is highlighted by their reaction to a suggestion made in 1865 that police wear uniforms. They objected to the idea for fear that if they could be recognized they might become objects of attack.[15]

Moreover, in 19th century New England, members of the force were often viewed as agents of an unfamiliar governmental system and of ascendant economic and Yankee interests. At the same time, however, the heavy reliance on the recently arrived in these forces did much to bridge attitudinal, ethnic, and other barriers in municipalities caught in the great tide of immigration beginning in the 1840's.

Much has changed during the course of the last 130 years—new immigrants replaced old, civil service reformers battling spoilism, professionalism contending with amateurism, declining political machines and ward organizations, and growing reliance on personality and mass communications techniques. In light of these developments, police departments face new pressures and problems, as well as some old ones that in many respects resemble those they confronted at their inception: distrust on the part of some of the municipal citizenry, lack of widespread consensus on social and institutional goals, and assumption by the police of roles outside the strictly law enforcement area.

It should come as no surprise, then, to learn that attitudes regarding police vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and within jurisdictions. Opinion studies reveal that, overall, a majority of citizens have a high regard for police work. Yet, a survey conducted by Louis Harris Associates in 1969 found that nearly one-fifth of the white and four-fifths of the black respondents believed there were discriminatory patterns in police-minority group relations.[16] Some lower income whites, some "liberals," and some of the young also have similar complaints against the police. Some studies, for example, indicate that adolescents from both lower and middle class families tend to be extremely hostile toward police, possibly in part because of the belief that police are preservers of the status quo.[17] Moreover, the recent surge in demands for the establishment of civilian review boards to handle citizens' complaints against the police or for the creation of citizens' crime commissions to investigate the operation of police departments also highlights the mutual distrust existing between police and some sectors of the community.

A Harris poll published in the March 8, 1971 edition of *Newsweek* supports some of the earlier survey findings. Almost two-thirds of the white respondents indicated skepticism about danger of police brutality, but over half of the blacks believed that such allegations are more times than not likely to be true. Whites, unlike blacks, tend to accept the notion of a conspiracy to kill policemen. Seventy-two percent of the whites approved preventive detention, but no more than 44% of the blacks concurred.

Community opposition to the police, however, is only one side of the coin. The police also hold attitudes toward the community which adversely affect their relationship with citizens. The roots of these feelings were revealed by William V. Turner in his book, *The Police Establishment:*

> I know of no period in recent history when the police have been the subject of so many unjustified charges of brutality, harrassment, and ineptness. It almost seems that the better we do our job of enforcing the law the more we are attacked. The more professional we become and the more effective we are, the more we impinge upon the misbehavior of society.[18]

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[14] See Oscar Handlin, "Community Organization as a Solution to Police-Community Problem," In *Police and the Changing Community: Selected Readings*, Nelson A. Watson, ed. (Washington D.C.: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1965), p. 107.

[15] Alan A. Altschuler, *Community Control: The Black Demand for Participation in Large American Cities* New York: Pegasus, 1970), p. 17.

[16] National Council on Crime and Deliquency, "Problems in Police-Community Relations," *Information Review on Crime and Deliquency*, Vol. 1, No. 5 (February 1969), p. 4.

[17] U.S. Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *A National Survey on Police and Community Relations* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967) p. 14.

[18] William V. Turner, *The Police Establishment* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Son, 1968), p. 44.

In a 1969 opinion poll, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) probed the attitudes of policemen in 286 State and local departments across the country.[19]

Eighty-three percent of the experienced policemen felt that many people looked upon a policeman as an impersonal cog in the governmental machinery rather than as a fellow human being. Only half of the officers indicated that public support for the police was improving, while approximately three-fifths of the administrators stated it was getting better. At the same time, nearly three-fourths of the experienced police officers polled thought that they were not receiving enough support from the political power structure in their city.

IACP's survey also showed that a substantial majority of policemen usually are in agreement on questions concerning civil disobedience, civilian review boards, and community relations efforts. With respect to the first issue, nine out of ten respondents disagreed with the proposition that laws should be deliberately disobeyed if they were considered unjust. A comparable proportion indicated that persons who violate an "unjust" law to attract attention to their cause should be handled as any other violator; 93 percent of the white officers concurred here, while 83 percent of the black officers agreed.

Turning to the public role in law enforcement generally and to civilian review boards in particular, almost two-thirds of the police officers agreed with the following statement: "Since ours is a government 'of the people, by the people, and for the people,' the public has a right to pass judgment on the way the police are doing their jobs." Sixty-nine percent of the white respondents and 74 percent of the blacks concurred. Nevertheless, 62 percent of the policemen still opposed the idea of civilian review boards.

In the area of community relations, 69 percent of the officers felt that programs of this type were important ways for their department to open lines of communication, build respect, and gain citizen cooperation. Sixty-eight percent of the whites and 82 percent of the blacks adhere to this favorable position.

Nature; extent, and objectives.—The major goal of a police-community relations program is to foster better relationships between the policeman and the public, especially residents of high crime neighborhoods. The police and citizen representatives together should develop programs for involving all segments of the community in meaningful activity that will produce as a byproduct mutual trust, greater confidence, and better understanding. Possible approaches include junior police or safe driving clubs, neighborhood "rap" sessions, and similar types of programs geared to involving more citizens in a crime prevention and control partnership.

St. Louis, Missouri, set up one of the first police community relations programs in the United States and several other efforts have been modeled after it. The program is organized around a district committee composed of both police officers and citizens representatives located in every police district. Each committee has eight subcommittees, which are assigned certain continuing functions as well as special projects involving specific local problems. Responsibilities of these committees include juvenile delinquency, public relations, automobile theft, traffic, sanitation, and voluntary citizen action. They do not formulate policy, but instead polices are decided by an independent body of private citizens. Thus, although the police department provides the manpower, the committee is not its tool. Most of the major segments of the community are involved in the action-oriented programs sponsored by the committee to not only improve police-community relations but also to upgrade certain neighborhood areas.[20]

Prior to the 1960's, little effort was made to formulate programs to achieve better communication between police and the community. But the last decade witnessed the growth of a "new breed" of law breakers who were not the traditional "criminal types." These persons were protesting the social ills of our society and they had to be dealt with somewhat differently, such as civil disorders strike forces. After a number of failures, several cities followed the lead of St. Louis and established a division in their police department to handle relationships with the community. At the same time, many changed their basic departmental orientation from the control to the prevention of crime. As part of this new approach, these departments developed innovative police training and education programs, broadened their recruitment base, formulated standards and procedures, improved testing and screening of applicants, and tightened internal and external control over individual officers.

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[19] Nelson A. Watson and James W. Sterling, *Police and Their Opinions* (Washington, D.C.: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1969), p. 55.

[20] Handlin, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

The following case studies illustrate some of the types of programs that have been attempted recently. Their effectiveness in terms of building a close police-citizen relationship, however, has varied considerably.[21]

—Chicago's police community relations program found major problems in the areas of police training and communication with minorities, youth, and non-English speaking residents of the city. As a result, an intensive effort was launched to retrain many officers in new techniques for handling riots and methods for preventing riotous situations. A number of community-wide programs were created to close the communications gap, including "ride in" programs, youth-police workshops, and school visitation.[22]

—In Berkeley, California, policemen meet with residents on a door-to-door basis to increase community support for their department.

—In Pittsburgh, the Commission on Human Relations handles each citizen complaint; due to its excellent relationship with the police department, it has been effective in acting on the citizen's behalf.

—In Grand Rapids, Michigan, the police department initiated a sensitivity training program geared toward developing a more workable relationship between citizens and police. Small groups of citizens and policemen meet for 15 day periods to help break down racial barriers, establish greater rapport, and consider reform in police-community relations problem areas.

—In Detroit, a sensitivity training program brings police and citizens together for purposes of mutual understanding. The police department cites this program as a major contributing factor to the absence of major disturbances in the city in recent years.

—In Riverside County, California, policemen are required to know and become known by the citizens in their patrol area. In-service training is conducted informally during off-duty hours at a resident's home or a local church.

Despite recent progress, many cities still have not established police-community relations programs. In a 1967 survey, the International City Management Association (ICMA) found that 20 percent of the responding cities had a police-community relations program. A survey conducted three years later, however, still revealed that on 44 percent of 650 reporting cities had such a program.[23]

As might be expected, police-community relations programs were more frequently found in the larger cities. All but one of the cities over 250,000 population reporting to the 1970 poll, for example, indicated they had such a program. This contrasts with the 22 percent in the 10,000 to 25,000 population group that were making an effort on this front (See Figure 6).

Seventy-one percent of the central cities but only 24 percent of those in the smaller independent categories had a program. More western cities were involved than those in other regions. Northeastern municipalities were least likely to have police-community relations programs.

With respect to police community-relations training, this was provided by 475 of 654 respondents to a 1969 ICMA survey of the nation's police departments. Half of the participating cities with no such training had less than 25,000 population. The findings indicate that the larger cities' "box score" was much better, with 90 percent of the central city policemen receiving community relations training.

The content of police-community relations training varied in different localities, but generally the larger cities had more comprehensive programs. The teaching methods also were more diversified in these municipalities.

Use of Federal funds.—Despite the fairly large number of participating cities, relatively little Federal money has been used for police-community relations purposes. Only 17 percent of the cities reporting to ICMA's survey received Federal funds to support any of their police-community relations plans or programs.

Moreover, ACIR's report *Making the Safe Streets Act Work: An Intergovernmental Challenge* indicate that a meager $1,518,001, or 5.4 percent of the $27,857,319 allocated as subgrants to State and local jurisdictions by February 28, 1970, was used for community relations purposes.[24]

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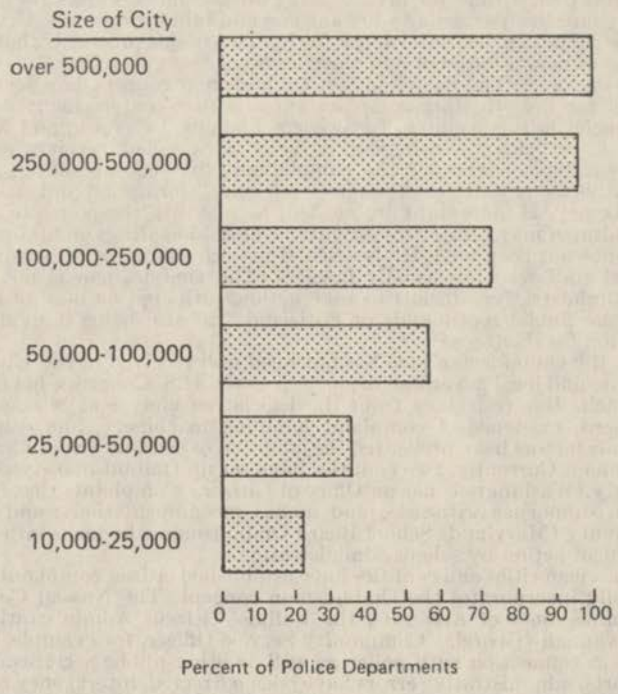
[21] With the exception of Chicago, the other case studies are cited in: District of Columbia, *Report of the City Council Public Safety Committee on Police-Community Relations*, (Washington, D.C.: The Committee, August 20, 1968), p. 19.

[22] City of Chicago, Citizens' Committee to Study Police-Community Relations, *Police and Public—A Critique and a Program: Final Report* (Chicago: The Committee, May 22, 1967).

[23] International City Management Association, "Recent Trends in Police-Community Relations," *Urban Data Service*, Vol. 2, No. 3, March, 1970, pp. 10-11.

[24] U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

Figure 6
POLICE DEPARTMENTS HAVING A POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM—1970



Source: International City Management Association, *Recent Trends in Police-Community Relations*, pp. 1, 11

According to ICMA, larger central cities received the bulk of the Federal funds that have been allotted for police-community relations. Although Western municipalities are often most involved in such programs, only six percent relied on Federal financial support.

Guidelines for special units.—Typically, cities have set up special units to deal with police-community relations, although this is not necessarily the case in smaller municipalities. Criteria of effectiveness for these community relations units include:

—Proper Objectives. Focusing on the actual improvement of relations between police and citizens, not merely presenting a good police image.
—Proper Scope of Activity. Providing services to the police as well as to the people with whom it works.
—Proper Work Load. Varying the unit's activities in accordance with specific local problems and the unit's capacity to do its job well.
—Adequate Authority. Involving the unit in department policy-making and establishing direct communications channels with the chief of police.
—Adequate Prestige. Giving the units relatively high status, as reflected in the size, pay, and rank of its personnel.
—Adequate Facilities. Furnishing the unit with adequate office space and equipment, competent secretaries and other office personnel, a systematic filing and reporting system, and sufficient vehicles.
—Proper Intradepartmental Relationships. Informing the rest of the department of the unit's operations and accomplishments through regular intradepartmental communications, and encouraging the unit to perform as many services for the rest of the department as possible. [25]

[25] ICMA, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

Ombudsmen and community service officers

Some authorities have contended that formal "outside" procedures are needed to ensure equity and impartiality in the handling of complaints concerning police activities. They assert that internal procedures for monitoring compliance with departmental policies and for investigating alleged misconduct often fail to convince many citizens, particularly low-income and minority groups, that the police "system" is handling their grievances fairly. Two major proposals that have been advanced are the ombudsman and the community service officer.

The ombudsman.—The Scandinavian Ombudsman concept has been suggested as a model for investigating complaints against law enforcement and criminal justice agencies in this country. In Sweden, Finland, Denmark, and Norway, the Ombudsman, or "citizen's defender" as he is often called, receives written complaints, regardless of whether the complainant first contacted the appropriate administrative agency. He then requests relevant information and an explanation from the agency. If more data are needed, he may ask the police to investigate. The Ombudsman may initiate investigations or hold hearings on his own, even if a complaint has not been filed. He is assisted in performing his responsibilities by a professional staff who are usually lawyers. The Ombudsman is not authorized to order administrative officials to take action, although he may order prosecutions or issue public reprimands or criticisms. He also helps individuals obtain compensation for damages.[26]

To date, the Ombudsman idea has not been well received in the United States. Several State and local governments, as well as the U.S. Congress, have considered this approach. But resistance from the legislative body and bureaucracy, cost considerations, existence of complaint handling machinery, and other political and economic factors have prevented the adoption of the true Scandinavian variety of Ombudsman. Currently, two counties have set up Ombudsman-type systems—King County (Washington) has an Office of Citizens Complaints that investigates complaints, subpoenas witnesses, and makes recommendations; and the Montgomery County (Maryland) School Board Ombudsman who looks into complaints independent of action by school administrators.

Some American cities and counties have established citizen complaint machinery that partially incorporates the Ombudsman concept. The Nassau County (New York) Commissioner of Accounts, the Buffalo Citizens Administrative Service, and the Savannah (Georgia) Community Service Officer, for example, investigate complaints in connection with police as well as other public services. As a result of their efforts, administrative errors have been corrected, interagency communications channels have been improved, and coordination has been increased.[27]

The Community Service Officer.—Some experts have proposed creation of the position of community service officer (CSO) as a means of better sensitizing police departments to ghetto problems, of ensuring the provision of adequate police services in high crime and low income areas, and of increasing the number of minority police personnel. In its task force report on the police, the President's Crime Commission recommended that CSO's be employed by urban police departments. They would be young, minority group persons recruited from neighborhoods like those in which they would be assigned.

The CSO in effect would serve as an apprentice policeman; he would not carry a gun, nor have full law enforcement powers. His prime responsibilities would be to assist precinct line officers in their patrol and investigative work and to improve communication channels between the police department and neighborhood areas. Typical CSO functions would include working with juvenile delinquents, referring citizen complaints to administrative agencies, investigating minor crimes, aiding families with domestic problems, organizing community meetings, handling service calls, and working with police-community relations units.

The President's Crime Commission also suggested that to offset the isolating effects of precinct consolidation, small neighborhood offices be established in deprived communities from which CSO's would operate.[28] It indicated the im-

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[26] President's Crime Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 202.
See also The American Assembly, *Ombudsmen For American Government?* Stanley V. Anderson, ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968); Walter Gellhorn, *When Americans Complain: Governmental Grievance Procedures* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966); Institute of Governmental Studies, *Buffalo Citizens Administrative Service: An Ombudsman Demonstration Project* (Berkeley: the Institute, 1970).

[27] International City Management Association, "The Ombudsman: The Citizens' Advocate, *Management Information Service*, Volume 1, No. 1-10, October 1969, pp. 6-14.

[28] President's Crime Commission, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-4, 166-7.

portance of the CSO's work in terms of police-community understanding:

The very presence of the CSO in the neighborhood would symbolize a closer relationship between the police and the community. . . . They would help to inform the officers with whom they work of the culture and attitudes of the community and, conversely, would help to inform the community of the officer's concerns.[29]

Civilian review boards and citizens' advisory committees

Popular demands for greater scrutiny of police affairs have resulted in the establishment of civilian review boards and citizens' advisory committees to police departments. Proponents of these approaches point out that a patent need exists to ensure the equitable and impartial treatment of the individual by law enforcement agencies. Safeguarding individual rights and guaranteeing that suspected offenders will receive a "fair shake," they contend, will generate more citizen respect and confidence in police departments and greater public knowledge of and support for their operations.

Civilian review boards.—In response to the dissatisfaction voiced by some citizen groups—particularly civil rights organizations—concerning police internal review procedures, a few cities have set up civilian review boards. These include Chicago, Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Rochester (New York) and New York City. Boards of this type have been abolished or rendered inoperative in Rochester, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, and New York City.

Although the civilian review boards vary in organization and procedures, they share certain basic features. Their members are non-uniformed employees of the police department, and consequently they are by no means truly independent. All boards are purely advisory in nature with no authority to make decisions in connection with cases that come before them. Most have the power to investigate complaints, usually in cooperation with the police department. The most common types of charges that come before them are brutality, illegal entry, and search, harassment, and false arrest. After receiving a complaint, the board may provide for an informal settlement, conduct hearings, and recommend either the convening of a police trial board or punishment.[30]

Several problems have hindered the operation of civilian review boards. The President's Crime Commission reports that many citizens have been unfamiliar with board procedures and that complaint forms have been difficult to obtain. Moreover, typically seven months have been required for the boards to make a determination, mainly because they lack adequate staff support and often do not receive full cooperation from police departments. Some critics also contend that the boards should be completely independent of the police department.[31]

Despite these problems, some successes have been achieved. While often not enthusiastic in their assessment of review board operations, minority group leaders state that some improvements in police-community relationships have resulted from the establishment of this machinery. The boards also have caused some police departments to re-evaluate their own internal review procedures and make necessary changes on them. Although rank-and-file officers generally oppose boards, top echelon officials tend to have a more positive view and work closely with the board to settle complaints quickly and informally, often without a hearing.[32]

Citizen advisory committees.—Some cities has organized neighborhood, precinct, or city-wide advisory committees as a means of maintaining open communication channels with citizens, particularly minority groups. A 1964 survey sponsored by the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the U.S. Conference of Mayors found that of the 165 reporting municipalities (all over 100,000 population, or between 30,000 and 100,000 with more than five percent non-white population), only eight percent had precinct committees and 19 percent had a city-wide committee.[33] Since that time, a number of cities have adopted this approach.

Generally, the former type of committee is formed under the auspices of the police department. It is composed of citizen representatives who meet periodically to discuss police policies and practices and the complaints and needs of neighborhood residents. Precinct committees serve only in an advisory capacity vis-a-vis department officials. City-wide committees bring the heads of the police depart-

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 166.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 200-01.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 201.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 202.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 156.

ment together with civic leaders to discuss police policy issues of importance to the community as a whole and to coordinate the activities of precinct committees. Often, neighborhood committees are represented on the city-wide body.[34]

A 1966 survey by Michigan State University showed serious deficiencies in the operation of these committees. Several were not adequately representative of neighborhood residents; business, civic, and religious leaders tended to dominate the membership rolls while minorities and residents of high crime areas were underrepresented. Low-income individuals and those who were hostile to the police usually did not belong, a matter that suggested board members would have difficulty understanding citizen grievances. As a result of these factors, according to the study's committee deliberations were dominated by the police and controversial discretion and such enforcement practices as the use of dogs, stop-and-frisk procedures, and saturation patrols—were usually not considered. At the same time, the survey revealed lack of support for the committees on the part of district and precinct commanders, failure of lower-ranking officers to participate, and poor police staff assistance.[35]

In light of these deficiencies, it is not surprising that many of these committees have not materially improved police departments relationships with residents of high crime areas, minorities, and low-income groups. If such bodies are to realize their potential, they should be representative and willing to tackle tough, controversial issues. They also need full and continuing police support.

Decentralization of services

One reason for public non-involvement in crime reduction efforts is the geographic and political remoteness of law enforcement and criminal justice agencies from the areas in which services are delivered. Especially in larger jurisdictions, the distance between city hall or county court house and neighborhoods is often considerable. As a result, the delivery of services may be slow, communication channels may be cumbersome, and policy-makers may be unaware of the real needs of neighborhood areas. Moreover, highly centralized decision-making may deter citizens from participating in crime prevention efforts.

In response to this situation, some authorities have urged that the delivery of municipal and county services should be decentralized to neighborhoods and that citizen involvement in policy-making in connection with these services should be encouraged. They argue that existing complaint handling machinery—such as special bureaus, mayor's assistants, and telephone numbers—do not go far enough in bringing services "closer to the people." Decentralization, they contend, would promote efficiency and responsiveness, and would facilitate public support for anti-crime programs.

Others advocate "community control" of decentralized services. An April 6, 1971 referendum in Berkeley, California, for instance, will decide whether the city will be divided into "black," "white," and "campus" communities, each having a police council under citizen control responsible for all police activities within its jurisdiction.

The devices, which have been proposed to implement these administrative decentralization and citizen participation objectives, vary widely in terms of the numbers of citizens involved, the extent of their "control," and the types of services affected. Most observers agree, however, that in order to increase efficiency and effectiveness in delivering services and to encourage citizen participation, formal decentralization machinery should be established.

"Little city halls" and multi-service centers.—"Little city halls" and multi-service centers, some assert, are the most feasible ways to expedite the administration of public services in neighborhood areas.[36] A recent survey conducted by the Center for Governmental Studies, Washington, D.C. and the International City Management Association sheds light on the purposes and extent of use of these devices. Of the 106 urban counties and cities over 50,000 population reporting some decentralization of services, 21 had "little city halls" and 50 had multi-service centers. The principal distinction between the two is that the former serve mainly as branch offices for the chief executive officer and provide services similar to those available at the main city hall or county court house, while the latter serve mainly as branch offices for a public or private agency and provide two or more government-type services. Many of these units have full-time professional staff and some have advisory boards composed of area residents. Most "little

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 157–8.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] Joseph F. Zimmerman, "Hearing Off City-Hall Neighborhood Wars," *Nation's Cities*, (November 1970), pp. 18–21, 39.

city halls" and multi-service centers are located in economically depressed neighborhoods or in minority neighborhoods. Their major services include furnishing information, providing referrals, receiving and acting on complaints, helping cut "red-tape," acting as an advocate for citizens, and providing interagency coordination.

With respect to law enforcement, over half of the respondents had decentralized police services. Twelve cities and three counties reported police affairs as a function dealt with at "little city halls," and in 17 cities and five counties multi-service centers handled police matters. None of the respondents, however, indicated that corrections, prosecution, or court related services had been decentralized to neighborhoods through these devices.

Neighborhood subunits of government.—In its 1967 report *Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System*, ACIR recommended that States authorize large cities and counties to establish, on the petition of affected residents, neighborhood subunits of government with elected neighborhood councils. These subunits would be responsible for providing supplemental public services in neighborhood areas and would have authority to levy taxes—such as a fractional millage on the local property tax or a per capita tax—in order to finance these special services. Neighborhood subunits could be dissolved unilaterally by the city or county if they became viable.[37]

This approach offers several advantages not found in "little city halls" and multi-service centers. Neighborhood subunits seek to achieve political as well as administrative decentralization. They could help revitalize political life in the neighborhood. They would have advisory or delegated substantive authority in connection with crime and juvenile delinquency prevention and control programs, as well as other local services. Instead of further fragmenting local governmental structure, the election of neighborhood councils would help ensure both responsiveness and accountability. Moreover, their representative nature would help overcome the distrust and apathy with which "little city halls" and multi-service centers sometimes have been viewed. Neighborhood subunits would not be creatures of the "system" which minority and low-income groups frequently believe has been unmindful of pressing community needs. Rather, they offer real political and economic power to disadvantaged groups and a basis for both healthy competition and cooperation with city officials. Adoption of this approach, then, could go a long way in making city and county governments more responsive and responsible and in curbing citizens disillusionment and alienation.

To date, only a few local governments have considered adopting the sub-unit device. A July 1969 proposal by the Los Angeles City Charter Commission to create sub-units of government was not approved by the city council for inclusion in the ballot.[38]

Crime compensation boards

A few States have responded to the urging of some observers that government should recognize that it has a financial obligation to the innocent victim of crime stemming from its failure to protect him. Since 1967, five States—California, Hawaii, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York—have established crime compensation boards modeled after those which have been used in Sweden, England, New Zealand, and some Canadian Provinces. A sixth State—Delaware—collects fines from criminal offenders and remits them to their victims.

For the most part, existing compensation boards are small, independent units. The members are appointed by the Governor and typically have a legal background. Board staff investigate claims and if the victim can demonstrate financial hardship, except in Hawaii where no such "need" factor is called for, he is eligible to receive an award up to a specific amount. In each State with a board except Hawaii, compensation is available for personal injury but not for property loss. Apprehension of the offender is not a condition for receipt of an award, and criminals or their relatives are ineligible for compensation.[39]

Proponents claim that this approach recognizes that the victim deserves as much attention as the offender. Compensation can cover the costs of medical treatment for injuries sustained during the crime, and to help pay the bills if the victim is temporarily unable to return to work. This financial assistance is

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[37] Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, *Fiscal Balance in the American Federal System: Vol. 2, Metropolitan Fiscal Disparities* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, October 1967), pp. 16–17.

[38] Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[39] Gilbert Geis and Herbert Sigurdson, "State Aid to Victims of Violent Crime," *State Government*, LVIII, No. 1, Winter 1970, pp. 16-20.

particularly important in light of the difficulty in obtaining civil remedies, and the fact that disadvantaged people generally have limited or no medical insurance or workmen's compensation coverage. Although opponents of compensation bonds are concerned about high costs, some suggest that the expense of compensation awards could stimulate greater public cooperation in law enforcement efforts. Moreover, spreading the costs of crime throughout the population of a State would be more equitable than concentrating them in high crime areas, usually low-income or minority neighborhoods.

Conclusions

Thus, there are a variety of devices and methods which can be used by citizens to become more involved in crime reduction; and there are actions that State and local goveryments can take to develop a working partnership with the community in the criminal justice effort. It is important to recognize, however, that there is no "one best way" as far as the public's role in law enforcement is concerned. Instead, the nature and extent of citizen involvement will depend upon such factors as the severity of the crime problem, the adequacy of law enforcement and criminal justice agencies, the activism of "good government" and similar types of citizen groups, and the history of police-community relationships. For many jurisdictions, "trial and error" experimentation might be the best way to achieve meaningful public participation.

At the same time, the critical importance of public involvement in law enforcement cannot be overemphasized. The stakes in crime prevention and control in terms of the quality of life and the viability of the federal system are too high to make this matter solely the responsibility of public officials. Crime reduction is everybody's responsibility. As Chief Justice Warren E. Burger has stated: "If we do not solve what you call the problems of criminal justice, will anything else matter very much?" [40]

EXHIBIT D

Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, Kyoto, Japan, August 17–26, 1970

Participation of the Public in the Prevention and Control of Crime and Delinquency

Introduction

1. There is no scarcity of exhortations to involve the public in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency; the scarcity is in the knowledge of how to do so—in what ways, for what purposes, and with what results. And there is a simplistic belief that the more the public is involved in this work, the better it will be done. This is by no means always true. Community and group prejudice can be socially harmful and can lead to a denial of human rights. The lynch mob is also "public participation" and must be controlled.

2. As is clearly revealed in the preparatory reports on this topic submitted by experts and various national correspondents and discussed at regional meetings,[1] there is the widest diversity of ways in which the public participates.[2] Some of these require official support and encouragement, while others demand careful control. Since the benign effects of public participation are generally accepted, it may be useful to mention a negative example reported in the preparatory paper submitted by Japan:

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[40] Chamber of Commerce, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

[1] The regional meetings referred to in this paper were meetings of experts convened by the United Nations in 1969 in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and the Caribbean, in preparation for the Fourth United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. The reports on these meetings have been issued as United Nations documents in the following series: African region (Addis Ababa) (A/CONF.43/RM.1); Asia (Bangkok) (A/CONF.43/RM.2); Latin America and the Caribbean (Buenos Aires) (A/CONF.43/RM.3). Preparatory reports were submitted to these meetings by participating experts. A regional meeting for the Arab States was also convened by the United Nations with the co-operation of the League of Arab States at Kuwait in April 1970. The report on this meeting had not been issued by the time of the publication of the present working paper. The term "national correspondent" refers to the national correspondents with the United Nations Secretariat in the field of the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders who, under General Assembly resolution 415 (V), periodically submit material on developments in their respective countries to the United Nations.

[2] Examples will be offered throughout this working paper of these modal relationships of public participation in social defence; to save frequent reiteration of "for example," or synonyms for it, examples will be set in from the text. The descriptions of the examples are, so far as practicable, those offered in the preparatory reports or as communicated to the Secretariat by national correspondents.

"The felt desire to preserve local unanimity against non-conforming elements of the community and to punish those who oppose local control systems, such as the elders of the village, can lead to harsh punishments. In extreme cases, mob violence or lynching might be threatened. In a rural village in Japan, less than twenty-five years ago, ostracism was practised and the Civil Liberties Bureau of the Ministry of Justice had to intervene to help the ostracized family."

Such examples of undesirable public participation can be found in all regions; in one sense, the entire evolution of the criminal law is a movement from uncontrolled local punishment to centralized control of the criminal sanction. By contrast, many of the most promising traditional practices and modern developments in crime control display heavy reliance on public participation.

3. A centralized criminal justice system must foster and encourage those aspects of public participation which effectively prevent and control crime and juvenile delinquency without sacrificing proper respect for individual liberty, while at the same time rigidly controlling excessive and prejudiced local punishments. It becomes necessary, therefore, to understand and to apply the mechanisms of public participation in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency that distinguish the socially protective from the socially disruptive.

4. There are at least two key problems in making this necessary distinction. First, there is the widest diversity throughout the world in the ways in which the public is mobilized for and involved in this work. Different nations' paths of social development and community organization reflect different ways in which the family and the local community act as crime prevention and treatment agencies. Our diversity of economic organization creates a similarly vast range; the public is necessarily differently involved in a complex, industrialized, crowded, anonymous city than in a far less complex, rural, sparsely populated, a familial rural village. We cannot assume that effective public participation in social defence is to be achieved by similar methods in each. There may well be traditional, cultural, social, economic and demographic differences between peoples.

5. Secondly, the prevention and control of crime and delinquency involve multiplicity of official and community agencies. The usual control organizations are the police, the courts and the correctional agencies. But if we look at the wider aspects of social defence, we are inexorably led to consider almost the entire spectrum of social organization. The family and its support by government and the local community, the school, the church, the organization of industry and transport, the structure of social services—all these and much else are relevant to the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency. All require some degree of public support; most require some degree of public participation. Primary prevention of crime and juvenile delinquency through social planning and its heavy reliance on public participation for general social welfare may well be more important to the reduction of crime and delinquency than the prevention of recidivism and the prevention of crime through the threat of punishment, which are the prime purposes of the criminal justice system.

6. Thus, viewed generally, public participation is not only one of the basic issues in social defence; it is basic to the science of government. All forms of government require some measure of public support. Government should be a partnership with the people in which their participation gives strength to the partnership. Their participation thus embraces all the forms of allegiance which a citizen gives to his community and State. He elects those who create laws and develop the judicial and administrative machinery for their enforcement. He plays a variety of roles as member of a family, of a social or industrial group, of a clan, tribe, neighbourhood, or voluntary or official agency, all of which involve his participation in governmental processes, including those directed to the prevention and control of crime and juvenile delinquency.

I. HISTORY

7. The criminal justice system and its subsystems of police, courts and corrections throughout the world originate in public participation. The earliest societies, living by custom and unwritten tradition, prized conformity and induced it by everyone in the group propagating and enforcing its principles, particularly on their children and youth. This is the paradigm of public participation in achieving individual conformity to group values. In this sense, then, public participation antedates all institutional arrangements society has been able to devise in its internal defence against crime. The very concept of crime itself has its origin in the

idea of public wrong and the intervention by the community between the perpetrator and the injured party. Thus, all the formal agencies of crime control—police, courts, corrections—are the product of this governmental intervention in what traditionally were local and small-group problems.

8. The classical periods of Greek and Roman history provide numerous examples of public participation in crime prevention, even if the concept of the public excluded slaves and others not recognized as citizens. Thus, in Greece, matters of public concern were discussed and decided in general assemblies. The small size of the Greek city-states and their governmental structures thus brought most citizens into the vortex of public affairs, including problems of preventing and treating crime. Similarly, Roman law developed in a society in which the need for public participation was both felt and expressed, with Cicero writing in *De Republica* (1, 25):

"The commonwealth, then, is the people's affairs and the people is not every group of men, associated in any manner, but is the coming together of a considerable number of men who are united by a common agreement about law and right and by the desire to participate to mutual advantage."

9. Hierarchical societies, such as the feudal systems of mediaeval Europe or the corresponding caste or class structures of China, India or Japan, provide tangential but still valid evidence of public involvement in the maintenance of order and the restraint of crime. These systems generally rested upon a foundation of rights and allegiances in which everyone was expected to play his part in return for the protection and support of his immediate superiors. The very concept of crime in the Middle Ages revolved about questions of allegiance and the fulfillment of expectations. The most serious offense was treason; "felony", the term for a less serious offence, is derived from the Latin word for a vassal who has failed in his allegiance to his lord. The pattern may be almost duplicated in economic and political terms if not in cultural significance in a later stage of Japanese history when allegiance to a family, which in turn owed service to a particular lord, was a basic concept of order in society.

10. Thus, "human communities have always had their ways of protecting themselves, their resources, their members, and their common standards against persons who fail to respect them. Community justice is one of the oldest of human institutions. However, it is now questionable whether public participation is still useful, or whether it is just a useless survival of backward-looking romanticism. What is new in social defence is not the role of the community but the roles of the government and of the professions." [3]

13. ". . . [P]ublic opinion relates closely both to criminal law reform and to developments in the criminal justice system. Whether public opinion can lead and precipitate reform is doubtful; but that it must be considered in setting the pace and direction of reform and change is beyond doubt. Without some public support, criminals are not caught and official agencies cannot be even reasonably efficient. The criminal justice system has great inertia. The public can sometimes help in overcoming that inertia when it is outraged by scandal or breakdown within the system; public opinion can likewise impede necessary developments which might otherwise be realized by creative leaders within the criminal justice system. Nor should the strong punitive elements in the public's attitude to crime be ignored. The entire range of public attitudes must be recognized if relationships are to be built up between the centralized agencies and public participation suited to a nation's social defense needs.

"United Nations congresses on the prevention of crime and treatment of offenders themselves illustrate this partnership, bringing together official government representatives, the representatives of non-governmental organizations, and those who, as individuals with skills and knowledge essential to effective social defence, represent no one but themselves. Here, surely, is a microcosm of the collaboration which must be achieved in each country's programme for the prevention and control of crime and delinquency.

"It is comforting but superficial to say merely that public participation is a good thing and should be fostered. As participants in this Congress, if we are to face the importance, difficulty and challenge of our subject, we must recognize the need to structure our discussion carefully so that it will be mutually helpful and will advance knowledge. We shall have to define our terms carefully and analyse the subject so that we shall not be engulfed by its vast range.

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[3] W. H. Wickwar, "Community development for social defence", *International Review of Criminal Policy*, No. 27 (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 70.IV.7).

"One convenient method of analysis, followed in this paper, is to consider public participation in terms of increasing degrees of reliance on the community, starting from public political approval and progressing to the point where the local community takes over entirely the social defence functions previously performed by state agencies . . . " desirable in one culture, as regards the publics' participation in social defence, is also necessarily appropriate to another culture. This clearly emerges in the report on this topic from the African region:

"The social structure of the community has always influenced public participation in African countries, as elsewhere. The present trends throughout the continent may be seen as the result of a medley of influences of at least three forms of structure. There are the traditional social structures under which only the elders (by age and status) of an area, and generally the men only, can participate in public-life of any sort. There are also the structures of States with one-party state governments where only those who belong to that party can have any say in public affairs irrespective of age or position in life. Then, there are the third forms which are emerging along the lines of the western democracies where public participation is not restricted either to elders or males or to people of the party only but is open to almost all provided thay have the capability and the willingness to serve their country conscientiously."

17. Our topic gains importance because of the strong movement in many complex industrialized and urbanized societies to divest the criminal law and the police, the courts and the correctional agencies of some of their functions; to reduce their involvement in behaviour that is merely undesirable and to concentrate their efforts on the socially harmful. The expansion of the State's range of political control has led, in the opinion of many political scientists to too great a concentration of power in the criminal justice system. And many practitioners and scholars in developed countries believe that some planned reversal of this tendency is required.

18. A mechanism much relied on for this purpose is the establishment of community agencies, local citizens' groups and welfare boards to handle those problems of which, it is thought, the courts and the police should be divested. For example, the youth service bureaux, described hereunder (paragraph 62), are to take over some of the work of the juvenile courts; local public participation is to take up that which is diverted from the centralized government system. By contrast, in other cultures, the village council, the local head-man's court and the tribal elders have traditionally disposed of lesser criminal matters. The task in these cultures is thus not that of mobilizing the local community, as it is in many developed countries; rather, it is the task of preserving, supporting and controlling that which already exists. We come to realize that we pay a price for relying too heavily on criminal law controls instead of buttressing other local community social control mechanisms which depend on public participation. This is an area, therefore, where the developed countries may well have much to learn from the developing countries and the developing must learn to avoid the errors of the developed.

III. DEFINITION OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

"The phrase 'participation of the public' is by no means unambiguous. It can embrace whatever is necessary by way of public support for governmental action to prevent and treat crime and delinquency. Alternatively, the topic can be limited to a discussion of the ways in which the public can be brought to co-operate with official social defense programmes by doing some of the work that otherwise would fall to governmental agencies, assuming duties and functions in the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency.

"A broad definition of the 'participation of the public' would include all ways in which community groups assist in the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency. Some concentration on the relationship between public participation and the work of the centralized agencies of the criminal justice system should, however, be aimed at.

"Sometimes public participation is seen as lay participation, as distinct from professional roles, which are seen as governmental. This is most misleading. The prevention and control of crime and delinquency involve a great range of technical skills. Some of these skills, such as that of the detective, the judge or the treatment staff in a probation service may properly be described as professional. But there are so many skills requisite to a complex system of crime and delinquency control that members of the public and of community groups may possess some of them more amply than the technically trained. Knowledge of local community

tolerances is of vital importance to the disposition or rational treatment of much crime and delinquency. That knowledge may be held in much larger measure by the local citizen than by the case worker treating an individual in the community. The distinction between professional and laymen is not helpful if it assumes superior knowledge on the part of the professional or casts doubt on the value of public participation.

"Public participation thus takes in all the ways in which community groups assist in the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency; but since the focus of this Congress is largely on the criminal justice system, it is appropriate here to stress aspects of community group participation in the work of the criminal justice system, in the work of the police, of adult and juvenile courts, and of agencies and institutions for the treatment of convicted adult and adjudicated juvenile offenders.

"It may be thought that the emphasis on community groups is misleading and defence should also be treated. Of course, while definitions are a function of their purpose, they are rarely absolutes; certainly there is much to discuss in relation to groupings of citizens for social defence and it particularly is between such groups and governmental authority that immediately important and challenging tasks of more effective action for social defence are to be found. Yet without denying the importance of the individual citizen in preventing and controlling crime and delinquency, it is useful to concentrate on those aspects of his participation in social defence in which he is brought into collaborative relationships with others. Our legal systems depend in a variety of ways on the collaboration of the individual citizen. As a witness, he is of central importance throughout the world. The climate of efficiency and decency in a criminal justice system will be important in the determination of the citizen's willingness energetically to collaborate with governmental authority. There are problems to discuss at every point of this contact between the individual and the criminal justice system which cannot all be dealt with here. Two issues of individual participation in social defence may, however, merit attention now.

"The police can hope to deal only with those crimes which they see or which are reported to them. It is clear that there is a great diversity in reporting practices in different cultures and subcultures. The citizen's duty to report crime is sometimes enforced by criminal sanctions but is more usually left to his sense of community responsibility.

" 'All over Africa today, there are constant requests from both legal and administrative sources to members of the public for their participation in one way or another in the prevention and treatment of crime. For instance, in the French-speaking countries where cattle rearing is one of the chief tribal occupations, stock theft poses a serious problem and is the subject of severe punishment in places like Malagasy and Niger. The law requires that tribal, clan or village heads who possess any knowledge of stock theft should at once notify the administrative or judicial authorities or else become liable as accomplices to the theft.' " [Footnote 4 omitted.]

"The desirability of reporting crime to the police may be treated as a matter of public education in which the burden is placed on the schools and other educational forces in the community and on the public relations departments of the police forces. Alternatively, such reporting may be made a legal duty with penal sanctions for non-compliance. In the long run, however, it must be recognized that precept is a better teacher than exhortation and that the amount of reported crime in relation to crime committed will be increased more by providing efficient prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency than in any other way.

"There is another relationship which the individual citizen has with social defence. To what extent should he be encouraged or indeed compelled by law to come to the aid of his fellow citizen who faces an imminent criminal threat? The social philosophies of all countries and the precepts of all moralists urge the individual to a sense of brotherhood which would lead him to assist his imperilled neighbour unless the threat to his own safety be too substantial. Some countries go further and seek to impose this duty on the citizen by law.

" 'The legal duty of all persons in Finland is to prevent the crimes of high treason, treason, and crimes against another person's life.

" 'In Cyprus there are statutory provisions which, on the one hand, give legal powers to members of the public to arrest and prevent the commission of the offence or of further offence and on the other hand impose upon the citizens an obligation under the threat of punishment to participate in the prevention of crime.' "

Other countries whose citizens are legally bound to prevent certain defined crimes included Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania and Turkey.

There is a lack of empirical evidence of the success of such laws in influencing human behaviour. There may well be an advantage in an exchange of views on the ways in which the individual citizen's role in the prevention of crime can be encouraged. One aspect of this discussion merits consideration as a strong recent movement in law reform. An increasing number of States are coming to the view that, whether or not the law compels the citizen to help his neighbour, he should be compensated for any loss he suffers if he does in fact assist another citizen who is threatened by crime. These compensation schemes seem to be reasonably inexpensive and have tended rapidly to gain public approval and support in countries which have experimented with them. Certainly, when the citizen comes to the aid of the policeman, it would seem clear that he should not suffer financial loss thereby.

"Again, it seems, the developed societies are harking back to long-established traditional social processes to achieve decency and efficacy in the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. The early evolution of the criminal law in many countries and current practice in many others requires the offender, if he has the funds, to compensate financially the person he has injured. Compensation schemes in their modern emergence are examples of the State's taking over this duty, previously imposed on the criminal by the local group, and seeking to ensure such compensation of the injured person whether or not the criminal has the financial capacity to pay. The State is then subrogated to the wronged citizen's financial claim against the criminal. The centralized criminal justice systems thus take over, adapt and apply traditional public participation processes."

IV. PUBLIC PARTICIPATION FOR WHAT?

27. There are, however, limits to man's capacity for the deep feelings of sharing which most effectively support public participation. In a small, undifferentiated society such as a tribe or rural hamlet out of touch with the rest of the modern world, participation will be natural simply because the circumstances compel recognition of common interest and interdependence, and traditions reinforce this imperative of standing together against outsiders as well as internal disturbers. Moreover, in conditions such as these, the public injury is more immediately apprehended. Practically all behaviour comes under public scrutiny, and misbehaviour is not an offence against a rule made by some outsider but usually against each and every person in the area—and it is often felt by each member of the community in this way. The reaction is equally personal and communal rather than formal and may need outside control if it is not to go too far.

28. At the other extreme, in a city of several million inhabitants, the feeling of belonging may be diffused among a large number of competing groups. The citizen feels part of his country, his municipality, his trade union, professional association, college or alumni society, income group, club or sports association, church and neighbourhood group. His interests diverge and perhaps clash at times—when, for instance, he may have to choose between supporting his church against some proposed control of the local authority or his municipality against new state taxes. Offences committed in his city are often unknown to him and even when known touch him only remotely. No doubt, in a city of such size, there will be much talk of public participation and any number of formal devices for directing public interest by means of commissions, committees, action groups, seminars on special problems etc. Yet it becomes more difficult to feel a personal affront or a sense of responsibility to do something when an offence or a number of offences have been committed. Even if one did want to do something, the society is usually far too complex to permit much more than formal participation.

29. ". . . [I]n the larger society, with its multiplicity of subgroups and subcultures and with the problem of crime mainly delegated to professional services, a person who does become involved may often suffer from an outburst of overzealousness; or he may be seen as an officious meddler rather than a dutiful citizen. Virtue and public esteem do not necessarily attach to individual or local efforts to deal with offenders or to become implicated in their discovery and apprehension.

"There is, nevertheless, one quality common to practically all forms of public participation, whether spontaneous, contrived, formal or informal, planned or entirely unexpected, and in whatever type or level of social structure it may

occur. This common chord is sounded by the fact that public participation either reflects or is designed to promote a feeling of belonging.

"This feeling of oneness, community or shared interests which participation either manifests or engenders, may be directed towards the nation, the professional group or the neighbourhood; it may be towards the tribe, class or income group or commuter area with which one feels associated, but it will always be a fundamental element in the shared activity, and this will be so whatever may be the goal or purpose of participation.

"Therefore, in the larger societies, public participation may be highly formalized at all levels of local and central government. There may be advisory groups, commissions, action committees, gatherings of local voluntary bodies and regular meetings between officials, church leaders, local politicians and representatives of neighbourhood councils, but this is increasingly realized to be insufficient. Serving on one committee after another and even belonging to a number of voluntary societies does not necessarily bring the ordinary citizen into the kind of participation with the authorities which is needed to prevent crime and help offenders to reform. He may be going through the motions without feeling really involved, so that this kind of widespread formal co-operation of the public with the authorities can exist side by side with a situation in which keeping out of trouble and avoiding contact with crime, criminals or the authorities has become at best a neutral virtue and at worst a means of survival in a society which the police can no longer control.

"If, then, it be true that a sense of belonging or of shared interest is essential to effective public participation in crime prevention, it may be that effectiveness is a function of the size of the group, community or society to be served. More evidence is required before this kind of proposition can be accepted, but it is clear that, for most people in urban conditions, some kind of simplification is needed.

"Another aspect of public participation in any large society is that it will probably be a function of the efficiency of the police, not only in prosecuting offenders, but, more significantly, in detecting crime. It becomes difficult to feel a need to prevent a person from doing something which, in fact, a large number of people are publicly known to be doing without being caught. As we have seen, in important feature of public participation in a small society is that misbehaviour is quickly detected. There is little possibility, therefore, that an offender is merely an unfortunate representative of a much wider group not yet caught or even suspected.

"In a large urban community, there is probably an increasing need to give the communities and neighbourhoods more responsibility for controlling the behaviour of their people. This is more difficult to handle, however, if there is great mobility within the areas concerned, if offenders are likely to come in from outside, if standards of conduct as between neighbourhoods are likely to vary considerably or if the subculture is antipathetical to the rest of society. Nevertheless, there needs to be more experimentation with the closer involvement of local communities in protection of their property, in the control of behaviour and in measures to prevent crime in the next generation.

"It is unlikely that there will be or can be really effective participation by the public in crime prevention if (a) the value systems as between the national and local groups diverge seriously, or (b) there are great differences of opinion as to what the public can do to prevent crime. Both (a) (b) apply in a number of the world's great cities and probably account for the general lack of effectiveness in the public participation that takes place. Here again the importance of goals to give public involvement a meaning is underlined. It may well be that with all the problems the world is experiencing in trying to organize public involvement in crime prevention, there may be a need for each country to return to first principles and to begin by asking public participation for what . . .?"

V. MODALITIES OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

37. There is such a range of ways in which community groups can be involved in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency that an artificial classification of those relationships is offered to assist analysis and discussion. Four modalities of public participation in social defence are suggested:

(1) Political support of social defence programmes;

(2) Public co-operation with social defence programmes;

(3) The delegation to community groups of elements of social defence programmes;

(4) The provision by community groups of autonomous social defence programmes.

This classification is not precise and suffers from some overlap; it is, nevertheless, a convenient means of ordering the many modes of public participation in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency.

A. Political support of social defence programmes

38. As we have seen, all political systems need some support for their governmental processes if they are to function at all, and substantial support if they are to function effectively. This is particularly true in the criminal justice system, which is concerned with deeply ingrained forms of behaviour that require the collaboration of the public for prevention, detection and control. Public political participation is thus a guide and a limitation, the frame of reference in which the government creates its agencies for the prevention and control of crime and delinquency.

39. It is the duty of the government to lead the public in relation to social defence and provide it with accurate information on which to base its views. Hence, the press, television and radio deserve consideration as agencies for achieving effective collaboration of the community in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency.

"In the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom, campaigns to enlighten public opinion by means of exhibitions, articles in the press, films and television and radio broadcasts are being conducted with success. Their objectives are, in particular, to alert public opinion to the serious consequences of certain breaches of the law for persons committing them, for the victim and the community, and to draw attention to the negligence and carelessness on the part of the victim which provide favourable opportunities for the commission of certain offences."

40. The whole political life of the community is also of relevance. Political authority expresses its social priorities in its budgets. In its planning for social defence, related to its budgetary provisions, governmental authority expresses its view of the relationship among community needs, public needs and the importance of reducing crime. The individual citizen and organized groups have important roles in defining social priorities. Perhaps, for this reason, many countries have seen the growth of state-wide organizations of concerned citizens.

"In the United States of America there is a co-ordinating National Council with twenty state citizen councils in operation which cover about 85 per cent of the population of the country. Among the achievements of these councils are the enactment of new laws, the establishment of new police training programmes, training institutes for judges and prosecutors, the extension of work furlough programmes, the diversion of construction funds from institutions to community-based services, the employment of social workers within public schools, and the change from political patronage to merit system appointments." [4]

41. Similar citizens' councils exist in many countries and operate as powerful supports of state agencies in the criminal justice field and steady spurs to the improvement of social defence practices generally.

42. It is hard to exaggerate the importance of non-governmental agencies in this work. They gain their strength from the quality of their work, from the vital relationship between public opinion and governmental capacities and also, and more particularly, from the fact that they create an informed and thoughtful community voice.

43. Community groups also exist as one means of preventing or controlling the abuse of power by governmental authorities in the criminal justice field. The civilian review board has been created in many countries to control abuse of power by the police. Other countries have created the ombudsman to function as an informed watchdog against any governmental abuse of power. In all legal systems, the firm insistence on public trial has a similar purpose: to achieve a balance between power and liberty through critical observation by individuals and community agencies.

44. If the public sector is to be properly informed about the operations of governmental agencies within the criminal justice system, those agencies must consciously and deliberately make available information about their operations. So far as practicable, they must make available to responsible community groups information about their actual day-to-day work. Effective collaboration between the public and private sectors presupposes that the public sector be niether secretive nor unduly protective about its operations.

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[4] Milton G. Rector, "Mobilizing public participation in social defence: a blueprint for action", *International Review of Criminal Policy*, No. 27 (United Nations publication, Sales No.: 70.IV.7).

45. There is sometimes a divergence between public support of social defence programmes in the abstract and public support in relation to particular cases. Throughout the world, there is general public support for half-way house release procedures for certain adult and juvenile offenders who have been institutionalized. There is also a widespread acceptance of the half-way house as an alternative to placement in an institution. Sometimes, however, these generalized supports fade away when it is suggested that such a half-way house be located in a particular area. Citizens not infrequently find cogent reasons why the half-way house should be located elsewhere. There is no avoiding the reality of this problem. It raises difficult questions of the balance between local public attitudes and the larger needs of the criminal justice system.

46. Community groupings not specifically related to the criminal justice system often provide major sources of support for that system. Thus, industry, labour organizations and similar major community structures often have some groups which support developed social defence programmes.

"Organizations which started out as direct-service prisoners' aid societies have either abandoned direct services to offenders or have added a range of indirect services such as programmes of public education, support of enabling legislation and sponsorship of correctional demonstration programmes and research. Increasing numbers of business, industrial, and trade-union organizations are also becoming active in developing community resources for offenders and are exerting nation-wide efforts to expand opportunities for occupational training and employment. Colleges, universities and local public school systems have opened their doors to the enrolment of offenders and former offenders and actively participate in the development of curricula designed to meet special needs of offenders. Local health and welfare agencies have begun to include offenders as targets of service."

It is through agencies such as these that governmental authority can appeal for interpretation of its programme to the community. They provide the bridge to the next level of collaboration between government and community groups.

B. Public co-operation with social defence programmes

"* * * * We move . . . to consider those [governmental programs] in which community groups have a defined function in the prevention and treatment of crime and delinquency. Such a function might be in the prevention of crime or delinquency, in police work, in the work of the courts, in correctional work, or in planning social defence. Let us consider the possibilities in that sequence.

"A wide range of community agencies provide prevention and welfare services, many of which have an important function in relation to crime and delinquency. Community agencies frequently run street-worker programmes, providing youthful workers who understand the problems of cities and of young people in the cities and can, on a voluntary basis, do important crime and delinquency preventive work. The Japanese Crime Prevention Association provides a good example of this type of co-operation."

Members of the Crime Prevention Association are recruited from among citizens living in the area covered by the local police station. They and the Association have as their purposes a general co-operation with the police and their crime prevention activities and the organization of various citizen activities to that end.

This is an excellent example of sound collaboration between community groups and the police in the prevention of crime. The same can be said of student-tutor programmes in which the older and more privileged children are involved in educational services to the less fortunate and less well-educated children in their community. Indeed, all that is best in community activity and social welfare tends to have the function of diminishing and preventing crime and delinquency. Social planning presupposes active support from such community groups.

"In some countries, there are arrangements for the creation of local community police-auxiliary forces. These tend to be local citizens given some training by the police, sometimes functioning as police cadets, sometimes being given an area in which they are to collaborate with the police by taking on certain prescribed police functions."

Community guards in Nigeria are supported by the Government in their local control of behaviour as extensions of the police system.

In Japan, in the general field of crime prevention, there are organized area crime prevention associations (unions) at the localities of the local police stations established in all cities, towns and villages. These associations co-operate with the police authorities by engaging in the following activities in the areas concerned:

(1) Crime prevention campaigns and public information and education activities;

(2) Crime prevention activities, such as patrolling at night-time;

(3) Inspection with policemen of equipment for crime prevention, such as locks of doors and emergency bells.

About 1948 in Ceylon, the Rural Development Department societies encouraged the promotion of bands of rural volunteers to (1) help villages in emergencies; (2) settle disputes among villages to bring such disputes before the notice of the conciliation boards; (3) aid in community schemes organized by the rural development society; (4) co-operate in work of national significance; (5) aid and assist public servants in performing their duties; (6) provide information to the *grama sevaka* (village head-man) or police regarding crimes or law-breaking (this was to be given in secrecy in the case of grave crimes); (7) aid the police or the *grama sevaka* in patrolling; (8) promote the maintenance of law and order in the village generally with the approval and aid of the rural development society.

"In several countries, there are plans for taking these levels of co-operation a step further and recruiting cadet policemen and special policemen from these community groups and some actual experiments have been undertaken. Through their knowledge of community values and of the subsultural pressures within the larger values of the criminal justice system, such groups may be able to bring about a closer collaboration between the police and the community, particularly in the depressed inner areas of some larger cities.

"When we turn from the police to the judicial aspects of the criminal justice system, we find many models of co-operation between community groups and governmental authority. The various Eastern European comradeship courts and factory and local community courts using lay judges either alone or sitting with professional judges are well known and much discussed. A few other examples may assist understanding of the range of co-operation between community groups and the judicial process of the State."

In Africa, for example, where juvenile courts have been established, they are presided over by panels who are largely lay men and women and who can bring their rich experience as parents, educator, ministers of religion and social workers to bear on the work of catering for the re-education of the delinquent or the child in need of care or protection. To enable these men and women to function in the right direction, lay magistrates' associations have been established in which they receive orientation and training for their work.

Laymen in Japan take part in civil and domestic court proceedings as summary court judicial commissioners, family court councillors and arbitrators. Summary court judicial commissioners, upon the request of the summary court judge, assist the court in reaching a friendly settlement of the pending case or offer their opinion on the case being tried. When the family court conducts proceedings to form, change, or dissolve personal relations or status in a family, the family court councillor attends the proceedings and offers his opinion to the judge. A conciliation committee is composed of two laymen (arbitrators) and one judge. It is attached to the district court and the summary court. Its role is to secure an amicable settlement of disputes, either by recommending mutual concession and compromise to both parties or by persuading the parties to accept the plan of compromise worked out by the committee.

In juvenile courts in Poland, there are unpaid people's magistrates who have special experience in the aid and education of adolescents.

The jury as it exists in many countries is an example of this collaboration. So also are assesors when they are placed in courts. The same is true of lay magistrates, to whom, in many parts of the world, court and judicial functions are given. All of these people represent community attitudes or community groups in the official judicial process of the State.

Turning now to co-operation between community groups and the services the State provides for treating convicted criminals and those adjudicated as juvenile delinquents, we find a luxuriant collaboration. In Europe, both probation and after-care work are often the province of community volunteers, their work being organized and to a degree supervised by state agencies. Much that is vital and creative in probation and after-care has emerged from the initiative of community groups. And in most countries, in this work, there is an attempt to strike a balance between the functions of the full-time, sometimes trained professional probation and after-care officer and his part-time, sometimes untrained colleagues representing a community group. This relationship is of great importance to correctional work.

The probation system in Ghana uses probation committees whose members are drawn from many walks of life. As it often happens, some of them may already be serving also as juvenile court magistrates or even as lay magistrates. As a rule, a probation committee meets quarterly to review the progress of the cases handled by the probation officers in their area. The review covers problems of all kinds, with special attention to the progress being made by the individual probationers under supervision in the area. This often ends in committee members volunteering to help probation officers with their difficult cases. Where juveniles are involved they would undertake visits to their homes from time to time to meet the parents in order to discuss the best approach to their problems.

In Nigeria, it becomes necessary that an arrangement be made for some kind of non-institutional treatment for all newly released prisoners. It was to meet this need, for instance, that the Lagos Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society was established in the 1930s to cater for the then colony of Nigeria. Similar organizations were soon established in certain urban centres throughout Nigeria.

"The host country to this Congress has been particularly creative in drawing community groups into a collaborative relationship in probation and after-care work. There are in Japan about 50,000 voluntary probation officers on whom fall the main burden of day-to-day supervision and support of those on probation and those discharged from penal institutions. They are appointed by the Minister of Justice on the advice of the Voluntary Probation Officers Selection Council. They are unpaid, though a small contribution is made to their travel expenses. Their average case-load varies between one and two. A recent study by the Ministry of Justice shows their morale to be high. Similarly, voluntary groups are mobilized to run rehabilitation aid hostels for discharged offenders. These hostels, run by about 130 different community organizations, licensed and supervised by the Ministry of Justice, provide essential support and assistance for those probationers and parolees who are referred to them by the relevant state agencies. The hostels can provide residential facilities, support and supervision for 3,400 offenders. About 40 per cent of the cost is borne by the central government, the remainder being raised by the community groups which run them.

"Somewhat similar developments are also to be found in many countries. More and more community groups are providing hostels and half-way houses for convicted offenders. But this by no means exhausts the range of co-operation between community and state in correctional work. Prison visitor organizations function throughout the world."

In Ghana, provision is made in both the prisons and the industrial schools for visiting committees made up of ordinary citizens of the country. Their functions are to visit the relevant institutions at stated times and to look into welfare problems which may be beyond the scope of the administration. These may pertain to inadequate accommodations, the unsuitable site of a particular institution, or the provision of some kind of amenity which may be very much needed.

In the United States of America, college students for some years have accepted assignments as tutors to assist prisoners pursuing various courses of study.

In Japan, persons who are found to be satisfactory from the view-points of both custodial safety and likely re-educative effect on the inmate are appointed as voluntary visitors to correctional institutions by the director of district correction headquarters. The number of such visitors at the end of 1968 was 1,640. In 1968, these voluntary visitors had a total of 12,045 individual interviews, mainly in the form of consultation and counselling, and a total of 6,033 group interviews in the form of lectures and instruction in club activities, such as flower arrangement, the composition of *haiku*, painting and sports. Voluntary visitors have access to inmate records and documents and are allowed to have interviews with inmates without the attendance of officers. The confidential nature of the interview is respected to a great extent, although an official report on the interview is to be submitted to the head of the institution.

Indeed, as the whole correctional process comes more and more to stress the need for effective control, supervision and assistance of the offender in the community, so it has become more and more necessary to turn to community groups for co-operation.

55. Many aspects of this co-operative relationship merit the attention of those attending the Congress. For example, what training should be given to people undertaking this work on behalf of the community? The training programmes have tended to be confined to employees of governmental agencies; yet there is a great deal to be said for relatively brief, in-service training courses for the wide variety of community workers involved in the prevention and treatment of crime in

collaboration with a state agency. The justification for such courses is not only to facilitate collaboration, but to give the lay worker a clearer perspective on the challenge and importance of his work and to help him do it better by training him in appropriate techniques.

56. The recruiting and screening of suitable community workers also merit consideration. If the government partnership with community groups is to be effective, there must be constant attention to defining the characteristics of community workers so as to select those most likely to contribute to the programme and reject the others.

57. Finally, as States seek to co-ordinate their social defence work and plan for the future, it becomes clear that effective planning requires community participation in the planning process itself. There are many promising developments of this nature. In many countries, legislative and other commissions of inquiry into crime prevention and treatment methods include in their membership representatives of diverse social groups not directly involved in social defence work; this is a highly desirable development. It is of at least equal value to include on such commissions representatives of those community groups which, as we have seen, often work in such close co-operative relationship with the official state agencies—police, courts and prisons—of the criminal justice system.

C. The delegation to community groups of elements of social defence programmes

58. In some cases, certain functions are delegated in their entirety to community groups. This delegation of functions can be considered in relation to police, judicial and correctional functions.

59. There are many examples of the recruitment of individuals from community groups or defined cultural areas to assist the police in their work among those groups or in those areas. Certain village police forces in Africa and Asia deal with all crime in the local community, other than a few offences which are seen as directed against the State and therefore are the responsibility of the centralized police.

"In Thailand, in 1884, a law was passed authorizing village headmen to organize local young men of twenty-one years of age into a kind of police force to protect property. Buffalo, cattle and other animals were herded together, and the responsibility for their care and control circulated around the villagers. This practice continues in the rural areas, which contain approximately 70 per cent of the population.

"In recent years, in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, much of the task of preserving order and making arrests for minor offenses has been entrusted to volunteer citizens' *militia* and people's brigades operating within the geographic area they know best and among people they know well. Their *militia* work is carried forward into the criminal justice system by the use of comradeship courts to decide cases brought to them by these volunteer community *militia* units. Similarly, other unpaid workers have been mobilized in numerous and varied organizations to guide and control their fellows to exert pressures for conformity to social values and accepted standards of morality and law and, if need be, to exert some of the disciplinary pressures ordinarily reserved to the State."

60. At this point, the discussion moves almost beyond the question of collaboration between government and local community groups into a consideration of the degree of decentralization of governmental authority. Countries differ sharply in the degree to which they centralize the police, from those with a single centralized police force to others in which virtually all police work is locally controlled; for example, the United States of America has no centralized police agency dealing with local jurisdiction, but it has no less than 40,000 federal, state and local police forces. Decentralization of police powers, as of other governmental authority, is based on a belief that it is desirable to involve the local community deeply in governmental processes.

61. The same generalization also applied to the delegation of judicial functions to community groups, though here the specialized role of voluntary groupings of citizens is even clearer. Village councils, factory councils, family welfare councils and youth service bureaux are among the specialized community groups used to take over wide areas of judicial work.

62. Village councils, factory councils and family welfare councils are reasonably well-known examples of the delegation of judicial power to community groups. Youth service bureaux, with which there is now extensive experimentation, have a similar purpose: neighbourhood youth agencies draw together with state support

to establish a quasi-judicial agency to assist juveniles (delinquents and non-delinquents) referred by the police, the juvenile courts or by parents, schools or other responsible bodies. Their aim is to relieve the courts, the police and the state child-welfare and youth correctional agencies of much of the discordant, socially upsetting behaviour of children and youth, short of serious crime, which so often finds its way into the official police, court and correctional services. It is a planned effort to turn back to the local community the responsibility for handling a larger proportion of juvenile misbehaviour than heretofore, a deliberate delegation of authority and power to the local community where, it is believed, in the last resort these problems must be handled if they are to be solved. Somewhat similar practices are to be found in many countries.

"In West Pakistan, a new Act passed . . . extends the *jirga* system to certain specified offences . . . . The prescribed offences include attempt to murder . . . . Other scheduled offences are those of kidnapping and robbery and of . . . corruption by public servants. Trial takes place before a *jirga* tribunal of five persons of whom the Chairman is to be an experienced Magistrate . . . Sentencing is by the head of the district, and there is no appeal, but the Commissioner of the Division (which includes a number of districts) has power in revision." [5]

"In India, local bodies called *panchayats*, have been set up to deal with developmental and minor governmental activities. Consisting of government selected local leaders in a small area, these judicial, or *nyaya panchayats* are dispensing justice in minor disputes, both civil and criminal. Although their members—the *panches*—seldom have any legal background and are frequently barely literate, it is hoped that, being part of the community, public opinion will operate to ensure their impartiality. It is reasoned, moreover, that the intimate knowledge of the area and its customs which the *panches* enjoy will make it extremely difficult for plaintiffs to manufacture evidence or engage in vexatious suits. The fact that the proceedings are informal and take place in the villager's own area and before people of his own type should, it is hoped, permit plaintiffs to explain their grievance more accurately." [6]

63. There is a lack of sufficient reliable data to assess the efficacy of these processes of delegating judicial authority to community groups. General experience, however, indicates great social advantage in this type of delegation of responsibility. There is a clear need for more critical, methodologically informed, sociologically and juridically sophisticated studies of the weaknesses and strengths of this government-community relationship.

64. Some experimentation is taking place with more innovative delegation of judicial authority. Thus, in some housing areas the tenants with authority derived from the police and the housing agencies, are writing their own codes of conduct and endeavouring to provide their own processes of justice and sanctions, thereby changing what had been issues of law into domestic, tenant-housing issues. Again, it is interesting to note the way in which the developed countries are emulating traditional processes in the developing countries and finding more social stability in that emulation than they did in their previous rush towards the centralization of power.

65. In the treatment of convicted offenders and adjudicated delinquents, many examples are reported of increasing delegation of authority from the State to community groups. This is particularly true in those places where probation and after-care work is a community responsibility.

"In Nigeria . . . the National Association of Prisoners' Welfare, (a non-governmental organization) co-ordinates the efforts of all voluntary organizations in the implementation of social defence programmes, often in collaboration with the various departments of social welfare throughout the country. The three stated aims of this organization are: to see that ex-prisoners are given another chance in life; to facilitate their living happily with their families and neighbours; and to find them work so that they can earn their living." [7]

"In an Asian country, Friendship Inc. has established livelihood loan projects and has operated a truck garden, a piggery, a poultry enterprise and similar businesses employing ex-prisoners exclusively. It takes over, in effect, large areas of the after-care work with released prisoners.

"One of the best examples of this more specialized use of citizens can be seen in the California management-labor advisory committees. Usually referred to as trade advisory committees, these groups are organized around local correctional

[5] Justice A. R. Cornelius, "Crime and the punishment of crime" (West Pakistan), Excerpta Criminologica, vol. 6, No. 1 (Leiden/Amsterdam, January-February 1966), pp. 1-12.
[6] R. S. Robins, "India: Judicial *panchayats* in Uttar Pradesh," *American Journal of Comparative Law*, vol. 11, No. 2, Spring 1962, pp. 239-256.
[7] T. O. Elias, op. cit.

institutions to meet the need for current advice and counsel to ensure that extensive programmes of vocational education introduced in correctional institutions were consistent with the needs of counterpart industries in the community; to open up opportunities for the placement of released prisoners; and to involve both the labour unions and employers in each separate industry so that they would feel they had a stake in the enterprise of training and employing released offenders. Each committee was chaired jointly by an employer and a member of the relevant union. Currently, more than 1,000 persons in California serve on more than seventy such committees."

Sound economic planning is increasingly leading centralized governmental authority to appreciate the merit in subsidizing local community efforts of this kind. One particularly striking idea of this nature, currently being effectively applied, is the probation subsidy programme: the State subsidizes the local community to the extent that the community reduces the number of convicted offenders, adult and juvenile, committed to correctional institutions. The more such offenders are maintained in the community under high-standard probation supervision of defined quality, the larger is the community's subsidy from the State.

66. This theme of delegation of power to the local community is pervasive. To the extent that an attempt is made to have correctional processes community-based, then to that extent local community groups must be mobilized to accept these processes—by co-operative arrangements and sometimes by delegation and subsidization. One long-standing example of such acceptance is that of the subsidized foster home which is to be found throughout the world.

D. The provision by community groups of autonomous social defence programmes

67. This fourth form of decentralization of governmental authority in social defence to local community groups is more speculative and less easy to describe than the three types considered so far. Sometimes the central Government leaves a substantial part of what had been regarded as social defence programmes to local effort. For example, a private police or security force may be maintained by a housing community. A settlement might likewise provide its own police force. Such forces would not report illegal behaviour to the central authority; rather, they would handle it entirely through community police, judicial and correctional processes. Usually, there are exceptions to their authority and some types of behaviour threatening to the State are often exluded from local control.

68. It may be thought that such arrangements pass beyond participation of the public in social defence and raise questions about the entire structure of governmental power within a geographic region. However, this process must be considered in any attempt to provide a global perspective.

69. Another development of this kind demands attention. In some of the developed countries, there has been a growing realization that too great a reliance has been placed on the criminal justice system and that a range of socially discordant and privately injurious behaviour has been drawn within the net of crime which would be better handled elsewhere. In this strong movement towards diversion from the criminal justice system, there is a tendency to seek other, normally local community-based means of treating behaviour previously regarded as criminal. A good example is to be found in criminal prohibitions against public drunkenness: it has come to be realized that such behaviour might well be left to other community organizations outside the criminal justice system. This is a wider issue; it raises many problems, some of which may be thought worthy of discussion at this Congress. It involves the difficult political and ethical questions of the proper role of the criminal law in relation to many other processes and agencies of social control.

VI. RESEARCH AND THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PUBLIC

70. This paper has, it is hoped, revealed the wide diversity of the relationships between governmental authority and community groups. It is hoped, too, that dogmatic conclusions have been avoided about which modalities of public participation are effective. Dogmatism would be unjustified: reliable data are lacking; there is widespread failure to measure critically the consequences of different arrangements for public participation in social defence. Description is easier than measurement, enthusiastic advocacy less demanding than critical evaluation. Indeed, as yet we have hardly developed the methodology for such measurement, let alone applied it. Nevertheless, it is clear that, in the long run, effective prevention and treatment of crime demands evaluation of this aspect of our work. It will not happen until planners recognize this need in their planning and provide funds for it in their budgets.

* * * [T]his conclusion emerges from the information reported to the Congress: there is a general tendency to encourage controlled public collaboration in the criminal justice process in a variety of ways. The official system needs not only the public's support but its collaborative effort. This can be achieved only if responsible elements in the community have knowledge of official efforts to prevent crime and treat offenders and are accepted as reliable and worthy colleagues in these endeavours.

EXHIBIT E

Part III: What Can Be Done?

Chapter 10—The Community Response

INTRODUCTION

The racial disorders of last summer in part reflect the failure of all levels of government—Federal and state as well as local—to come to grips with the problems of our cities. The ghetto symbolizes the dilemma: a widening gap between human needs and public resources and a growing cynicism regarding the commitment of community institutions and leadership to meet these needs.

The problem has many dimensions—financial, political and institutional. Almost all cities—and particularly the central cities of the largest metropolitan regions—are simply unable to meet the growing need for public services and facilities with traditional sources of municipal revenue. Many cities are structured politically so that great numbers of citizens—particularly minority groups—have little or no representation in the processes of government. Finally, some cities lack either the will of the capacity to use effectively the resources that are available to them.

Instrumentalities of Federal and State Government often compound the problems. National policy expressed through a very large number of grant programs and institutions rarely exhibits a coherent and consistent perspective when viewed at the local level. State efforts, traditionally focused on rural areas, often fail to tie in effectively with either local or Federal programs in urban areas.

Meanwhile, the decay of the central city continues—its revenue base eroded by the retreat of industry and white middle-class families to the suburbs, its budget and tax rate inflated by rising costs and increasing numbers of dependent citizens and its public plant—schools, hospitals, and correctional institutions deteriorated by age and long-deferred maintenance.

Yet to most citizens, the decay remains largely invisible. Only their tax bills and the headlines about crime or "riots" suggest that something may be seriously wrong in the city.

There are, however, two groups of people that live constantly with the problem of the city: the public officials and the poor, particularly the residents of the racial ghetto. Their relationship is a key factor in the development of conditions underlying civil disorders.

Our investigations of the 1967 riot cities establish that:

Virtually every major episode of urban violence in the summer of 1967 was foreshadowed by an accumulation of unresolved grievances by ghetto residents against local authorities (often, but not always, the police). So high was the resulting underlying tension that routine and random events, tolerated or ignored under most circumstances (such as the raid on the "blind pig" in Detroit and the arrest of the cab driver in Newark), became the triggers of sudden violence.

Coinciding with this high level of dissatisfaction, confidence in the willingness and ability of local government to respond to Negro grievances was low. Evidence presented to this Commission in hearings, field reports and research analyses of the 1967 riot cities establishes that a substantial number of Negroes were disturbed and angry about local governments' failures to solve their problems.

Several developments have converged to produce this volatile situation.

First, there is a widening gulf in communications between local government and the residents of the erupting ghettos of the city. As a result, many Negro citizens develop a profound sense of isolation and alienation from the processes and programs of government. This lack of communication exists for all residents in our larger cities; it is, however, far more difficult to overcome for low-income, less educated citizens who are disproportionately supported by and dependent upon programs administered by agencies of local government. Consequently, they are more often subject to real or imagined official misconduct ranging from abrasive contacts with public officials to arbitrary administrative actions.

Further, as a result of the long history of racial discrimination, grievances experienced by Negroes often take on personal and symbolic significance transcending the immediate consequences of the event. For example, inadequate sanitation services are viewed by many ghetto residents not merely as instances of poor public service but as manifestations of racial discrimination. This perception reinforces existing feelings of alienation and contributes to a heightened level of frustration and dissatisfaction, not only with the administrators of the sanitation department but with all the representatives of local government. This is particularly true with respect to the police, who are the only public agents on duty in the ghetto 24 hours a day and who bear this burden of hostility for the less visible elements of the system.

The lack of communication and the absence of regular contacts with ghetto residents prevent city leaders from learning about problems and grievances as they develop. As a result, tensions, which could have been dissipated if responded to promptly, mount unnecessarily, and the potential for explosion grows inevitably. Once disorder erupts, public officials are frequently unable to fashion an effective response; they lack adequate information about the nature of the trouble and its causes, and they lack rapport with local leaders who might be able to influence the community.

Second, many city governments are poorly organized to respond effectively to the needs of ghetto residents, even when those needs are made known to appropriate public officials. Most middle-class city dwellers have limited contacts with local government. When contracts do occur, they tend to concern relatively narrow and specific problems. Furthermore, middle-class citizens, although subject to many of the same frustrations and resentments as gletto residents in dealing with the public bureaucracy, find it relatively easy to locate the appropriate agency for help and redress. If they fail to get satisfaction, they can call on a variety of remedies—assistance of elected representatives, friends in government, a lawyer. In short, the middle-class city dweller has relatively fewer needs for public services and is reasonably well positioned to move the system to his benefit.

On the other hand, the typical ghetto resident has interrelated social and economic problems which require the services of several government and private agencies. At the same time, he may be unable to identify his problems to fit the complicated structure of government. Moreover, he may be unaware of his rights and opportunities under public programs and unable to obtain the necessary guidance from either public or private sources.

Current trends in municipal administration have had the effect of reducing the capacity of local government to respond effectively to these needs. The pressures for administrative efficiency and cost cutting have brought about the withdrawal of many operations of city government from direct contact with neighborhood and citizen. Red tape and administrative complexity have filled the vacuum created by the centralization of local government. The introduction of a merit system and a professionalized civil service has made management of the cities more business-like, but it has also tended to depersonalize and isolate government. The rigid patterns of segregation prevalent within the central city have widened the distance between Negro citizens and city hall.

In most of the riot cities surveyed by the Commission, we found little or no meaningful coordination among city agencies, either in responding to the needs of ghetto residents on an ongoing basis or in planning to head off disturbances. The consequences of this lack of coordination were particularly severe for the police. Despite the fact that they were being called upon increasingly to deal with tensions and citizen complaints often having little, if anything, to do with police services, the police departments of many large cities were isolated from other city agencies, sometimes including the mayor and his staff. In these cities, the police were compelled to deal with ghetto residents angered over dirty streets, dilapidated housing, unfair commercial practices or inferior schools—grievances which they had neither the responsibility for creating nor the authority to redress.

Third, ghetto residents increasingly believe that they are excluded from the decision-making process which affects their lives and community. This feeling of exclusion, intensified by the bitter legacy of racial discrimination, has engendered a deep seated hostility toward the institutions of government. It has severely compromised the effectiveness of programs intended to provide improved services to ghetto residents.

In part, this is the lesson of Detroit and New Haven where well intentioned programs designed to respond to the needs of ghetto residents were not worked out and implemented sufficiently in cooperation with the intended beneficiaries. A report prepared for the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, presented just prior to the riot in Detroit, found that:

"Area residents * * * complain almost continually that * * * their demands for program changes are not heeded, that they have little voice in what goes on. * * * As much as the area residents are involved, listened to, and even heeded, * * * it becomes fairly clear that the relationship is still one of super-ordinate-subordinate, rather than one of equals. * * * The procedures by which HRD (the Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development, the Detroit Community Action Agency) operates by and large admit the contributions of area residents only after programs have been written, after policies have already operated for a time or already been formulated and to a large degree, only in formal and infrequent meetings rather than in day-to-day operations. * * * The meaningfulness of resident involvement is reduced by its after-the-fact nature and by relatively limited resources they have at their disposal." [1]

Mayor Alfonso J. Cervantes of St. Louis was even more explicit. In testimony before this Commission, he stated:

"We have found that ghetto neighborhoods cannot be operated on from outside alone. The people within them should have a voice, and our experience has shown that it is often a voice that speaks with good sense, since the practical aspect of the needs of the ghetto people are so much clearer to the people there than they are to anyone else."

The political system, traditionally an important vehicle for minorities to participate effectively in decisions affecting the distribution of public resources, has not worked for the Negro as it has for other groups. The reasons are fairly obvious.

We have found that the number of Negro officials in elected and appointed positions in the riot cities is minimal in proportion to the Negro population. The alienation of the Negro from the political process has been exacerbated by his racial and economic isolation.

Specifically, the needs of ghetto residents for social welfare and other public services have swelled dramatically at a time when increased affluence has diminished the need for such services by the rest of the urban population. By reducing disproportionately the economic disability of other portions of the population, particularly other ethnic urban minorities, this affluence has left the urban Negro few potential local allies with whom to make common cause for shared objectives. The development of political alliances, essential to effective participation of minority groups in the political process, has been further impaired by the polarization of the races, which on both sides has transformed economic considerations into racial issues.

Finally, these developments have coincided with the demise of the historic urban political machines and the growth of the city manager concept of government. While this tendency has produced major benefits in terms of honest and efficient administration, it has eliminated an important political link between city government and low-income residents.

These conditions have produced a vast and theatening disparity in perceptions of the intensity and validity of Negro dissatisfaction. Viewed from the perspective of the ghetto resident, city government appears distant and unconcerned, the possibility of effective change remote. As a result, tension rises perceptibly; the explosion comes as the climax to a progression of tension-generating incidents. To the city administration, unaware of this growing tension or unable to respond effectively to it, the outbreak of disorder comes as a shock.

No democratic society can long endure the existence within its major urban centers of a substantial number of citizens who feel deeply aggrieved as a group, yet lack confidence in the Government to rectify perceived injustice and in their ability to bring about needed change.

We are aware that reforms in existing instruments of local government and their relationship to the ghetto population will mean little unless joined with sincere and comprehensive response to the severe social and economic needs of ghetto residents. Elsewhere in this report, we make specific recommendations with respect to employment, education, welfare, and housing which we hope will meet some of these needs.

We believe, however, that there are measures which can and should be taken now; that they can be put to work without great cost and without delay; that they can be built upon in the future and that they will effectively reduce the level of grievance and tension as well as improve the responsiveness of local government to the needs of ghetto residents.

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[1] Examination of the War on Poverty, Staff and Consultants Reports, prepared by Center for Urban Studies, University of Chicago, for the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty, Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 90th Cong. 1st Sess. (Sept. 1967), vol. VI, pp. 1721 ff.

Basic Strategy and Goals

To meet the needs identified above, we recommend pursuit of a comprehensive strategy which would accomplish the following goals:

Effective communication between ghetto residents and local government.

Improved ability of local government to respond to the needs and problems of ghetto residents.

Expanded opportunities for citizen leadership to participate in shaping decisions and policies which affect their community.

Increased accountability of public officials.

We recognize that not all of the programs proposed below to implement the foregoing goals can be instituted with the immediacy required by the problem. Because the need for action at the local level, where government impinges directly upon the ghetto resident, is particularly urgent, we propose that our suggested programs be implemented in two phases. It is vital, however, that the first phase programs not be regarded or perceived as short term, and anti-riot efforts calculated to cool already inflamed situations. These programs will have little chance of succeeding unless they are part of a long-range commitment to action designed to eliminate the fundamental sources of grievance and tension.

Programs: First Phase Actions

Establishment of Neighborhood Action Task Forces

To open channels of communication between government and ghetto residents, improve the capacity of the city administration to respond effectively to community needs and provide opportunity for meaningful citizen participation in decision-making, we recommend establishment of joint government-community Neighborhood Action Task Forces covering each neighborhood within the city which has a high proportion of low-income minority citizens. While the exact form of these groups will depend upon the size and needs of each municipality, the following basic features should be incorporated:

Composition. Each task force should include a key official in the mayor's office with direct and immediate access to the mayor, ranking city officials from the operating agencies servicing the ghetto community, elected leaders, representatives from the local business, labor, professional, and church communities, and neighborhood leaders, including representatives of community organizations of all orientations, as well as youth leaders. Each task force would be headed by the mayor's representative. In the larger cities, each of these chairmen would sit as a member of a city-wide Task Force.

Functions. The Neighborhood Action Task Forces should meet on a regular basis at a location accessible to ghetto residents. These meetings will afford an opportunity for ghetto leaders to communicate directly with the municipal administrators for their area to discuss problems and programs which affect the community. In effect, this device furnishes an interagency coordinating mechanism on the one hand and a "community cabinet" on the other.

Ghetto residents should be able to rely on the capacity of the task force to cut through the maze of red tape and to overcome bureaucratic barriers in order to make things—collection of garbage, removal of abandoned cars, installation of lights in the park, establishment of playstreets—happen. To accomplish this purpose, the participating city officials should have operational decision-making authority. Lower-level staff or public relations personnel will be unable to provide the confrontation and interaction with the community representatives which is essential to the effective functioning of the task force. Moreover, there is grave danger that opening channels of communication without providing opportunities for obtaining relief will further estrange ghetto residents. If this is not to happen, the task force should have a meaningful and realistic capacity for securing redress of grievances. For the same reason, it is essential that the task force have the full and energetic support of the mayor and the city council.

The potential for responding effectively to community needs is not limited to available public resources. Acting through business, labor, and church members, and local Urban Coalitions which have already been formed, the task force will have a capacity to involve the resources of the private sector in meeting needs within the ghetto. Possibilities range from support of special summer youth programs (weekend trips, recreation events, camping programs) to provision of cultural and employment opportunities on a year-round basis.

The Neighborhood Action Task Force can play a significant role with respect to youth activities. One approach which has worked in several cities involves the establishment of youth councils to employ young streetleaders (regardless of previous police records) to develop community programs for other alienated youth. These activities might include organizing and operating libraries, neighborhood cleanup campaigns, police-community dialogues, and sports competitions in their own neighborhoods.

Finally, such an organization can make a major contribution to the prevention of civil disorders. If the task force has been successful in achieving the objectives stressed above, its members will have gained the confidence of a wide spectrum of ghetto residents. This will enable them to identify potentially explosive conditions and, working with police, to defuse them.

Similarly, the task force could have considerable effectiveness in handling threatening incidents identified by the police. To accomplish this objective, an early warning system could be instituted during the critical summer months. Operating on a 24-hour basis, such a system should have the capacity to receive and evaluate police reports of potentially serious incidents and to initiate an appropriate nonpolice response, utilizing community contacts and task force personnel. Any such operation must have the cooperation of the police, who will be in control of the overall disorder response. To avoid confusion and duplication of effort, the task force should have responsibility for coordinating the efforts of all agencies, other than police and fire, once a disturbance has occurred. An example will serve to illustrate how the system might operate.

Following the slaying last summer of a Negro teenager by a Negro detective in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, N.Y., a rumor that the youth had been shot by a white policeman and that the police were trying to suppress this information began to circulate through an already tense neighborhood. The situation became threatening. Yet, within an hour, three white members of the mayor's summer task force group were able to convince a group of black militants that the police version was true. Walking the streets that night and the next two evenings, they worked to dispel the rumor and to restore community stability.

In the larger cities, the city-wide task force could have responsibility for coordinating the programs of various municipal agencies, concentrating their impact on poverty areas, and planning for the more effective implementation of existing public efforts.

The Commission believes that the task force approach can do precisely what other forms of neighborhood organizations have not been able to do. It can connect the real needs and priorities of low-income residents with the energies and resources of both city government and the private sector. It can substantially improve the quality and timeliness of city services to these areas. It will fail unless all of the groups involved are prepared to deal fairly and openly with the problems of the community. But if it succeeds, it will not only produce improved services; it will go far to generate a new sense of community.

ESTABLISHMENT OF EFFECTIVE GRIEVANCE-RESPONSE MECHANISMS

Effective implementation of the Neighborhood Action Task Forces will depend upon the continuing commitment of the city administration to their success. To ensure attention to many of the sources of tension identified above, we recommend that formal mechanisms for the processing of grievances, many of which will relate to the performance of the city government, be established independent of the local administration.

We are convinced, on the record before this Commission, that the frustration reflected in the recent disorders results, in part at least, from the lack of accessible and visible means of establishing the merits of grievances against the agencies of local and state government, including but not limited to, the police. Cities and states throughout the country now have under consideration various forms of grievance-response devices. While we are not prepared to specify the form which such a mechanism should take in any particular community, there are certain criteria which should be met. These include:

Independence: This can be achieved by long-term appointment of the administrator, subject to City Council removal. The grievance agency should be separated from operating municipal agencies.

Adequate staff and funding: Exact costs will vary depending on the size and needs of the city's population. It is most important that the agency have adequate funds and staff to discharge its responsibilities.

Comprehensive coverage of grievances against public agencies and authorities: General jurisdiction will facilitate access by grievants. Moreover, unlike specialized complaint agencies, such as civilian review boards, all agencies would be brought

equally under public scrutiny. This should facilitate its acceptance by public officials.

Power to receive complaints, hold hearings, subpoena witnesses, make public recommendations for remedial action to local authorities and, in cases involving violation of law, bring suit: These powers are the minimum necessary for the effective operation of the grievance mechanism. As we envision it, the agency's principal power derives from its authority to investigate and make public findings and recommendations. It should, of course, have a conciliation process whereby complaints could be resolved without full investigation and processing.

Accessibility: In large cities, ready access to grievants may require setting up neighborhood offices in ghetto areas. In others, local resident aides could be empowered to receive complaints. It should be possible to file a grievance orally or in writing. If forms are used, they should be easily understood and widely available.

Participation in grievance process: Grievants should be given full opportunity to take part in all proceedings and to be represented by counsel. They should receive prompt advice of action taken; results of investigations should be made public.

EXPANDED LEGAL SERVICES

Among the most intense grievances underlying the riots of the summer of 1967 were those which derived from conflicts between ghetto residents and private parties, principally white landlords and merchants. Though the legal obstacles are considerable, resourceful and imaginative use of available legal processes could contribute significantly to the alleviation of resulting tensions. Through the adversary process which is at the heart of our judicial system, litigants are afforded a meaningful opportunity to influence events which affect them and their community. However, effective utilization of the courts requires legal assistance, a resource seldom available to the poor.

Litigation is not the only need which ghetto residents have for legal service. Participation in the grievance procedures suggested above may well require legal assistance. More importantly, ghetto residents have need of effective advocacy of their interests and concerns in a variety of other contexts, from representation before welfare agencies and other institutions of government to advocacy before planning boards and commissions concerned with the formulation of development plans. Again, professional representation can provide substantial benefits in terms of overcoming the ghetto resident's alienation from the institutions of government by implicating him in its processes. Although lawyers function in precisely this fashion for the middle-class clients, they are too often not available to the impoverished ghetto resident.

The Legal Services Program administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity has made a good beginning in providing legal assistance to the poor. Its present level of effort should be substantially expanded through increased private and public funding. In addition, the participation of law schools should be increased through development of programs whereby advanced students can provide legal assistance as a regular part of their professional training. In all of these efforts, the local bar bears major responsibility for leadership and support.

ASSISTANCE FOR MAYORS AND CITY COUNCILS

In the chapters that follow, we direct attention to broad strategies and programs of national action. Yet the capacity of the Federal Government to affect local problems depends to a great extent on the capacity of city government to respond competently to Federal program initiatives.

In the face of the bewildering proliferation of both community demands and local, state, and Federal programs, mayors and city councils need to create new mechanisms to aid in decision-making, program planning, and coordination. At this time, however, no assistance is available to develop these new and critically necessary institutional capabilities or to support the required research, consultants, staff, or other vital components of administrative or legislative competence.

The Commission recommends, therefore, that both the state and Federal governments provide financial assistance to cities for these purposes as a regular part of all urban program funding.

HEARINGS ON GHETTO PROBLEMS AND ENACTMENT OF APPROPRIATE LOCAL LEGISLATION

Many of the grievances identified in our study of the conditions underlying civil disorders can be redressed only through legislative action. Accordingly, we

recommend that the legislative body of each city with a substantial minority population hold, as soon as possible, a series of hearings on ghetto problems. In large cities, these hearings could well be held in the ghetto itself to facilitate full citizen participation.

In addition to establishing a foundation for needed legislative measures, these hearings would constitute a visible demonstration of governmental concern for the problems of ghetto residents. They would also provide a most useful means of bridging the communications gap, contributing to an improved understanding in the white community about the conditions of ghetto life.

EXPANDED EMPLOYMENT BY CITY GOVERNMENT OF GHETTO RESIDENTS

We strongly recommend that local government undertake a concerted effort to provide substantial employment opportunities for ghetto residents. Local governments now employ 6.4 million people full time, most of whom live in urban areas; they comprise one of the fastest growing segments of the economy. This offers an opportunity of the greatest significance for local government to respond to one of the most critical needs of ghetto residents and, at the same time, to decrease the distance between city hall and the ghetto by deliberate employment, training, and upgrading of Negroes.

To accomplish this goal, we recommend that municipal authorities review applicable civil service policies and job standards and take prompt action to remove arbitrary barriers to employment of ghetto residents. Reevaluation is particularly necessary with respect to requirements relating to employment qualification tests and police records. Leadership by city government in this vital area is of urgent priority, not only because of the important public employment potential but also to stimulate private employers to take similar action.

Second Phase Actions

ESTABLISHMENT OF NEIGHBORHOOD CITY HALLS

The Neighborhood Action Task Force concept provides a basis on which lasting structures can be erected. The principal change required in order to transform the official component of the Task Force into a permanent instrument of local government involves the establishment of offices in the neighborhoods served. Depending on the size and composition of the neighborhood, the permanent staff should include an assistant mayor, representatives of the municipal agencies, the city councilman's staff and other institutions and groups included in the Task Force. This facility would function, in effect, as a "Neighborhood City Hall."

The neighborhood city hall would accomplish several interrelated objectives. It would contribute to the improvement of public services by providing an effective channel for low-income citizens to communicate their needs and problems to the appropriate public officials and by increasing the ability of local government to respond in a coordinated and timely fashion. It would serve as the eyes and ears of the mayor and council and furnish an informal forum for complaints and grievances. It would make information about government programs and services available to ghetto residents, enabling them to make more effective use of such programs and services while making clear the limitations on the availability of all such programs and services. It would expand opportunities for meaningful community access to and involvement in the planning and implementation of policy affecting the neighborhood. Most important, the neighborhood city hall, building on the task force approach, affords a significant opportunity to accomplish the democratic goal of making government closer and more accountable to the citizen.

DEVELOPMENT OF MULTI-SERVICE CENTERS

Frequently, services vital to the ghetto resident—job placement and location, health care, legal assistance—are inaccessible because they are located at considerable distance from the ghetto, a distance often made greater by the lack of efficient public transportation. This problem is compounded by the fact that many key service institutions are fragmented, requiring those seeking assistance to pursue it at various locations scattered throughout a large urban area.

To meet this need, the Office of Economic Opportunity has funded over 700 neighborhood centers in ghetto areas throughout the country since 1964. Many of these have been small store-front operations housing OEO-funded services. Some, as in Detroit, have had a fairly wide range of services and have served a large number of families.

The principal problem has been that most centers have not been comprehensive enough. They rarely include traditional city and state agency services. Many relevant Federal programs are seldom located in the same center. Manpower and education programs from HEW and the Labor Department, for example, have been housed in separate centers without adequate consolidation or coordination either geographically or programmatically.

The resulting proliferation led the President to call upon the Department of Housing and Urban Development to establish comprehensive one-stop service centers. The experience thus far indicates the need for more effective coordination of Federal programs at the national and regional levels. Legislation may be required to simplify grant procedures and assure such coordination.

Each center should have enough neighborhood workers to reach out into the homes of needy people who are not able to seek help. To assure that the service centers are relevant to the needs and styles of the neighborhood, ghetto residents should be trained and employed at all levels. This purpose can well be served through establishment and involvement of Community Service Center Councils to establish overall policy.

We recommend increased Federal funding for comprehensive centers and implementation of the policy guidelines proposed above.

IMPROVED POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

It is beyond the scope of this Report to consider in detail the many problems presented by the existing distribution of political power within city governments. But it is plain that the Negro ghetto resident feels deeply that he is not represented fairly and adequately under the arrangements which prevail in many cities. This condition strikes at major democratic values.

To meet this problem, city government and the majority community should revitalize the political system to encourage fuller participation by all segments of the community. Whether this requires adoption of any one system of representation, we are not prepared to say. But it is clear that at-large representation, currently the practice in many American cities, does not give members of the minority community a feeling of involvement or stake in city government. Further, this form of representation dilutes the normal political impact of pressures generated by a particular neighborhood or district.

Negro representation and participation in the formal structure of government can also be furthered by a concerted effort to appoint Negroes to significant policy positions in city government.

MORE EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

One of the most difficult and controversial problems we have encountered relates to ghetto demands for "self-determination" or "community control." To a limited extent, this concept was made a matter of national policy in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which specified that community action programs should be developed, conducted and administered with "maximum feasible participation" of the residents of the areas and members of the groups served.

In the 3 years since the beginning of the War on Poverty, the effort to put maximum feasible participation into effect has met with both success and failure. One measure of its success can be seen in the extent to which the demand for participation, even control, over a variety of programs affecting the ghetto has spilled over into the most traditional areas, such as public school administration.

But the demands made often seem intransigent and the time required for negotiation with residents extravagant. The pulling and hauling of different factions competing for control within the ghetto community sometimes makes it difficult to mount any program. Moreover, it is often easier to organize groups to oppose, complain, demonstrate and boycott than to develop and run programs.

Yet the demand for a community voice represents a marked and desirable gain over the apathy that existed before. Despite its problems, we believe that meaningful community participation and a substantial measure of involvement in program development is an essential strategy for city government. The democratic values which it advances—providing a stake in the social system, improving the accountability of public officials—as well as the pragmatic benefits which it provides far outweigh these costs.

The essential question which city leadership must face is the ultimate goal of community participation. In this sense, community involvement is directly related to the strategy of decentralization, for with the support of the city,

neighborhood groups may become an effective force for carrying on a variety of functions—such as physical renewal and redevelopment—which can be highly disruptive when imposed by outside authority.

If these principles are accomplished, then the choice of mechanisms will depend upon the needs of the particular community and the structure of the local government. We have described earlier in this section opportunities for meaningful community participation in the processes of government. Additional and diverse instrumentalities such as community neighborhood school boards, community planning boards, tenants' councils, youth councils, advisory committees and consumer trade organizations offer further ways of providing institutional channels for effective citizen participation in public decision making. The crucial issue, however, is whether city government is willing to legitimize these organizations by dealing with them on a regular basis with respect to matters within their competence. We believe that such an approach offers substantial promise of improving the relationship between local government and ghetto residents.

The involvement of the ghetto community in the planning and operation of development programs need not be confined to the public arena. There is great potential in private community development corporations which can emerge from a combined public-private sponsorship and perform mixed functions for the community, including sponsorship of locally owned businesses.

A most promising approach is the neighborhood membership corporation, the first of which was established in Columbus, Ohio, in 1965—the East Central Citizens Organization (ECCO), under an OEO grant. Functioning as a town meeting, its members include all of the residents of a defined ghetto neighborhood (8,150 people). Its activities encompass day-care centers, credit unions, legal and medical services, newspapers, restaurants and business enterprises.

Both money and manpower will be needed from government, foundations and private business to create and assist these corporations and other new community institutions. Technical and professional support will be required. The opportunity that they offer to develop stable community leadership structures and constructive involvement should not be allowed to fail for lack of such support.

Conclusion

Finally, there remains the issue of leadership. Now, as never before, the American city has need for the personal qualities of strong democratic leadership. Given the difficulties and delays involved in administrative reorganization or institutional change, the best hope for the city in the short run lies in this powerful instrument. In most cities, the mayor will have the prime responsibility.

It is in large part his role now to create a sense of commitment and concern for the problems of the ghetto community and to set the tone for the entire relationship between the institutions of city government and all the citizenry.

Part of the task is to interpret the problems of the ghetto community to the citizenry at large and to generate channels of communication between Negro and white leadership outside of government. Only if all the institutions of the community—those outside of government as well as those inside the structure—are implicated in the problems of the ghetto can the alienation and distrust of disadvantaged citizens be overcome.

This is now the decisive role for the urban mayor. As leader and mediator, he must involve all those groups—employers, news media, unions, financial institutions and others—which only together can bridge the chasm now separating the racial ghetto from the community. His goal, in effect, must be to develop a new working concept of democracy within the city.

In this effort, state government has a vital role to play. It must equip city leadership with the jurisdictional tools to deal with its problems. It must provide a fuller measure of financial and other resources to urban areas. Most importantly, state leadership is in a unique position to focus the interests and growing resources, political as well as financial, of the suburbs on the physical, social and cultural environment of the central cities. The crisis confronting city government today cannot be met without regional cooperation. This cooperation can take many forms—metropolitan government, regional planning, joint endeavors. It must be a principal goal, perhaps the overriding concern, of leadership at the state level to fashion a lasting and mutually productive relationship between city and suburban areas.

EXHIBIT F

Chapter 1

The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society: Introduction

THE FOUNDATIONS OF A CRIME CONTROL PROGRAM

In the ensuing chapters of this report, the Commission's specific recommendations for improvements in the criminal justice system are set forth in detail. Here a brief identification of the general needs of the system is sufficient.

Resources

The many specific needs of the criminal justice system—for manpower, for equipment, for facilities, for programs, for research, for money—are interlocking. Each one must be filled with the others in mind. Equipment cannot be operated, facilities manned, programs initiated or research conducted without personnel of many different kinds. It would be useless to seek to recruit more and better personnel if there were not more and better jobs for them to do. Programs cannot be conducted without equipment and facilities, and cannot be conducted effectively without research. Money is needed for everything. This discussion of the system's needs assumes that every need is dependent on the others.

The problem of personnel is at the root of most of the criminal justice system's problems. The system cannot operate fairly unless its personnel are fair. The system cannot operate swiftly and certainly unless its personnel are efficient and well-informed. The system cannot make wise decisions unless its personnel are thoughtful. In many places—many police departments, congested urban lower courts, the understaffed county jails, the entire prison, probation and parole apparatus—more manpower is needed. Probably the greatest manpower need of all, in view of the increasing—and overdue—involvement of defense counsel in all kinds of cases, is for lawyers who can handle criminal cases. Everywhere more skilled, better trained, more imaginative manpower is needed. Some positions are hard to fill. Often the pay is bad and the working conditions are difficult. In addition, an odd and injurious notion is widespread that there is something disreputable about being a policeman or a criminal lawyer or a prison guard. The fact is that there are few fields in which people have more opportunities to do important and responsible work than the criminal justice system. Recruting such people in large numbers, training them fully and giving them the pay, the opportunities for advancement and the responsibility they deserve is a matter of great urgency.

Too much of the system is physically inadequate, antiquated or dilapidated. This condition goes beyond the obvious obsolescence of many correctional institutions and the squalor and congestion of many urban lower courts, which make it difficult to treat defendants or convicts humanely. The system's personnel often must work with poor facilities: recordkeeping systems that are clumsy and inefficient, communications equipment that makes speedy action difficult an absence of all kinds of scientific and technological aids. Furthermore, in few States is there the variety of correctional facilities that could make a variety of correctional programs possible. Most institutions are almost entirely custodial in a physical sense—with high walls, locked gasts, and barred windows. New kinds of institutions, less forbidding in character and situated within reach of the community, are an immediate and pressing need.

Probably the single greatest technical limitation on the system's ability to make its decisions wisely and fairly is that the people in the system often are required to decide issues without enough information. A policeman who has just set out in pursuit of a speeding and suspicious looking car should be able to get immediate information as to whether or not the car is wanted; a judge about to sentence a criminal should know everything aboout him that the police know; and the correctional authorities to whom that criminal is delivered should know everything about him that the judge knows. When they make dispositional decisions, judges and corrections officials should be able to draw on the experience of the system in dealing with different offenders in different ways. Existing procedures must be made more efficient; and new procedures must be devised, so that information can flow more fully and swiftly among the system's many parts.

Finally, the nature of crime and the means of controlling it are subjects about which a surprisingly small amount of research has been done. What "deterrence" really means and involves, how different kinds of criminals are likely to respond to different kinds of treatment, what the objective effects of making various kinds of marginal behavior criminal have been, how much of the juvenile justice system's informality can be preserved without fairness—and a militude of other abstruse questions of this kind—are almost totally unanswerable today. There is almost as great a lack of operational knowledge. It is impossible to state accurately, for example, what proportions of police time are spent on the different sorts of police work, or how large a proportion of the drunks that come before lower courts are chronic offenders, or what personal characteristics best qualify a man to be an effective correctional official.

This lack of firm data of almost every kind has been the greatest obstactle to he Commission's work, in many instances information, combined with the experienced judgment of those who have worked in this field. The process of change cannot await all the answers the Commission would like to have had. The criminal justice system is faced with too urgent a need for action to stand back for a generation and engage in research. At the same time self-education is one of the system's crucial responsibilities. Only by combining research with action can future programs be founded on knowledge rather than on informed or perceptive guesswork. Moreover, once knowledge is acquired, it is wasted if it is not shared. An east coast city must be able to draw on a west coast city's experience, a judge on a policeman's. Scattered about the country today are many individuals and groups with special knowledge about one aspect or another of law enforcement and the administration of justice. Often no one else in the system knows that these individuals and groups know anything. Sometimes these individuals and groups are themselves not aware, through lack of contact with the rest of the system, that they know something no one else knows. The system must devote itself to acquiring and diffusing knowledge, with special emphasis on exploring ways in which the criminal justice system and the universities can work together.

Public Involvement and Support

Each time a citizen fails to report an offense, declines to take the commonsense precautions against crime his police department tells him to, is disrespectful to an officer of the law, shirks his duty as a juror or performs it with a biased mind or a hate-filled heart, or refuses to hire a qualified man because he is an exconvict, he contributes his mite to crime. That much is obvious. A further duty of every citizen is to familiarize himself with the problems of crime and the criminal justice system so that when legislatures are considering criminal laws or appropriations for the system he can express informed views, and when politicians make crime an election issue he will not be panicked or deceived. The money that is needed to control crime will come, ultimately, from the public. That too, is obvious.

Beyond this, controlling crime depends to a great degree on interaction between the community and the criminal justice system. The need for the system and the universities to work together on research into crime and the ways to prevent or control it has been mentioned. Similarly, effective policing of slums and ghettos requires programs designed to improve relations between the police and the residents of such neighborhoods and enable them to work together. Community-based correctional programs require that organizations of many kinds, and individuals as well, involve themselves actively in the job of reintegrating offenders into the life of the community. Programs designed to reduce juvenile delinquency require the same kind of public involvement.

Above all, the Commission inquiries have convinced it that it is undesirable that offenders travel any further along the full course from arrest to charge to sentence to detention than is absolutely necessary for society's protection and the offenders' own welfare. Much of the congestion throughout the system, from police stations to prisons, is the result of the presence in the system of offenders who are there only because there is no other way of dealing with them. One of the system's greatest needs is for the community to establish institutions and agencies to which policemen, prosecutors, and judges can refer various kinds of offenders, without being compelled to bring the full force of criminal sanctions to bear on them. Doubtless, devising and instituting alternative ways of treating offenders is a long and complicated process. It must begin with an understanding by the community of the limited capacity of the criminal justice system for handling the whole problem of "crime." Until the public becomes fully aware of what the system can do and what it cannot do, it cannot give the system the help it needs.

A Willingness to Change

The inertia of the criminal justice system is great. More than 30 years ago the Wickersham Commission described the scandalous way in which justice was being administered in many of the country's "lower" courts, and urged that they be abolished; few of them have been abolished and many of the remaining ones are still a scandal. For centuries the imposition of money bail has discriminated against poor defendants, but only in the last few years has the movement to eliminate money bail for most defendants gained any momentum, and even so money bail is still used for almost everyone in the overwhelming majority of courts. State prisons that were built before 1850 and became obsolete before 1900 are still in operation. Police departments continue to insist that all policemen start their careers at the bottom and rise through the ranks slowly, despite the clearly damaging effect this has on the recruitment and effective use of able personnel. A third of the arrests and convictions in America every year are for drunkenness, though for many years almost everyone in the criminal justice system and out of it has recognized that the criminal process is an irrational means of dealing with drunks. The list of eaxmples could extend for pages.

Many of the criminal justice system's difficulties stem from its reluctance to change old ways or, to put the same proposition in reverse, its reluctance to try new ones. The increasing volume of crime in America establishes conclusively that many of the old ways are not good enough. Innovation and experimentation in all parts of the criminal justice system are clearly imperative. They are imperative with respect both to entire agencies and to specific procedures. Court systems need reorganization and case-docketing methods need improvement; police-community relations programs are needed and so are ways of relieving detectives from the duty of typing their own reports; community-based correctional programs must be organized and the pay of prison guards must be raised. Recruitment and training, organization and management, research and development all require reexamination and reform.

The Commission believes that the first step toward improvement is for officials in all parts of the system to face their problems. The lower courts never will be reformed if their officials do not grapple with the hard fact that the quality of justice that is dispensed in them is disgracefully low. Any program to rehabilitate prisoners must begin with the acknowledgement of the fact that most prisons today do not even try to do this job. Until the police recognize that they exercise great discretion about whom they arrest and how they investigate, no effort to ensure that that discretion is exercised wisely can be made. It is futile to consider ways of making plea negotiation an open, regular procedure as long as prosecutors and defense attorneys state ritually to judges that pleas are not negotiated.

The Commission finds, first, that America must translate its well-founded alarm about crime into social action that will prevent crime. It has no doubt whatever that the most significant action that can be taken against crime is action designed to eliminate slums and ghettos, to improve education, to provide jobs, to make sure that every American is given the opportunities and the freedoms that will enable him to assume his responsibilities. We will not have dealt effectively with crime until we have alleviated the conditions that stimulate it. To speak of controlling crime only in terms of the work of the police, the courts and the correctional apparatus, is to refuse to face the fact that widespread crime implies a widespread failure by society as a whole.

The Commission finds, second, that America must translate its alarm about crime into action that will give the criminal justice system the wherewithal to do the job it is charged with doing. Every part of the system is undernourished. There is too little manpower and what there is is not well enough trained or well enough paid. Facilities and equipment are inadequate. Research programs that could lead to greater knowledge about crime and justice, and therefore to more effective operations, are almost nonexistent. To lament the increase in crime and at the same time to starve the agencies of law enforcement and justice is to whistle in the wind.

The Commission finds, third, that the officials of the criminal justice system itself must stop operating, as all too many do, by tradition or by rote. They must reexamine what they do. They must be honest about the system's shortcomings with the public and with themselves. They must be willing to take risks in order to make advances. They must be bold.

Those three things are what this report is about.

Chapter 2

Crime in America

PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD CRIME AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

What America does about crime depends ultimately upon how Americans see crime. The government of a free society can act only in response to the desires of the governed. This is true in general and in detail. The Nation's overall effort against crime will be only as intense as the public demands that it be. The lines along which the Nation takes specific action against crime will be those that the public believes to be the necessary ones.

A chief reason that this Commission was organized was that there is widespread public anxiety about crime. In one sense, this entire report is an effort to focus that anxiety on the central problems of crime and criminal justice. A necessary part of that effort has been to study as carefully as possible the anxiety itself. The Commission has tried to find out precisely what aspects of crime Americans are anxious about, whether their anxiety is a realistic response to actual danger, how anxiety affects the daily lives of Americans, what actions against crime by the criminal justice system and the government as a whole might best allay public anxiety. It included questions about attitudes toward crime and law enforcement in the surveys of victimization it made, and it looked hard, as well, at those national opinion polls that asked questions about crime.

Before setting forth the results of these studies and discussing the conclusions that might be drawn from them, the Commission must make one general comment. There is reason to be alarmed about crime. In fact just because crime is alarming, those discussing it—and many people must discuss it often if it is ever to be controlled—have an obligation be cool, factual, and precise. Thoughtless, emotional, or self-serving discussions of crime, especially by those who have the public's attention and can influence the public's thinking, are an immense disservice. They do not and cannot lead to significant action against crime. They can and sometimes do, lead to panic.

Public Concern About Crime

The public sees crime as one of the most serious of all domestic problems. The Commission's NORC survey asked citizens to pick from a list of six major domestic problems the one they were paying the most attention to. As table 16 shows, crime was second to race relations as the most frequently mentioned problem, except in the case of nonwhites with annual incomes less than $6,000; they placed education second and crime third.

TABLE 16.—MOST IMPORTANT DOMESTIC PROBLEM BY RACE AND INCOME

Domestic problem	Percent white		Percent nonwhite	
	Under $6,000	Over $6,000	Under $6,000	Over $6,000
Poverty	9	5	7	8
Inflation	15	17	4	4
Education	12	19	23	21
Crime	27	22	19	22
Race relations	29	34	32	38
Unemployment	8	3	15	7
Total	100	100	100	100
Number	(3,925)	(6,461)	(1,033)	(462)

Source: NORC survey.

Crime is linked to other social problems by many people. In a 1964 Harris survey more people attributed increased crime in their neighborhood to "disturbed and restless teenagers" than to any other cause. A part of the crime problem that especially worries people is juvenile delinquency. A typical finding was reported by a Gallup poll in 1963. When persons were asked to name the top problems in their community from a list of 39 problems, "juvenile delinquency" was the second most frequent selection—exceeded only by complaints about

local real estate taxes. Also related to the problems of youth was a third frequently chosen problem—the need for more recreation areas.

However, people are more inclined to think of crime in moral than in social terms. An August 1965 Gallup poll that asked people what they thought was responsible for the increase of crime found that most of the reasons people mentioned had to do directly with the moral character of the population rather than with changes in objective circumstances or with law enforcement. Over half of the answers fitted under the category "family, poor parental guidance." About 6 percent of the answers gave "breakdown of moral standards." A variety of other directly moral causes were given in addition, such as: "People expect too much," "people want something for nothing," and "communism." Relatively few (12 percent) of the responses cited objective conditions such as "unemployment," "poverty," "the automobile," or "the population explosion."

Public concern about crime is mounting. National polls by Harris and Gallup show that the majority of people think the situation in their own communities is getting worse, that a substantial minority think the situation is staying about the same, and that almost no one thinks the situation is improving. A Gallup survey in April 1965 showed that this pessimistic view of the crime trend was held by men and women of all ages, incomes, and degrees of education in all parts of the country. In July 1966, Harris surveys reported that in each recent year there has been an increase over the year before in the percent of persons worried about their personal safety on the streets.

Personal Fear of Crime

Perhaps the most intense concern about crime is the fear of being attacked by a stranger when out alone. One-third of Americans feel unsafe about walking alone at night in their own neighborhoods, according to the NORC survey. As one would expect, the percentage of people feeling unsafe at night on the street is, according to an April 1965 Gallup survey, higher in large cities than in smaller ones and higher in cities than in rural areas.

Recently studies have been undertaken to develop an index of delinquency based on the seriousness of different offenses. They have shown that there is widespread public consensus on the relative seriousness of different types of crimes and these rankings furnish useful indicators of the types of crime that the public is most concerned about. Offenses involving physical assaults against the person are the most feared crimes and the greatest concern is expressed about those in which a weapon is used.

A further index of the public concern about crime may be found in attitudes toward reporting crime when it occurs. Whether one reports a crime or not involves in many cases an assessment of the significance of the event to one's self or others. The results from the victim surveys indicate that the reporting of crime varies directly with a rough scale of seriousness of the offense in the public view. Other than vehicle theft, the crimes that are likely to be reported most frequently are crimes of violence, particularly those that cause great physical harm or psychological shock. Such acts as petty larceny, malicious mischief, and fraud, though the most frequent offenses as a group, are also considered the least serious and are the least likely to be reported to the police.

Fear of crime makes many people want to move their homes. In the four police precincts surveyed for the Commission in Boston and Chicago, 20 percent of the citizens wanted to move because of the crime in their neighborhoods, and as many as 30 percent wanted to move out of the highest crime rate district in Boston.

Fear of crime shows variations by race and income. In the survey in Washington, the Bureau of Social Science Research put together an index of anxiety about crime. It found that Negro women had the highest average score, followed by Negro men, white women, and white men. Anxiety scores were lower at the higher income levels for both Negroes and whites.

Fear of crime is not always highest in the areas where official crime rates are highest or where rates of victimization based on the survey findings are highest. For example, the BSSR Washington study found that the average level of concern with crime in a predominately Negro police precinct that has one of the highest crime rates in the city, according to police data, was lower than it was in another Negro precinct that had a very low rate relative to the first.

The surveys uniformly show that people feel safer in their own neighborhoods even if they actually have a higher crime rate than other areas. For example, the national survey revealed that crime is seen as a problem most characteristic of other places. Sixty percent of those questioned compared their own neighborhoods favorably to other parts of their communities with regard to the likelihood that their homes would be broken into. Only 14 percent thought their own neighborhoods were more dangerous. Similarly, two-thirds of the respondents said they felt safe walking alone after dark if they were in their own neighborhoods. On the other hand, when persons interviewed were asked whether there were places outside their neighborhoods where they would not feel personally safe, 53 percent said there were, and almost one-third of these respondents said they never go there.

A tendency to see the risk of victimization as greater in another neighborhood than one's own was also found among residents in high crime rate precincts by the BSSR survey in Washington. The surveys in Boston and Chicago showed that 73 percent of the respondents thought their own neighborhoods were very safe or average compared to other neighborhoods in relation to the chances of getting robbed, threatened, beaten up, or anything of that sort.

The NORC survey asked people whether there have been times recently when they wanted to go somewhere in town but stayed at home instead, because they thought it would be unsafe to go there. Sixteen percent of the respondents said that they had stayed home under these conditions. This type of reaction showed marked variation with race; one out of every three Negro respondents had stayed home as contrasted with one in eight whites.

People also take special measures at home because of the fear of unwanted intruders. The national survey showed that 82 percent of the respondents always kept their doors locked at night and 25 percent always kept their doors locked even in the daytime when the family members were at home. Twenty-eight percent kept watchdogs and 37 percent said they kept firearms in the house for protection, among other reasons.

The special city surveys disclosed that a substantial number of people take other measures to protect themselves from crime. In Boston and Chicago 28 percent had put new locks on their doors primarily, as one might expect, because they had been victimized or were worried about the high crime rate in the area. Another 10 percent had put locks or bars on their windows; this occurred primarily in the highest crime rate areas. Nine percent said they carried weapons, usually knives, when they went out, and this figure rose to 19 percent in the highest crime rate district in Boston.

The close relationship between worry about crime and the taking of strong precautionary measures is further demonstrated by the results from the national survey. Respondents were asked how much they worried about being victimized by robbery or burglary and their responses were related to their tendency to take strong household security measures. Persons worried about both burglary and robbery are most likely to take such precautions, about 50 percent more likely than those who are worried about neither.

Perhaps the most revealing findings on the impact of fear of crime on people's lives were the changes people reported in their regular habits of life. In the high-crime districts surveyed in Boston and Chicago, for example, five out of every eight respondents reported changes in their habits because of fear of crime, some as many as four or five major changes. Forty-three percent reported they stayed off the streets at night altogether. Another 21 percent said they always used cars or taxis at night. Thirty-five percent said they would not talk to strangers any more.

One of the most curious findings of the surveys was that fear of crime is less closely associated with having been a victim of crime than might be supposed. The national survey showed that victims tended to have somewhat more worry about burglary or robbery. This was true for both males and females as can be seen in table 17. However, females, whether they had been victimized or not, were more concerned about their safety than males. Furthermore, other data show that recent experience of being a victim of crime did not seem to increase behavior designed to protect the home. Almost identical proportions, 57 percent of victims and 58 percent of nonvictims, took strong household security measures.

TABLE 17.—CONCERN OF VICTIMS AND NONVICTIMS ABOUT BURGLARY OR ROBBERY

[In percentages]

Worry about burglary or robbery	Victim	Nonvictim
Males:		
Worried	69	59
Not worried	31	41
Total	100	100
Number of males	(1,456)	(3,930)
Females:		
Worried	84	77
Not worried	16	23
Total	100	100
Number of females	(2,399)	(6,189)

Source: NORC survey.

In its Washington study BSSR found similar results. An index of exposure to crime was developed based on having personally witnessed offenses or on whether one's self or one's friends had been victimized. Scores on this index, in general, were not associated with responses to a variety of questions on attitudes toward crime and toward law enforcement that respondents were asked. Nor did exposure to crime appear to determine the anxiety about crime manifested in the interviews. The one exception appeared in the case of the Negro male. Negro men showed a tendency to be influenced in their attitudes and behavior by their actual exposure to crime.

Conclusions

The Commission cannot say that the public's fear of crime is exaggerated. It is not prepared to tell people how fearful they should be; that is something each person must decide for himself. People's fears must be respected; certainly they cannot be legislated. Some people are willing to run risks that terrify others. However, it is possible to draw some general conclusions from the findings of the surveys.

The first is that the public fears most the crimes that occur least often, crimes of violence. People are much more tolerant of crimes against property, which constitute most of the crimes that are committed against persons or households or businesses. Actually, the average citizen probably suffers the greatest economic loss from crimes against business establishments and public institutions, which pass their losses on to him in the form of increased prices and taxes. Nevertheless, most shoplifters never get to court; they are released by the store managers with warnings. Most employees caught stealing are either warned or discharged, according to the reports of businesses and organizations in the Commission's survey in three cities.

Second, the fear of crimes of violence is not a simple fear of injury or death or even of all crimes of violence, but, at bottom, a fear of strangers. The personal injury that Americans risk daily from sources other than crime are enormously greater. The annual rate of all Index offenses involving either violence or the threat of violence is 1.8 per 1,000 Americans. This is minute relative to the total accidental injuries calling for medical attention or restricted activity of 1 day or more, as reported by the Public Health Service. A recent study of emergency medical care found the quality, numbers, and distribution of ambulances and other emergency services severely deficient, and estimated that as many as 20,000 Americans die unnecessarily each year as a result of improper emergency care. The means necessary for correcting this situation are very clear and would probably yield greater immediate return in reducing death than would expenditures for reducing the incidence of crimes of violence. But a different personal significance is attached to deaths due to the willful acts of felons as compared to the incompetence or poor equipment of emergency medical personnel.

Furthermore, this chapter has noted that most murders and assaults are committed by persons known to the victim, by relatives, friends, or acquaintances.

Indeed on a straight statistical basis, the closer the relationship the greater the hazard. In one sense the greatest threat to anyone is himself, since suicides are more than twice as common as homicides.

Third, this fear of strangers has greatly impoverished the lives of many Americans, especially those who live in high-crime neighborhoods in large cities. People stay behind the locked doors of their homes rather than risk walking in the streets at night. Poor people spend money on taxis because they are afraid to walk or use public transportation. Sociable people are afraid to talk to those they do not know. In short, society is to an increasing extent suffering from what economists call "opportunity costs" as the result of fear of crime. For example, administrators and officials interviewed for the Commission by the University of Michigan survey team, report that library use is decreasing because borrowers are afraid to come out at night. School officials told of parents not daring to attend PTA meetings in the evening, and park administrators pointed to unused recreation facilities. When many persons stay home, they are not availaing themselves of the opportunities for pleasure and cultural enrichment offered in their communities, and they are not visiting their friends as frequently as they might. The general level of social interaction in the society is reduced.

When fear of crime becomes fear of the stranger the social order is further damaged. As the level of sociability and mutual trust is reduced, streets and public places can indeed become more dangerous. Not only will there be fewer people abroad but those who are abroad will manifest a fear of and a lack of concern for each other. The reported incidents of bystanders indifferent to cries for help are the logical consequence of a reduced sociability, mutual distrust and withdrawal.

However, the most dangerous aspect of a fear of strangers is its implication that the moral and social order of society are of doubtful trustworthiness and stability. Everyone is dependent on this order to instill in all members of society a respect for the persons and possessions of others. When it appears that there are more and more people who do not have this respect, the security that comes from living in an orderly and trustworthy society is undermined. The tendency of many people to think of crime in terms of increasing moral deterioration is an indication that they are losing their faith in their society. And so the costs of the fear of crime to the social order may ultimately be even greater than its psychological costs to individuals.

Fourth, the fear of crime may not be as strongly influenced by the actual incidence of crime as by other experiences with the crime problem generally. For example, the mass media and overly zealous or opportunistic crime fighters may play a role in raising fears of crime by associating the idea of "crime" with a few sensational and terrifying criminal acts. Past research on the mass media's connection with crime has concentrated primarily on depictions and accounts of violence in the mass media as possible causes of delinquency and crime. Little attention has thus far been given to what may be a far more direct and costly effect—the creation of distorted perceptions of the risk of crime and exaggerated fears of victimization.

The greatest danger of an exaggerated fear of crime may well reside in the tendency to use the violent crime as a stereotype for crimes in general. For example, there may be a significant interplay between violence and the mass media and the reporting of general crime figures. Publicity about total crime figures without distinguishing between the trends for property crime and those for crimes against persons may create mistaken ideas about what is actually happening. If burglaries and larcenies increase sharply while violent crimes decrease or remain stable, the total figures will follow the property crime figures, since crimes against property are more than four-fifths of the total. Yet under these conditions people may interpret the increases in terms of the dominant stereotype of crimes of violence, thus needlessly increasing their fears. They may not only restrict their activities out of an exaggerated fear of violence but may fail to protect themselves against the more probable crimes. The fact is that most people experience crime vicariously through the daily press, periodicals, novels, radio and television, and often the reported experiences of other persons. Their fear of crime may be more directly related to the quality and the amount of this vicarious experience than it is to the actual risks of victimization.

The Commission believes that there is a clear public responsibility to keep citizens fully informed of the facts about crime so that they will have facts to go on when they decide what the risks are and what kinds and amounts of precautionary measures they should take. Furthermore, without an accurate understanding of the facts, they cannot judge whether the interference with individual liberties which strong crime control measures may involve is a price worth paying. The

public obligation to citizens is to provide this information regularly and accurately. And if practices for disseminating information give wrong impressions, resources should be committed to developing more accurate methods.

Finally, public concern about crime need not have only the adverse effects that have been described so far. It can be a powerful force for action However, making it one will not be easy. The Commission's Washington survey asked people whether they had ever "gotten together with other people around here, or has any group or organization you belong to met and discussed the problem of crime or taken some sort of action to combat crime." Only about 12 percent answered affirmatively, although the question was quite broad and included any kind of group meeting or discussion. Neither did most persons believe that they as individuals could do anything about crime in their own neighborhoods. Only slightly over 17 percent thought that they could do either a lot or just something.

Most people feel that the effort to reduce crime is a responsibility of the police, the courts and perhaps other public agencies. This was even true to some extent of administrators and officials of public agencies and utilities who were interviewed in the three city precinct surveys. However, when these officials were pressed they were able to think of many ways in which their organizations might help reduce crime, such as cooperating to make law enforcement easier, donating and helping in neighborhood programs, providing more and better street lighting, creating more parks with recreational programs, furnishing more youth programs and adult education, and promoting integration of work crews and better community relations programs.

Every American can translate his concern about, or fear of, crime into positive action. Every American should. The succeeding chapters of this report will endeavor to show how.

Chapter 11

Science and Technology

Reducing Criminal Opportunities

Everyone has an obligation to others as well as to himself not to invite crime. Banks, supermarkets, and other businesses take steps to make it more difficult to pass bogus checks; shop and home owners protect against burglary and theft by the use of concealment, alarms, and locks; individuals take precautions such as not carrying large amounts of cash.

There are two important techniques for reducing criminal opportunities: hardening the targets of crime, and inhibiting potential criminals. Automobile design modification to make the car less vulnerable to theft is an example of hardening a target, and street lighting an example of an inhibitor.

Increasing the difficulty of auto theft

Auto theft is costly. About 28 percent of the inhabitants of Federal prisons are there following conviction of interstate auto theft under the Dyer Act. In California alone, auto thefts cost the criminal justice system over $60 million yearly. Even more important, auto thefts are primarily juvenile acts. Although only 21 percent of all arrests for nontraffic offenses in 1965 were of individuals under 18 years of age, 63 percent of auto theft arrests were of persons under 18. Auto theft represents the start of many criminal careers. In an FBI sample of juvenile auto theft offenders, 41 percent had no prior arrest record. Many of the juveniles who steal automobiles are incompetent drivers and frequently damage the vehicle or injure themselves or others.

Many thefts occur simply because a boy sees an unlocked automobile. The FBI reports that 42 percent of the autos stolen had keys in their ignitions or their ignitions unlocked. Even of those stolen when the ignitions were locked, at least 20 percent were stolen merely by shorting the ignition with tools as simple as paper clips or tinfoil. In one city, the change in the Chevrolet lock (eliminating the unlocked "off" position) in 1965 resulted in about 50 percent fewer 1965 Chevrolets stolen than the previous year's model.

These findings suggest that the easy opportunity to take a car may contribute significantly to auto theft and that thefts by the relatively casual or marginal offender would be reducible by making theft more difficult than merely starting the car. Educational campaigns advising drivers to lock their cars are important, but their effect is difficult to sustain. A more fundamental change in the ignition system and other automobile components is needed. Many possibilities exist. Spring-ejection locks can prevent the driver from leaving the key in the ignition; sturdier housings can enclose the ignition terminals; heavier metal cables can surround the ignition wires; steering wheel locking devices can be used, as is done

on several foreign cars. In 1960, the Federal Republic of Germany made the following a part of the highway code: "Passenger cars, stationwagons, and motorcycles should be equipped with an adequate safety device against unauthorized use of vehicles. The locking of the doors and removal of the ignition key are not regarded as safety measures within the meaning of the preceding sentence."

This problem has been discussed by Commission and Department of Justice representatives with the four major automobile manufacturers and they have indicated their desire to develop and install devices to increase the security of their products. These will include making the ignition system connector cable much more difficult to remove from the ignition lock, increasing the ignition key combinations, and locating the ignition system in less accessible places. These basic improvements will be made in some 1968 models. One manufacturer is testing an arrangement that will help reduce the possibility of leaving the key in the ignition lock in an unattended parked car and hopes to install such a device in the 1969 models at the latest.

Although the above steps will contribute to the reduction of auto thefts, the following additional improvements should be carefully considered:

A steering column or transmission lock that immobilizes the car when the gearshift lever is put into the proper position and the key removed. With this type of lock, starting an engine by shorting the ignition does not permit the car to be driven away.

Coupling the above lock with an ignition system that causes the driver to remove the key from the ignition. This can be done by a spring-loaded lock or key that pushes the key out; or by requiring the key to be not only turned, but also pulled out of the ignition in order to stop the engine; or by attaching a buzzer that goes off if the key is left in the ignition when the engine is turned off.

Although the automobile manufacturers are best able to integrate such devices into the design of their vehicles, it is desirable that some Federal agency work with them to establish minimum requirements on the actual implementation. This responsibility could well be assigned to the National Highway Safety Agency as part of its program to establish safety standards for automobiles.

Removing the Cover of Darkness

Improved street lighting is frequently advocated by the police and by highway departments as an important tool for combatting crime. Its proponents assume that adequate street lighting will, first, deter certain types of street crimes by increasing the offender's risk of being detected and, second, enhance the probability of apprehending the offender. These assumptions are fortified by the general sense of security that the individual feels when streets are brightly lit. The police and the public alike frequently remark that they have no proof that improved street lighting reduces crime, but the public does feel safer.

Unfortunately, existing studies do not present definitive conclusions as to the effects of lighting on crime. In 1956, the central business district of Flint, Mich., was relit. Six-thousand-lumen incandescent lights were replaced with 20,000-lumen multiple fluorescent bracket-type lights. A study conducted over a 6-month period indicated that there was a 60 percent reduction in the number of all felonies and misdemeanors, and an 80 percent reduction on larcenies. However, there was, at the same time, an increase in police surveillance in the area. Since the experiment was not adequately controlled, the effects of patrol and relighting are confounded, so that any conclusions on the effects of street lighting alone must be considered only tentative.

In New York City, four police precincts designated as high crime areas were converted from incandescent lighting to mercury vapor lighting. The rate of nighttime crimes dropped by 49 percent after the installation of the lights. After over 80 percent of the city street lighting was modernized over a period of four years at a cost of $58 million, the total number of felonies in the city increased by approximately 43 percent. Due to the extreme difficulty of assessing the effects of the numerous other variables, it is virtually impossible to determine what the felony rate would have been if the lights had not been installed.

The only results it is possible to reach now are:

There is no conclusive evidence that improved lighting would have a lasting or significant impact on crime rates, although there are strong suggestions that it might.

Improved street lighting will reduce some types of crimes in some areas, i.e., given a light and dark street to commit a crime, a criminal will normally choose the dark street.

Improved street lighting accompanied by increased police patrol can reduce rates in an area.

When new lighting programs are instituted, police departments should be encouraged to maintain records of crimes in the relighted and adjoining areas. With information on past, present, and projected crime rates and on other relevant variables, it may be possible to assess better the impact of lighting on crime.

Chapter 13

A National Strategy

America Can Control Crime. This report has tried to say how. It has shown that crime flourishes where the conditions of life are the worst, and that therefore the foundation of a national strategy against crime is an unremitting national effort for social justice. Reducing poverty, discrimination, ignorance, disease and urban blight, and the anger, cynicism or despair those conditions can inspire, is one great step toward reducing crime. It is not the task, indeed it is not within the competence, of a Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice to make detailed proposals about housing or education or civil rights, unemployment or welfare or health. However, it is the Commission's clear and urgent duty to stress that forceful action in these fields is essential to crime prevention, and to adjure the officials of every agency of criminal justice—policemen, prosecutors, judges, correctional authorities—to associate themselves with and labor for the success of programs that will improve the quality of American life.

This report has shown that most criminal careers begin in youth, and that therefore programs that will reduce juvenile delinquency and keep delinquents and youthful offenders from settling into lives of crime are indispensable parts of a national strategy. It has shown that the formal criminal process, arrest to trial to punishment, seldom protects the community from offenders of certain kinds and that therefore, the criminal justice system and the community must jointly seek alternative ways of treating them. It has shown that treatment in the community might also return to constructive life many offenders who quite appropriately have been subjected to formal process.

This report has pointed out that legislatures and, by extension, the public, despite their well-founded alarm about crime, have not provided the wherewithal for the criminal justice system to do what it could and should do. It has identified the system's major needs as better qualified, better trained manpower; more modern equipment and management; closer cooperation among its functional parts and among its many and varied jurisdictions; and, of course, the money without which farreaching and enduring improvements are impossible.

Finally, this report has emphasized again and again that improved law enforcement and criminal administration is more than a matter of giving additional resources to police departments, courts, and correctional systems. Resources are not ends. They are means, the means through which the agencies of criminal justice can seek solutions to the problems of preventing and controlling crime. Many of those solutions have not yet been found. We need to know much more about crime. A national strategy against crime must be in large part a strategy of search.

What State and Local Governments Can Do

Almost every recommendation in this report is a recommendation to State or local governments, the governments that by and large administer criminal justice in America. A special difficulty of writing the report has been finding terms general enough to describe criminal administration in 50 States and thousands of local communities, and at the same time specific enough to be helpful. The Commission is acutely aware that the report does not discuss many distinctive local conditions and problems, that its descriptions often are quite broad, that no one of its recommendations applies with equal force to every locality, that, indeed, some of its recommendations do not apply at all to some localities.

On the whole the report concentrates on cities, for that is where crime is most prevalent, most feared, and most difficult to control. On the whole the report dwells on the criminal justice system's deficiencies and failures, since prescribing remedies was what the Commission was organized to do. Some States and cities are doing much to improve criminal administration; their work is the basis for many of the report's recommendations. Finally, because the report is a national report, it is not and cannot be a detailed manual of instructions that police departments, courts and correctional systems need only to follow step by step in order

to solve their problems. It is of necessity a general guide that suggests lines along which local agencies can act.

Planning—The First Step

A State or local government that undertakes to improve its criminal administration should begin by constructing, it it has not already done so, formal machinery for planning. Significant reform is not to be achieved overnight by a stroke of a pen; it is the product of thought and preparation. No experienced and responsible State or city official needs to be told that. The Commission's point is not the elementary one that each individual action against crime should be planned, but that all of a State's or a city's actions against crime should be planned together, by a single body. The police, the courts, the correctional system and the noncriminal agencies of the community must plan their actions against crime jointly if they are to make real headway.

The relationships among the parts of the criminal justice system and between the system and the community's institutions, governmental and nongovernmental, are so intimate and intricate that a change anywhere may be felt everywhere. Putting into effect the Commission's recommendation for three entry "tracks" in police departments could involve the rewriting of civil service regulations, the revision of standard police field procedures, the adjustment of city budgets, possibly the passage of enabling legislation. A reform like organizing a Youth Service Bureau to which the police and the juvenile courts, and parents and school officials as well, could refer young people will require an enormous amount of planning. Such a bureau will have to work closely with the community's other youth-serving agencies. It will affect the caseloads of juvenile courts, probation services and detention facilities. It will raise legal issues of protecting the rights of the young people referred to it. It could be attached to a local or State government in a variety of ways. It could offer many different kinds of service. It could be staffed by many different kinds of people. It could be financed in many different ways.

Most of the recommendations in this report raise similar problems. Later in this chapter a large-scale program of Federal support for State and local agencies is proposed. If this program is adopted, States and cities will need plans in order to secure their share of Federal funds.

Furthermore, concerted and systematic planning is not only a necessary prelude to action. It is a spur to action. The best way to interest the community in the problems of crime is to engage members of it in planning. The best way to mobilize the community against crime is to lay before it a set of practical and coherent plans. This report often has had occasion to use the word "isolation" to describe certain aspects of the relationship between the criminal justice system and the community. State and city planning agencies could do much to end that isolation.

The Commission Recommends:

In every State and every city, an agency, or one or more officials, should be specifically responsible for planning improvements in crime prevention and control and encouraging their implementation.

It is impossible, of course, to prescribe in a national report the precise forms that State or city planning agencies should take. No two States have identical constitutions or penal codes or crime problems. State-city relationships vary from State to State, and often within States according to the size of cities. County governments have more or less power, depending on the State. Municipal government takes many forms. However, there are certain principles that are universally applicable.

First, much of the planning for action against crime will have to be done at the State level. Every State operates a court system and a corrections system, and has responsibility for certain aspects of law enforcement. State legislatures, as a rule, control local finances. The States are in the best position to encourage or require the coordination or pooling of activities that is so vitally necessary in metropolitan areas and among rural counties. Many States have units, some independent and some a part of the Governor's office, that are actively engaged in planning in the field of juvenile delinquency.

In addition, a number of Governors have responded to the President's suggestion in March 1966, that they establish State planning committees to maintain contact with this Commission during its life and with other interested Federal agencies, to appraise the needs of their State criminal systems, and to put into effect those proposals of the Commission that they find to be worthwhile. The Commission urges all Governors to establish similar committees.

Second, much of the planning will have to be done at the municipal level. The problems of the police and, to a certain extent, of the jails and the lower courts are typically city problems. Welfare, education, housing, fire prevention, recreation, sanitation, urban renewal, and a multitude of other functions that are closely connected with crime and criminal justice are also the responsibility of cities. In some cities members of the mayor's or the city manager's staff, or advisory or interdepartmental committees, coordinate the city's anticrime activities; in most cities there is as yet little planning or coordination.

Third, close collaboration between State and city planning units is obviously essential. Representatives of a State's major cities should serve on the State body, and staff members of the State body should be available to the city bodies for information and advice. Money, manpower, and expertise are in too short supply to be squandered in activities that duplicate or overlap each other and conversely, when there is no collaboration there is always a risk that some important field of action will be overlooked.

Fourth, however much the structure and composition of planning units vary from place to place, all units should include both officials of the criminal justice system and citizens from other professions. Plans to improve criminal administration will be impossible to put into effect if those responsible for criminal administration do not help to make them. On the other hand, as this report has repeatedly stressed, crime prevention is the task of the community as a whole and, as it has also stressed, all parts of the criminal justice system can benefit from the special knowledge and points of view of those outside it. Business and civic leaders, lawyers, school and welfare officials, persons familiar with the problems of slum dwellers, and members of the academic community are among those who might be members of planning boards, or who might work with such boards as advisers or consultants.

Fifth and finally, planning boards must have sufficient authority and prestige, and staffs large enough and able enough, to permit them to furnish strong and imaginative leadership in making plans and seeing them through.

The first thing any planning unit will have to do is to gather and analyze facts: Statistics about crime and the costs and caseloads of the criminal justice system; knowledge about the programs and procedures being used in its own jurisdiction, and about those that have proved successful elsewhere; data about the social conditions that appear to be linked with crime; information about potentially helpful individuals and organizations in the community.

In few States or cities has information of these kinds been complied systematically. Gathering facts will be an invaluable process for any planning body, not only because of the importance of the facts themselves, but also because they will have to be gathered from people and organizations experienced in crime prevention and criminal administration: Judges, correctional officials, police officials, prosecutors, defense counsel, youth workers, universities, foundations, civic organizations, service clubs, neighborhood groups.

Those people and organizations can be combined into a network of support for the changes the planning body will propose. Such a network will be able to do much to overcome resistance to change, or fear of it, inside and outside the criminal justice system, by showing how changes can be made carefully and practically.

On the basis of the facts it gathers, the planning body will be able to appraise objectively and frankly the needs of its State or city and the resources that are available for meeting those needs. It would ask, for example, whether in its jurisdiction police training is adequate; whether the lower and juvenile courts are failing in any of the ways cited by the Commission; whether the correctional system is beginning to make fundamental improvements of the sort the Commission has found are widely needed.

It will discover needs that can be met rapidly by putting into effect programs that have succeeded in other places; for example, bail reform projects, systems for the assignment of defense counsel to indigents, police standards commissions, rehabilitation programs in jails, sentencing institutes for judges. An excellent model of how much a planning body can do is the work of the President's Commission on Crime in the District of Columbia, which undertook a comprehensive study of the criminal justice system and other agencies concerned with crime and delinquency in the District, and made detailed recommendations for change.

The one caution about planning bodies the Commission feels it must make is that they not serve as an excuse for postponing changes that can be made immediately. For example, most police departments could immediately add legal advisers to their staffs, or launch police-community relations programs. In many

cities there is no question about whether more prosecutors and probation officers are needed in the lower courts; they clearly are and they should be provided at once. Sentencing councils could be organized with no more effort than it would take for a number of judges to arrange to meet regularly. Other recommendations that one jurisdiction or another could put into effect at once, without elaborate planning, will be found in the pages of this report. Simple changes that can be made immediately should be, not only because justice demands it, but because making them will contribute to creating a climate in which complicated, long-range reform will be feasible.

MAJOR LINES FOR STATE AND LOCAL ACTION

Money

The most urgent need of the agencies of criminal justice in the States and cities is money with which to finance the multitude of improvements they must make. As is set forth in the next section of this chapter, the Commission believes that Federal financial support of improved criminal administration in the States and cities is necessary and appropriate. But even more essential is an increase in State support. Plans for change must include realistic estimates of financial requirements and persuasive showings of the gains that can be achieved by spending more on criminal administration.

A central task of planning bodies and the network of agencies and individuals working with them will be to mobilize support, within legislatures and by the public, for spending money on innovation and reform. The collaboration of police, prosecutors, correctional officials, and others involved in the agencies of justice is crucial in this, for they know best how vital the need for greater resources is, and how little is accomplished by identifying scapegoats or resorting to simplistic answers as solutions to the complicated problems of crime and criminal justice.

Personnel

The Commission has found that many of the agencies of justice are understaffed. Giving them the added manpower they need is a matter of high priority for protection of public safety and of the rights of individuals accused of crime. But even more essential is a dramatic improvement in the quality of personnel throughout the system. Establishment of standard-setting bodies, such as police standards commissions that exist in several States, is one approach to this problem. Better and more numerous training programs are another. State and city planning groups must consider to what extent each operating agency can and should provide its own training and to what extent metropolitan, statewide, or regional programs should be developed instead.

If the agencies of justice are to recruit and retain the able, well-educated people they badly need, they will have to offer them higher pay and challenging and satisfying work. For example, it is clear to the Commission that until the single recruitment and promotion "track" that now prevails in all police forces is abandoned, upgrading of the police will be extremely difficult. Thus, one of the first and most difficult tasks of planning bodies will be to consider major changes in the personnel structures of the agencies of justice.

Programs To Meet New Needs

This report has described how modern urban life has burdened the criminal justice system with a range of almost entirely new problems. It has attempted to suggest promising ways of dealing with them. For example, it outlines a model for future development in corrections that predicates treatment on a new kind of facility: A small institution, located in the community it serves, that can be used flexibly for short-term incarceration and as a base for intensive community treatment. It has proposed police communications centers that take advantage of modern technology. It has described how necessary it is, in the interest of preventing delinquency, for the community to reassess the current practices of schools, welfare departments, and housing officials, particularly in poor neighborhoods. It has proposed, as a new alternative to criminal disposition for less serious juvenile offenders, Youth Services Bureaus that would provide them with a variety of treatment services and keep them from being grouped with serious criminals. It has proposed greatly strengthened community relations programs to improve respect for law and increase police effectiveness in the highest crime neighborhoods of America's cities. In addition, broader methods of meeting problems presented by the increasing complexity and anonymity of life in large urban areas are obviously important. Thus, some cities may wish to consider developing procedures or agencies—of which the ombudsman, which has proved

useful in a number of other countries, is only one possible model—to assist citizens in understanding and dealing with the many official agencies that affect their lives. These are only a few important examples of the many new services the Commission recommends that State and local planning bodies develop.

In many instances establishing new programs will be costly. The Commission is therefore recommending that the emphasis of proposed Federal financial aid be placed on innovation. The Commission further recommends that State and local governments carefully consider the feasibility and desirability of devoting to new programs increasing proportions of the funds allocated to crime control.

Organization and Procedures of Agencies of Justice

An important matter for planning units and operating agencies to consider is how the police, the courts and corrections can improve their organization and their operations. Since there are throughout the Nation many examples to draw on, and since legislative action often will not be required, early and substantial improvements can be made. Such of the Commission's proposals as those for regularizing the procedures in pretrial disposition of cases and in sentencing; for providing clearer guidance by police chiefs to field officers on such matters as the making of arrests in domestic disputes, drunkenness and civil disturbance situations; and for developing a "collaborative" regime within prisons, can be considered almost at once, and acted upon without legislative action and, in many instances, without significant increases in spending.

The success of such changes in the States or cities where they have been made should greatly help the agencies in States and cities where they have not been made to act promptly. Planning bodies and other State and local groups may find themselves chiefly providing support, encouragement and continuing pressure for change. In some cases it may be desirable for State or local agencies to obtain suggestions from recognized professional or governmental groups such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police or the Bureau of Prisons as one means of identifying specific needs and possible ways of meeting them.

Law Reform

While many improvements in the system of criminal justice do not require legislative action other than the appropriation of funds, others do require new laws or changes in existing laws. Proposals for court reorganization may even require constitutional change. Therefore, at an early stage in their work, planning bodies should appraise the needs for legislative change. Legislative changes could include such diverse actions as enacting new gun control laws; amending existing laws to aid in organized crime prosecutions; changing legal disabilities of former prisoners; and enacting controls over dangerous drugs that are uniform with Federal law.

More general and fundamental reevaluation is also called for. A number of State legislatures, including those in Illinois, California, and New York, have recently completed or are now engaged in major revisions of their criminal codes. For States that have not yet addressed this problem, the carefully formulated provisions of the American Law Institute's Model Penal Code serve as a valuable starting point. In many places there are bar associations and other groups with continuing interest in law revision; clearly such groups should be involved in the planning process. Governors and State legislatures should also give strong consideration to appointing law revision commissions comparable to that established by the Congress for review of all Federal criminal statutes.

WHAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CAN DO

Although day-by-day criminal administration is primarily a State and local responsibility, the Federal Government's contribution to the national effort against crime is crucial. The Federal Government carries much of the load of financing and administering the great social programs that are America's best hope of preventing crime and delinquency, and various of its branches concern themselves actively with such specific criminal problems as preventing juvenile delinquency, and treating drug addiction and alcoholism.

The Federal Government has the direct responsibility for enforcing major criminal statutes against, among other things, kidnapping, bank robbery, racketeering, smuggling, counterfeiting, drug abuse and tax evasion. It has a number of law enforcement agencies, a system of criminal courts and a large correctional establishment. Some of the Commission's recommendations, notably those concerning organized crime, drug abuse, firearms control and the pooling of cor-

rectional facilities and of police radio frequencies, are addressed in part to the Federal Government.

The Federal Government has for many years provided information, advice and training to State and local law enforcement agencies. These services have been extremely important. In many towns and counties, for example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation's on-site training programs for police officers and sheriffs are the only systematic training programs available. The Department of Justice, under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965, has begun to give State and city agencies financial grants for research, for planning, and for demonstration projects.

The Commission wants not only to endorse warmly Federal participation in the effort to reduce delinquency and crime, but to urge that it be intensified and accelerated. It believes further that the Federal Government can make a dramatic new contribution to the national effort against crime by greatly expanding its support of the agencies of justice in the States and in the cities.

Federal Prevention Programs

The Federal Government is already doing much in the field of delinquency prevention. An Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, which funds research and demonstration projects by both governmental and nongovernmental State and local agencies, is an important part of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The office is supporting projects, to give only a few examples, aimed at providing job training and opportunities to delinquents; enabling school dropouts to continue their education; controlling the behavior of youthful gangs; involving young people in community action; devising alternatives to juvenile court referral and finding ways to give delinquents the support and counseling they do not get from their families. The same Department's Children's Bureau has for years given technical aid to police and juvenile court personnel. The Vocational Rehabilitation Administration in the Department has recently developed job training programs specifically designed for delinquent young people. The Commission is convinced that efforts like there are of great immediate, and even greater potential, value, and urges that they be strengthened.

Other Federal programs of greater scope work against delinquency and crime by improving education and employment prospects for the poor and attacking slum conditions, associated with crime. Such work and job training programs as the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps, the Youth Opportunity Centers, and Manpower Development and Training Act programs provide training, counseling, and work opportunities essential to break the pattern of unemployability that underlies so much of crime today. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act programs and the Head Start work with preschool children are aimed at readying disadvantaged children for school, improving the quality of slum education and preventing dropping out. Community action programs and the new Model Cities Program are concerned with strengthening the social and physical structure of inner cities, and thus ultimately with delinquency and crime prevention. As chapter 1 of this report has pointed out, a community's most enduring protection against crime is to right the wrongs and cure the illnesses that tempt men to harm their neighbors.

An Expanded Federal Effort

In the field of law enforcement and administration of justice the Federal contribution is still quite small, particularly in respect to the support it gives the States and cities, which bear most of the load of criminal administration. The present level of Federal support provides only a tiny portion of the resources the States and cities need to put into effect the changes this report recommends. The Commission has considered carefully whether or not the Federal Government should provide more support for such programs. It has concluded that the Federal Government should. In reaching this conclusion it has been persuaded, first, by the fact that crime is a national, as well as a State and local, phenomenon; it often does not respect geographical boundaries. The FBI has demonstrated the high mobility of many criminals. Failure of the criminal justice institutions in one State may endanger the citizens of others. The Federal Government has already taken much responsibility in such fields as education and welfare, employment and job training, housing and mental health, which bear directly on crime and its prevention. As President Johnson stated in his 1966 Crime Message to Congress:

Crime does not observe neat, jurisdictional lines between city, State, and Federal Governments. . . . To improve in one field we must improve in all. To improve in one part of the country we must improve in all parts.

Second, simply in terms of economy of effort and of feasibility, there are important needs that individual jurisdictions cannot or should not meet alone. Research is a most important instance. Careful experimentation with an evaluation of police patrol methods, for example, or delinquency prevention programs, means assembling and organizing teams of specialists. They can best be marshaled with the help of the Federal Government. It is also important to make available the sorts of information that every jurisdiction in the Nation needs access to every day: wanted person and stolen property lists, and fingerprint files, for example. Furthermore, the Federal Government can do much to stimulate pooling of resources and services among local jurisdictions.

Third, most local communities today are hard-pressed just to improve their agencies of justice and other facilities at a rate that will meet increases in population and in crime. They cannot spare funds for experimental or innovative programs or plan beyond the emergencies of the day. Federal collaboration can give State and local agencies an opportunity to gain on crime rather than barely stay abreast of it, by making funds, research, and technical assistance available and thereby encouraging changes that in time may make criminal administration more effective and more fair.

The Federal program the Commission visualizes is a large one. During the past fiscal year the Federal Government spent a total of about $20 million on research into crime and delinquency, and another $7 million, under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, on research and demonstration projects by local agencies of justice. The Commission is not in a position to weigh against each other all the demands for funds that are made upon the Federal Government. And so it cannot recommend the expenditure of a specific number of dollars a year on the program it proposes. However, it does see the program as one on which several hundred million dollars annually could be profitably spent over the next decade. If this report has not conveyed the message that sweeping and costly changes in criminal administration must be made throughout the country in order to effect a significant reduction in crime, then it has not expressed what the Commission strongly believes.

The Commission's final conclusion about a Federal anticrime program is that the major responsibility for administering it should lie with the Department of Justice, and that the official who administers if for the Attorney General should be a Presidential appointee, with all the status and prestige that inheres in such an office. In the Department of Justice alone among Federal agencies there is a large existing pool of practical knowledge about the police, the courts and the correctional system. The Federal Bureau of Prisons and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, each of which is already expanding its own support of State and local agencies, are parts of the Department of Justice. The Department of Justice a Criminal Division, one of whose most important sections is concerned with organized crime and racketeering. It has the recently established Office of Criminal Justice, which has concentrated on criminal reform. Many of the research and demonstration portions of the Commission's program are already authorized under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, which is administered by the Department of Justice. If it is given the money and the men it will need, the Department of Justice can take the lead in the Nation's efforts against crime.

In proposing a major Federal program against crime, the Commission is mindful of the special importance of avoiding any invasion of State and local responsibility for law enforcement and criminal justice, and its recommendation is based on its judgment that Federal support and collaboration of the sort outlined below are consistent with scrupulous respect for—and indeed strengthening of—that responsibility.

THE COMMISSION'S PROGRAM

The program of Federal support that the Commission recommends would meet eight major needs:

(1) State and local planning.
(2) Education and training of criminal justice personnel.
(3) Surveys and advisory services concerning organization and operation of criminal justice agencies.

(4) Development of coordinated national information systems.
(5) Development of a limited number of demonstration programs in agencies of justice.
(6) Scientific and technological research and development.
(7) Institutes for research and training personnel.
(8) Grants-in-aid for operational innovations.

State and Local Planning

The Commission believes that the process of State and local planning outlined in the preceding section of this chapter should be a prerequisite for the receipt of Federal support for action programs. It believes further that such planning should itself receive Federal support, and it recommends that planning grants be made available for this purpose. The Department of Justice has already made grants of up to $25,000 to a number of State planning committees formed during the past year. It is clear that planning support in considerably larger amounts will be necessary if States and cities are to conduct a careful assessment of their needs and of ways to meet them.

Education and Training

This report has emphasized many times the critical importance of improved education and training in making the agencies of criminal justice fairer and more effective. The Federal Government is already involved to a limited degree in providing or supporting education and training for some criminal justice personnel. The FBI provides direct training of police officers at its academy in Washington and in the field. The Department of Justice's new Law Enforcement Assistance program has supported police curriculum development and training demonstration projects; the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has done some research on education and training in the fields of juvenile corrections, mental health and delinquency prevention: and the Department of Labor has recently initiated in a few large cities programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act to help prepare young men from slum areas for police work.

The Commission believes that Federal financial support to provide training and education for State and local criminal justice personnel should be substantially increased. Such support might take several forms. In the field of medicine forgivable loans have been used to help defray the costs of college education and to provide an incentive for further work in the field. Another plan would be to subsidize salary payments to personnel on leave for training or longer study programs, or to their interim replacements. Curriculum development programs like those conducted by the National Science Foundation are also much needed if those from different parts of the criminal justice system are to be jointly instructed in such subjects as, for example, the treatment of juveniles or the problems of parolees.

A seminar for police chiefs, sponsored by the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance and held at the Harvard Business School in the summer of 1966, exposed the chiefs to the methods and insights of modern business administration in a way that they felt was invaluable, and created new interest in the managerial problems of the police among professors at the school. Such advanced programs hold great promise for breaking down the isolation in which many criminal justice agencies now operate.

Some examples of badly needed and promising programs for education and training are:

Police

State police standards commission programs to establish minimum recruitment and training standards, and to provide training, particularly through the establishment of regional academies or programs for medium- and small-size communities.

Graduate training in law and business administration for police executives through degree courses or special institutes.

Curriculum development and training for instructors in police academies and police training programs.

Special training programs in such critical problems as organized crime, riot control, police-community relations, correctional supervision of offenders being treated in the community, the use by police and juvenile court intake personnel of social agencies in the community.

Programs to encourage college education for police in liberal arts and sciences, including scholarship and loan support, and curriculum development to guide college police-science programs away from narrow vocational concentration.

Administration of Justice

Special programs to educate and train judges, prosecutors, and defense counsel for indigents.

Orientation in correctional and noncriminal dispositions for prosecutors and judges.

Training for court administrators.

Corrections

Education and training of rehabilitative personnel, including teachers, counsellors, and mental health personnel.

Training custodial personnel for rehabilitative roles.

Education and orientation of personnel for research and evaluation in experimental treatment methods.

As these examples indicate, it is proposed that Federal aid in this area would be directed toward meeting special needs: Training new types of personnel, developing programs if none now exist, and encouraging the acquisition of advanced skills.

Survey of Organization and Operations

Many criminal justice agencies willing to consider making changes are not sure what their needs are or how their practices compare to the best practice of the field. They need experienced advice about how to put changes into effect. State and local official whom the Commission has consulted have pointed out that ineffectual administration can negate otherwise promising attempts to increase effectiveness against crime, and have urged that the Federal program help with this problem.

Management studies already have a long history in law enforcement. Organizations like the IACP and the Public Administration Service have conducted them since the 1920's. The Children's Bureau has provided specialized assistance to many of the Nation's juvenile courts. In corrections, the Bureau of Prisons provides increasingly extensive consulting services to local authorities, having recently set up a special office to do so. The Justice Department's new Office of Criminal Justice has been able, with a relatively small amount of explanation and advice, to help stimulate local bail reform efforts. These valuable services have touched but a few of the thousands of agencies that could benefit by surveys and expert advice.

The Commission does not believe that the Federal Government itself should provide the staff to conduct studies or advise the very large number of local agencies that might wish such services. Federal assistance should be aimed instead at developing State or regionl bodies with the skills to perform these services. In addition, the Federal Government could contract with private groups to conduct surveys and studies. Advice and studies by expert groups could become a valuable adjunct to the continuing work of State and local planning bodies. For example, they could assist police agencies that desire to reorganize their community relations programs, or correctional agencies seeking to establish halfway houses. In such cases, the studies might be a forerunner to more substantial grant-in-aid support.

Information Systems

Another way in which the Federal Government can collaborate with State and local criminal justice systems is by helping to improve the collection and transmission of information needed by the police, courts, and corrections agencies in their day-to-day work. The FBI already makes much important data available to local police agencies from its fingerprint files. The National Crime Information Center, now being developed by the FBI, will provide instantaneous response to computer inquiry by local agencies for information on stolen automobiles, wanted persons, certain identifiable types of stolen property, and the like.

In addition to this "hot" information, data on offenders needed by prosecutors, courts and correctional authorities should be collected and made centrally available. As is further discussed in chapter 11 on science and technology, the goal should be to develop an index drawn from the records of the criminal justice agencies across the country. With such an index a sentencing judge, for example, could learn where information might be found bearing on an offender's response to treatment in other jurisdictions. Disclosure of the information itself would remain, as at present, entirely within the discretion and control of the individual agency that held it. This would help avoid the dangers of developing national "dossiers," but would greatly speed collection of data for making decisions on disposition of cases—a major source of present delays and injustice.

At the State and local levels, enforcement activities against organized crime groups are for the most part nonexistent or primitive, as chapter 7 of this report has shown. A principal need in this field is an effective system for receiving, analyzing, storing, and disseminating intelligence information. Many of organized crime's activities are national in scope, and even its small operations usually spill across city, county, and State lines. If investigators and prosecutors in separate jurisdictions are to make any headway at all against organized crime, they must work together; especially they must share information. There should be within the Department of Justice a computerized, central organized crime intelligence system that handles information from all over the country. This system should be the center of a federally supported network of State and regional intelligence systems such as those now being developed in New York and in the New England States.

In addition to information needed for operations, there should be available on a centralized basis statistical information on the criminal justice system itself. This is needed for assessing requirements and effectiveness. The FBI's Uniform Crime Reports service should be closely coordinated with this program, which also would include court, probation, prison, and parole statistics on such information as numbers and dispositions of cases, time intervals, and costs. Complementing such data would be special intensive surveys—of crime victims or insurance claims, for example—designed to ascertain more accurately the patterns of crime.

There are at present no centralized crime statistics apart from the UCR, although for many years it has been generally agreed in the field that the absence of information on all aspects of the criminal system has seriously impeded important research. Correlation of comprehensive statistics with surveys and other new methods for analyzing facts about crime is important not only to develop a national picture of crime's seriousness, but to provide a gauge by which police and other agencies can accurately determine the effect of their efforts on the amount of crime. The victimization survey undertaken by the Commission has shown the feasibility and usefulness of such surveys, in combination with UCR data, as the basis for statistical indices as comprehensive as those prepared by the Federal Government in the labor and agricultural fields.

Special Demonstration Projects

The Federal administering agency should be authorized to finance in a few places major demonstration projects designed to show all cities and States how much major changes can improve the system of criminal justice. For example, support could be provided to a police force that was prepared, on the basis of an organization study to make fundamental personnel, management, and operational changes; or to a State or city wishing to plan for entirely new combinations of service between community-based correctional institutions and noncriminal agencies. The demonstration project authorization should also be broad enough to support cooperative programs under which various jurisdictions share needed services, such as police dispatching or short-term detention facilities, or even totally pooled police services.

In the earlier stages of the Federal program, these few major projects could serve as the primary laboratories for research and training, and the experience gained through them would provide a reference point for much of the work done by States and local communities under operational grants-in-aid. Thus, there should be special authorization for the systematic dissemination of the results of demonstration projects and for bringing State and local officials from other areas together to see model programs in operation.

Science and Technology

Chapter 11 of this report has shown that the skills and techniques of science and technology, which have so radically altered much of modern life, have been largely untapped by the criminal justice system. One extremely useful approach to innovation is the questioning, analytical, experimental approach of science. Systems analysis, which has contributed significantly to such large-scale government porgrams as national defense and mass transportation, can be used to study criminal justice operations and to help agency officials choose promising courses of action.

Modern technology can make many specific contributions to criminal administration. The most significant will come from the use of computers to collect and analyze the masses of data the system needs to understand the crime control process. Other important contributions may come, for example, from:

- Flexible radio networks and portabe two-way radios for patrol officers;
- Computer assisted command-and-control systems for rapid and efficient dispatching of patrol forces;

- Advanced fingerprint recognition systems;
- Innovations for the police patrol car such as mobile teletypewriters, tape recorders for recording questioning, and automatic car position locators;
- Alarms and surveillance systems for homes, businesses and prisons;
- Criminalistics techniques such as voice prints, neutron activation analysis and other modern laboratory instrumentation.

The Federal Government must take the lead in the effort to focus the capabilities of science and technology on the criminal justice system.

It can sponsor and support a continuing research and development program on a scale greater than any individual agency could undertake alone. Such a program will benefit all agencies.

It should stimulate the industrial development, at reasonable prices, of the kinds of equipment all agencies need. A useful technique might be to guarantee the sale of first production runs.

It should provide funds that will enable criminal justice agencies to hire technically trained people and to establish internal operations research units.

It should support scientific research into criminal administration that uses the agencies as real-life laboratories.

Research

The need for research of all kinds has been discussed in chapter 12. There should be Federal support for specific research projects by individual scholars, and by universities or research organizations. In many instances such projects should be carried out in conjunction with large police departments, correctional institutions, or other operating agencies. In addition to such project grants, the Commission believes the Federal Government should provide support for a number of institutes specifically dedicated to research into crime and criminal justice. Such institutes would bring together top scholars from the social and natural sciences, law, social work, business administration and psychiatry, and would be able to deal with the criminal justice system, from prevention to corrections, as a whole. Presumably most of these research institutes would be located at universities, although, as noted in chapter 12, one or more might be independent.

These institutes would serve as the foundation for the other parts of the Federal program described here, both in the substance of the research they undertook and in the availability of their staff members as top-level consultants. They could provide training, through special seminars or degree courses, for senior administrators and specialist personnel. They could undertake studies of the effectiveness of various education and training programs. They could provide much of the data needed to conduct organization and operations studies, and seek and test new techniques for implementation. They could take major responsibility for analyzing data developed by the national information systems and they would propose and evaluate important new demonstration programs and provide consulting services.

Grant-in-aid Support for New Programs

In addition to the forms of support described above, a major part of the Federal program should be grants-in-aid for a broad range of innovative State and local programs. The standards of this part of the program should preclude continuing support for such normal operational expenses as those for basic personnel compensation, routine equipment like police cars, or replacement of physicial facilities like jails and courthouses. Support would instead be given to major innovations in operations, including especially the coordination of services among the parts of the system of criminal administration and among agencies in different jurisdictions.

The possibilities for such programs are as wide as the range of innovations State and local authorities propose to undertake. They might include:

New police operations such as the storefront Community Service Officer program; sophisticated communications equipment; and regional laboratory facilities.

Construction and operation of new corrections facilities to serve as a nucleus for community-based programs.

Temporary salary support for new specialized personnel, such as computer experts, court management specialists, and classification or treatment experts for correctional facilities.

The Commission is confident that this eight-point program, if fully implemented, will do much to bring crime under control.

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Given enough time and money, specialists can do dramatic things. They can prolong human life. They can make deserts bloom. Thdy can split the atom. They can put men on the moon. However, specialists alone cannot control crime. Crime is a social problem that is interwoven with almost every aspect of American life; controlling it involves changing the way schools are run and classes are taught, the way cities are planned and houses are built, the way businesses are managed and workers are hired. Crime is a kind of human behavior; controlling it means changing the minds and hearts of men. Controlling crime is the business of every American institution. Controlling crime is the business of every American.

How Individuals Can Help To Reduce Crime

That every American should cooperate fully with officers of justice is obvious. The police cannot solve crimes that are not reported to them; the courts cannot administer justice fairly and surely if citizens will not serve as witnesses and jurors. In an earlier society the peace was kept, for the most part, not by officials but by the whole community. Constables were citizens who served their community in turn and magistrates were local squires. That society no longer exists except, perhaps, in a few remote rural areas. But the complexity and anonymity of modern urban life, the existence of professional police forces and other institutions whose official duty it is to deal with crime, must not disguise the need—far greater today than in the village societies of the past—for citizens to report all crimes or suspicious incidents immediately; to cooperate with police investigations of crime; in short, to "get involved."

The Chicago Police Department has had much success with "Operation Crime-Stop," a formal campaign to involve citizens. A special police emergency number that connects callers directly to a dispatcher has been established and widely publicized. Citizens are urged to report suspicious occurrences and are given official commendation when they do report or help the police in other ways. Washington, D.C., and several other cities have similar programs. In some cities taxi drivers and other citizens with radios in their vehicles are organized to assist the police by transmitting information useful in apprehending offenders. Under some State statutes active concealment of a felony is itself an offense as it was at common law. Even if there are no special programs or penalties, every citizen should recognize that he is duty bound to assist the police.

People can do much to insure their own safety and that of their families and belongings by reducing the opportunities for crime. Many crimes would not occur if individuals had proper locks on their doors and windows and enough lighting to discourage prowlers, and if they took such simple preventive action as not letting newspapers or milk bottles accumulate as a sign that a house is unoccupied. Keys left in the ignition or an unlocked ignition account for more than 42 percent of the cars that are stolen.

The citizen's responsibility runs far deeper than cooperating with officials and guarding against crime, of course. Much more important is a proper respect for the law and for its official representatives. People who sneer at policemen; people who "cut corners" in their tax returns; landlords who violate housing codes; parents who set bad examples by their own disrespect for the law, or who wink at their children's minor offenses, contribute to crime. Delinquents—and adult criminals as well—often try to justify their actions by saying that the only difference between them and "respectable citizens" is that they were unlucky enough to be caught.

Participation by Industry, Religious Institutions, and Other Private Groups

As members of groups and organizations outside the official agencies of justice, citizens can play even a greater part than they can as individuals in helping to reduce crime. Private businesses, welfare agencies and foundations, civic organizations, and universities can contribute much toward impelling official agencies to reform themselves and toward helping them do it. There are some impressive examples of what such groups can do when they turn their attention to crime.

In Chicago and New York the YMCA and other agencies supported by contributions pioneered the concept of "detached workers" for juvenile gangs. Research projects conducted by the Vera Institute of Justice in New York sparked the bail reform movement, and the Institute is now exploring new ways of handling drunks. Law schools and bar associations have led the development of legal aid and defender programs. Church groups in St. Louis and Chicago opened the first halfway houses for released prisoners. The student service organization at Harvard University was one of the first groups to run regular programs to teach prison

inmates. Such projects indicate that private groups have a growing interest and involvement in crime problems, but they still do far less about crime than about such matters as health, education or recreation.

Business, Industry, and Labor Unions

Business and industry are in a particularly favorable position to help the criminal justice system. They have the financial and technical resources that are essential both for developing new equipment to modernize law enforcement and justice, and for devising means to protect against crime. The jobs they can provide can do much to prevent delinquency and reintegrate offenders into society.

The Commission's task force on science and technology explored a number of the important ways in which industry might apply technological innovations to protecting lives and property from crime. It discussed with the automobile industry, for example, such new ways to combat auto theft as ignitions that buzz when a key is left in a turned-off lock, or expel the key; special shielding around ignition cables to prevent "jumping"; and steering column or transmission locks. Automobile manufacturers have already assured the Commission that they will incorporate such devices in future models.

The same sort of effort is needed on such problems as making alarm systems less expensive and less susceptible to false alarms. Alteration of telephone equipment to permit free dialing to the police from public telephones, adoption of a uniform police number, and development of equipment that would automatically record the location from which the call is made are other examples of how private business could contribute to reducing crime.

There are several noteworthy recent examples of successful programs in which business, industry and organized labor have collaborated with correctional authorities. For example, at the Federal penitentiary at Danbury, Conn., the Dictograph Corp. trains in the penitentiary and then employs, on work release or parole, microsoldering technicians for hearing aid manufacture; IBM trains key punch operators, programers and systems analysts, hiring some itself while others are employed elsewhere; and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has established a program to train sewing machine repairmen on machines furnished by several local companies, and provides a card to graduates enabling them to find employment upon release.

The experience of the Bureau of Prisons with these programs indicates that there is a vast, largely untapped willingness on the part of business and labor to cooperate in employment programs in corrections. This bodes well for the success of the growing number of work-release programs in various States, and represents an encouraging change from industry's and labor's traditional hostility toward prison industries, expressed in restrictive State and Federal laws on prison industry activities. If employers overcome their reluctance to hire and unions to admit persons with arrest or conviction records, and if irrational prohibitions on licensing such persons for occupations and trades are removed, correctional agencies will have much more chance to succeed in their task.

The cooperation of business and labor is also essential to make jobs available to young people from slum areas and to help them give the skills and attitudes necessary for successful integration into working life. Several companies have run programs for the Job Corps; many more have provided jobs through the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Youth Opportunity Centers, programs of the Department of Labor. But here, as with employment of offenders, much more can be done through less formal, entirely private initiative. Chambers of commerce, labor union locals, and service clubs are logical bases for community programs to advise young people about employment and place them in jobs.

Individual employers, too, can contribute substantially to crime prevention through special programs to train and hire young people who have had some trouble with the law. There are obvious risks, though many can be offset through bonding—arranged perhaps with Government guarantees. However much recruitment, training, and employment programs for delinquents and ex-convicts may cost, the price cannot possibly be as great as that paid for the almost total failure, up to now, to bring criminals and potential criminals back into the working world.

Private Agencies and Foundations

Private social service agencies and foundations, concerned with counseling, health, and welfare aid, have long carried major responsibility for delinquency prevention. Professional associations such as the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, the ABA

and local bar associations, the American Law Institute, and others have led for many years the attempt to raise standards and rationalize the criminal justice system. In recent years a number of private organizations like the Ford Foundation have supported research and demonstration projects in various parts of the criminal area, bridging the gap between agencies active in the field and those that concentrate on planning and standard setting. Work of all these sorts is vitally necessary for comprehensive progress in reducing crime. Provate groups can identify needs and problems that have not been officially recognized and undertake programs that would be too experimental or controversial for public agencies.

There are, of course, distinct discouragements to work by private social agencies in the criminal area. Usually progress is very difficult to achieve. Those who need to be helped are often hostile, sometimes dangerous, and seldom promise to be truly outstanding citizens even if rehabilitated.

It is not surprising then, that most private agencies, with very limited resources, have concentrated on serving persons whose problems are less intractable than those of the delinquent or criminal. But the extent to which official agencies, even some antipoverty programs, continue to shun people with criminal records emphasizes the importance of attention to the criminal area by private agencies that can better afford than official ones to risk the failures that are a necessary consequence of experimental work.

Religious Institutions

The important contribution churches, synagogues, and other religious institutions can make to crime prevention is evident. They are leading exponents and guardians of the community's moral and ethical standards. They have the ability to understand and teach in their largest context the great principles of honesty and honor, of compassion and charity, of respect and reverence that underlie not only the Nation's laws but its entire being. They have the power to move men's spirits and sway their minds.

They have the power, too, to do many practical things. Many religious institutions have. Inner-city churches have done valuable work with youth gangs and released offenders. A particularly noteworthy contribution has been made by the Faith Opportunities Project of the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race. This project, partially financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, makes a point of finding deserting fathers, particularly those who have deserted because they are unemployed, finding them jobs, and returning them to their families. During one 6-month period 2,500 families were reunited, and 89 percent of them remained that way for at least 90 days.

Community and Professional Organizations

The most dramatic example in the country of a citizens' group that has addressed itself forcefully and successfully to the problems of crime and criminal justice is the Anti-Crime Crusade in Indianapolis. In 1962, the day after a 90-year-old woman had been hit on the head and robbed on the street, 30 Indianapolis women, representing a cross section of the community, met to devise ways of making the streets safer. The organization, which has no dues, no membership cards, no minutes and no bylaws, now involves some 50,000 women, in 14 divisions. It has, stimulated the city to improve street lighting. It has secured jobs for young people helped school dropouts return to school, involved thousands of adolescents in volunteer work for social service agencies and clinics. It has organized campaigns for cleaning up the slums. It has sponsored police recruits. It has observed the operation of the courts and publicized their shortcomings. It has helped parole officers with their work. It has campaigned for pay raises for policemen and formed block clubs to improve slum neighborhoods. This list is only a random selection of the crusade's activities, and only an indication of what concerned citizens can do.

Every group in a community can do something about crime or criminal justice. PTA's and other school groups, for example, could concentrate on the school's role in delinquency prevention and reintegration of offenders; volunteer parents could promote closer contact with slum parents, lead field trips and other activities to compensate for culturally deprived backgrounds, tutor in remedial work, and serve as teacher aides. Suburban groups might pair with those in the inner city for such projects. Hospitals could join together to institute narcotics programs and treatment centers for drunkenness offenders. Businessmen's groups would be well suited to conducting employment programs. Neighborhood clubs and settlement houses have set up recreation programs and a wide range of other services.

All of these efforts must be greatly strengthened, an endeavor that will require increased financial support by government and private foundations.

Bar associations and other professional groups have an important role in encouraging legislatures and official agencies to implement changes such as those recommended by this report. A special bar association group in Illinois, for example, drew up that State's pioneering new criminal code. The IACP has been active in promoting police standards and training councils. The National Council of Juvenile Court Judges has promoted reforms in juvenile justice. The American Bar Foundation is now publishing a series of volumes reflecting an intensive 10-year study of law enforcement and criminal justice in three States, most of it completely new and of great importance.

Colleges and Universities

Higher education has played an uneven part in criminal justice. A few law schools have engaged for years in research, and in representation of indigent defenders; their professors have been responsible for a major share of modern criminal legislation and much of the informed criticism of the criminal process. On the other hand, until recently little emphasis was given to preparing students to practice criminal law. Universities like the University of California at Berkeley and Michigan State University have had police science departments for several decades, but they have existed too much in isolation from the rest of the academic community. The same thing is to a large extent true of teaching and research in the corrections field.

All operating agencies of justice urgently need the close contact with academic thought that could be achieved through use of faculty consultants; seminars and institutes to analyze current problems and innovations; advanced training programs for judges, police administrators, and correctional officers; and more operational research projects and surveys conducted in conjunction with agencies of justice.

CONCLUSION

At its end, as at its beginning, this report on crime and criminal justice in America must insist that there are no easy answers. The complexity and the magnitude of the task of controlling crime and improving criminal justice is indicated by the more than 200 specific recommendations for action, and the many hundreds of suggestions for action, that this report contains. These recommendations and suggestions are addressed to cities, to States, to the Federal Government; to individual citizens and their organizations; to policemen, to prosecutors, to judges, to correctional authorities, and to the agencies for which these officials work. Taken together these recommendations and suggestions express the Commission's deep conviction that if America is to meet the challenge of crime it must do more, far more, than it is doing now. It must welcome new ideas and risk new actions. It must spend time and money. It must resist those who point to scapegoats, who use facile slogans about crime by habit or for selfish ends. It must recognize that the government of a free society is obliged to act not only effectively but fairly. It must seek knowledge and admit mistakes.

Controlling crime in America is an endeavor that will be slow and hard and costly. But America can control crime if it will.

APPENDIX 2

Exhibit A.—Doleschal, E., *Criminal Justice Programs in Model Cities*, Crime and Delinquency Literature (1972), at 292–328.

Exhibit B.—U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Marshaling Citizen Power Against Crime, ch. VIII, "An Inventory of Citizen Programs" (1970).

Exhibit C.—National Council on Crime and Delinquency, Citizen Action to Control Crime and Delinquency: Fifty Projects (1969).

EXHIBIT A

Criminal Justice Programs in Model Cities

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Criminal Justice Programs in Model Cities*

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THE DEMONSTRATION CITIES AND METROPOLITAN DEVELOPMENT ACT of 1966 provided for a national program to improve the quality of urban life in selected cities throughout the United States.[1] It called for a comprehensive attack on social, economic, and physical problems in slum and blighted areas through concentration of federal, state, local, public, and private efforts. The Act provided for financial and technical assistance to enable cities to develop and carry out comprehensive programs for the development of "model" neighborhoods.

One of the purposes of the Act, as stated in a program guide to model neighborhoods in demonstration cities, was to aid in the reduction of crime and delinquency in the neighborhoods to levels prevailing in the remainder of the community.[2] The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), administrator of the Act, believed that the crime and delinquency part of a local program would involve the participation of police, courts, probation departments, social service agencies, legal service agencies, legal service groups, schools, and employment agencies, as well as professional and citizen groups.

Financing and Technical Assistance[3]

The Act provided for financial and technical assistance to be furnished by HUD for the planning, development, and carrying out of comprehensive local programs. In a radical departure from existing practice, the Act also provided for a unique type of financing called "supplemental grants," which could be used as the matching portion in seeking other federal funds: ordinarily, federal regulations specifically exclude the use of federal funds to match other grants in federal aid programs.

* This review was partially supported by contract no. H-1475, U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

[1] Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, Public Law 89-754.

[2] U.S. Housing and Urban Development Department. *Improving the quality of urban life*. Washington, D.C., 1968. 58p. App.

[3] Parts of this section are a condensation of an unpublished manuscript prepared by James Shumar.

All grants are made to a City Demonstration Agency (CDA). The Act intended four kinds of financial assistance to be available to the cities as part of the Model Cities Program:

1. *Planning grants*, from HUD, pay up to 80 per cent of the approved cost of planning and developing a comprehensive city demonstration program. The funds are to assist the city in ascertaining initial conditions, identifying problems and determining the underlying causes, establishing goals and priorities, devising a strategy to meet the goals in accordance with the priorities, and evaluating the progress and final results of all action undertaken.

2. *Administrative funds* consist of HUD grants that pay up to 80 per cent of the administrative costs of the demonstration program.

3. *Supplemental funds* are block grants from HUD to be used by the city in carrying out its comprehensive demonstration program. They are not earmarked for any specific project or activity and may be used either without further local matching for any project included as part of a Model City program or in matching other federal grants. Model Cities supplemental funds are not intended to finance the entire cost of local projects except where no other federal aid is available.

4. The bulk of the funding necessary to carry out a comprehensive city demonstration program is intended to come from *existing federal grant programs* and not from Model Cities supplemental funds. Supplemental funds would perhaps supply the "match" necessary to qualify the city for an existing categorical grant program or might be used to supplement other grant funds where the amount available falls short of the amount needed.

Another special feature of Model Cities legislation is the plan for deciding how the funds would be distributed. Under the original plan, the funds could be spent by the CDA only after it developed plans in concert with an elected citizen board made up of model-neighborhood residents. In the first two years of operation all spending had to be approved by the citizen board. In 1970, however, a shift began toward more control over the distribution of funds by the city administrations. The degree of this control varies considerably among states and even among cities in the same state. In the process of providing technical assistance, observers noted that communities with an active and viable citizen participation structure tend to have more comprehensive plans. Furthermore, their plans are focused on providing service directly to people rather than to agencies.

In addition to the financial assistance, the statute called for the delivery of technical assistance to the cities participating in the Model Cities program. HUD provides such assistance in several ways: (1) through its own staff; (2) by seeking cooperation of other federal, state, and local agencies and private institutions and individuals in providing assistance; (3) by

granting the cities funds to purchase services; and (4) by directly purchasing assistance and then directly or indirectly applying the services to the cities.

The Model Cities Program and Criminal Justice

Under the Model Cities program, 147 units of local government—principally cities, but including several counties and an Indian reservation—have been planning, developing, and carrying out locally prepared and locally scheduled programs with a comprehensive approach to improving the quality of urban life. They cover a broad range of problems, including projects to rebuild and revitalize slums and blighted areas; to expand housing, job, and income opportunities; to reduce dependence on welfare; to improve educational facilities and programs; to combat disease and illness; to establish better access between homes and jobs; and to generally improve living conditions. By attacking conditions that are universally accepted as root causes of crime, these program components relate indirectly to the criminal justice system.

The Model Cities statutory mandate states that as part of any local comprehensive plan the city should attempt "to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency." Some of the program components therefore relate directly to criminal justice. The Office of Community Development and, before it, the Model Cities Administration have sought to implement this aspect of the statute by stimulating and encouraging the cities to plan and undertake projects that embrace the entire spectrum of criminal justice. These activities involve the enforcement efforts of police and prosecuting agencies; the defense efforts of public defenders and private counsel; the state, county, and municipal courts, including bail and other pretrial release concerns of the judiciary; and correction, including probation, parole, and institutions for adults and juveniles. The indirect and direct effects of Model Cities programs on the criminal justice system are so interlocked that they are inseparable—virtually all of the HUD funds that have gone to the cities have affected criminal justice in some way.

The NCCD Survey

In the first year of experience with model cities much of the money was spent on physical improvements. Only in the second year did the programs become more involved in social problems. This increased activity in social problems, coupled with the general deficiency in crime and delinquency programs, led to a technical assistance contract signed by the U.S. Housing and Urban Development Department, the National Coun-

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[1] *Ibid.*

cil on Crime and Delinquency, and the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

During 1971 many crime and delinquency projects were initiated or were in some stage of development. Many merely awaited supplementary funding by other agencies—some with little chance of approval. Some were underway, some had been completed successfully, and others had already been abandoned as failures. In spite of all the activity, no comprehensive report on Model Cities efforts in criminal justice had been compiled and very few cities were issuing reports of their own. The Department of Housing and Urban Development had been collecting data and reports in the form of plan material and "breakout sheets," which were essentially fiscal summaries; but because of the diversity of Model Cities programs in the cities, as well as other factors, the actual activities and the summary materials did not necessarily coincide. A decision was made to send NCCD staff to each of the cities to collect material from the source.

On several days during July and August of 1971, NCCD staff went to Model City agencies throughout the United States and interviewed the administrator or the assistant responsible for crime and delinquency projects in the city. The crime and delinquency component planner for each city was allowed to define the city's crime and delinquency program priorities. NCCD staff did *not* conduct a total programatic audit in search of particular programs. The interviews resulted in a series of field reports on each crime and delinquency project in which the model city was engaged. Information was obtained on the name of each project, its purpose, whom it serves, its goals and methods, its main features, the agency operating the project, the sources and size of its budget, its status, and its accomplishments at the time of the interview. All findings were verified by at least two sources, and fiscal or programatic conflicts were reconciled. September 21, 1971, was selected as the official cut-off date for all the programs.

In the collection of the data no attempt was made to evaluate the programs. Although available evaluation materials were reported, as were comments and impressions, the inventory was not intended to be an evaluation.

Cost and Number of Programs

National financial tabulations of the data revealed that from the inception of the Model Cities program in 1969 to September 21, 1971, the Department of Housing and Urban Development spent $50,491,523 on criminal justice projects in model cities.

These funds were supplemented by money from the following sources: $14,860,830 from State Planning Agencies supported by the Law En-

TABLE 1
SUMMARY FISCAL DATA, 1969-1971

HUD—Model Cities funds	$ 50,491,523
LEAA block grants	14,860,830
Nonfederal public funds	9,913,225
YDDPA	2,636,928
LEAA discretionary funds	2,312,958
Private funds	1,763,224
NIMH	1,410,381
Other HEW funds	1,252,281
Other federal agencies	442,666
Department of Labor	124,630
Total	$ 85,208,646

forcement Assistance Administration (LEAA); $2,312,958 from LEAA discretionary funds; $2,636,928 from the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Administration (YDDPA); $1,410,381 from the National Institute of Mental Health; $1,252,281 from other divisions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; $124,630 from the Department of Labor; $442,666 from miscellaneous federal agencies; $9,913,225 from nonfederal public funds; and $1,763,224 from private funds.

The total amount spent in model cities from 1969 through September 1971 for criminal justice projects was $85,208,646 (see Table 1).

During fiscal 1971, a year when Model Cities projects were in full gear, $27,663,454 was contributed by HUD along with $18,097,968 by other sources, for a total of $45,761,422 spent on Model Cities criminal justice projects (see Table 2).

TABLE 2
SUMMARY FISCAL DATA, FISCAL YEAR 1971

HUD—Model Cities funds	$ 27,663,454
LEAA block grants	8,535,595
Nonfederal public funds	4,021,872
LEAA discretionary funds	1,609,695
YDDPA	1,202,265
Other HEW funds	1,043,388
Private funds	997,129
NIMH	362,926
Other federal agencies	251,468
Department of Labor	73,630
Total	$ 45,761,422

TABLE 3
MODEL CITIES CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROJECTS — NATIONAL FISCAL DATA, FISCAL YEARS 1969-72

Sources	Fiscal year 1969	1970	1971	1972*	Total
Federal funds:					
HUD—Model Cities	9,779,976	12,597,403	27,663,454	450,690	50,491,523
LEAA					
State Planning Agency	2,178,323	3,945,304	8,535,595	201,608	14,860,830
Discretionary	187,664	515,599	1,609,695		2,312,958
HEW					
YDDPA		1,434,663	1,202,265		2,636,928
NIMH	82,904	574,551	362,926	390,000	1,410,381
Other HEW agencies	61,950	146,943	1,043,388		1,252,281
Department of Labor		51,000	73,630		124,630
Other federal agencies		173,910	251,468	17,288	442,666
Nonfederal public funds	1,403,495	4,450,266	4,021,872	37,592	9,913,225
Private funds	164,191	479,654	997,129	122,250	1,763,224
Total	13,858,503	24,369,293	45,761,422	1.219,428	85,208,646

*As of Sept. 21, 1971.

Examination of the fiscal data from year to year reveals that, in some cities during the first period of activity, Model Cities funds are widely used for supplying materiel such as police cars and other law enforcement equipment. The tendency in the subsequent year is to reduce equipment purchase and to emphasize programs providing services. With this comes an increase in the use of federal funds other than Model Cities funds. Generally during this phase the programs are aimed at providing service through agencies rather than directly serving clients. In the third phase there is a marked trend in some cities toward direct client service programs. Accompanying this evolution in the program is an expansion of the use of nonfederal funds. Increased amounts of funds from local governments and, surprisingly, from private sources can be discerned (see Table 3).

Of the 498 criminal justice programs analyzed, only seven had completed their third action year on September 21, 1971; 129 had completed their second, and the remaining 362 had been operating only a year. It is, therefore, too early to discern overall trends.

Tabulations of the types of programs initiated by Model Cities show that on September 21, 1971, 139 model cities had completed, established, or were about to initiate a total of 498 programs related to crime and delinquency. Eight cities reported having no projects supporting criminal justice or crime prevention.

For the purposes of this paper, the 498 programs were classified into eleven major categories. Table 4 shows the eleven categories arranged

TABLE 4
TYPES OF MODEL CITIES CRIMINAL JUSTICE PPROGRAMS, RANKED BY NUMBER AND COST, FISCAL YEARS 1969-1972

Type of Program	No. of projects	Project cost	Percentage of total cost*
Police programs	146	$ 33,756,261	39.6%
Primary prevention	99	9,902,360	11.6%
Correction programs	98	15,260,694	17.9%
Drug abuse programs	42	11,546,593	13.6%
Legal aid	37	5,565,579	6.5%
Youth Service Bureaus	24	3,195,027	3.8%
Alcoholism programs	13	1,156,902	1.4%
Court programs	12	1,010,293	1.2%
Studies	11	428,281	.5%
Planning projects	8	3,047,147	3.6%
Physical crime prevention	8	339,509	.4%
Total	498	$ 85,208,646	

*Percentages are rounded off.

according to number of projects, with the amount of money spent on each.

Many of these programs consist of more than one *program component.* For example, a project designed to improve police-community relations might use community service officers or police aides for tasks other than community relations and at the same time provide training for professional officers. In the component categorization used in this paper, this single project would appear under three program component categories: police-community relations, community service officer programs, and training and education of police. The total amount spent on programs having a police-community relations component was $17,272,680, but it must be borne in mind that some of this money financed other activities as well (e.g., recruiting, training, equipment, improved patrol, police aides). Therefore, while the total budget of a program consisting of the above three components is known, the proportion spent on each component cannot be determined.

Cutting across virtually all categories of programs, $34,777,683 was spent on programs dealing with the juvenile offender or potential offender, and juvenile delinquency prevention programs.

Police Programs

The largest category of projects supported by Model Cities are police projects (see Table 5). The 146 projects in this category include the following components:

TABLE 5
MAJOR COMPONENTS IN 146 POLICE PROGRAMS

Police-community relations	60
Police aide programs	37
Youth aide (cadet) programs	13
Adult police aide programs	24
Training and education of police	20
Recruiting police	17
Recruiting minorities	6
Recruiting minority youth	2
Processing complaints against police	11
Purchase of new equipment	10
Hiring juvenile police officers, establishing juvenile bureau	9
Improved patrol of model neighborhood	6
Police-school liaison	3
Computerize police records	3
Special task forces, tactical forces	2
Training police to handle family crises	1

Sixty are primarily police-community relations programs or contain a significanct community-relations component. A total of $17,272,680 was spent on programs with police-community relations components.

Thirty-seven projects support police aide programs: thirteen of these are youth aide (cadet) programs and twenty-four are adult police aide programs in which trainees typically are paid $100 a week. After a period of in-service training (lasting three months in New York City), trainees are assigned to various precincts where they help in youth work and other non-law-enforcement police work. In many cities their official title is "community service officer." After a year or more in the field many trainees join the police. In other types of police aide programs, tenants of housing projects are hired for tenant patrol to reduce crime in the projects.

Twenty programs provide academic education or in-service training for police personnel. (The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration is already heavily engaged in law enforcement education and training; consequently, there is little reason to expand these under Model City auspices.)

Some of the seventeen programs involved in recruiting intend simply to add new personnel, while others are engaged in an active recruitment campaign. Of the seventeen, six are recruiting minorities and two of these six are attempting to attract minority youths into police departments. Pograms having a significant recruiting component have cost $2,837,164.

In eleven projects a department has been established or personnel (including one ombudsman) have been hired to process complaints against the police.

Ten projects consist exclusively or primarily of purchasing $404,768 worth of new law-enforcement equipment, such as patrol cars or communications equipment, to improve police effectiveness. Equipment purchases, however, are included in some of the other police programs, particularly police-community relations and patrolling. Nevertheless, the figures make it clear that Model Cities funds are less likely to be used for hardware and more likely to be used for direct client service than other federal funds are.

Nine programs have established police juvenile bureaus or hired officers to specialize in dealing with juvenile crime and delinquency.

Six projects are supporting improved patrol of model neighborhoods by team policing or strategic patrolling.

Three projects initiated police-school liaison programs to coordinate efforts of the two agencies in reducing delinquency in schools and to process school referrals.

Three projects will computerize or improve police record-keeping.

Two projects have established special police task forces.

In only one project are police trained to handle family conflicts, and no project supports a police-court coordinator.

The most striking finding from the data on police programs is the large number concerned with public relations. Most of them have vague goals and methods. Most simply employ additional officers or police aides who attempt to "get to know the residents." Only one project reports plans to monitor its effectiveness by interviewing residents before and after the program. Some administrators frankly admit uncertainty that these methods are the best way to improve law enforcement and community relations. Some merely purchased additional equipment, such as a patrol car, in the name of public relations in hopes that increased patrol would improve the attitudes of the residents.

Only one community relations project (Athens, Ga.) reports resident participation in the planning and evaluation of the project, and few report a comprehensive, planned effort to reduce tensions between police and minorities.

An interesting by-product of an apparently successful community-relations program is reported by Holyoke, Mass.: a sky-rocketing increase in reported crime. As relations between the police and residents improve and as Model Neighborhood residents place greater trust in local law enforcement, the logical result is greater reliance on the police to help solve crime and hence a rise in *reporting* of crime.

The stated goals, methods, and assumptions of most of the Model Cities police-community relations programs have an Alice-in-Wonderland quality that stands in stark contrast with the reports of some of the serious and comprehensive programs attempted in the past. Among the latter is the somber report of a two-year program in North Philadelphia that launched an educational program and vigorous community organization effort in an attempt to relieve tensions between minorities and the police.[5] The report concludes that no important changes took place in the relationships between police and ghetto residents and that the program was not the solution to the problems at hand. A stalemate engulfed the North Philadelphia program and provided a fair indication of the tenacity of the problems standing between the program and its goals. The report concluded that police identification with prevailing values restricts their understanding of the need for social change. Improvement of police-community relations requires a transfer of some power from the police to the community and a redefinition of the police role. No Model City appears to be addressing this fundamental problem.

At least one city (Boston, Mass.) reports that it failed to arrive at a consensus on issues in law enforcement and has terminated its project because tensions were not eased. Its honest admission of failure parallels the candor of the North Philadelphia report.

It has been argued that an indirect means of achieving the goals of

[5] North City Congress. *Community relations program: final report.* Philadelphia, 1969. 90 p.

improved police-community relations is the recruitment of minorities into the police. Ramsey Clark has stated that officers of minority groups must be enlisted in great numbers, for until this is done good police-community relations will never exist in the areas where they are most essential.[6] Only six of the 146 programs report a minority recruitment program. Indications are that they are not very successful in attracting minorities. One city reports having spent $146,000 on such a project, the result of which was the hiring of *one man*, who resigned after two months. While worthy programs are discontinued for lack of support or struggle with a shoestring budget, others are initiated apparently without even minimal preparation.

Two notable proposals, one for Detroit[7] and one for New York,[8] deserve close scrutiny by those wishing to improve their hiring and recruiting practices and increase the proportion of minority officers on the police force.

In a recent pamphlet, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission identified numerous obstacles to minority recruitment. Among them are written application tests that are culturally biased, height minimums, all-white oral interview boards, one-shot recruitment campaigns, family interviews conducted by middle-class white investigators, and certain medical requirements that penalize applicants who have grown up in areas where health services are inadequate. The Commission recommends that minority group leaders be consulted in advance of advertising campaigns for advice on proper appeals and presentations and that marginal eligibility requirements which discriminate against minority applicants should be eliminated.[9]

No city reports a recruitment program that offers neighborhood residents a realistic career ladder into the police department.

Another highly sensitive area bearing directly on police-community relations is police procedure in effecting arrests. As Ramsey Clark points out, arrest authority is often vaguely formulated, capriciously applied, and inadequately reviewed.[10] No Model City reports programs to improve arrest procedures; none reports a program of summons in lieu of arrest to reduce unnecessary arrests of nonviolent suspects—a program applied in a Vera Foundation experiment with considerable success.[11]

[6] Clark, Ramsey. *Crime in America*. New York, Simon & Schuster, 1970. p. 157.

[7] Detroit. Special Task Force on Police Recruiting and Hiring. *Report*. 1968. v. p.

[8] Hunt, Isaac C.; Cohen, Bernard. *Minority recruiting in the New York City police department*. New York, New York Rand Institute, 1971. 92 p.

[9] Civil Rights Commission. *Who will wear the badge?* by Richard J. Margolis. Washington, D.C., 1971. 33 p. (Clearinghouse Publication No. 25.)

[10] Clark, *supra* note 6, p. 160.

[11] New York City. Criminal Justice Coordinating Council. *The Manhattan summons project*. New York, 1969. 10 p.

The paucity of programs designed to assist troubled ghetto schools is disappointing: only three cities have initiated police-school liaison programs. It is also unfortunate that only one project specially trains police officers to handle family disputes, a procedure which has demonstrated (in Harlem) that it can reduce the incidence of serious violence and greatly improve police-community relations.[12]

Totally absent from programs in Model Cities are police projects to help solve the problems of the courts. Court congestion is known to be aggravated by the frequent failure of witnesses, including police witnesses, and other participants to appear for hearings and trials. Scarce law enforcement resources also are wasted when a police officer appears in court only to find that a hearing will not take place. A police-court coordinator stationed in the courthouse could assure that such waste is avoided and that all participants appear at the appointed time.

Prevention Programs

The second-largest category of crime and delinquency programs falls under the heading of "primary prevention" (see Table 6).

TABLE 6
COMPONENTS IN NINETY-NINE PREVENTION PROGRAMS

Recreation programs	39
Recreation, activities only	27
Recreation, providing facilities	12
Counseling, individual	26
Big Brother, buddy programs	5
Vocational training	5
Detached workers	5
Dropout programs	4
Predelinquency programs	4
Counseling, family	3
Youth employment	3
Truancy prevention	2
Runaways	2

Of the ninety-nine programs in this category, thirty-nine are recreation programs or have recreation as one of their significant components. Of the thirty-nine, twenty-seven provide activities only, while twelve use or have established permanent recreation facilities such as teen centers, clubs, or YMCA's. Programs having a recreation component have cost $3,442,839.

[12] National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice. *Training police as specialists in family crisis intervention.* Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 65 p.

Twenty-six are primarily programs of individual counseling provided by social agencies; five are Big Brother or "buddy" programs in which volunteer adults spend time regularly with a youngster in need of guidance and supervision; five provide vocational training; five are detached-worker programs that attempt to reach youngsters on the street who are likely to get into trouble with the law, to counsel them or to persuade them to accept the aid of a social-work agency; four projects work with the dropout to persuade him to return to school or seek a vocational alternative; four projects state they are attempting to reach the pre-delinquent; three projects attempt to reach the troubled youngster by means of counseling his entire family; three concentrate on finding or providing employment for youth; two state truancy prevention as their primary goal; and two deal with runaways.

The field of prevention is probably the least developed area of criminology. Little concrete knowledge has been developed and most prevention programs are undertaken on the untested assumption that they will "work." Despite this lack of a theoretical or empirical foundation, only one model city reports that it will attempt to evaluate and monitor the effect of its preventive efforts.

While no prevention experiment has been able to conclude *without reservations* that it has reduced the overall incidence of delinquency within a geographic area,[13] preventive efforts apparently can have an effect on individuals or groups for which a program is specifically tailored.

This may be especially true of recreation programs. Merely providing another recreation program is unlikely to have any effect on delinquency rates in the area. The President's Crime Commission quotes Frederic Thrasher as stating that "the common assumption that the problem of . . . delinquency will be solved by the multiplication of playgrounds and social centers in gang areas is entirely erroneous. The physical layout of gangland provides a realm of adventure with which no playground can compete."[14] The Commission pointed out, however, that recreation can be an important tool in changing behavior if it is properly applied in a well-conceived program.

The key to success may be the strategic application of activities for specific types of youngsters. One among many examples of this is the use of severe physical challenge to release violent emotions constructively in certain types of aggressive youths. A study conducted to determine whether physical challenge in an Outward Bound program could reduce

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[13] Harlow, Eleanor. "Prevention of crime and delinquency." *Information Review on Crime and Delinquency*, 1 (6), p. 35.

[14] Beck, Bertram M.; Beck, Deborah B. "Recreation and delinquency." In: President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. *Task Force report: juvenile delinquency and youth crime*. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 333.

recidivism among delinquents found that the program was an effective alternative to training school for some types of delinquents.[15]

On the whole, Model City recreation programs represent the "multiplication-of-playgrounds" approach rather than the purposeful design of programs for specific individuals or groups.

Correctional Programs

Ninety-eight correctional programs are in progress in Model Cities (see Table 7).

TABLE 7
COMPONENTS IN NINETY-EIGHT CORRECTIONAL PROGRAMS

Halfway houses	51
Adult halfway houses	15
Juvenile halfway houses	10
Juvenile group homes	26
Probation	18
Adult probation	7
Juvenile probation	10
Adult and juvenile	1
Shelter care homes	6
Aftercare services without facilities	5
Parole	4
Work release	4
Probation officer aides, indigenous	4
Training correctional personnel	4
Juvenile diagnostic services	3
Vocational training and guidance	3
Volunteer probation officers	3
Detention home facilities	2
Community correctional centers	2
Jail programs	2
Recruiting correction workers	1
Detention home program	1
Employment of ex-offenders	1

Slightly more than half (fifty-one) rely on correctional institutions usually designated halfway houses or group homes. The issue of halfway houses is complex and important and will be discussed in the following section of this paper.

Eighteen of the correctional programs supported by Model Cities are probation programs that establish new services or expand exist-

[15] Kelly, Francis J.; Baer, Daniel J. "Physical challenge as a treatment for delinquency." *Crime and Delinquency*, 17(4):437-445, 1971.

ing ones: ten of these are juvenile and seven are adult probation programs. A total of $2,833,526 was reported spent on such probation programs.

Six projects are supporting juvenile shelter care homes; five provide aftercare services (without facilities) to returning inmates; four are parole programs; four support local work-release programs; four employ indigenous personnel as probation officer aides; four are engaged in training correctional personnel; three are projects supporting diagnostic services for juveniles; three provide vocational training and guidance to offenders; three utilize volunteer probation or parole officers; two have provided detention home facilities; and two support community correction centers modeled after Essexfields, a short-term program of intensive treatment. Only two cities support programs in jails (excluding release on recognizance), one is engaged in recruiting correction workers, one operates a detention home program, and one employs ex-offenders.

With the exception of halfway houses, these correctional programs comprise one of the most vital elements in Model Cities criminal justice programs and are in great need of expansion. After a ten-year decline in the nation's inmate population there is evidence from many states that the prison population (the black population in particular) is again increasing. Former Attorney General Mitchell has remarked that "improved law enforcement is going to bring a new wave of offenders into the country's prisons."[16]

Since the vast majority of these inmates will return to their communities after a median imprisonment of twenty-one months, communities must also prepare for the "new wave" of returnees. Although numerous research studies have identified the postrelease period as the most crucial time in an offender's correctional experience,[17] only four cities support parole and only five support aftercare programs. Education, vocational training and guidance, and employment are the returning inmate's most neglected needs. They remain neglected by Model Cities: only one employment program and three vocational training programs for offenders are reported. No project reports a formal educational component; however, some type of academic instruction forms a small part of several projects.

Only one city reported an aftercare program that uses a steering committee composed of offenders.

Employment problems emerge as the most crucial element in the failure or success of the ex-offender. Model Cities administrators who wish to help alleviate the problem may benefit from an extensive study

[16] *New York Times*, Dec. 7, 1971, p. 60.

[17] For example, see: District of Columbia. Corrections Department. *Evaluation of institutional and community experiences by successful and unsuccessful parolees*. Washington, D.C., 1969. 18 p.

entitled "Employment Problems of Released Prisoners," by George Pownall.[18] Based on three separate surveys of employment problems of ex-inmates, it presents detailed recommendations for training that might lead to successful employment. Two important findings of the surveys were (1) that over half of the offenders who supposedly received vocational training in prison were employed in unskilled or semiskilled jobs on release and (2) that the institution fails to provide offenders with adequate assistance in obtaining satisfactory employment. The report recommends that more placement counselors be employed, particularly in the community where the releasee will be under supervision. This suggests a role for Model Cities in assisting the ex-inmate's successful adaptation in the community.

Halfway Houses: Halfway to Nowhere

Model Cities have supported fifteen projects that establish or maintain halfway houses for adults, ten that operate halfway houses for juveniles, and twenty-six that run group homes, close relatives of the halfway house. Although the terms "halfway house" and "group home" often are used interchangeably, a halfway house usually means a house "halfway out" of prison or training school, while a group home is most often "halfway in" prison or training school and is frequently termed an "alternative to institutionalization." A total of $5,131,029 was spent on such programs from 1969 through September 21, 1971. Since one project may operate several homes, the actual number of halfway houses and group homes is even larger.

A halfway house movement got seriously under way in the early 1960's, partly under the impetus and leadership of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Today there are hundreds of halfway houses throughout the United States; they have their own international association, and numerous directories, manuals, and newsletters are devoted exclusively to the operation of such houses.

The logic behind the halfway house movement was impeccable: motivation to stay away from crime, it was observed, is strongest at the moment of release, yet recidivism is highest during the immediate postrelease period. It follows that the inmate is in need of a gradual re-entry into the community. The analogy used repeatedly by numerous authors describes the halfway house as the "decompression chamber" of the correctional system. Rather than being pushed out of a barren, understimulating prison existence directly into the overstimulating pace of modern life, the inmate would first be moved into an intermediate institution, the halfway house.

[18] Pownall, George. *Employment problems of released prisoners*. University Park, Md., University of Maryland, 1969. 219 p.

Does this apparently logical principle operate in actual practice? Study after evaluative study comes to the conclusion that it does not. In 1969 the Information Center of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency reviewed all known studies that had used rigorous research designs to compare populations that were randomly assigned to halfway houses with those that were not.[19] Research that examined the first four years of federal halfway houses established under Robert Kennedy found little difference between the groups[20]; a well-known experiment, the East Los Angeles Halfway House, was declared a failure by its research director, Gilbert Geis[21]; a follow-up study of the East Los Angeles house revealed the presence of a fully developed subculture in the halfway house much like that found in prisons[22]; several additional studies were declared inconclusive or ambivalent.

Subsequent research confirms the general conclusion of the failure of halfway houses to reduce recidivism rates. Vasoli and Fahey report that a well-designed, comprehensive program for youthful offenders which grew out of a unique collaboration of a university, a large corporation, and federal, state, and local agencies failed to show a recidivism rate lower than that of offenders released without having been involved in a halfway house program.[23]

An elaborate comparative study of subjects released from a halfway house and rural penal camps tested the hypothesis that the halfway house releasees would be more law abiding. They were not. Among halfway house men and camp men, 40 per cent were failures. The remaining findings were typically ambivalent: 45 per cent of halfway house men were rated as successes, as opposed to 40 per cent of the camp men. At the "partial success" level, however, camp men achieved a 25 per cent "partial success" rate whereas only 15 per cent of the halfway house men were partially successful. In effect, the halfway house did no better than a regular penal institution.[24]

A comparative study examining the effectiveness of a halfway house for narcotic addicts committed under California civil commitment statutes

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[19] Doleschal, Eugene. "Graduated release." *Information Review on Crime and Delinquency*, 1(10), 1969. pp. 10-19.

[20] Correctional Research Associates. *Treating youth offenders in the community*. Conducted by Albert J. Reiss. Washington, D.C., 1966. 154 p.

[21] Geis, Gilbert. *The East Los Angeles halfway house for narcotic addicts*. Sacramento, Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, 1966, 401 p.

[22] *East Los Angeles halfway house: statistical follow-up study*. Principal investigator: Donald Miller, 541 South Spring St., Los Angeles, Calif. (Reported as Current Project P611 in NCCD Information Center files).

[23] Vasoli, Robert H.; Fahey, Frank J. "Halfway house for reformatory releasees." *Crime and Delinquency*, 16(3):292-304, 1970.

[24] Kirby, Bernard. *Crofton house final report*. San Diego State College, 1970. 201 p.

also found that placement in the halfway house had "no measurable effect upon the subject's performance on outpatient status."[25]

Another neutral finding, from Illinois, was that violation rates of adult halfway houses did not permit definite conclusions about the effectiveness of the Illinois Community Centers program in reducing recidivism compared to releasing men to regular parole supervision. The Illinois FACES program, a halfway house program for youth paroled from juvenile institutions, "may be doing an excellent job of rehabilitation [sic] even though their return rate is higher than the return rate for the rest of the male juvenile population."[26]

These negative findings are not confined to the United States. A British author notes that halfway houses in Britain (called aftercare hostels) are part of an attempt to rationalize the use of imprisonment. From his observation the author concludes that the provision of such a home will not lead to any striking improvement of persistent defective behavior.[27]

A survey of Ontario houses reports the same ambivalence. Its Canadian authors did not believe the halfway houses' own claims of success, which, they observe, are difficult to substantiate[28]—a conclusion drawn by several other researchers.[29] Some houses, for instance, list as failures only those offenders who are reconvicted *while resident in the house*. The Canadians suggest that the greatest value of halfway houses lies not in reducing recidivism but in effectively alleviating human misery. The halfway house should be regarded as a welfare rather than as a correctional institution.

The implications of these experiments are clear: in terms of recidivism of experimental vs. control groups, the experimentals could just as well have been placed directly on parole. Halfway houses did not prevent crime.

Model Cities' experience, brief as it is, reflects these findings. Although barely a year old, several halfway houses and group homes have already folded. Some have been operating at cross-purposes. While many releasees, juveniles in particular, are *obliged* to reside in halfway houses, others are *not permitted* to do so because of parole rules against "consorting with former criminals."

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[25] California. Corrections Department. *The effectiveness of a halfway house for civilly committed narcotic addicts*. Sacramento, 1971. 17 p. (Research Report No. 42.)

[26] Illinois. Corrections Department. *Parole outcome studies: adult community centers and juvenile halfway houses*, by Kevin A. Houlihan. Springfield, Ill., 1971. 15 p.

[27] Griffiths, W.A. "The development of an after-care hostel." *British Journal of Criminology*, 9(4):312-344, 1969.

[28] Grygier, Tadeusz; Nease, Barbara; Anderson, Carol Staples. "An exploratory study of halfway houses." *Crime and Delinquency*, 16(3):280-291, 1970.

[29] James, J. T. L. "The halfway house movement." *Canadian Journal of Corrections*, 10(4):562-574, 1968.

Even the suggestion that halfway houses may reduce human misery by at least providing housing and some welfare services needs further substantiation. At least one halfway house supported by Model Cities funds reports closing because of lack of interest: inmates preferred to live with family, relatives, or friends.

Why have halfway houses failed? One clue is provided by Weber, who surveyed halfway houses and other juvenile institutions in the United States.[10] While the correctional administrator may regard the halfway house as a "decompression chamber," the inmate sees it as just one more prison or training school. Compulsory placement is often perceived as an unjust extension of "time to be served." Weber reports the existence of a halfway house where the recidivism rate was 100 per cent—such was the anger of the youths obliged to reside there while many of their friends went home on parole.[11] Weber believes that the viability of the halfway house depends on intake criteria and participation of the youth in the decision for placement: freely translated, placement in a halfway house should be voluntary. A recent survey of halfway houses and group homes for juveniles reports that virtually all residents are involuntarily committed.[12]

The halfway house failures have resulted in the "discovery" of the individuality of the ex-convict: released inmates are known to be anxious about pressing individual problems, not general matters.[13] In seeking to meet the general needs of all, halfway houses apparently meet the particular needs of none.

In view of these practically unanimous findings the burden of showing the value of halfway houses is on those who continue to establish and operate them—especially on those who contribute to the decision to make residence in them compulsory.

The alternative to the halfway house is a consortium of community services for the offender. A study that compared successful and unsuccessful parolees had very unambiguous results: the successful parolees did not differ from the unsuccessful ones in their evaluation of their correctional experiences.[14] They differed significantly in their reports on helpful events in the community—i.e., the intervention and aid of citizens. This finding is supported by findings of programs such as that of the Minneapolis

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[10] Weber, J. Robert. *Report of the juvenile institutions project*. New York, NCCD, 1966. 273 p.

[11] Private communication by the author.

[12] Florida. Youth Services Division. *Directory of halfway houses and group homes for troubled children*. Tallahassee, Fla., 1971. 33p.

[13] Holt, Norman; Renteria, Rudy. "Prerelease program evaluation: some implications of negative findings." *Federal Probation*, 33(2):40-45, 1968.

[14] District of Columbia. Corrections Department. *Evaluation of institutional and community experiences by successful and unsuccessful parolees*. Washington, D.C., 1969. 18 p. (Research Report No. 19.)

Rehabilitation Center.[35] Without the aid of a halfway house, this program reduced recidivism, as measured by a comparison of randomly selected experimental and control groups. The program relied, instead, on providing the kind of help the released inmate needs and wants: vocational training, a job, counseling, education, psychiatric help, the guidance of a social worker, and, most important, support in a time of weakness.

Drug Abuse and Narcotics Addiction Programs

Forty-two programs fall in the area of drug abuse and narcotics addiction (see Table 8).

TABLE 8
COMPONENTS IN FORTY-TWO DRUG ABUSE AND NARCOTICS ADDICTION PROGRAMS

Drug abuse prevention, general	19
Narcotic addiction treatment	23
Outpatient clinics	16
Methadone maintenance	13
Counseling and medical therapy	12
Residential institutions	8
Detoxification	4
Referral to medical treatment	1

Nineteen of these are general drug abuse prevention programs whose primary target is youth and whose chief methods are education and information. Only two of the nineteen include individual counseling as part of their service while the remainder rely on lectures, pamphlets, visual aids, and discussions that take place most frequently in schools, sometimes in YMCA's and teen centers. Several are "hot lines" or include such telephone service as part of the program.

The target of the remaining twenty-three programs is the narcotic addict: sixteen of the programs use outpatient narcotics institutions (clinics, treatment centers, hospitals); thirteen provide methadone maintenance treatment (at a cost of $2,079,751); twelve provide counseling and medical therapy; eight provide residential narcotics institutions (sometimes referred to as halfway houses for addicts); four offer detoxification and temporary housing; and one makes referrals to medical treatment. (It should be kept in mind that any one program may provide several of these services.)

[35] Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center. *The rehabilitation of parolees.* Minneapolis, 1969. 134 p. App.

Most of the drug abuse prevention programs are the type that give youngsters lectures and sometimes audiovisual presentations in school. The majority of educators today realize that this is inadequate. One of the best studies of a state's efforts in drug education might greatly benefit those engaged in these programs.[36] The South Dakota report recommends the compilation of a statewide directory of drug abuse resources for teachers and students alike and advocates a comprehensive statewide program of teacher education resources can be improved. The establishment of an adult education program and the use of students to teach other students are also suggested. A national survey of drug education programs forms part of the study and identifies eight states that have developed comprehensive drug education curricula. They deserve close scrutiny by those responsible for Model City drug-use prevention programs.

Also promising is a program reported by the California Education Department in which students themselves deal with student drug problems. Students study their own culture and are active in curriculum development, preparation of classroom materials, and evaluation procedures.[37]

An invaluable resource in drug abuse education is the National Coordinating Council on Drug Abuse Education and Information.[38] Program directors, particularly those using visual aids, may wish to obtain the Council's review of one hundred drug education films, filmstrips, slides, records, and transparencies.[39] No less than thirty-six of these films and audiovisual aids are rated scientifically unacceptable because of misstated facts, distortions of scientific data, misleading innuendoes, and inaccurate descriptions of drugs and their effects. The Council's director warned that "educators, in and out of schools, should think twice before using any films. Misinformation, a characteristic of many drug films, does more harm than good."[40]

The type of narcotic addict treatment program supported by Model Cities that appears to deserve expansion and continued support is methadone maintenance for the hard-core heroin addict. Although not without problems, methadone maintenance is regarded as a breakthrough by experts and is the only method of treatment that has been able to demonstrate its success in reducing dependence on heroin, in stabilizing the

[36] South Dakota. State Legislative Research Council. *Drug education in South Dakota*. Pierre, S.D., 1970. 37 p.

[37] California. Education Department. *A study of more effective education relative to narcotics, other harmful drugs, and hallucinogenic substances*. Sacramento, 1969. 10 p.

[38] National Coordinating Council on Drug Abuse Education and Information, Inc., 1211 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

[39] National Coordinating Council on Drug Abuse Education and Information, Inc. *Drug abuse films*. Washington, D.C., 1970. 46 p.

[40] National Coordinating Council on Drug Abuse Education and Information, Inc. News release, April 1, 1971. p. 1.

social functioning of the addict, and in reducing addict-committed crime. A comprehensive state-of-the-art review of methadone maintenance was presented at the Second National Methadone Maintenance Conference.[41] The various papers delivered at the conference may be of great assistance to those operating such programs. One important warning coming from the conference was that once a methadone program is initiated, it cannot be discontinued without serious consequences.

Legal Aid Programs

An interesting aspect of the thirty-seven legal aid programs reported by Model Cities is that three of them supply legal aid for juvenile defendants appearing in juvenile court. They thus reflect a response to the U.S. Supreme Court's *Gault* decision.

Administrators in need of standards and guides for the provision of legal aid services will benefit from standards published by the National Legal Aid and Defender Association[42] and the American Bar Association.[43] NLADA has also prepared a planning and procedural manual for those wishing to evaluate the effectiveness of their program.[44]

Youth Service Bureaus

Model Cities support twenty-four Youth Service Bureaus or related agencies and programs whose purpose is to divert juveniles from the criminal justice system.

The recent emphasis on diversion from the criminal justice system, particularly of juveniles, derives from evidence that communities with a high rate of commitment to institutions are not preventing crime, but increasing it.

Standard textbooks on delinquency concluded, as late as 1970, that training schools, without having a positive influence, have a "benign impact" rather than directly harmful consequences for delinquents.[45] This view is now regarded as obsolete. Anyone who has watched the TV program "This Child Is Rated X" or read the *Christian Science Monitor's* series *Children in Trouble—a National Scandal*[46] is aware that

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[41] "Second national methadone maintenance conference." *International Journal of the Addictions*, 5(3):341-591, 1970.

[42] National Legal Aid and Defender Association. *Handbook of standards for legal aid and defender offices*. Chicago, American Bar Center, 1970. 16 p.

[43] American Bar Association. *Standards relating to providing defense services*. Chicago, 1967. 85 p.

[44] Allison, Juniush. *Introduction to an evaluation program*. Chicago, National Legal Aid and Defender Association, 1970. 20 p.

[45] Gibbons, Don C. *Delinquent behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1970. p. 261.

[46] National Broadcasting Company. "This child is rated X." NBC News White Paper. May 2, 1971; James, Howard. *Children in trouble: a national scandal*. New York, David McKay, 1970.

children and young persons who are sent to correctional institutions suffer violence there—physical and mental violence. The injustice is particularly grave against the 50 per cent who have been locked up for acts that would not be illegal if committed by an adult.

These children return to their communities with bitterness. When the Senate Juvenile Subcommittee began public hearings into the problems of juvenile institutions in 1969, the senators' worst suspicions were confirmed. Administrators of juvenile programs testified that it would be better if many delinquents were never apprehended at all because they deteriorate rather than improve under the guardianship of the state. Chairman Dodd expressed the view that the public would receive better protection if the offenders were released rather than sent to institutions, where they become more dangerous.[47]

Hunter Hurst, testifying to the Subcommittee in 1971 regarding his surveys of American training schools, called them concentration camps with physical custody as their goal and physical repression as their means.[48]

In addition to evidence of the harmful effects of institutionalization, we now have, for the first time, evidence on the detrimental effects of arrest. In two extensive studies that compared matched groups of offenders, Martin Gold demonstrated that apprehension itself stimulates rather than deters further delinquency.[49]

Thus the widespread conviction that the juvenile justice system is in large part a failure is backed up by surveys and research. Juvenile justice not only fails to reform but, according to John Martin, "fails to live up to ordinary standards of human decency."[50]

What are the alternatives to arrest, adjudication, and commitment? One alternative is the Youth Service Bureau first recommended by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1967. Although there are many variants of the Youth Service Bureau, all share the purpose of bringing the community's resources to bear on the youngster in trouble with the law, his parents, or his school.

Sherwood Norman defines the Youth Service Bureau as "a noncoercive, independent public agency established to divert children and youth from the juvenile justice system by (1) mobilizing community resources to solve youth problems, (2) strengthening existing youth resources and developing new ones, and (3) promoting positive programs to remedy delinquency-breeding conditions."[51]

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[47] Dodd, Thomas J. "Corrections do not correct." *Trial*, 5(6):12-13, 1969.

[48] Hurst, E. Hunter. *Statement before the U.S. Senate Judiciary Sub-committee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency*. Austin, Tex., May 5, 1971. 9 p.

[49] Gold, Martin; Williams, Jay R. "National study of the aftermath of apprehension." *Prospectus*, 3(1):3-12, 1969.

[50] Martin, John M. *Toward a political definition of juvenile delinquency*. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. p. 2.

Some Youth Service Bureaus are not following this recommendation but are attempting instead to provide direct services. In Norman's view the Bureau should provide service brokerage, stimulate the development of community resources, and modify the system by actively promoting reform. In not providing direct service the Bureau avoids the danger of its procedures' becoming routinized; the chance of its becoming "simply another casework agency"; and the possibility that the most serious gaps in services will go undocumented, unpublicized, and unfilled.[52]

To John Martin, Youth Service Bureaus are necessary for reducing the present imbalance of power, characteristic of the juvenile justice system, which "works to single out adolescents from groups culturally alient to those in power."[53] Viable coalitions of local groups and outside allies have a considerable potential for reducing that imblance. The design of the Youth Service Bureau should be aimed at establishing a better system of checks and balances in juvenile justice in which *good legal representation for youths at all points of official decision-making is essential.* Martin believes that few existing Youth Service Bureaus are utilizing this strategy.

The California Youth Authority reports that it will assess the effectiveness of Youth Service Bureaus in a national study. Until such agencies are evaluated no valid statements regarding their effectiveness can be made. However, in view of the strong evidence of the failure of institutions, the community diversion effort deserves the full support of Model Cities.

Alcoholism Programs

Model Cities administrators report supporting only thirteen alcoholism programs as part of their crime prevention effort. Included are seven short-term detoxification centers or clinics and four residential centers. Two programs provide counseling or referral to medical treatment.

Administrators should be aware that about 25 per cent of all arrests in the United States are for the victimless crime of public drunkenness. This figure in some of the large cities is as high as 60 per cent. Substantially more arrests are made each year for drunkenness alone than for all the serious crimes combined—i.e., the FBI's Index Crimes of homicide, rape, robbery, assault, burglary, larceny, and automobile theft. More than any other arrest category, drunkenness is responsible for so overloading the criminal justice system that the system is seriously hampered in dealing with threatening crime.

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[51] Norman, Sherwood. *The Youth Service Bureau: a Key to Delinquency Prevention*. Paramus, N.J., NCCD, 1972. p. 8.

[52] *Id.*, p. 91.

[53] Martin, *op cit. supra* note 49, p. 3.

Model Cities should make a greater effort to decriminalize drunkenness and gradually transfer the responsibility for dealing with it to medical and social agencies. If police must be used they should merely convey inebriates to a detoxification center and dispense with police booking, prosecution, and imprisonment: this practice has been successfully applied in St. Louis.[54] In the Manhattan Bowery Project[55] the police have been completely relieved of responsibility for dealing with public inebriates. This procedure uses a two-man rescue team to convey the inebriate to a detoxification center.

Court-related Programs

Only twelve court-related programs are reported by Model Cities.

Seven of these are release-on-recognizance and bail-related programs which, although having some effect on the courts, are of greater immediate benefit to overcrowded jails. Only two programs support presentence investigations. One program supports a night court to relieve court congestion and provide opportunities for defendants to appear in court without interfering with employment. One is engaged in decentralizing the court system of a city. One program (in Des Moines, Iowa) supports a comprehensive pretrial service agency that provides release on recognizance, rehabilitation, and counseling. (This is perhaps the most sophisticated of all Model City programs and is described in greater detail below.)

Court programs are the weakest link in Model Cities' support of the criminal justice system. If criminal justice is viewed as a unitary process consisting of three equal parts (law enforcement, courts, and correction), the 146 police programs stand in lopsided contrast to the twelve projects that support the court system. Court congestion is universally recognized as one of the most serious problems in criminal justice, yet only two of the programs reported are concerned primarily with its alleviation.

No Model City is coming to the rescue of its courts by the appointment of a court manager who would take over from judges the tasks of administering the court calendar, controlling the flow of cases, insuring the appearance of all participants in a court case, and leave to the judge the task of administering the law. No city supports even a court clerk or court aide program, or, as mentioned in the section on police programs, a police-court coordinator.

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[54] Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. *The St. Louis detoxification and diagnostic evaluation center.* Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970. 100 p. App.

[55] Criminal Justice Coordinating Council. *In lieu of arrest—Manhattan Bowery Project: treatment of homeless alcoholics.* New York, n.d., 9 p.

Study and Planning Projects

Eleven Model Cities projects plan to study various aspects of crime and justice in their cities.

Three of these will be comprehensive studies of the entire criminal justice system; three will study their police; two will examine crime and delinquency; one, criminal victimization; one, juvenile justice; another, legal services in model neighborhoods; and part of one program will study alternatives to institutionalization.

Only eight programs will attempt to plan and coordinate all crime prevention and criminal justice activities in Model Cities, endeavor to provide links from one project to another, and fill gaps in services. Thus, coordination is the exception rather than the rule.

The President's Crime Commission underscored the need for comprehensive criminal justice planning at national and state levels as well as at the local level. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, in a guide to planners, emphasized a systems approach that addresses two broad interrelated purposes: to insure provision of a continuum of services within the criminal justice system, thereby eliminating fragmented, competing, and conflicting approaches; and to upgrade the quality of urban life through coordination of criminal justice planning with programs for reform in housing, welfare, education, employment, and other urban problems.[56]

Two papers on a systems approach in criminal justice may be of assistance to planners. Frederick W. Howlett and Hunter Hurst conceptualize a model for comprehensive planning using the systems approach.[57] The other paper, by Malcolm Klein and associates, describes a planning design that will prepare a criminal justice system to determine what actions to undertake and how to evaluate such actions.[58]

Street Lighting and Security Devices

Eight Model City projects come under the heading of physical crime prevention.

Two of these represent the introduction of security devices designed to reduce burglary and other property crime.

Improved street lighting has been or is being introduced in six model city neighborhoods on the assumption that it will deter street crime by increasing the risk of detection. Nowhere is this assumption

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[56] Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. *Guide for state planning agency grants under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.* Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969. p. 13.

[57] Howlett, Frederick W.; Hurst, Hunter. "A systems approach to comprehensive criminal justice planning." *Crime and Delinquency*, 17(4):345-354, 1971.

[58] Klein, Malcolm W., and others. "System rates: an approach to comprehensive criminal justice planning." *Crime and Delinquency*, 17(4):355-372, 1971.

being tested. In reviewing past street-lighting projects, the President's Crime Commission observed that no definite conclusions could be drawn from these projects on the effects of lighting on crime, even though there are "strong intuitive reasons to believe it will be helpful."[59]

It is not known, for instance, what effect improved lighting has on a potential burglar: does he choose a darker area to commit his crime, does he ignore the improvement and proceed with greater caution, or does he desist entirely? Present Model Cities lighting projects apparently will not provide the answer. The Crime Commission recommended that when lighting projects are instituted police departments should maintain records of crimes in the relighted and adjoining areas. With information on past, present, and projected crime rates, it might be possible to assess the impact of lighting on crime. Nowhere is this recommendation being implemented.

Three Model Model Cities

When Model Cities projects are examined from a city point of view rather than by project, three cities stand out above all others: (1) Newark, N.J., because of the comprehensiveness of its approach, its planning and coordination, the sophistication of its programs, and its fiscal skill in using Model Cities seed money to attract funds from other federal, state, local, and private sources; (2) Des Moines, Iowa, because of a radical innovation in providing pretrial release and rehabilitation for indigent defendants who do not meet Vera Foundation criteria for release on their own recognizance; and (3) Texarkana, Ark., and Texarkana, Tex., because of their comprehensive juvenile program in which great efforts are made to divert persons from the justice system, refer them to social agencies, and avoid detaining and institutionalizing them.

Newark: A Well-rounded Program

Of all the Model Cities, Newark administers the most well-rounded program of projects related to crime and delinquency. Projects ranging from prevention, education, and training to rehabilitation and treatment are provided on a scale in keeping with the magnitude of that city's problems. A master project coordinates the work of different subprojects. Newark's program is also unique in that many agencies contribute funds: While Model Cities supplies a substantial amount to project implementation and maintenance, agencies such as LEAA, the LEAA State Planning Agency, the Youth Development and Delinquency Prevention Adminis-

[59] President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. *Task Force report: science and technology*. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967. p. 50-51.

tration (YDDPA), HEW, local public and state agencies, and private foundations and institutions are matching the large sums of Model Cities funds.

The Comprehensive Juvenile Delinquency Strategy Program consolidates the existing and new juvenile delinquency projects funded by various agencies. The Youth Service Agency plans, operates, and coordinates community-based youth services that operate from youth centers. This project is integrally related to several other projects: The Comprehensive Youth Work Training Project provides training for young paraprofessional community volunteers who staff the centers of the Newark Youth Agency, as well as for all professional, paraprofessional, and volunteer personnel. The Pilot Project in Pre-Adolescent Services is part of a national strategy of the YDDPA in which Newark and fifteen other cities have been selected to develop and implement comprehensive demonstration programs; emphasis will be on filling the gaps between existing projects. The Demonstration Project in the Participation of Youth in Youth Services will employ and train youth leaders to provide services within the framework of the Youth Services Agency and its youth centers. Youth Aid and Services, a police youth aid bureau, is employing professional and paraprofessional youth workers on a pilot basis.

For delinquent youth, Newarkfields is a nonresidential treatment program for 14- and 15-year-old juveniles referred by the juvenile court. The program combines remedial education and guided group interaction on the model of the Collegefields project.

The Narcotics Advisory and Rehabilitation Council consolidates five narcotics prevention and treatment programs for Model Cities application. One of these programs is the Youth Community Drug Treatment Project. This project will establish a residential therapeutic community treatment program for one hundred adolescent drug abusers primarily between the ages of 14 and 20. The Student Congress on the Prevention of Drug Abuse has established units within junior and senior high schools in the city where students develop and guide project activities. Another treatment project is the proposed Work Oriented Rehabilitation Community (WORC). The project, emphasizing research and development, will provide vocational rehabilitation services to residents of Youth Community, including testing, counseling, workshop training, outside training placements, and job placements.

The Legal Services and Law Reform Project provides legal advice and services for Model Neighborhood residents who cannot afford private counsel. Unique among Model City projects, it also attempts to effect changes in law and legal procedures in the interest of justice for low-income residents.

In the law enforcement area, two police projects funded by Model Cities are in operation. The Police Community Store Fronts Project

staffs and operates three storefront community service centers within the model negihborhood. Programatic changes have been completed to incorporate this function into a city-wide complaint bureau. The Police Department also operates the Public Safety Personnel Project, which trains and uses community service officers to deal with noncriminal and public service matters.

As a crime prevention tactic, the Safety Through Lighting Project provides interior and exterior lighting improvements in the Newark Columbus Home housing project.

Other crime and delinquency related projects are in operation or are scheduled in Newark without funding from the Model Cities Agency. These programs again range from prevention to rehabilitation; most are funded by the LEAA State Planning Agency, HEW, and local sources.

The Mayor's Education Task Force develops programs and procedures to reduce tension in the schools and increase communication between school and community. A high-school curriculum for the study of law enforcement and the criminal justice system will be developed under the Model Criminal Justice Education Project.

For male delinquents, a juvenile residential treatment center will be established by the downtown branch of the YM-YWCA. Guided group interaction, individual counseling, and educational instruction will be emphasized.

The Preventive Education in Drug Abuse Project, associated with the New Jersey College of medicine and Dentistry, provides an educational program on drug abuse for Newark teachers, supplementary school personnel, and neighborhood leaders. The project includes development of educational materials and teaching aids in drug abuse. Expansion of the Confidential Narcotics Register will expand the registry and reporting system designed to define the scope of the narcotics problem in Newark. Former drug addicts will receive extensive training and education over a three-year period in counseling and rehabilitation work under the Rehabilitation Internship Program. The Coordination of Narcotic Prevention Control and Treatment Projects will provide a system and staff for centralized coordination, planning, program development, and evaluation of all drug programs in Newark.

Within the police department, several projects are operating in communications. The Pilot Teleprinter Communications Project uses mobile, miniature teletype units in selected patrol cars, while the Rapid Individual Communications System provides portable transceiver equipment (walkie-talkies) for the Police Tactical Squad. The Manpower Utilization Demonstration Project provides an electronic stenographic system for the Police Youth Aid Bureau, thus eliminating the need for typing by uniformed personnel. Complete equipment, installation, and operation on two recently acquired police radio frequencies for gambling and

narcotic squads has been achieved by the Total Area Coverage Communications System Project.

Two police studies are being conducted under the Newark Model Cities program. The Police Resource Allocation Design will make a detailed study of the police criminal and public service workload to arrive at an optimum allocation of the patrol force throughout Newark, with provision for changing from a five-precinct system to four precincts and for analyzing needs in the model neighborhood. The Police Officer Role Study will identify and describe the way police officers spend their on-duty time on criminal matters so that recommendations can be made for modification of organizational structure, training policies, community-relations approaches, and operations.

As part of a recruitment program the Police Project provides a three-year training program for cadets recruited between ages 18 and 21, including police academy instruction, on-the-job training, and college courses. At age 21, cadets become sworn police officers.

To provide links among the Newark projects, the Comprehensive Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice Planning Project provides for city-wide planning, program development, and interagency coordination in law enforcement and criminal justice, and for the integration of city-wide and Model City planning.

Des Moines: An Innovative Project[60]

Numerous studies and surveys of American jails have found that many persons are detained in jails not because they are menaces to society and not because they would abscond if released, but simply because they are poor. A survey of the Wayne County (Michigan) jail found that 76 per cent of the accused persons held awaiting trial could have been released safely into the community under the Vera Foundation recognizance profile.[61]

Des Moines began its Model Neighborhood Corrections Project in 1964 with a recognizance program similar to the Vera program. Each year since then, about eight hundred accused persons have been released without posting money bail, six hundred have posted cash bail, and the remaining four hundred have been kept in the Polk County Jail for varying periods, generally forty-five to sixty days, awaiting trial disposition of their cases.

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[60] Part of this section was condensed from: Dunn, Paul F. *Statement before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee.* July 14, 1971. 9 p.; and Venezia, Peter S. *Statement before the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee.* July 14, 1971, 11 p.

[61] National Council on Crime and Delinquency. Survey Services. *Adult defender needs in Wayne County, Mich.—a survey of the Wayne County jail.* New York, 1968. 72 p.

Model Cities funds were combined with various other funding sources to begin a program for these four hundred: its purpose was to improve their chances for alternative dispositions at sentencing by establishing a satisfactory probation-type experience in the community during the time between arrest and trial. Some had failed to qualify for release in the Vera-type profile because they were previous offenders, new to the community, or without jobs, family, or the traditional "roots." But if they could have been safely released until their trials, a concerned group of citizens believed, justice was denied them by their detention.

Referrals were taken daily from the Pre-Trial Release office. Men and women who had been interviewed by the office and had failed to meet the sociological criteria for recognizance release were interviewed in the jail and an expanded data sheet was completed. Those who the staff felt could successfully meet the conditions of the program were recommended for release to supervision in the project and an *ex-parte* motion was made at the municipal or district court. Each accused signed a special bond form stating that he was aware of the additional criminal sanctions for failure to appear on trial.

From April 1970 to June 1971, the project handled 178 clients charged with 234 offenses. Bonds totaling $852,400 were placed on them. Later in 1971 the Pre-Trial Release Agency and the Corrections Project merged. All accused persons now receive the same in-depth interview and releases to the project are made within a few days, often within twenty-four hours.

The project was headed by a former state probation agent who was familiar with the area and the services available and who had the confidence and respect of the court. His chief assistant was also an ex-probation agent. The rest of the staff were paraprofessionals—"street-wise," trusted, and known in the community. Some were former offenders. A vocational counselor proved invaluable in obtaining employment for those who needed it.

This nonprofessional staff was effective because they saw themselves not as the service or counselors of last resort, but as *resource finders*. By the end of January 1971, the project had made 259 referrals to private and public agencies for services. Fifty-one different social and service agencies had been used. In addition, a psychiatrist interviewed and treated clients for three hours every Saturday morning. The intensive use of existing community resources was the heart of the program. No state or federal program has the financial resources to duplicate the rich variety and value of a metropolitan city's social services.

The project clearly stated and stood by its intention not to inject itself into the investigation, defense, or substance of a case. Defense attorneys particularly liked it, not only because they had free access to their clients, but because all clients paid their fees since they could keep working while awaiting trial. One mark of the project's success is that it is perhaps the

first Model Cities project to be taken over by a regular unit of government: the Polk County Board of Supervisors and the District Court took over the administration of the project in February 1971.

The Des Moines experience shows that the opportunity for pretrial release can do more than merely reduce crowding in jails and save a few innocent people from needless incarceration. During the first eight months of the project twenty-seven were found innocent or had charges dropped or withdrawn. At an average of fifty days pretrial detention each, this meant a savings of 1,320 idle jail days. The project has shown that it is possible to begin rehabilitation at the earliest stage of the criminal justice process.

An evaluative study of the Des Moines Project found that the primary goal—selection and safe pretrial release of at least one hundred of about four hundred defendants jailed each year for inability to post bail or meet ROR criteria—was achieved. All defendants whose cases reached court disposition appeared for trial. Five criminal violations were charged to the study group of sixty-one defendants, comparing favorably with what is known about pretrial release outcomes in Des Moines and elsewhere, including bail release. The program showed that defendants who have been considered poor risks for pretrial release can be released with no greater danger to the community than is presented by persons on money bail. In addition, the project demonstrated that it could obtain employment for unemployed defendants, remove defendants from welfare rolls, significantly reduce jail costs, and thus pay for itself while alleviating hardships.

One of the most striking findings of the project was its direct impact on the criminal justice system: Defendants released to the project, compared with a pre-selected control group of comparable nonreleased defendants, were less likely to be convicted if brought to trial, less likely to be incarcerated if convicted, and likely to have shorter average sentences imposed if incarcerated.

Future evaluation will test the hypothesis that individuals released to the project pending trial will be less likely to commit new offenses than if they had remained in jail before their trial.

Texarkana: A Comprehensive Juvenile Program

Texarkana, Ark. is engaged in a three-part endeavor to aid youth in trouble: (1) a juvenile division within the Texarkana Police Department; (2) a juvenile probation department within the Miller County Court: (3) a diagnostic and treatment component to serve youth in trouble in conjunction with the Texarkana mental health and mental retardation center. A ten-bed juvenile shelter, a nondetention facility, is being established through the renovation of the bachelor officers' quarters of the former Texarkana Air Base. The entire program intends to reduce adult and ju-

venile crime in the model neighborhood area by providing these services to young offenders, reducing duplication of efforts, and providing systematic follow-up on all cases.

When a youth is referred to or apprehended by the Police Juvenile Division, the case is investigated. Depending on the seriousness of the case, the Division may make one of three decisions: (1) refer the youth to court, (2) allow the family to handle the problem, or (3) refer the youth with his family to an appropriate social agency, such as the mental health and mental retardation center or the neighborhood center. Sixty per cent of all youthful offenders apprehended by the Juvenile Division are expected to be cared for without going to court.

In Texarkana, Tex., counseling services largely directed to delinquent youth are available through the family counseling program. Two counseling centers in model neighborhoods deliver comprehensive mental health and family counseling services to people in trouble. The staff is provided by the parent mental health and mental retardation agencies. The program's goal is to improve the social service delivery system and provide professional counseling for juveniles, health counseling, marriage counseling, parental counseling, referral, mental health treatment, and diagnostic and evaluation services.

Another project in Texarkana consists of renovating an old fire station in the model neighborhood as a facility for juvenile court and juvenile detention services. The juvenile court services portion of the building will contain a reception and administrative area, four probation and counseling offices, and a court room. The section of the building for detention services will include a reception lobby, storage space, a supervisor control room, eight detention quarters for boys and three for girls, two showers, a kitchen, and a fenced outside recreation area.

These detention services are aimed at eliminating incarceration of children in adult jails, eliminating unnecessary detention of juveniles through proper admission procedures, and providing 24-hour supervisory control of juveniles who must be detained. Any child detained in the facility must meet the following criteria: (1) he has no parent, guardian, or other person available who can care for him; (2) he is detained to protect himself, others, or the property of others; and (3) he is likely to leave the jurisdiction of the court if not detained.

A Model for Model City Criminal Justice Programs

Model Cities' experiences with criminal justice programs as well as the literature on crime and delinquency programs in other settings provide guidelines on which a model criminal justice program for cities might be based. Using these guidelines, any city could design an approach appropriate to the magnitude of its crime and delinquency problems and the extent of its resources.

First, any city with more than one criminal justice program should have a person or committee responsible for the planning and coordination of all programs to assure that they are well balanced and that links are provided from one program to another. Criminal justice is properly regarded as a unitary process consisting of three parts: law enforcement, courts, and correction. Change in one is like to affect the others and no improvement can take place in one without the support of the other two.

Other elements of a model for criminal justice programs in cities will vary with the size of the city. A model for larger cities (population of 500,000 or more) probably should include, at the level of secondary prevention, a Youth Service Bureau or a similar program designed to divert juveniles from the justice system. This bureau would provide referral to other agencies and provide the type of services outlines in Sherwood Norman's book.[62] In addition, it should establish a better system of checks and balances in which good legal representation for youths at all points of official decision-making is provided, as recommended by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development.

At the law enforcement level, some or all of the following programs should be instituted: a vigorous effort to recruit minorities into the police department; a program of police training and education to sensitize police to the needs of the community (not a "cosmetic" public relations program that merely lifts the image of the police); police officer aide programs, paid or voluntary, with emphasis on youth aides and minority group aides, an effective arrangement for processing citizen complaints against the police (modified civilian review board, ombudsman, police storefronts, or other means); and training of police to handle family disputes. In addition, victimless offenders should be removed from police responsibility and arrest should be replaced wherever possible by alternatives such as summonses.

The following programs are indicated at the court level: a pretrial service agency to provide or expand release on recognizance and other services as exemplified by Des Moines; a comprehensive legal aid (civil and criminal) program for the indigent; court administrator or law clerk programs to reduce court delays and congestion by relieving judges of such tasks as administering court calendars, record-keeping, and systems planning; and juvenile court intake programs to screen juveniles and refer appropriate cases to social agencies.

At the correctional level, a program of volunteer probation and parole officers to assist professionals should be instituted.

Other programs that should be included in a well-rounded approach for larger cities are the following: comprehensive aftercare programs with interdisciplinary team services modeled after the Minneapolis Rehabilitation Center (with residential facilities only for those who request them);

[62] Norman, *op. cit. supra* note 51

programs to divert the alcoholic from the criminal justice system, including short-term detoxification centers and long-term residential and outpatient alcoholic centers patterned on Synanon; narcotic addiction programs emphasizing methadone maintenance and providing voluntary residential institutions and outpatient treatment by volunteer physicians and psychiatrists; and drug abuse information programs in schools and selected agencies (such as YMCA's), run and organized by students with the help and advice of adults.

Medium-sized cities or cities lacking the resources to support a comprehensive program might concentrate on development of a Youth Service Bureau of comparable arrangement for diversion of juveniles, a police-community relations program centered in the processing of citizen complaints, release on recognizance for the courts, legal aid for the indigent, aftercare programs using volunteers with emphasis on employment and counseling, and a drug abuse prevention program.

Small cities or those with extremely limited funds could concentrate on just the Youth Service Bureau or other programs designed to prevent delinquency, divert juveniles from the justice system, and refer them to community resources.

Who Shall Lead the Cities?

Reflecting the pace of change in modern society, criminal justice is adopting and discarding theories of crime and styles of controlling it at an ever greater speed. In less than a century criminologists have gone from teaching that crime is hereditary to teaching that it is caused by mental and emotional illness, psychological deviation, or other human limitations; to blaming the environment; to a convergence of psychogenic and sociogenic causation theories; to blaming society, racism, and the differential selection of offenders for punishment; and most recently to the belief that crime must be accepted as an indispensable ingredient of any viable society.

Crime control has gone from an emphasis on punishment symbolized by the maximum-security prison fortress to individual treatment and psychotherapy; to group approaches; to vocational training; to intensive community intervention; to the currently spreading belief that no correctional service has more rehabilitative effectiveness than any other but that better results are obtained when the offender is in the community than when he is confined.

A probation department that may have been struggling for years to obtain funds for what it believed to be a progressive standard caseload of fifty probationers per officer may be shocked to find that standard caseloads are "out," that differential caseloads are "in," and that today it is considered possible to keep up to three hundred probationers in a minimum supervision caseload provided that offenders have been classified

and placed in specialized caseloads. The community that has energetically established halfway houses for its returning inmates and addicts, believing itself to be in the vanguard of progressive correction, now finds that the halfway house is a transient correctional fashion that may soon be discarded as obsolete and ineffective.

Through it all crime is still reported and is perceived to be spreading and rising, apparently as uncontrollably as any of the social forces that make American cities ungovernable. A post-World War II nation that could not contain what it regarded as a juvenile delinquency explosion has found itself pulled into a vortex of crime: violent juvenile gang warfare, organized crime, assassinations, urban disorders, an epidemic of drug abuse and addiction, student unrest, and violence by militant groups and forces of the "establishment" itself.

Caught up in this chaos, criminal justice has staggered from one crisis to another, pursuing goals that canceled, conflicted with, or reinforced one another by mere accident. Such is the nature of the divergent goals of deterrence, punishment, rehabilitation, reintegration, imprisonment, and community treatment which police, courts, correctional institutions, and community agencies have pursued.

Adding to the confusion are some voices that demand federal leadership in criminal justice and crime prevention and others that point to federal control that stifles local innovation and initiative. Such warnings cannot be taken lightly; both have their merits and justifications. Model Cities are doubtlessly hampered by federal regulations and interference; yet the effects of lack of leadership in the vast majority of Model Cities have been far worse.

Both approaches—the local and the federal—have shown little success. There are many ways in which responsibility can be assigned; whichever way is chosen must be made clear. Most Model Cities, as most cities the world over, do not know which criminal justice policies to pursue and use obsolete methods to implement those they do pursue.

There is a way out of this dilemma. Model Cities can successfully generate their own democratic and indigenous leadership, *provided they use existing knowledge and the expertise developed by those who have designed and conducted successful programs.* The key is the sharing of knowledge and expertise as it is gained. The communication technology to attain this goal already exists.

While vast amounts of information flow at ever increasing speed from research, experimental, and action programs of criminal justice organizations and agencies, we now have the potential to make a substantial breakthrough in criminal justice planning and decision-making.

Advanced electronic communication networks, including computer terminals, would allow agencies involved in crime prevention to be hooked up into a communication network that would place the latest information

at their fingertips as it develops. The understaffed probation department could then realize that probation is moving on the road to differential caseloads and the use of matched volunteers that might make its staff adequate after all, while the halfway house founders could discover where their efforts would be rewarded with better results. Agencies that have succeeded in innovative programs would be identified, as would experts, potential consultants, and advisors in the various subdivisions of criminal justice.

Most important, this communication network would result in instant feedback of the results of criminal justice programs: Instead of being reported in a publication that might take years to reach the desks of planners, such feedback would be available as it is reported. Thus the information on the failure of halfway houses to reduce recidivism would be stored as it becomes known and would be retrievable on demand. Eventually, participating agencies could be wired into the system whereby output of one may become input of many others. The isolation and the vacuum within which many agencies operate today would be removed.

Conclusion

Model Cities programs—at least some of them—have made a modest beginning to marshal community forces into channels favorable to peaceful urban life. Only by taking account of such forces can we hope to achieve some measure of crime control and the social integration of the offender.

The greatest value of Model Cities may lie in a service they never intended to provide. By emphasizing the provision of services and alleviation of social problems, many Model Cities programs carry a message to a nation that feels menaced by crime and deviance. They hold the promise of leading us away from law-and-order hysteria to a state of mind that values reason and humanity and believes in man—even criminal man.

EXHIBIT B

An Inventory of Citizen Programs

Citizen-run or citizen-sponsored programs designed to strengthen the criminal justice system are operating throughout the nation. Reflecting differing local needs and conditions, the programs are diverse and even the same type of program has been implemented in various ways. To maximize a program's chances for success, someone should be assigned to evaluate its progress, its continuing effectiveness, and its continuing need. Close monitoring is also required to assure that the program is not creating unforeseen problems in other segments of the criminal justice system. In other words, an evaluation mechanism should be built into every project.

Grouped according to whether they pertain to the areas of police, courts, or corrections, the programs and projects outlined below by no means represent the complete spectrum of possibilities. And, similarly, the organizations and communities identified as conducting, or having conducted, certain programs do not constitute all groups or localities engaged in those efforts. The information below is a sampling designed to stimulate the development of action alternatives, not to limit them.

Many programs, particularly those included in the police category below, are directed at crime prevention, a highly desirable goal because to the extent criminals are deterred, the tasks and problems not only of the police but also of the courts and corrections are eased. Generally, the descriptions that follow do not include a great deal of detail, for detail is a function of local conditions, which can vary markedly from place to place. Even after contacting the organizations and communities noted below, you will not come up with a ready-made approach for your region. Various designs for action can be proposed to, and observed by, you—but the ultimate blueprint remains for you to draw.

POLICE-RELATED ACTION PROGRAMS

Crime check, also called crime alert, chec-mate, citizen alert, project alert, chec, crime stop, and the like. The program has two objectives: to prevent crime, or reduce its frequency, by educating citizens about the importance of promptly reporting to police (1) crimes being committed, (2) information that would help police solve crimes, or (3) persons and events considered suspicious; to educate citizens

regarding basic steps available to increase protection for themselves, their family, neighborhood, and property.

The initial phase of Crime Check normally concentrates on the theme, "If you see it, report it." If none is currently available, a special fast-response police emergency telephone number is established and widely publicized, along with the need for the public to become involved. (E38, 39)

Citizen groups employ a number of methods to publicize Crime Check and to alert the public of its role:

1. Television spots and slides.
2. Radio spots and scripts.
3. Newspaper and magazine layouts.
4. Speech outlines.
5. Public telephone stickers.
6. Bulletin board and public transit posters.
7. Window posters and decals.
8. Vehicle decals.
9. Billboard advertising.

The Law, Order, and Justice Committee of the Alton, Illinois, Chamber of Commerce spearheads a highly effective Crime Check effort and has sponsored and funded a professionally produced 15-minute color movie designed to further publicize Crime Check and the desirability of citizen involvement. Among other things, the film features local public officials and describes the role of the Committee. Copies of the film will be available for loan to other chambers.

Among the other organizations and communities that are, or have been, involved in Crime Check programs are the following: Chambers of commerce in Hartford, Connecticut; Indianapolis and Hammond, Indiana; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Omaha, Nebraska; Lima, Ohio; Norfolk, Virginia; Peoria and Rockford, Illinois; Fall River and Brockton, Massachusetts, and Waterloo, Iowa.

Community Radio Watch. Related to, or part of, Crime Check is a radio alert procedure whereby business firms with vehicles equipped with two-way radios cooperate to help police maintain law and order. Drivers serve as the eyes and ears of the community. When they spot an emergency, such as a fire, attack, theft, etc., drivers report to their own dispatchers, who in turn dial the special police emergency number. Drivers do not act as police or make arrests. Among those involved in Radio Watch programs have been the chambers of commerce in Buffalo, New York; Norfolk, Virginia; Cincinnati, Ohio, and Honolulu, Hawaii.

Lighting Programs. Using crime and traffic reports to pinpoint those streets most in need of better lighting, citizen groups in several communities have provided the impetus resulting in better illumination for streets. Claims of 60-90 percent reduction in certain categories of crime are reported. Perhaps the most extensive effort has occurred in Indianapolis, where the women's Anti-Crime Crusade, the Chamber of Commerce, and others formed a joint committee to assist in selecting locations for new lighting and to support sufficient financing for it. Installed over a six-year period, 9,000 new street lights and 6,000 dusk-to-dawn lamps have contributed toward increased safety of alleys, streets, neighborhoods.

Shoplifting. This offense constitutes a major problem in many cities and towns, and it has, therefore, received considerable attention from the business community. The Chamber of Commerce of Decatur, Illinois, participated in the development of a chain-call warning system that alerts businessmen to bad check passers and shoplifters. Upon receiving information from the police department, banks initiate the process by calling two businesses, which in turn alert other businesses, and so on. The 105 participants in the plan can be alerted in 30 to 45 minutes. Reportedly, several offenders have been apprehended.

The Cincinnati, Ohio, Retail Merchants Association prepared a shoplifting booklet *(Teen-Agers Beware! Shoplifting Is Stealing)* that was initially distributed to about 100,000 school children. The Law Enforcement Committee of the San Diego, California, Chamber of Commerce presented a shoplifting prevention clinic, in cooperation with the local police department. And when another chamber of commerce found the district attorney's office too busy to prosecute shoplifting cases, a local attorney agreed to do so for a "bulk rate," provided cases could be scheduled in bunches on the same day in court. A cooperative judge agreed.

The Anti-Crime Crusade of Indianapolis participated in the preparation of *Stop Shoplifting*, a booklet for merchants. That organization, the Chamber of Commerce, and others have sponsored clinics on how to stop shoplifting. Citizen groups in Indianapolis supported state legislation that now permits a store owner or employee to detain a suspected shoplifter up to an hour to inspect his packages and question him—without fear of legal retaliation from the customer. Local merchants are attaching an alarm-activating tag to merchandise and are following a policy of prosecuting offenders. Prosecution

is substantially facilitated by a form developed and distributed by the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce; when filled in by merchants, the form summarizes the key facts of the case for the prosecutor, who normally had little opportunity to acquire this information before trial.

With headquarters in Oakland, California, the Bay Area Grocers Association is also active in combating bad checks and shoplifting.

Drug abuse and addiction. The Flint, Michigan, Chamber of Commerce was instrumental in developing a mobile narcotics prevention and education center, equipped with conference room, display area, movie and slide projectors, and appropriate literature. Visitors obtain answers to questions about drug abuse and about treatment centers and services available to help addicts. Community leaders can receive direction, advice, and literature on plans to combat drug abuse in their neighborhood.

The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association (Washington, D.C.) assisted the American School Health Association (Kent, Ohio) in developing a comprehensive curriculum guide for drug education in grades kindergarten through high school. In addition, PMA has prepared many materials relating to drug-abuse prevention.

The Hartford, Connecticut, Chamber of Commerce has been effective in helping to control the drug problem in schools. A foundation under the sponsorship of the chamber has now been established to carry out an effective anti-drug program for the area.

The Chamber of Commerce of St. Paul, Minnesota, has participated in studies and programs designed to prevent, control, and treat drug abuse. Methods of coordinating the efforts of community agencies have been explored.

In Brockton, Massachusetts, area residents are urged to report, even anonymously, those using or pushing drugs to the Chamber of Commerce, in conjunction with the Crime Check program it sponsors.

At an Action Forum on narcotics sponsored by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in early 1970, the point was made that the biggest problem often facing citizens desiring to implement preventive programs is how to discover the extent of the drug problem in the first place. Public officials are frequently reluctant to acknowledge the extent of the problem, for they feel that once it becomes known, they may not be reelected. Forum participants described several procedures by which to uncover the extent of drug abuse in a locality:

- Hire a professional survey organization to determine the severity of the problem and the public's knowledge of, and attitude toward it. In one such survey, every fourth person interviewed knew of someone who, within the previous month, indulged in drugs.
- Request youths to call a certain number on a given day and relate what they know about the drug scene. Assure them information will be kept confidential. In one case, citizens manning the phones were inundated with calls.
- Establish Narcotic Guidance Councils, as in New York State. These councils are set up to receive confidential information from all sources in order to better coordinate governmental efforts. The information is not divulged to public officials for purposes of prosecution.

The Action Forum also noted how Japan controlled its epidemic of drug abuse: massive educational programs; extensive treatment and counseling facilities; and effective law enforcement. (E40-44)

Other programs directed at specific crimes. To help prevent *vandalism*, the Illinois State Chamber of Commerce prepared slides for television publicizing legislation that holds parents liable for their children's vandalism for up to $500.

The Toledo, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce has prepared an industry and commerce precautionary checklist regarding crime prevention measures pertinent to periods of public emergency or *civil unrest*. The Greater Cleveland Growth Association published a safety and emergency action guide. And the Retail Bureau of the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Board of Trade has prepared a detailed plan in the event of civil disorders.

More recently, the St. Paul Area Chamber of Commerce established and assumed the operation of an Information Control Center. Its purpose is to help dispel rumors and to disseminate information regarding emergencies to businessmen, property managers, security chiefs, and the public generally. In related action, the St. Paul Chamber is scheduling industrial security seminars to be conducted on a regular basis and with particular emphasis on bomb threats.

To help stem the tide of delivery truck *hold ups*, the Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce sifted suggestions and then recommended, among other things, that special steel safes be installed in all trucks and that deliveries be made through store fronts instead of from alleys. Other chambers, such as the one in San Diego, California, sponsor *robbery* prevention clinics. (E34)

Frequently, the extent of the organized crime problem within an

area is unnoticed because no one has looked at the matter very closely. Citizen groups could help determine the depth and breadth of the organized underworld's influence in a region by contacting appropriate local, state, and federal agencies, as well as by contracting with a private organization to secure this information. One such private group is International Intelligence Inc. (Washington, D.C.), which was formed early in 1970 and whose staff includes former high level federal officials with extensive experience in combating organized crime.

Seminars have also been employed to stimulate prevention efforts against *organized crime*. The Greater Syracuse (New York) Chamber of Commerce and the Long Island Association of Commerce and Industry have sponsored such sessions. The latter group is supporting legislation to curb the organized underworld. (E49-53)

Among the more recent *auto theft* prevention campaigns is the one Cleveland's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council is embarking upon. (Nationwide statistics indicate that of all stolen cars, eight of ten are unlocked, four of ten had keys in the ignition, and five of ten were taken by those under 18 years old.) First-year campaigns costs are estimated at $170,000. Noting a direct correlation between auto theft prevention programs and the auto theft rate, the Council plans to promote better car-security practices among the public, better police response and cooperation, and better understanding among youths regarding the implications of car theft.

An eminent police official interviewed for this report asserted that the most important long-range contribution citizen groups can make is "to place in school curricula, from kindergarten through the university, courses designed to explain the whole system of justice in this country. We have done nothing to orient people to live in our highly regulated society."

One of the more promising programs for achieving that goal is Citizen Education for Teachers in Law, Crime, and Civil Disorder, sponsored by the section of criminal law of the American Bar Association. This program seeks to improve the competence of elementary and high school teachers to deal with such questions as the privileges and responsibilities of citizenship, dissent and duty, due process, civil rights, crime, civil disorder, and the administration of justice as these relate to the underlying concept of liberty-under-law in an open society. Interestingly, The Law Enforcement Task Force

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of the Norfolk, Virginia, Chamber of Commerce is cooperating with the local Bar regarding such a program.

The citizen-run Anti-Crime Crusade in Indianapolis has arranged for talks to students by panels of prisoners and by law enforcement officials and has prepared and distributed to youths the booklet *Laws for Juveniles.*

A project in citizenship education, called *You and the Law,* has been sponsored by the Westchester Citizens Committee of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (44 E. 23, N.Y., N.Y.). The program is geared toward informing, through the schools, young people about the law and the penalties involved in breaking it.

During the course of its organization, a citizen-run law enforcement committee developed the following list of possible projects it could pursue:

1. Follow-up on current survey of local police being conducted by the International Association of Chiefs of Police to insure appropriate recommendations are adopted.
2. Generate maximum public support to police officials in the proper conduct of their office, keeping foremost in mind the good of the general public.
3. Observe police behavior toward the public.
4. Inform the proper authority whenever it appears that a breakdown or irregularity in law enforcement procedures has developed.
5. Encourage independent operation of law enforcement agencies—as free as possible from political interference.
6. Review of civil service procedures.
7. Promote cooperative efforts and singleness of purpose between law enforcement authorities in the area.
8. Assist law enforcement officials in obtaining qualified speakers from within the ranks of professional and business people in the community for on-the-job training.
9. Consider the possibility of obtaining scholarships for selected police officials to attend professional law enforcement schools.
10. Compile a single uniform list of crime statistics from the several agencies issuing such data in order to determine the "true crime situation" within the area.
11. Encourage law enforcement officials to send additional investigative personnel for short courses of instruction at professional schools.
12. Prepare news releases giving public support to steps taken by law enforcement authorities toward improved law enforcement or better public protection.
13. Establish "Policeman of the Year Award."
14. Request large retail distributors, professional groups, or public utility firms to print posters, pamphlets, and folders for distribution on an occasional basis to the general public in connection with timely sub-

jects (i.e., holiday shopping hints to avoid thefts; security hints around the home; tips to school children on what to do when approached by a stranger; what to do when you observe a crime or an accident; etc.)

15. Suggest to the mayor that he create a special post office box for citizens' reports of unchecked crime or criminal activity in their neighborhood. (Such a program in New York brought so much response that a special investigating unit had to be created and proved very effective.)
16. Request news media to agree to a limited time-delay in the release of intercepted police communications—in order to enable law enforcement authorities to reach the scene before a public broadcast is made.
17. Encouragement of one or more active women's organizations to spark an interest in:
    a. Better lighting at public bus stops.
    b. Better lighting in high crime rate areas.
    c. Better private lighting in darkened areas around the home, garage, etc.
    d. Encouraging school drop-outs to resume their education.
    e. Helping obtain part-time jobs for exceptionally deserving students who need financial help.
    f. Organize a Court Watchers Program.

The Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce has been active in developing recruitment programs (advertising, etc.) for that city's police department. Recently, a Chamber member headed the mayor's Police-Community Relations Committee, which recommended the creation of a reservoir of 500 cadets for the police department. Young men (age 18) could join the cadet force upon graduation from high school, undergo specialized training until 20½, spend six months at the police academy, and then become police officers. This would replace the current 13-week program beginning at age 21.

The Hartford, Connecticut, Chamber of Commerce has also been very active in police recruitment efforts—a recruitment goal of 100 candidates was recently set.

Police education. The Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce has contributed important financial support to in-service training and educational opportunities of the local police department. Initially, 60 officers were given special training ranging from five-week university seminars and FBI Academy tours to opportunities for college credits in both general education and police administration subjects. This emphasis on education, which permits officers to

prepare themselves for promotion, is given substantial credit for improved success in recruiting.

The Illinois State Chamber of Commerce plans to conduct conferences and seminars in an attempt to regionalize such police activities as training programs and crime laboratory services.

In Youngstown, Ohio, the Chamber of Commerce supported a civil service commission request for funds that would enable a university to prepare, administer, and grade forthcoming police promotion exams. The Chamber also indicated to the City Council that the civil service commission should be permitted to remain independent and "should be given considerable latitude in arranging for examinations, particularly for members of the police department."

And the development of a police training curriculum at Youngstown University also received Chamber backing.

(A list of institutions offering degree programs in the law enforcement field is published by the International Association of Chiefs of Police: *Law Enforcement Education Directory.*) (E54)

Surveys of police departments. Many citizen organizations have financed or otherwise supported surveys of local police operations. The Illinois State Chamber financed such surveys by Michigan State University in Alton, Decatur, Sterling, and East St. Louis, Illinois.

An Indiana University survey of the Indianapolis police department was vigorously supported by that city's Chamber of Commerce. The survey team offered 116 suggestions, encompassing legal foundations of the department, department resources and their allocation, records and information, personnel tactics and procedures, administrative procedures.

And the Youngstown, Ohio, Chamber of Commerce strongly endorsed a proposed police survey by the International Association of Chiefs of Police to investigate such areas as administrative practices and organizational structure, manpower requirements and distribution, communications and related equipment and procedures, records management and reporting procedures, training, supervision and control, investigative procedures, and problems of coordination between the Youngstown department and other law enforcement agencies.

And the Alton, Illinois, Chamber of Commerce was instrumental in obtaining ten additional men for the sheriff's department and in securing the necessary funds to meet the resultant costs.

Equipment and salaries. After the city council became snarled in red tape over the purchase of 33 motor scooters for police, the Detroit

Board of Commerce provided the necessary funds. Modernization of the law enforcement communications network has been identified as a high priority need by Cleveland's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council. Other citizen organizations have supported merit salary increases for police as well as an improved fringe benefit package.

Police image, police-community relations. The key to minimizing police-public confrontations and ill-feeling is not a one-shot program or a slick series of advertisements illustrating that police are, in fact, compassionate human beings. However, such efforts can help if they are part of a large program that permeates the entire police structure. Words mean little without widespread police behavior that conforms to those words and that addresses itself to the basic problems responsible for community tensions.

Among the efforts aimed at improving police-community relations was Project TIP (Together in Peoria), which was sponsored and coordinated, at the request of the community, by the Peoria (Illinois) Association of Commerce. Project TIP consisted of 15 weekend-format conferences or "retreats," where blacks, businessmen, and police met in private discussions. Among the many goals of the Project were the following:

1. To develop a positive image of the police force in the grass-roots and disadvantaged community.
2. To increase community support of the police departments.
3. To assist the police department in carrying out its responsibilities to the community.
4. To help policemen understand the problems of blacks.
5. To help blacks understand the problems involved with law enforcement.
6. To develop a sense of understanding, trust, appreciation, and cooperation between whites and blacks.
7. To decrease hostility between the ghetto and deprived communities and the police force.
8. To provide an effective experience through which leaders of the grass roots areas, businessmen, and police officers can communicate, develop approaches and support in solving the inner city problems.
9. To develop community support for the police department as an agency in the community.
10. To establish and identify the various inner city problems.

After the conferences, an "alumni" group was formed to continue with the original objective of the program.

In Great Bend, Kansas, the police department and local chamber initiated a police cadet program, wherein boys from 15 to 18 years

old attend evening classes, which include rides in patrol cars. The police chief of another community summed up the benefits of such programs as follows: "These young people make good ambassadors for the police department. Most of the kids show a distinct desire to do what is right. Getting to know the functions of the police department and to observe the problems encountered by officers has been a real enlightenment to these young people." Similar programs operate in New York City (Cooperative Education Program), Fort Lauderdale, Florida (Police Youth Auxiliary), and Rochester, New York (Teens On Patrol).

Michigan State University maintains a National Center on Police Community Relations. It supplies four types of services to police agencies:

1. Developing and conducting instructional, educational, and training programs.
2. Undertaking specific action-related research projects.
3. Preparing, publishing, and circulating reports, manuals, and pamphlets.
4. Providing direct consultative service to interested police and other agencies and organizations.

The Manhattan Summons Project. Spearheaded by the privately run Vera Institute of Justice (30 East 39th St., N.Y., N.Y.), the Summons Project substitutes the issuance of a summons in qualified misdemeanor cases (representing about 300 different charges) for the formal procedures of arrest and detention. Precinct desk officers make the final decision on whether a summons is to be issued. The decision is based on such factors as local family ties, employment, and whether the defendant is wanted for another crime. Usually the summons process takes less than one hour, whereas arrest-arraignment procedures could consume anywhere from five to eight hours.

During the first two years of its operation in New York City, the summons process has saved over 46,000 eight-hour police tours valued in excess of $2.5-million. The issuance of a summons saves an arresting officer's wait for a van to transport the prisoner to court, his traveling time, his wait in the court complaint room, and his wait for arraignment. The summons process also cuts the costs associated with pretrial detention. Issuance of a summons also reduces overtime pay for officers, who usually had to work beyond their normal tour when following the arrest-arraignment procedure. (For this reason,

reportedly some officers do not make full use of the summons process—they do not want to give up potential overtime pay.)

Nonexcusable failure to appear in court by those summonsed occurs in only 4.6 percent of the cases. (E58)

The Manhattan Bowery Project. With the goal of substituting a medical facility for the police-court-prison revolving door process of handling destitute alcoholics, the Project's detoxification center opened its doors in late 1967—thanks to the efforts of the Vera Institute of Justice and others. Rescue teams search New York's Bowery for men in distress and invite them to the center for detoxification. About 67 percent accept the offer. By October 1969, the detoxification unit had recorded over 5,000 admissions (thus 5,000 fewer arrests to plug up the criminal justice system). Admissions average 60 patients weekly and stay an average of 5.5 days at a cost of $38 per day. One-third of those admitted are repeaters.

Before dismissal from the center, patients are asked if they would consent to treatment in an aftercare clinic; 60 percent accepted, and the clinic handles nearly 1,000 patients monthly. An emergency clinic—open to all Bowery men—treats an additional 800 cases monthly.

Despite setbacks, many patients have taken steps to obtain jobs, stay sober, and lead new lives. Bowery arrests for disorderly conduct, loitering, and public intoxification totaled 1,674 from May through June 1968; during the same period in 1969, arrests declined to 270. (E59)

Youth Diversion Project. The Vera Institute of Justice and others have cooperated in exploring ways of using community people and resources (instead of the criminal justice system) to help juveniles whose contact with the police indicates that they may be headed for court involvement. Initial efforts focused on the processing of juveniles charged with offenses resulting in a police investigation but not in an immediate arrest and court proceeding. A second step is the diversion of youths after arrest and their placement under the supervision of community aides.

Crime Commissions. In some localities, the establishment of a citizen-run crime commission becomes necessary—particularly when all else fails. When and how to form such organizations are best gleaned through direct conversations with those who head existing commissions, such as those in Chicago and New Orleans. (E37)

There are certain guidelines which a Chamber of Commerce or

citizen's group can use in deciding whether the community is ready for a Citizen's Crime Commission:

For more information, contact:

Mr. Lauren A. Arn, Executive Director
National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions
Room 2311 12, PSFS Building
12 South 12th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107

PROGRAMS FOR IMPROVING THE COURTS

Court watchers. Several citizen groups have organized court-watching procedures in an effort to pinpoint weaknesses in the judicial process. Court watching consists of designated citizens sitting in the courts from day to day and noting what they see and hear. As in the court-watching program of the Indianapolis Anti-Crime Crusade, court watchers may be given analysis sheets on which to record such information as the following: date; judge; defendant's name, race, age; charge; plea; finding; sentence; defense and prosecuting attorneys, etc.

The Indianapolis effort turned up such failings as "repeated continuances granted defendants, loose bail bond practices, use of pro tem judges, and failure of arresting officers to appear in court." As the result of court watching, these improvements were reported: nonappearance of arresting officers is less frequent; most judges appear in court on time; fewer pro tem judges; fewer delays; absence of police witnesses occurs less often; prosecutors prepare cases more thoroughly.

Initiating court studies. The Omaha, Nebraska, Chamber of Commerce agreed to underwrite 50 percent of the $13,400 study of the Douglas County Juvenile Court. The resultant 140-page report by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency recommended sweeping changes.

Selection of judges. A proposal for a statewide judicial merit plan to replace the gubernatorial appoint system of selecting judges was endorsed by the Inglewood, California, Chamber of Commerce. The proposal called for the establishment of committees that would select two or three qualified candidates for the bench, from whom the governor would make his choice.

Citizens' court committee. A citizens' committee of the Onondaga County (New York) Children's Court set as its goal the task keeping informed about "the day to day needs and problems of court personnel, the adequacy of court facilities to carry out the program, the

operation and program of the detention home, the training standards and salaries of court personnel, and the pending local and state legislation affecting Children's Court."

Court facilities planning. The Criminal Justice Facilities Committee of Cleveland's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council is planning a complex that would consolidate courtroom facilities, among other things. Currently, trials are conducted in seven different locations, which causes excessive duplication, and hinders communications among judges, law enforcement officers, witnesses, attorneys, defendants, etc.

Conducted by the Vera Institute of Justice and others, the three-year life of the Project saw 3,505 defendants freed without bail; only 56, or 1.6 percent, failed to appear for trial—a lower "jump rate" than that for defendants released on bond. In essence, when an arresting officer brought an accused person into the detention pens adjoining Manhattan's Criminal Courts, someone screened the defendant and verified defendant-supplied information in order to determine if he was eligible for release on his own recognizance ("pretrial parole"). If he was considered a good risk, this was conveyed to the judge. The court granted about 60 percent of the Project's recommended cases. In 1964, New York City's Office of Probation took over the program on a permanent basis. (The Bail Project was the precursor of the Summons Project, described earlier.) (E24)

Designed by the Vera Institute of Justice, the Project is "an experimental attempt to intervene in the usual court process just after the defendant's arrest, to offer him counseling and job opportunities and, if he cooperates and appears to show promise of permanent change, to recommend that the prosecutor (District Attorney) and judge dismiss the charges against him without ever deciding whether he is guilty. Thus, the MCEP attempts to convert a participant's arrest from a losing to a winning experience. The system stands to benefit from this conversion as much as the defendant. Successful participants leave the project working and earning an honest living, the community gains a taxpayer, and the resources of the overburdened criminal justice system are freed to attend to serious cases."

About 300 companies and unions have agreed to accept participants referred to them. The Project's ex-offender counselors have

undergone intensive in-service training in group counseling techniques with their professional supervisors.

Early reports indicate that the court and district attorneys have shown increased confidence in the project and are allowing felony defendants to participate. To date, these are among the conclusions that have been reached: it is possible to predict what kinds of people might be most receptive to job-based treatment; it is possible to produce and observe a change in a significant number of participants in a three-month treatment period. (E23)

Citizen groups might explore a traffic court alert system that allows the majority of police officers scheduled for Traffic Court to remain on patrol in the street. In continuous communication with the court, police are not summoned to court unless their appearance is actually needed. Such a project has operated in New York City, and projections indicated that it will eliminate the waste in court of 8,000 police hours yearly, worth $448,000. Citizen committees might also consider this approach for drunk and disorderly arrests as well.

Case-scheduling problems could also prove to be fruitful ground for citizen action, as could the areas of court unification, prosecutor's office staffing and salaries, justice-of-the-peace reform, etc.

Perhaps the most recent opportunity for citizen groups is that afforded by the recently opened institute for court administrators near Aspen, Colorado. Urging and contributing to the funding of a court administrator's position and of sending a candidate for the position to the new institute could have a major long-range impact on a court's operations.

Finally, citizen efforts to promote better participation in, and administration of, jury service are badly needed in many areas. Payment for jury service is often unrealistically low. Utilization of jurors is frequently inefficient. In some areas, the same reservoir of citizens seems to be tapped for jury duty again and again, with little effort apparently made to broaden the base from which jurors are selected. And in those rare instances where extreme economic or other hardship results from the selection of a person for jury duty, sufficient flexibility might well be built into the jury selection procedure to permit such a person to be excused from serving.

Comprised of representatives from industry and commerce, from education, the professions, and govern-

ment, the Bucks County (Pennsylvania) Prison Citizen's Committee has accomplished the following:

- Worked with inmates as individuals regarding their various problems.
- Volunteered to assist with such administrative tasks as typing, filing, inmate testing, library development, education, and working with work-release employers.
- Promoted beneficial legislation.
- Funded correctional courses for prison personnel.

The Texas Department of Corrections, which puts high value on developing useful work programs for inmates and on offering opportunities for vocational and general education (e.g., high school equivalency diploma), operates a five-week pre-release program, the goal of which is to render assistance to prisoners regarding the most common problems they may face upon entering the "free world." Conducted at a separate facility, the heart of the program is a five-week classroom course "in areas of vital interest to inmates upon release." These areas relate primarily to employment, finances, family, community, and law.

What has been "invaluable and has contributed immeasurably to the success of the program" is that well over 1,300 guest speakers, at no expense to the state, have taken time from their professions or businesses to conduct sessions on topics ranging from job opportunities and motor vehicle operation to personal health and sensible spending and budgeting. Declares an official publication, "The response of volunteers from neighboring communities has been remarkable. Without the help of professional organizations and the cooperation of various service organizations . . . it would be impossible to maintain the caliber of these sessions."

Adolescent Counseling in Drugs (Malden, Massachusetts) is a privately operated organization supported primarily through contributions of concerned citizens and business people. Help is available for adolescents (12-19) who are psychologically dependent on drugs, alcohol, or some chemical as well as for those who are physically dependent upon drugs.

The program purpose of the community-established Drug Education Center sponsored by the Manchester, Connecticut, Chamber of Commerce Drug Advisory Council is to coordinate and establish a multi-discipline drug combatance effort in the form of a Drug Education Center within the community, which in turn is made available

to other communities for their program implementation. The Drug Education Center is operated by a full-time coordinator who is a college graduate, as well as an ex-heroin addict.

In response to a critical need identified by the Drug Use and Abuse Committee of Cleveland's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council, a free medical clinic was made available to combat the serious effects of drug abuse. The facility will provide the drug user with day-to-day medical care on an out-patient basis and will provide him with a place to go for counseling and practical assistance.

Attention Homes. In Boulder, Colorado, local citizens support Attention Homes, which are neighborhood residences that provide an environment sufficiently structured for appropriate control of juveniles but are far less restrictive and punishing than jail. Thus these facilities are homelike and provide attention—not detention, which, for example, would be neither appropriate nor fair for a run-away. Though the Juvenile Court is solely in charge of input, there is broad policy participation by the members of the community on the board. About half the children in the Homes are returned to their own homes, while many others are referred to more permanent foster homes.

Volunteers in Corrections Programs. Though usually referred to as court programs in recognition that they often fall within the administrative domain of judges, these programs are really correctional efforts and encompass various prevention and detention projects—as noted above—as well as probation and parole activities. Interviewed for this report, an authority in the field estimates that there are about 25,000 such volunteers—with the big majority in probation, particularly in the juvenile and young adult areas. Reportedly some 500 courts utilize probation volunteers, who may be performing any of 150 different jobs—from record-keeping to working directly with probationers.

From 15 to 25 percent of the juvenile courts are said to now use volunteers, and volunteers can be found in other courts as well, from municipal to federal. Predictions indicate that by 1974 30 percent of all courts will have at least experimented with the idea. Though volunteers do deal with felons, the emphasis has been in the misdemeanant area.

As parole and probation workers in the juvenile-misdemeanant area are sorely needed, the volunteer programs clearly represent at least a partial answer to what is a serious manpower vacuum. The

cost side of the cost/benefit equation is highly favorable: though estimates vary, the cost of a smaller type of volunteer program, where 10-15 volunteers work a total of 1,500 hours yearly, might be $75 to $100 for support costs plus $500-$1,000 for staff costs associated with a professional's time devoted to supervising volunteers. Among the potential benefits of court/corrections volunteers are these:

Institutionalization rate goes down because more intensive and extensive probation supervision is available.

Support for needed community resources is enhanced as a by-product of volunteers in courts.

Increased community involvement in, and understanding of, the criminal justice system is promoted.

Independent research studies indicate that probationers assigned volunteers tend to become less hostile and antisocial during probation, in contrast to other probationer groups that become more hostile.

Probationers with volunteers are less likely to have their probation revoked than those without volunteers.

The "leverage" exerted by professional probation/parole officers is greatly enlarged through volunteer utilization. The professional staff moves into the role of managers—of volunteers. Rather than reduce the need and scope of a professional probation/parole officer, new positions for professionals are actually created as the cost/benefit implications of the volunteer effort become apparent.

The job of correctly establishing and maintaining a Volunteers in Courts program is considerable, and the pitfills are many. Though there are several good sources of information to tap, organizers of volunteer efforts should strive to contact the National Information Center on Volunteers in Courts (Boulder County Juvenile Court, Boulder, Colorado 80302—phone 303-444-1422). Directed by Dr. Ivan H. Scheier, the Center can provide a wealth of information and services unavailable from any other single source. Its activities include the following:

1. Consultation regarding the planning, installation, and growth of court volunteer programs.
2. Preparation and distribution of 25 manuals and two books.
3. Publication of the bimonthly *Volunteer Courts Newsletter*.
4. Operation of national and regional institutes.
5. Preparation of educational aids for the training of court volunteers: written materials, tapes, slides, films.

6. Identification of local information sources: e.g., who is currently planning or operating court volunteer programs in any given area of the United States.
7. Maintenance of a national volunteer-in-courts reference library, containing 350 files (20,000 pages).

The importance of volunteers in the corrections field was underscored by the President's Commission, which recommended, "Probation and parole services should make use of volunteers and subprofessional aides in demonstration projects and regular programs."

Florida's Probation and Parole Commission reportedly enlists more than 2,000 volunteers to assist the Commission's professional staff supervise the thousands that constitute its caseload. Volunteers are said to save the state about $200,000 annually. According to one source, perhaps 80 percent of volunteer-supervised parolees and probationers will stay clear of future trouble. Among the ways volunteers assist are these:

Court aide. Observe and record court proceedings, dispositions, and data that will assist investigative staff.

Investigative assistants. Help professional staff in making community contacts.

Release-on-own-recognizance aides. Assist in preparing background-investigation report, which is used by the judge to determine those who may be safely released without bail while awaiting trial.

Professional assistants. Psychiatrists, teachers, counselors, etc.

Advisory committee. Makes recommendations regarding effective means of offender treatment.

Directed toward minor offenders (age 17 through 21), the Court Counselor Program of Peoria, Illinois, is backed by a number of professionals, businessmen, and civic organizations, such as the Peoria Association of Commerce. This effort and other similar ones throughout the nation are based on the premise that 75-95 percent of the defendants in court for major crimes were in court previously for minor offenses. Volunteers serve as friends and counselors to probationers, who may be assigned to the Counselor Program for periods ranging from six months to five years.

The Peoria program is patterned after the prestigious plan implemented many years ago in the Municipal Court in Royal Oak, Michigan, where probation volunteers represent almost every sector of the community. For details of the Royal Oak program and for a listing of available materials or assistance, write to the Royal Oak Municipal Court, 211 Williams St., Royal Oak, Michigan. (E17, 18, 21, 22)

Jobs for ex-offenders. According to many experts, the most essential ingredient contributing to the successful reintegration into society of former offenders is employment. This puts a tremendous responsibility—and opportunity—in the laps of the business community, not only in terms of post- and pre-release employment of ex-offenders in meaningful positions but also in terms of appropriate guidance to correctional administrators regarding job trends, anticipated employment openings, and relevant vocational training equipment and methods.

One way citizens can help is typified by the efforts of the Greater St. Paul (Minnesota) Employers' Council for Equal Employment Opportunity, which is serving as a link between prospective employers and prisoners who will require jobs. Council members regularly visit inmates about to be released and forward their resumes to various employers.

The Illinois State Chamber of Commerce is exploring the possibilities of more jobs for ex-offenders. Not long ago it distributed a questionnaire regarding employment of ex-offenders to various companies. They were asked if present company policy permitted the employment of ex-offenders, how many were now employed, special training they required, whether prison-based training programs were adequate, and whether ex-offenders would be employed if they possessed the requisite skills. According to one source, about 95 percent of the respondents indicated a willingness to employ ex-offenders.

Correctional systems in some states, such as in California, have established trade advisory committees. Membership includes representatives from management, labor, and government, who advise correctional officials about the quality and relevancy of the vocational training programs of prisons and other facilities. These committees also assist with placement.

A chief probation officer interviewed for this report suggested that business first take a look at an ex-offender's present skills rather than rule him out on the basis of past behavior. He also wondered why employment application forms often contain the question "Have you ever been arrested?" inasmuch as there is a *world of difference* between *arrest and conviction.* Finally, he asked, if there is a question on the form about prior convictions, why could there not be a brief explanation to the effect that a "yes" answer is not considered grounds for automatic rejection. Another probation official commented that, particularly among the larger corporations, no one seems to know who should make the decision about employing

ex-offenders. He suggested that when top management adopts a policy, it be given appropriate internal publicity.

Job Opportunities in the Business Sectors (JOBS) is a National Alliance of Businessmen program that provides employment and on-the-job training for the disadvantaged, unemployed, and underemployed. Under this program, U. S. Department of Labor funds are available to reimburse private employers for the extraordinary costs of training and supportive services required by employment applicants. In cooperation with JOBS, the California Youth Authority, and Department of Labor, Mentec Corporation—a Los Angeles-based manpower-programs consultant firm—has developed and is conducting Operation Pathfinder, a program that seeks to accomplish the following: (1) develop and place parolees in jobs; (2) provide on-the-job training for parolees from the various employers who hire them; (3) provide training and consultation to employers with regard to dealing with parolees; (4) provide counseling and other services to parolees both on and off the job; (5) train seven carefully selected parolees as counselor aides to work with other parolees in the program and to develop career skills in counseling or personnel work; and (6) describe and analyze the processes and effects of the program on parolees and employers, and make recommendations on the basis of the experiences and information gained.

When interviewed, Mentec officials indicated that 20 parolees were already employed and 183 jobs had been promised by local industry. Mentec executives stressed that business should realize that for many ex-offenders, jobs per se are not enough; often required are supportive off-the-job counseling and other assistance.

Another West Coast effort to find meaningful employment for ex-offenders is Job Therapy (Seattle), a nonprofit organization that enlists citizen support to unify and coordinate the efforts of the correctional institutions, probation and parole service, and citizens and business with regard to the task of accepting inmates back into society.

Citizen committees should consider contacting the American Correctional Association regarding the status of its corrections accreditation plan whereby survey teams will be available to inspect local correctional facilities and services.

EXHIBIT C

Fifty Projects

CITIZEN ACTION TO CONTROL CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

NCCD

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NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

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"Private citizens on their own or through their organizations must interest themselves in the problems of crime and criminal justice, seek information, express their views, use their vote wisely — and get involved."

PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

PREFACE

We are all victims of crime. We all pay the cost – in high prices – in higher taxes – in lost productivity – in wasted lives. The criminal justice system alone cannot solve the crime problem in America.

A CALL FOR CITIZEN ACTION

In publishing this booklet, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency is responding to the request of the President of the United States and of other public officials at all levels of government.

Concerned citizens are needed – to promote and carry out prevention programs – to aid the police and see to it that they function effectively with ample, well-trained personnel – to inspire court reform toward effective administration of justice – to promote and support correctional programs that really correct.

Aroused citizens can achieve miracles!

The NCCD has conducted surveys of correctional facilities and services for many years. Frequently the early studies gathered dust on the shelves of public officials. This led to an NCCD policy of requiring that local citizen advisory committees be attached to each of the surveys. When the ingredient of citizen leadership was added, recommendations came alive and were implemented much more readily.

In 1956, with support provided by the Ford Foundation, the NCCD began to organize citizen action councils in the states. Each of the councils was served by an NCCD professional staff member. Twenty state councils are now in operation; our goal is fifty.

In 1967, the NCCD convened 1,000 business, labor and civic leaders and formed the National Emergency Committee. One hundred-forty national organizations co-sponsored the first meeting in New York City. Regional public education meetings have followed, with thousands of citizens in attendance.

The NCCD, realizing that it cannot, alone, mobilize the millions of people need to become involved in the prevention and control of crime and delinquency and correction of offenders, has established the Program Service Bureau. Its function is to provide information, material and consultation to other national organizations in the development of practical, worthwhile projects.

A CATALOGUE FOR CITIZEN ACTION

Many citizens of good will don't realize their enormous potential for service to their fellow men.

This catalogue of citizen action projects, compiled by the staff of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, is designed to help answer the question so often asked by people from all walks of life – What can we do to help?

These projects are suitable for implementation by diverse groups. Thus, there are projects which can be carried out by business associations; by women's clubs; by service clubs; by veterans' organizations; in fact, by almost any kind of citizen group.

The projects were drawn from many areas. Some were developed by NCCD and have been carried out through its State Citizen Action Councils. Others have their roots in a variety of programs sponsored by civic, religious, business, and professional organizations. They have developed and carried out many of them in communities across the nation.

The projects themselves are of many types. Some, for example, require that a citizen group inform itself and then persuade others – legislators, public officials, business firms – that certain action is needed. Other projects can be put into action by the decision of one person, one company, or one public agency. In any event, the aim is to reduce crime, and to upgrade the quality of justice by making the police, courts, and correctional programs more effective.

It is recognized at the outset that the great root-causes of crime; unemployment, discrimination, poor education, poor housing, and family instability, will not be eliminated by such citizen action projects. Nevertheless, they hack away at the root-causes and, to the extent that they are carried out well, they *will* have an impact.

IMPLEMENTING THE PROJECTS

NCCD is expanding its operation to bring crime control opportunities to a larger number of people and organizations. It is strengthening its information collection systems so that it will be better informed on what is being done in the way of citizen action across the country. From its own experience in the field, NCCD staff will help develop citizen action projects where it sees an unmet need which can be filled by citizen action.

NCCD plans to issue detailed guidelines on high priority projects to assist organizations in their implementation. Some of these guidelines such as "HOW TO PROTECT YOUR HOME"; "JUVENILE DETENTION PROBLEMS" and "YOU AND THE LAW" are already in print. More are on their way.

AN ALL-IMPORTANT NEED FOR MORE RESEARCH

The control of crime is awesomely difficult. We need to know much more about crime before we will begin to learn how best to deal with it. With new data from research and with knowledge derived from demonstration programs, new citizen action projects will inevitably be developed. Naturally, more and more citizens will be needed to carry them out.

ONLY THE BEGINNING . . .

It is high time that we begin to use the vast source of volunteer manpower in creative programs to deter crime. The citizen is ready and willing to act. The entire basis for the program which follows is to assist him and his organizations to deal more effectively with crime and delinquency.

We are heeding the call for citizen action. Will you?

CARL M. LOEB, JR.
President
National Council on Crime and Delinquency

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PREVENTION

9

CHILD PROTECTIVE SERVICES

PROBLEM:

The histories of delinquent youth often reveal that they were victims of physical and emotional neglect in early childhood. Many have suffered serious physical abuse at the hands of unbalanced parents. Child neglect often goes unreported because the complaining person does not wish to bring charges against the parents.

Some states and communities have established public "Protective Services for Children" to assure early detection and early treatment. Complaints can then be made to a non-court agency which investigates their validity, and helps parents solve health, marital, and financial problems which directly or indirectly caused the neglect.

The authority of the court is used only when necessary to protect the legal rights of children and parents. The emphasis, however, is on services to children and their parents in their own home to keep the family together without the use of coersive measures. Public child welfare, which includes protective services to children, is a basic tool in the prevention of delinquency, provides services to parents *before* children have to be removed from their own homes. When removing a child is the only way he can be protected from a dangerous situation these services provide shelter care in a group foster home, not in a jail or detention home.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Find out whether your community has adequate "Protective Services for Children" in a public agency outside of the juvenile court. Do you have group homes or foster homes for children when they need emergency care? Are family services given to children in their own homes to avoid referral to court or placement in institutions? The facts can be obtained through the local council of social agencies or the Department of Welfare. If a protective unit does not exist in your Department of Welfare, or if the size and qualifications of the staff are not adequate, citizen groups should seek support to establish such a unit or strengthen existing services.

To get an appropriation for a demonstration project, the group will need to develop support for this approach from the Commissioner of Welfare, Chief Probation Officer, and Juvenile Court Judge. The influence of these people will be necessary to help bring other public agencies such as the police, health and mental health services into a cooperative program.

EARLY HELP FOR THE TROUBLED CHILD IN SCHOOL

PROBLEM:

All too often the child who is having problems, who is not achieving in school, who is having difficulty living within the limits of society, is tolerated until his behavior becomes threatening to society. Despite the fact that these early danger signals often forecast more serious misconduct, society largely ignores the signals.

More than any other institution except the home the school embraces almost all children and provides the setting where children meet and relate to people other than their parents.

The chief role of the school is to provide education for children. To do so it must be concerned about the emotional, behavioral, and social problems of these children. Repeatedly we have seen that no matter how broad the curriculum, how competent the teachers, how adequate the physical facilities, the child who comes to school with serious emotional and behavior problems would be incapable generally of taking sufficient advantage of educational opportunities. Not only is it difficult for the troubled child to learn, this child often hinders other children from learning. Regular school personnel cannot be expected to deal with all the problems identified. Most classroom teachers with at least 25 children to teach, discipline, protect, and train need the help of a person specially trained to assist children with behavior and emotional problems. This person must also be qualified to work with the families of these children and to maintain liaison with other needed community agencies.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

There are two classifications of school personnel especially trained and qualified to deal with the problems outlined above. They are the social worker and the school counselor. The social worker is trained in a school of social work and works not only with the children in the school directly but with the families of the children and provides consultation to teachers and school administrators on the handling of children with problems.

The school counselor, usually operating at the high school level, is primarily concerned with educational and vocational counseling. This person should be equipped to deal with many of the personal problems presented by students, particularly as those problems interfere with the educational process.

P.T.A. groups and others interested in the education of children

should enquire about the programs to deal with behavior and personal problems of youngsters in the school. They should provide support for the school administration in acquiring the needed personnel to undertake these important functions.

CHILDREN AND THE LAW

PROBLEM:

It is a depressing fact that much of the crime in America is committed by youth. In 1965, the arrest rate for the 15-17-year age group was higher than any other. In that same year, says the President's Crime Commission, "a majority of all arrests for major crimes against property were of people under 21 – as were a substantial minority of arrests for major crimes against the person."

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

It is evident that we must begin a concerted effort to reduce delinquent behavior by education and example. The home and family are the primary resources for bringing up youngsters to respect and obey the law. But the school can, and should, play an important role too.

Each junior and senior high school should provide a detailed discussion of youth and the law as part of its regular curriculum.

Many such programs exist – for example, the YOU AND THE LAW program conceived and written by NCCD, and produced and distributed in a number of cities by Kiwanis International. YOU AND THE LAW helps the young person distinguish between a prank and a violation of the law. With the help of the teacher, who works from a prepared discussion guide, children discuss law breaking and evaluate the consequences.

There is an urgent need to have YOU AND THE LAW, or a similar program, instituted in every school. Visits by a member of the police department can be coordinated with the discussions. Arranging student trips to courts is also desirable. In some cases, citizen volunteers can help teachers bring the students to court. They can also arrange for the judge to explain how his court operates. This kind of experience increases the youngsters' knowledge of, and respect for, the law.

Write NCCD for a copy of YOU AND THE LAW and the teacher's discussion guide.

Call on the principal in your local junior or senior high school, and ask whether there is an anti-delinquency program being conducted. Suggest that such a program be established.

Call on the police chief – or the head of the Community Relations or Juvenile Aid Bureau – to ask whether police can be assigned to talk to students.

Call on the judge of a local court to see if student visits can be arranged.

Call the local Bar Association for consultation and speakers.

TEEN-AGE CITIZEN ACTION PROGRAM

PROBLEM:

Today's high school youngster is apt to be more informed, better educated, and more sophisticated than his counterpart in the past. Frequently the teenager is also concerned about the welfare of his community, and is eager to participate as an integral part in its affairs. Yet full participation is denied most teenagers because they are "too young." Thus, an extremely vigorous and potentially helpful group of people is not utilized in the fight against crime.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A teenage citizen action program is one way of involving the young people of a community in seeking solutions to the problems of crime and delinquency prevention. A neighborhood citizen action program consisting of teenage representatives from existing youth-service agencies, adult supervisors from youth-service agencies, and teen-members-at-large from the community (both delinquent and non-delinquent) could provide a method for anti-delinquency programs to reach down into the younger strata of the population. Teenage participation could provide useful insights into the problems of crime and delinquency as the young see them. The youngsters could promote volunteer programs, organize auto theft prevention campaigns or devise means for preventing school vandalism. The possibilities are limitless.

TEEN-AGE VOLUNTEERS: THEY ALSO SERVE

PROBLEM:

Teenagers are perilously "in-between." They often teeter close to delinquency. They're too young to leave school or get a full-time job. They're too old to be treated as children. "Fun" is becoming funless.

Young, strong and full of energy, teenagers want to feel and be useful. Yet society provides precious few opportunities for service.

Opportunities are needed for teenagers to work constructively and to channel their abundant energy into useful projects. This is the time in their life when they begin to take on some adult responsibilities. They could begin to form a helpful attitude toward society or an apathetic one.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A civic organization can be the linking device between the host of health and social agencies in the community and the available manpower represented by youngsters who are willing to volunteer for service.

Your organization can step into the gap by compiling a "directory of teenage opportunities." This may mean contacting the hospitals to find out whether "candy stripers" or other volunteers are needed, or calling settlement houses, recreation centers, homes for the aged, clinics, and many other agencies to discover how the teenager can serve—and where. It is important to involve young people in this phase of the project.

Once the directory is put together, it must be distributed so that teenagers can read it and choose their opportunities for service.

Your group can begin by calling on the Council of Social Agencies in your community. Often they have a listing of volunteer service opportunities. They are apt to have many openings during the summer when staffs of agencies go on vacation.

If there is no listing available, calls must be made to the many organizations in the area to get exact descriptions of tasks and of the kinds of youngsters needed to fill them.

Call on the superintendent of schools or on individual principals to see if the directories can be distributed in social studies classes. There they should be discussed, the value of social service stressed, and then the teenager can decide for himself. The right decision can sometimes help the youngster far more than the agency he chooses to serve.

WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS TO PREVENT DROP-OUTS

PROBLEM:

Youngsters who drop out of school prematurely commit more crimes than youngsters who stay in school and finish their education. Thus, school drop-outs are an important problem group in any crime-prevention program. An effort should be made to help students to stay in school through useful programs, thus reducing potential crime and delinquency.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Work-study programs, instituted by school authorities and local industry, might go a long way toward preventing crime. Students in danger of dropping out of school could be identified by school authorities, and then given an alternative to quitting completely. They could be given the option of applying for part-time jobs. Under this plan a youngster may go to school for half a day and work half a day. The study-half of the day could be vocational training. The work-half of the day could be devoted to learning a useful occupation under realistic industrial conditions, not in a classroom. In one such program, the company assigned a "business brother" to each youngster to coach and advise him during the working part of the day. In that program, a youngster must continue with his schooling. If he quits school, he loses his job. Most student workers graduate.

An alternative to business and industry, as a source of work-study opportunities, is the various municipal government departments. In New York City, the Police Cadet Program requires the youngster to finish high school if he wants to become a policeman. Again, most graduate.

WORK PROGRAMS FOR DROP-OUTS

PROBLEM:

A large number of school drop-outs are found among juveniles apprehended for minor offenses. Few are qualified for any kind of employment. To hang around the streets in idleness is to invite further involvement in delinquent acts or to retreat into narcotics.

A well structured job training program for these juveniles can pay off in terms of trained personnel for industry, the promise of a future for someone who has had a poor start in life generally, and a more stable community.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A business, a trade association, or a chamber of commerce can assess the job market to determine which industries are in need of trained employees (the office equipment or small appliance repair industries are examples). Teaching manuals and instructors need to be obtained. It is possible to guide the drop-out into a new career by working in schools, institutions, and neighborhood centers with material adapted for the generally low educational level of drop-outs.

Because of previous failure, the drop-out tends to believe the cards are stacked against him. Therefore, there is a need for close personal attention and interest. No unrealistic promises should be made with regard to promotions. An arrest record, if a youngster has one, should not be used to bar a potential drop-out from participating in this type of program.

YOUTH OFFERS A HELPING HAND

PROBLEM:

The "generation gap" is a particularly relevant term in the inner city where youngsters are alienated by what they see of adult failures as well as adult authority. Far too often, if a youngster can find an adult to hero worship, he is the petty criminal living the "good life"—the pusher or the hood who has money, contacts, and a "successful" career.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Youngsters tend to mistrust adults who downgrade this folk hero. But they *will* listen to other youngsters. The use of peer leadership groups in delinquency prevention has proven to be most successful. Much wider use of this concept is necessary if we are to make headway in prevention of juvenile delinquency.

Knowledgeable adults can recruit older youngsters in the ghetto—possibly youths who have passed beyond the gang structure, yet have

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retained "rep" in the eyes of the younger children. Under adult supervision, these young people can approach potential delinquents in the neighborhood, encouraging them in school work and participation in social and cultural activities. Often these volunteer youths can help the youngsters form their own social organizations – clubs or coffee-houses – which they are responsible for maintaining. The volunteer group, under adult supervision, can act as a bridge, affirmatively relating the street gang to the major institutional systems impinging on it – schools, law enforcement, agencies, courts, and employers.

NEIGHBORHOOD BOYS' CLUBS

PROBLEM:

The neighborhood is frequently the theatre of operations for most ghetto residents, and we already know that the inner-core ghetto is the source and scene of much crime. It is in the neighborhood, therefore, that something can be done about crime and delinquency – especially among the youngsters of the area. Boys commit the majority of delinquent acts, and they need the most guidance and help, if crime is to be reduced in the community. At the neighborhood level in particular, a way to help boys must be found.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A church, local businessmen's association or civic group could organize a boys' club using rented or donated store-fronts and other facilities, and such clubs could serve a variety of purposes. They could, for example, provide recreational opportunities for the boys, and facilities for sports, hobbies, social functions, and social services.

Such neighborhood boys' clubs could be financed by local merchants in conjunction with foundation and government grants, by membership dues, and by other means. Guidance could be obtained from Boys' Clubs of America and other youth organizations.

A campaign to recruit and train adult volunteers would be necessary to give the club a corps of responsible men interested in working with youngsters.

In effect, the neighborhood club could provide some of the socializing elements normally found in the stable home, but which are too often not present in the ghetto home.

YOUTH SERVICES TO NEIGHBORHOODS

PROBLEM:

Residents of the inner-city ghetto need to know about the many services available to them through public agencies such as the welfare department, hospitals, and health services. At the same time, there is the need to involve youth in meaningful, helpful projects – not just to "keep the kids off the street," but to give the youngsters a feeling that they are useful and that they have a stake in the community.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Teenagers in each neighborhood can be informed as to the services and aid available from the various agencies in a city. Once the youngsters are trained, they can distribute information sheets and leaflets door to door. In addition, the same youngsters can be taught to help the authorities by reporting abandoned cars, faulty traffic lights, fires, and other community hazards.

A local church, civic association, or settlement house could initiate a program by convening the youngsters and by developing – with the help of appropriate agencies – the kind of literature and useful guides which need distribution. In many cases public agencies already have material – some of it in foreign languages – ready and available for distribution.

TEACHER AIDES FOR SPECIAL CHILDREN

PROBLEM:

Schools in inner-city ghettos and other poverty areas are often too crowded and classes too large for teachers to be able to give special attention to special children – the slow or fast learner or the disturbed child in the classroom. There isn't time for a teacher to do the job properly, and added to his professional burdens are the many clerical duties a teacher must perform.

Delinquency is related to school drop-outs in many cases, and the number of school drop-outs is increased by overcrowded conditions and lack of proper professional attention. Relieving teachers of some of the less professional chores would allow them to pay more attention to the

troublesome child. It would reduce dropping out and could lead to reduction in crime.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Volunteers – adults and mature youth – can be trained by a school system to take over the clerical duties and housekeeping of the classroom. These same volunteers could also be very useful in providing remedial help for students who are not doing well. In some cases, older students in the school can be used as tutors.

A women's club, PTA, or church group located near a school might readily undertake the task of providing teacher aides. An additional benefit in this program is that, in those cases where a volunteer undertakes remedial work, she may be giving the child the kind of attention, assistance, and morale boosting which is lacking at home.

VOLUNTEERS IN GANG CONTROL

PROBLEM:

All boys and many girls "club" together during part of their childhood. Some of these clubs become gangs and turn to delinquent activities. This is especially true in the inner-city ghettos, where crime is sometimes a boy's only source of companionship, prestige, and "fun." The "club" performs the functions of a social institution. Somehow its delinquent activities must be directed into more socially acceptable channels.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Volunteer street-workers can be organized, trained, and used by private and governmental agencies to provide leadership in constructive, alternative activities for the gang. Such groups as the Boy and Girl Scouts, Police Athletic League, Catholic Youth Organizations, and Boys' Clubs, need volunteer adult leaders and instructors who are able and willing to work with young people – particularly in ghetto areas. A miniature version of Puerto Rico's "Operation Bootstrap" might be instituted. With volunteer help youngsters could clean up a neighborhood, repair and paint their homes, and convert empty lots into play areas.

PRESERVING YOUNG FAMILIES

PROBLEM:

Teen-age marriages and divorces are on the increase in this country, and there are now many more teen-age parents. There is consequently an increasing number of children in broken homes. Youngsters from unstable families are far more likely to get into trouble. There is, therefore, a need for special consideration of the problems of these young couples.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Youth groups, social service organizations, and private citizens could establish an organization which serves the young married couple in several ways. The more serious phase of such an organization's program would involve the guidance of health, social welfare, and education workers. They could provide marriage counseling, information about pregnancy, child-rearing, personal and family finances, family life instruction, and vocational planning and training.

The organization could also provide a recreational and social focus. It could sponsor and conduct dances, parties, concerts and movie series to provide wholesome and refreshing recreation. It would be especially popular if a baby-sitting service were available. Perhaps the Girl Scouts or similar youth groups could cooperate.

PROTECTION FOR AMERICAN BUSINESS

PROBLEM:

Organized crime has increasingly turned its efforts toward gaining control or ownership of legitimate business. It does this for a number of reasons, most notable of which is that it needs to put to work the proceeds gained by other organized crime activities. In addition, the syndicates need legitimate business for a tax cover, community respectability and acceptance, and a tie-in to other parts of their crime empire.

The mob penetrates a company through some characteristic methods. Sometimes it invests its own funds to gain control. But more commonly it gains control through accepting an interest in lieu of payment of a debt

(often a gambling debt), through foreclosure in default of a usurious loan, and through extortion, in which the owner surrenders to threats of beatings or other forms of coercion.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Business and trade associations can conduct information and training seminars for their memberships which would better protect companies against organized crime tactics. By calling on district attorneys, police, crime commissions, the Internal Revenue Service, and the Justice Department, the association can bring together the officials who know how the syndicates work and those who need to learn how to defend themselves. Because individual companies are somewhat isolated with regard to crime, their business associations can aid them in building a common defense.

The first such crime seminar was held in New York City by the Commerce and Industry Association in conjunction with the NCCD. It attracted 150 top level businessmen and was stated to be an extremely useful aid in helping resist organized crime.

GUIDES FOR BUSINESSMEN

PROBLEM:

Embezzlement, employee theft, shoplifting and fraudulent checks cost American business several billion dollars each year. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice reported that; "Experts in industrial and commercial security estimate that 75 to 80% of the inventory shrinkage is probably attributable to some type of dishonesty . . . a recent survey by the National Industrial Conference Board of 473 companies indicated that 20% of all companies and nearly 30% of those with more than 1,000 employees had a serious problem with employee theft of tools, equipment, materials or company products. More than half of the companies with the problem of employee theft indicated trouble with both white and blue-collar workers."

Known embezzlement accounts for at least $200,000,000 in losses to American business each year, and forgery an additional $82,000,000. American business, which developed the assembly-line, automated bookkeeping, and sophisticated advertising, has failed to adequately protect itself against theft.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Organizations such as chambers of commerce, retail merchants associations and better business bureaus should review companies' practices with regard to dealing with various kinds of crime. Research should be encouraged to determine the most effective methods of preventing these types of thefts.

Methods of dealing with the problem are inconsistent: for example, if a juvenile shoplifter is apprehended one store may deal directly with the youngster, some would call his parents, and others would involve the police. Which procedure works best in cutting down this type of crime? Which procedure is, in fact, best for the offender and the community?

The training program for employees in retail stores frequently does not adequately prepare the employee for dealing with the problem of forgery and other types of fraudulent checks.

Some companies have significantly less employee theft than other companies of the same size. Why?

The pooling of information among businesses would appear to be a significant step forward in the prevention of the types of crime mentioned above. In order to facilitate effective idea sharing, a series of conferences and workshops might be established by business organizations. Security executives of stores, other law enforcement officials, and social scientists including experts from the field of correction might meet together to share information and develop research projects. Information could be widely distributed to retailers.

HOW TO CUT CRIME: LET THERE BE LIGHT!

PROBLEM:

Certain types of crime are committed more frequently at night—street crime, burglary, and theft, among others. There is evidence to show that these kinds of crimes can be reduced with improvement in lighting. Reductions have been reported ranging from 10 to 87 per cent.

Good lighting helps discourage night crime because (1) the intended victim may more easily see and evade the attacker; (2) the criminal may be seen more clearly and identified by a passerby; (3) police patrols may

more readily spot a crime under way or in the making. In addition, good lighting encourages use of the streets and thus reduces opportunities for attacks upon lone persons.

A number of cities have reported benefits from better lighting; a decrease in the amount of vandalism, for example. The Chief of Police of St. Louis, Curtis Brostron, states "It is our experience that the bulk of crime occurs in the evening hours. Effective lighting is, in our opinion, a good crime deterrent."

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Communities must identify their high-hazard areas and then determine whether the lighting there is really adequate. Five types of localities should be considered: business streets, parking areas, residential streets, playgrounds, underpasses and alleys.

Once the areas in need of better lighting have been identified, the community, including the relevant departments in the city government, must be persuaded that the situation needs improvement.

The steps to follow: (1) check with the police department to identify areas which have a high incidence of crime; (2) visit the area in the company of an official of the local electric utility in your city – he will be able to evaluate the amount and quality of lighting now in use; (3) if the lighting needs to be improved, prepare a presentation – with the help of the utility official – as to what must be done.

The actual procedure may involve obtaining agreement with the police department as to the usefulness of such lighting . . . the cooperation of the appropriate city department which controls city lighting . . . and the agreement of the city's appropriations committee to allocate funds for new and improved lighting.

HOW TO PROTECT YOUR HOME

PROBLEM:

According to the latest FBI figures, there were more than 1,605,700 burglaries in 1967 – three a minute. Homeowners and apartment dwellers are careless. A fifth of the burglaries was made easier for thieves because residents left the doors or windows unlocked. Other burglaries can be traced to giving keys to unknown repairmen and allowing newspapers to pile up, or similar acts tipping off the burglar that the family is away. Homeowners don't stop to think how they may be helping the burglar.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

There are simple steps the average homeowner can undertake which would minimize the risk of his home being burglarized. None of these require financial outlays. All are practical and all are within the reach of the average apartment dweller or homeowner.

A citizen group can undertake an extensive public education project with the aid of volunteers. Social clubs, civic groups, school associations and police departments could be focal points for volunteer efforts to distribute such publications as NCCD's "How to Protect Your Home." Insurance companies could make available speakers, advertising aid, air and television time, and newspaper space to inform the public on how to protect one's home or apartment.

MEDIA SPECIALISTS IN CRIME REPORTING

PROBLEM:

Effective citizen action to prevent and control crime must be based upon adequate knowledge. Most of the public's information about crime is furnished by the news media. Because of the distorted perception created by much of the crime reporting, frequently the response of citizens, lawmakers and law-enforcers is inappropriate to deal effectively with the problem.

For the most part, print and broadcast media have neglected *depth* coverage of crime. It usually means sensational stories of murders, assaults, and reports of soaring crime statistics. Minimal coverage is devoted to the complex underlying causes of crime, and especially the conditions that spawn it, such as the ghetto.

Few reporters are knowledgeable enough about the sociological and psychological aspects of crime to put this emotional subject in an illuminating and meaningful context. The lack of specialized training for crime news reporters contributes heavily to this problem.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

To facilitate in-depth crime reporting communication media should provide specialized training for crime reporters. Since such specialization may be difficult for any one outlet to initiate, all the media in an area might pool their resources to sponsor a local training program.

A university, service club or other civic organization might sponsor a series of workshops to demonstrate the merits of this training. Resource people drawn from the writing profession, police, welfare, correction, judges, prosecutors and lawyers could be brought in to discuss the problems from their points of view. This would open channels for future coverage as well as providing a broad base for training.

In addition, support should be found for sending reporters to established training centers that are being developed in various institutions of higher education.

RESEARCH TO CUT CRIME

PROBLEM:

The effort to control crime in the United States is necessarily a massive one. The nation employs tens of thousands of police, prosecutors, judges, court staff, and correctional personnel. The cost is more than four billion dollars a year. Despite the size of the operation we do little research to obtain an understanding of the causes of crime, on preventing delinquency, or on rehabilitating the offender.

We have been operating mainly by relying more on common sense and guesses than on scientifically verified evidence. Less than one per cent of the entire criminal justice budget is allocated for research and most of that is spent ineffectively. For comparison, the Department of Defense appropriates about 15% of its budget for research.

We need to know more about such subjects as the relationship between poverty and crime, the impact of organized crime on the economy, the number of crimes which go unreported, the nature of gambling and its social and economic consequences, and the relationship between education and crime.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

According to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, research by both public and private institutions is essential. The research organizations of business and industry, for example, might serve well by exploring ways in which organized crime functions as a monopoly operation, thus raising costs. Such research might suggest a new legal basis for prosecution related to anti-trust laws. They might study the ways in which business could establish links with police information centers so as to make available all possible data concerning types of crime and their prevention. They might make extremely valuable studies of employee theft and shoplifting, and the means of reducing such crimes.

POLICE

ESTABLISHING A STATE POLICE COMMISSION

PROBLEM:

In any one state, police departments may range from one man to 28,000. Yet all departments, regardless of size, faces similar technical and administrative tasks. Currently, most departments, no matter how small, are responsible for their own recruiting, training, planning, and other functions. Generally, each department plans separately for its own area, and relies solely on its own resources which may be limited.

Few states have a statewide commission on law enforcement that can coordinate all its separate departments, assist them in planning, provide consultation, and such services as crime laboratory facilities, identification services, personnel recruitment and initial on-the-job training. A commission could provide subsidies to help departments meet state minimum standards which would significantly upgrade many departments.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A top-level citizen organization could take the leadership in forming a study group. It should approach leading criminologists, statewide police associations, and government officials to help initiate the push for a statewide law enforcement commission. The group should find out, among other things, how many departments in the state need bolstering, how much statewide services would cost, and how much more efficient or economical the new system would be. Armed with this information, the citizen group could approach departments that might benefit from such a state commission and would rally support for its establishment. Also, the information could be given to editors, legislators, and like-minded good-government groups to gain citizen backing.

GETTING POLICE DEPARTMENTS TO CONSOLIDATE

PROBLEM:

The machinery of law enforcement in this country is fragmented and frequently overlapping. Some 420,000 police officers work for some 40,000 separate departments. Police are inefficiently deployed in a crazy-quilt of state, county, city, and specialized departments.

One metropolitan force covering both the urban core and the suburban shell around it could eliminate the need for separate "headquarters" all over the area. Police departments and the political jurisdictions they serve are reluctant to consolidate into larger units designed to deal more effectively with crime problems. Even on a more modest level, police departments have been slow to pool, share, and coordinate.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Citizen leaders of neighboring communities should come together in an ad hoc committee to consider the need for consolidation of police departments. First, the committee could conduct a survey to determine how big an area the consolidated department should cover, what policing resources are immediately available and what gaps there are in services.

After the survey, the committee could hold public hearings at which qualified experts would testify. Following this, they could mount letter-writing and petition-signing campaigns to urge public officials and political representatives to consolidate, or at least pool services by enacting legislation and by changing established practices.

POLICE FUNCTIONS AND SALARIES

PROBLEM:

The division of labor in most police departments is inefficient and wasteful of limited manpower. More personnel alone is not the answer. Rather, existing manpower should be more effectively deployed.

Police departments generally have not heeded the recommendation of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice that police functions, especially in larger departments, be divided among the following: the community service officer (least skilled; an apprentice type, aged 17 to 21); the police officer (medium skilled; enforces laws, investigates certain crimes, has patrol duties, etc.); and police agent (highly skilled; at least two years of college, deals with complicated investigations, etc.).

Most police departments have insisted that everyone, regardless of background, start off as a patrolman. This means most skilled personnel will not join the force. Also, salaries, especially for the college-trained or skilled men, have not kept competitive with other occupations seeking the same category of candidate.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Influential citizens or groups should reach efficiency experts, management consultants, and others who can provide the factual ammunition to reinforce the President's Crime Commission recommendations on police functions and entry requirements. This informational mission could develop case studies of policemen whose talents and skills have been unused because of rigid advancement or deployment policies. A survey of current salaries and requirements plus a public education campaign could underscore the inadequacy of present levels and help upgrade police employment standards and pay.

UP-TO-DATE POLICE COMMUNICATION SYSTEMS

PROBLEM:

In most cities police communication and informational systems, and alarms, are not efficient in facilitating the control of crime and offenders. Technological advances and working arrangements with other police departments are not being exploited to help deal with major policing problems.

For example, police response time should be cut in order to increase the likelihood of arrest and to track down today's highly mobile criminals capable of moving through a number of jurisdictions in a relatively few minutes. Even in emergencies, neighboring police departments cannot always communicate because their radios operate on different frequencies.

There is a need for far greater use of automatic car locater systems and computerized command and control centers. There is also a need for better police mobile radio networks; miniaturized transceivers to reach officers away from the squad car or on foot patrol; and teletype devices in squad cars to reduce reliance on voice communications. In addition, only a few cities have installed universal emergency telephone numbers, and police call boxes are frequently kept locked.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Local citizen groups can approach equipment manufacturers, communications experts, and professional police organizations. A presentation should be prepared, comparing the best available police-communica-

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tions approaches to what exists locally. The citizen groups should invite manufacturers to demonstrate their equipment at open public meetings, to which media would be invited. Key appropriations and legislative officials should be approached to gain their support for purchasing new equipment and for fostering cooperative procedures among neighboring police departments.

BRINGING AUXILIARIES TO THE AID OF POLICE

PROBLEM:

Trained and experienced law enforcement officers are in short supply. Currently, some 50,000 new policemen are needed just to fill positions already authorized. The police manpower crisis will be hard to overcome because salaries have not kept up with those in the business world; working conditions are not the most attractive (round-the-clock shifts; constant potential danger; exposure to harsh weather, etc.), and the policeman's image has tarnished over the years.

The difficulty of attracting condidates to police work can be illustrated by the experience of the New York City department. It drew some 13,000 men to its entry examination in 1954; barely 1,000 in 1967. If all the available trained and experienced men were properly used to handle critical police tasks, there would still be a manpower problem. But even that much isn't done because so many officers are burdened with time-consuming paper work, routine traffic duty, and the like.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Individuals and members of civic groups can enlist as volunteer auxiliary police. They would spend a certain amount of time helping to ease the manpower squeeze by performing selected "police" functions. The police department should, of course, make provisions to thoroughly screen and train its auxiliaries. While none of the auxiliaries could be allowed to carry arms, they would still be handling responsible police work. Examples: handling traffic control, helping with crowd control at sports events and recreation areas, assisting at disasters, accompanying experienced officers on patrol, taking over certain administrative duties (such as dispatcher, turn-key, laboratory technician) and performing clerical duties for police.

GIVING THE POLICE SOME BUSINESS KNOW-HOW

PROBLEM:

Except in a few cases, police have not exploited managerial and technological advances. Currently, some 200,000 policemen spend half their time on patrol. Many of the men on patrol are assigned without consideration of their particular skills or knowledge. What's more, men on the force with leadership potential are *not* sought out and given more training. New equipment is *not* systemically put to work solving police problems. Basic questions about police functions are *not* being scientifically analyzed and outlined.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Local businesses can provide a rich pool of modern managerial and technological skills to their police forces. Either individually or as a group, local business could create programs to loan executives and experts to the police to improve operations.

For example, a company treasurer could teach the police about cost-accounting and cost-effectiveness procedures. An engineering executive could suggest ways police could use the latest in technology. A personnel manager could work with personnel records and manpower deployment plans, suggesting more effective approaches. Much of the know-how that fuels today's complex business organizations could be put at the disposal of the police forces to make them far more effective and efficient.

POLICE NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS

PROBLEM:

As one of the most visible wielders of authority on the scene, the policeman often becomes one of the prime targets of blame for a neighborhood's – especially a poor neighborhood's – troubles. The policeman has little chance to counteract this image, partly because today's motorized patrolling allows him little chance to make personal contact with the people on his beat.

Surveys by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice show that an alarming percentage of both whites and non-whites neither trust nor respect the police. Misconduct by some officers, especially in the ghettos has intensified the problem. The police and neighborhood exist in dangerous isolation from, and ignorance of, one another.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

To develop dialogue between police and community, local citizen groups should initiate the development of neighborhood councils. Representation should include not just precinct commander or the top community leaders, but also the cop on the beat and the corner storekeeper. These councils could be planning bodies covering a broad range of local problems, although police-community relations would be the central focus.

The council could help get across the fact that policemen are not responsible for many of the neighborhood's problems. At the same time, it would disclose to the policeman how the community views his activities and attitudes, some of which might be changed as a result. The police-community relations program could sponsor activities to attack neighborhood problems such as burglary surveys and sanitation programs.

BLOCK MOTHERS

PROBLEM:

Too often trained or experienced policemen, particularly those in juvenile bureaus, are forced to handle inappropriate tasks. Yet the public has come to expect many such services of the police.

An example: the babysitting responsibilities foisted upon an officer called to a house where a child has been abandoned or complaints have been lodged. The officer must spend hours looking after the child or waiting for other public officials (welfare, juvenile court) to take over.

Police are even burdened in their precinct houses with similar babysitting chores. Teenage runaways (an all too common event) are balky about talking to police. They may more readily talk to someone who is not in uniform.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A citizen group might well organize Volunteer Block Mother Programs at the precinct level. An assembly of responsible women could be trained by social welfare and police officials to care for and supervise children. They could also be trained to interview adolescents and older youths.

Block mothers could be available to police, on a rotating basis for emergency babysitting or supervision of older youngsters. They could serve either in a neighboring residence or at the precinct house.

GETTING THE NEIGHBORS TOGETHER

PROBLEM:

In most cities, neighborhoods are the real social arena for most people. Many people rarely leave the neighborhood except for work, and are deeply concerned with problems in the immediate area – including crime. The web of interpersonal relationships which exists in a neighborhood is tightly woven, and frequently, the prevailing attitude is "us against the world." Why not "us against crime"? The American tradition of town-meetings can be modified to fit the urban scene – the neighborhood being the modern "town." The task is to organize residents of a neighborhood into citizen action programs (CAP's) to deal with crime.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Using existing neighborhood leadership, local police authorities could encourage and help to train the nucleus of a citizen-action group to study the problems of the neighborhood and to mobilize neighborhood support and resources. Perhaps a store-front headquarters campaign using police, welfare, and youth-workers as the professional core, aided by the neighbors could be set up.

The neighborhood CAP could take responsibility for understanding the area's crime and delinquency problems and bringing them to the attention of the local police precinct. Thus the police might be alerted in time to avert possible disorder, a gang rumble, or a narcotic traffic problem.

Even if a neighborhood "citizen action program" confined itself to one single block, it could be valuable in police-community relations.

POLICE YOUTH COUNCILS

PROBLEM:

With experts now predicting that one out of every six boys will be brought into court before age 18, it is imperative that the police gain a clearer understanding of the dynamics, moods, and desires of the teenage world. Yet the police have little opportunity to reach today's youth. What little contact they do have – with delinquents – may give them a distorted view.

On the other hand, the typical teenager has little understanding of the problems and responsibilities of the police. His information may come from a brush with police or hearsay from peers or parents. Most of a police department's public relations work in the schools doesn't go beyond an occasional speech to an assembly.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

To get the police to listen to youth, and vice versa, a citizen organization or group should take the initiative in helping create Police Youth Councils. Not merely the honor student and the joiner, but also the non-involved youngster and even the delinquent, should be represented. The youths should be selected by their peers, not school officials.

The Police Youth Council should meet regularly with police representatives to discuss student and police attitudes and activities. It could also explore alternatives to current police methods in dealing with youths and delinquents. At the same time, the police could explain their side of the case to the adolescents in the community.

COURTS

THE FAMILY COURT

PROBLEM:

There is no longer any question that much delinquency stems from the breakdown of the moral and emotional authority of the family. The family court is in a key position to help in this area. With a specially qualified staff, it can help to resolve misunderstandings between husband and wife. It can relate a child's behavior to parental marital problems. The family court can respond to the family as a whole, since it keeps one set of family records, all in one place, under the direction of specially qualified judges.

Unfortunately, the majority of adult family problems – such as custody matters, mental health commitments, intra-family criminal acts, proceedings for support, alimony and divorce – are handled in various lower courts. No attempt is made to coordinate the cases from court to court, and little correlation is made between one case and the family's problems a whole. Such a fragmented approach works *against* rather than *for* the family. Statewide family courts are urgently needed.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Civic or independent citizen groups can help promote the development of family courts in their state. They might well form a committee to study the *Standard Family Court Act,* prepared by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency's Council of Judges. One of the committee members should be a lawyer who can give specialized guidance. With his help, the committee can ascertain how the Act may best be applied in its locality.

Once the committee has concluded its fact-finding, key members of the group can approach legislative leaders with the conclusions – offering the committee's help in drafting appropriate legislation. At the same time, other committee members can go to newspapers, radio, and television with the committee's recommendations – making sure the public knows the facts and can thus support the legislation.

CLERGYMEN AID JUVENILE COURTS

PROBLEM:

Juvenile courts all over the country are plagued by a shortage of manpower to handle youngsters on probation. In certain counties studied during 1966, the National Council on Crime and Delinquency found that median caseloads ranged from 71 to 80 youngsters per caseworker, well above maximum standards.

Even though juvenile courts are faced with a severe personnel shortage, they have not systematically tried to tap other able people in the community who might help with probation work. Even those lucky probation officers not burdened with heavy caseloads could make use of the probation aides to reenforce their efforts. One source of manpower is the clergy. Many of them are trained in pastoral counseling, and many have a special understanding of the problems of young people. Also, youngsters belonging to a church might feel more at home with a clergyman whom they know, and who knows them.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

The clergymen in an area should organize themselves into a committee and offer their services to the local juvenile courts. Part of such a program should include a system to involve clergymen automatically in cases of youngsters belonging to their particular church or denomination. The clergymen can make themselves available for counseling, and for directing youngsters to tutoring programs as well as social and athletic activities.

In St. Paul, Minnesota, a clergy-counseling program is run by the Council of Churches and the Catholic Diocese. Each organization has a man assigned to the juvenile court whose main job is to refer the youngster to his pastor, or offer direct counseling.

RELEASE ON RECOGNIZANCE

PROBLEM:

At least half of all defendants brought into police or magistrate's court are either released or convicted and sentenced within twenty-four hours of arrest. The remainder wait for days, weeks, sometimes months, for

final disposition – depending on the prosecutor's caseload, the gravity and complexity of the case, and the time available on the court calendar.

The judge decides whether or not to release an individual, pending trial – basing his decision on an estimate of each defendant's reliability and character. But he rarely has enough information to make an informed decision. As a form of insurance, he often falls back on bail. The man who cannot put up bail is remanded to jail – where he can do nothing about supporting his family, maintaining his ties in the community, or gathering evidence in his own defense.

Obviously, the bail system is weak in that it discriminates against the poor. Bail should be imposed only when there are no reasonable alternatives. Volunteers are urgently needed to help with one alternative: providing the judge with comprehensive information on defendants, so that he can decide if a suspect can be released on his own recognizance.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A standard form for gathering pertinent information about defendants has been developed. Employees of the criminal court's probation department fill out a standard information form on the defendant while he awaits his appearance before the judge. Volunteers check the statement by telephone with the defendant's family, neighbors, or employer – the entire procedure taking as little as twenty minutes. By the time the defendant makes his court appearance, the judge knows enough about him to make a more informed decision on the appropriateness of bail or release on recognizance.

Many courts and probation departments support the idea, but do not have adequate staff to handle the project themselves. In this case, citizen groups may also serve as court volunteers, questioning the defendants and verifying their answers by phone.

ELIMINATING ASSEMBLY-LINE JUSTICE

PROBLEM:

It is the lower, or misdemeanant courts that process the overwhelming majority of offenders, and it is these courts that are most urgently in need of reform. Most of them are overcrowded and understaffed. Their calendars are long and speed is often substituted for care. Many of these courts provide no probation services at all – and pre-sentence investigations are rare,

even though the lower courts can – and do – impose sentences of up to several years' imprisonment. In some cities, and counties lower court judges are not even required to be lawyers!

Similar problems exist in the juvenile courts. A recent study revealed that half the judges interviewed had no under-graduate degree, while one-fifth had no college education at all, and another one-fifth were not members of the bar. Further, more than four-fifths of the judges polled reported no psychologist or psychiatrist available on a regular basis. This, despite the juvenile court's avowed goal to apply the behavioral and social sciences to the misbehaving child!

Throughout our court system, there is a widening gap between theory and reality that must be closed if we are to realize a just and effective criminal justice system.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Numerous court standards have been developed by such groups as the NCCD, the American Bar Association, and the Council of State Governments. An alert citizen group can use these standards to develop their own plans for a court survey. They may wish to consult with professionals on forming their study outline and questionnaires.

A comprehensive report of the survey, as well as a digest of the report, must be made – citing the recommendations for legislative and administrative change, increased budgets, and new services. The fact that a citizen group is concerned enough to undertake the survey is likely to convince the court that the general public is also concerned, and that a clear response is required.

SENTENCING THE DANGEROUS OFFENDER

PROBLEM:

Many dangerous offenders, those who have inflicted or attempted to inflict serious bodily harm or whose background and personality disorder indicates a propensity toward criminal activity, are at large in the communities of America because of inadequate sentencing laws and procedures and obsolete penal codes. Most states' sentencing laws call for the length of term to be based solely upon the crime committed rather than providing for consideration of the personal characteristtics and history of the offender.

On the other hand many offenders who are not dangerous to the community are committed to institutions for excessively long periods of time because the law calls for or authorizes it. This reduces the effectiveness of the correctional system because many inmates stay in institutions beyond the optimum period for rehabilitation and institutions become overcrowded.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Provision should be made for a mandatory presentence background investigation in each adult felony case. This service is usually performed by a probation officer. In those cases where the judge has reason to believe, on the basis of the offense and the background investigation, that the offender may be dangerous the judge should have at his disposal a diagnostic clinical service. In addition to information about the crime committed and social history data furnished in the presentence report the diagnostic service would furnish behavior and personality data to the judge for his consideration in sentencing the offender.

Professional, civic and religious groups should become familiar with the present laws and practices. NCCD's "Model Sentencing Act" prepared by the Council of Judges, if implemented in states, would go far in correcting the deficiencies outlined above. Massive citizen support would be required to effect the necessary changes in laws and procedures.

Several of NCCD's state councils are pushing for reform in this area now. They need the support of many other groups. (See listing of state councils.) If your state does not have an NCCD citizen action council, other professional, civic, and religious groups could initiate this badly needed penal reform.

YOUTH ADVISORS TO THE COURTS

PROBLEM:

The "generation gap" in America is glaringly reflected in our juvenile court laws. It remains illegal, in many states, for a sixteen-year-old to be out after 10 p.m., to run at random or to shout boisterously – in short, to be a youth. The typical "ungovernable" child in the juvenile court is one who refuses, or is unable, to conform to an adult's notion of what youngsters should be – and do. This accounts for a recent New York City decision in which a child was placed on probation because he took part in a

protest which the judge found "inappropriate" for a junior high school student.

Courts and legislatures need to review their concepts—to make serious efforts to understand and communicate with a generation of youngsters. Those who establish and enforce behavior standards and laws should listen to the needs of youth as perceived by youth.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A boys' or girls' club, a social organization, or a civics class could take as its special project the formulation of "position papers" on juvenile rights in non-criminal issues. They would consider proper times to return home after dark, for example, as well as acceptable ways to express their disagreement with political, social, educational, and parental decisions. The group could seek the advice of a teacher or other adult leader they respect. And they could set up a self-regulating committee to enforce the standards agreed upon.

Once formulated, these standards should be made available to the judges of juvenile courts. Meetings with parents could be held to discuss the norms of conduct as youngsters see them. Also, interested adults could help youngsters distribute the "position papers" to media and to appropriate members of the state legislature. Such a project could help bridge the communication gap between adults and children while teaching youngsters a valuable lession in self-discipline and self-government.

MEDICALLY ORIENTED TREATMENT FOR DRUG ADDICTS

PROBLEM:

Lawmakers and officials administering drug laws frequently do not recognize the drug addict as a sick person who needs medical care. Doctors should be freed to treat addicts with maintainance doses.

A supreme court ruling allows for prescription of narcotic drugs "for relief of condition incident to addiction."

Current regulations of the U.S. Bureau of Narcotics, however, provide penalties for doctors who treat addicts with maintainance doses. Federal regulations need to be changed to allow doctors greater freedom in the treatment of addicts and to develop new treatment methods.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

National and local medical associations and lawyers' groups should meet with officials from the Narcotics Bureau and the Treasury and Justice Departments as a step toward changing regulations to facilitate a treatment approach. Citizen groups should try to contact doctors and municipal authorities, pressing them to establish clinics for the treatment of drug addicts, especially in municipal and county hospitals. Part of the effort should include a public education campaign directed at doctors who are now resistant to treating addicts.

HELPING IN MOB PROSECUTION

PROBLEM:

Organized crime is moving full-force into legitimate business. The syndicate's secretive ways of operating, combined with a variety of "fronts" and other paper disguises, make it difficult to obtain court-worthy evidence against the mobsters. The difficulty is further compounded as the syndicate begins exploiting complex transactions involving credit, the stock market, and international finance.

Prosecution efforts are held back because much information which businessmen come across is not being systematically fed to prosecution officials. Understandably, businessmen fear retaliation, possibly violence, if they turn over data to the authorities. Yet if this mob business invasion is not halted, the nation's economic system may be seriously endangered.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

As a first step in building up a flow of information to prosecutors about syndicate business activities, business-prosecution seminars should be held. These meetings could explore the kinds of information which prosecution needs to initiate or tighten up cases against organized crime in business. The seminars could point up how strategically businessmen are placed to uncover certain kinds of data, which might be difficult to obtain otherwise. At the same time, businessmen could communicate what they expect and want out of law enforcement in this area. Through such meetings, prosecution would have a chance to build up the businessmen's sense of confidence and trust in the prosecutor and what happens to any information provided.

After getting together in a seminar, a group of businesses belonging to a trade association might set up an intelligence file or similar system which would provide data to prosecution on a regular basis. Another possibility: a business group could set up guidelines and procedures for its members to feed information individually to prosecution authorities.

LAW SCHOOLS AND CORRECTIONAL LAW

PROBLEM:

Too many lawyers lack understanding of what happens to a criminal offender once he is sentenced and leaves the familiar court atmosphere. The legal fraternity has not bothered much with the possibilities of rehabilitation and treatment for the more than 95 per cent of prisoners who eventually re-enter the community. The lawyers also seem to be out of touch with developments in community-based treatment, such as probation and parole, which can be far less costly and far more effective than institutionalization.

The lawyer's indifference to the correctional process partly stems from law school curricula. While the course of study at most law schools certainly prepares lawyers in civil and criminal law, it generally does not prepare them in the law of criminal correction. The law schools, and the lawyers they train, have largely neglected the laws affecting an offender population which numbers about 1.2 million people on an average day.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Bar Associations, law school alumni, and those lawyers involved in correctional law, should form a committee to promote teaching the law of criminal correction in all law schools. The committee could contact those law schools which have incorporated this subject into their course of study. It should systematically evaluate which has the strongest program and compile a report on the matter. Then, key alumni and deans of law schools which either do not offer correctional law or offer only a superficial exposure to it could be urged to make this vital subject part of their curriculum.

CORRECTION

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A PUBLIC YOUTH SERVICES AND PLANNING BUREAU

PROBLEM:

Many children are referred to the juvenile court for delinquency when they and their parents are more in need of help than court action. Surveys have shown that less than half of such referrals come before a judge. They are usually "warned and released" at the door of the court. Some are referred to private agencies but few private agencies will accept children from courts or police departments. Court officers do not generally have time to see that they get the help they need to stay out of trouble.

When a child's delinquent but non-criminal behavior first comes to public attention he should be referred to a Youth Services Bureau. Such an agency can mobilize necessary services on behalf of a child and see that he gets them, involve schools, social agencies and individuals and groups in the child's neighborhood.

Where health, family counseling or other essential services are not available, the need for them can then be statistically documented to form a realistic basis for local citizen action.

A Youth Services Bureau will get most non-criminal cases out of the juvenile court; it frees probation officers for work with more serious offenders, helps kids stay out of trouble when they first get into it and provides a reliable basis for planning priorities in social services.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

What happens to the non-criminal juvenile offender in your community? First get the facts from your police department and court. See if they agree that all necessary services are available and that existing agencies are effective in identifying and helping solve the delinquency breeding problems of children referred to them. How many are warned and released without referral to *any* agency? How many come back on repeated offenses? Does your juvenile court law place the child who commits a minor, non-criminal offense in the same legal classification as one who commits a serious offense?

If your juvenile court laws label children "delinquent" for non-criminal offenses, see if you can get a legislative committee to amend the laws in consultation with NCCD.

Send for NCCD's "Essential Ingredients of a Youth Services Bureau" and use it as a basis for citizen group study. Involve your Council of Social Agencies or Welfare Council in a study of this problem. Appoint a technical

advisory committee to draw up plans for a pilot Youth Services Bureau or Resources Bureau in one precinct or neighborhood. Interest foundations or wealthy individuals in financing such a pilot project with research to demonstrate its value to court and community.

ALTERNATIVES TO INSTITUTIONALIZATION

PROBLEM:

Forty-five to sixty-five percent of all youngsters committed to state training schools will be repeaters – regardless of the type and quality of the training school! One reason for this shocking situation is that training schools are required to accept *all* delinquents committeed by the courts – regardless of age, offense, or degree of emotional instability. It is impossible for training schools to devise programs which are appropriate and effective for such widely diversified populations.

Diversified treatment programs – such as group homes, day care centers, guided group interaction, and intensive probation – are urgently needed. Even more urgently needed is the diagnostic center in which staff can examine offenders and assign them to the type of service which is most appropriate. Public support is needed to establish diversified treatment.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A citizen group can build public support for this kind of program. Key businessmen and community leaders can form a committee to report on training schools in their area. A businessman may donate the services of his company research team to investigate the variety of delinquents treated in the same program, the number of repeaters, etc. The committee can check the number of probation officers employed by the local courts, and the number and kind of alternative treatment programs available.

Armed with the facts, the committee can meet with state and local correctional agencies to determine which community treatment programs need to be strengthened and to map plans for developing a diagnostic center. Eventually, the committee can make public a full report of its investigation and recommendations, through press, radio and television. Members may also approach legislators to gain support for necessary appropriations.

DIVERTING THE DRUNK FROM MISDEMEANANT COURT

PROBLEM:

One out of every three persons arrested in the United States in 1965 was arrested as a result of public drunkenness. This tremendous volume of arrests – over two million – clogs lower courts.

If the public drunkenness offenders were diverted out of the system, the lower courts could function more efficiently, and correctional programs aimed at stopping recidivism among other misdemeanant offenders could be developed.

The alcoholic is handled most effectively in a short-term medical facility – called a detoxification center. This center takes care of physical health during the "drying out" process, but it also includes out-patient services in the form of counseling, vocational training, job placement, and assistance in developing new social relationships. Unfortunately, there are far too few detoxification centers in existence.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A broad range of citizen volunteers – including key business leaders – can organize meetings with health and welfare agencies, public health officials, and representatives of the criminal justice system to determine what local facilities would be appropriate for community treatment of the alcoholic – and how to obtain the funds to run them.

The group may find that out-of-use buildings on city property can be made available for detoxification centers. They may be able to convince business leaders to donate real estate. Also, a businessman serving on a hospital board could make special pleas for hospital space and personnel. The group might launch a drive to gain appropriations to construct a detoxification center and provide the necessary staff.

BONDING THE "UNBONDABLE"

PROBLEM:

Because they have been branded "unbondable," many probationers and parolees cannot get jobs even though they are ready, willing and able to work. Companies that have overcome their resistance to hiring released

offenders are then faced with the problem of securing bonds for potential employees with criminal records.

The report of the President's Crime Commission has corroborated the difficulties of obtaining bonds for released offenders, especially in the clerical and sales fields. A dismal pattern is repeated every time a released offender applies for a bond: First enquiries are made about his behavior pattern, character, community standing, and financial status. Then, predictably, he is rejected because of his criminal record, lack of stability, and unsavory reputation. Without a job, however, the released offender is soon apt to be an inmate once again.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Businesses, particularly insurance companies, should participate in bonding programs for people with criminal or poor personal records to help them become self-supporting citizens. More government support and financing can be expected if business shows a willingness to help. It's far cheaper to provide a bond for an ex-offender than to hold him needlessly in prison. Arrangements could be worked out to make sure bonds are provided (1) to individuals qualified for a job where there is a reasonable expectation of permanance and (2) if dishonest conduct could materially hurt the employer.

Such a program should try to involve ex-offenders in recruiting and screening prospective candidates for bonding. One model is the Bonabond program in which Aetna Life and Causalty Company participated. Bonabond is run by ex-offenders who make bonds up to $2,500 available to each member for a $10 annual premium. The program is successful.

ADVISORY COUNCILS FOR COMMUNITY-BASED CORRECTIONS

PROBLEM:

It is generally agreed that community treatment of non-dangerous offenders offers the best chance for success. One of the mainstays of community treatment is the "half-way house" – a group residence staffed by professionals and geared to provide both professional support and a home-like atmosphere for either the adult or juvenile offender. The half-way house provides support to those who have no home to return to as

well as those whose families are unable to provide the necessary guidance and emotional back-up for a successful adjustment.

Many communities are reluctant to have half-way houses established in their neighborhoods. A recent survey revealed that, although 65% of those queried felt that half-way houses were a good idea, only 50% would favor one in their neighborhood – 35% thought it was not a good idea at all. The community at large must be educated to the need for these facilities.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

A citizen committee can be formed to speak on behalf of such a center. Members can be recruited from church, civic organizations, and leading businesses. Before the facility is established, the committee would launch a public education campaign. They would provide case studies – with successful examples of re-adjustment – to press and broadcast media. They would hold neighborhood meetings, perhaps providing tours of similar facilities, and interviews with staff and residents. Their goal would be to eliminate fears on the part of their neighbors and to obtain pledges of support for the program. When the center is established, the committee might also serve as program evaluators. Such a committee could become part of the forward movement toward community-based treatment of other types of offenders.

A KEY LINK: INTERPRETERS

PROBLEM:

Many large cities in the United States have sizable populations of non-English speaking people. In most instances these people live in ghetto areas, plagued by poor housing, inadequate schooling for their youngsters, and a lack of job opportunities. Life is neither easy nor fair in this ghetto world and inability to speak English adds to the stress. Lack of communication with the English-speaking community builds confusion, misunderstanding, and mutual distrust. As a result, law enforcement and correction officials find it increasingly difficult to do their jobs efficiently without alienating people. In this kind of situation, miscarriages of justice are more likely to occur.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Bilingual citizens can ease this potentially-explosive situation by volunteering as interpreters for law enforcement and court services. The volunteer can spend a number of hours each week at a police precinct, serving as interpreter during the booking of offenders. He can also approach the offender's family – explaining the situation and easing their anxiety. Probation departments, too, are in need of bilingual volunteers who can aid probation officers in conducting background interviews and casework investigation. The bilingual volunteer can be a link to establish better relations between the ghetto citizen and authorities.

THE VOLUNTEER TEACHER IN CORRECTION

PROBLEM:

Many of the adult inmates in city or county jails cannot read or write or do basic arithmetic! Yet, without these skills, it is almost impossible to get or hold a decent job. Thus, too often, the released offender is hard pressed to find an alternative to a life of crime.

As for youngsters, many detention homes for juveniles have no school programs. Delinquent as well as neglected youngsters often face days or weeks of enforced idleness, all the while moving further and further away from the goal of a completed education.

While most training schools and long-term institutions have educational programs, they are not enough. Volunteers who have educational skills or who can undertake tutoring of slow learners can provide important help in the short-staffed institutions.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Teachers from public schools, colleges, and volunteers from the community are needed to hold regularly scheduled classes inside institutions which have limited or no educational programs. The conscientious volunteer can conduct at least one class a week – an hour or ninety minutes in length. He can do more than pass on much-needed academic knowledge. He can, in addition to teaching basic skills, bring to inmates a wider view of the world through drama classes, art workshops, and other courses. Remedial work in institutions is virtually an untapped field of service – one that offers greatly enriched personal returns while it improves the chances of an inmate to make good.

THE VOLUNTEER PROBATION AIDE

PROBLEM:

Good probation services are among the most useful techniques for diverting delinquent youngsters from further crime. Regrettably, there are not enough probation officers available to provide effective service. Case-loads average well over 100 per officer – more than twice the recommended maximum standard. Many courts have *no* probation services at all. As a result, many delinquents never come into contact with adults who can give them supervision, affection, guidance, or support. Social work schools are incapable of producing enough trained probation workers to fill this gap.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Individual citizens can approach the probation departments of the family or juvenile court to volunteer as probation aides. They can become "big brothers" and "big sisters" to troubled youngsters. Their work can cover a wide range of activities – from helping the youngsters with school work, to helping the probationers find a part-time or full-time job. By taking the youngsters to plays and concerts, by including him in neighborhood and family outings, the volunteer probation aide opens a world of values to the youngsters who otherwise might never know they existed.

Probation aide programs have been demonstrated to be effective in working with adult offenders also. The Municipal Courts in Royal Oak, Michigan and Denver, Colorado are examples.

MAN-TO-MAN SPONSORSHIP PROGRAMS

PROBLEM:

Many offenders, once they have been institutionalized, have few, if any, ties to the community through friends or relatives. A recent survey of one correctional institution revealed that of 800 inmates, approximately 250 had no ties with the outside world. The ensuing social isolation and feelings of rejection hamper the rehabilitation process.

Once on parole, the offender is likely to find that his parole officer has extensive case-loads which keep him from providing adequate supportive service. Under these circumstances the offender finds it most difficult to readjust to community living, and may resort to repeating his

offenses. Some way of linking the man *inside* an institution to the man *outside* must be found if the offender is to believe he has a stake in re-joining society.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Man-to-man sponsorship programs can help fill this gap. Community organizations, civic groups, the church, or business, can recruit sponsors. Sponsorship includes visiting the inmate, writing him letters, providing gifts at birthdays and Christmas, perhaps helping to locate housing and employment at the time of parole.

Once the linkage is made between the sponsor and the inmate, the sponsor's family may become interested as well. Such sponsorship helps the offender develop feelings of belonging to the society which he hopes to re-enter. It also augments rehabilitation services in the institution and parole services on the outside.

A private agency, Job Therapy, Inc. in Seattle, Washington, working cooperatively with the prisons in that state has shown that the sponsorship program can save lives and tax dollars.

Interested groups should approach the appropriate correctional authorities to offer this service.

THE PENAL PRESS

PROBLEM:

Prison newspapers are an almost forgotten branch of the fourth estate. Only slightly more than half of the existing correctional institutions have a working press. Yet inmate publications have become a recognized part of the correctional rehabilitation process. They effectively support worthwhile activities for inmates – including blood donations, charitable activities, sports and recreation programs. They are an excellent outlet for creativity, and they often serve as training grounds for a post-release career. Finally, they are morale boosters in a society where morale is especially important.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

All correctional institutions should be encouraged to develop inmate publications within their systems.

Newspaper reporters and editors, as well as high school and college

journalism teachers, can advise prison administrators on setting up an inmate newspaper. If there are no press facilities available, they may approach local office supply firms for the donation of a duplicator or a mimeograph machine. Or they may secure donated equipment from an expanding newspaper. For a long range project, volunteers can establish and teach regular classes in reporting, editing, re-writing, and layout. Further, once the newspaper is established and inmate writers with talent are discovered, the editor – or teacher – can even help in arranging for publication outside the prison system.

INDUSTRY IN CORRECTION

PROBLEM:

A large percentage of the inmates of correctional institutions in the United States have meager employment skills. Many correctional institutions attempt to develop and improve these skills through prison industries and vocational training programs. But all too often the methods used and taught in these programs are obsolete in private industry. As a result, released inmates frequently are unable to find employment, and have little choice but to return to a life of crime to sustain themselves.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Businessmen and trade associations can serve as advisors to institution administrators – suggesting relevant industrial and training programs. In addition, volunteer business management can help develop the actual training programs which would provide inmates with skills which are in short supply in industry. The released offender would be far easier to place. Companies can also develop prison training programs specializing in skills the company itself needs – and offering inmates employment upon their release.

In one state prison, for example, upon advice of business experts, the prison abandoned a shoe repair training course. In its place it established a meat-cutting program, reflecting more accurately employment possibilities outside the prison walls.

Business associations can also regularly inform their membership about manpower resources which may be available from penal institutions, even to providing data on the skill of soon-to-be-released inmates.

THE TRANSITION PERIOD: WORK-RELEASE

PROBLEM:

The man just released from jail faces a harsh reality. He has immediate needs for food, shelter and clothing – yet he finds potential employers reluctant to hire him. Previous failures have battered his self-confidence, and he is acutely aware of the social stigma of his prison record. Without some assistance, chances are great that this man will eventually return to prison.

Work-release can help make this transition period less difficult. In a work-release program selected inmates leave confinement during working hours – going to employment in the community and returning to the institution at night. The job allows the offender to support his family, who might otherwise go on welfare. In addition, it gives him self-respect, self-confidence and valuable work experience. His re-entry into society is already in the process.

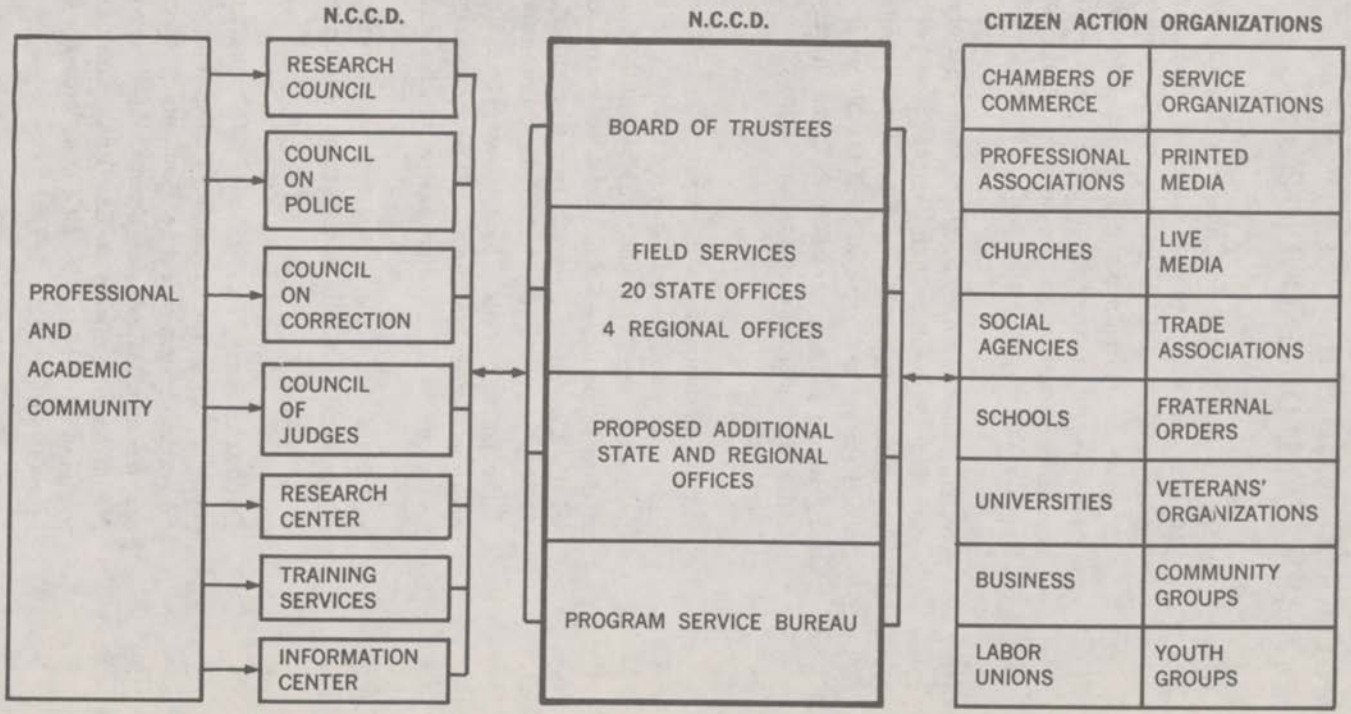
The community gains, too, as a result of work-release programs, since prisoners pay the state (or county) room and board, thus defraying the costs of operating institutions and thereby reducing taxes.

Work-release programs are now in effect in twenty states, but many more programs are urgently needed. Further, businessmen must be recruited to provide the necessary jobs for participating inmates.

WHAT CAN BE DONE:

Community groups can approach the Department of Corrections to find out if work-release programs are functioning in nearby institutions. If not, they should urge administrators to develop such programs. Willingness on the part of the administrators means nothing, however, if there are no jobs available. The group should prepare a list of job openings it can provide for inmates – and should be ready to recruit other businessmen to join the program. The majority of offenders on work-release have proved to be excellent job risks, and employers are likely to find this volunteer project a valuable business investment as well as a worthy deed.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY
EXPANDED CITIZEN ACTION PROGRAM



NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

What is NCCD?

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency is the only national, non-profit, private agency working to prevent and control crime and delinquency by tapping both professional expertise and citizen action. Founded in 1907, NCCD works to improve the entire criminal justice system – from police to courts to correction and including prevention of adult and juvenile crime.

What does NCCD do?

NCCD gathers, processes, stores, and disseminates critical data through its Information Center in New York City where intelligence from the U.S. and 60 nations is sifted for automated storage and retrieval. NCCD's library is the nation's largest on crime and correction. Its Research Center in Davis, California undertakes or sponsors research to fill gaps in knowledge.

NCCD sets standards for the criminal justice system with the help of its distinguished advisory councils of experts: the Council of Judges (including jurists from the Supreme Court on down), the Professional Council of correctional authorities, the Council on Research (social scientists), the Parole Council, and the newly formed Law Enforcement Council of top police officials. These advisory councils help create model acts, policy statements, and personnel standards which have proven a force for progressive practice and legislation.

NCCD helps upgrade professional performance by training key criminal justice personnel through institutes, seminars, and publications.

Through its Survey Services unit NCCD conducts surveys of public agencies from a single juvenile court to the entire correctional system of a state. Each survey outlines constructive recommendations for change. At the request of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice in 1966, NCCD undertook a survey of the nation's entire correctional system.

Where does the citizen fit in?

NCCD has pioneered in involving informed and concerned citizens in crime control efforts through its State Councils. These councils – now operating in 20 states and composed of lay leaders from all walks of life – have proven that officialdom needs the stimulus and encouragement of citizen groups to improve the criminal justice system. State Councils have helped save tens of millions of dollars and salvage thousands of lives by bringing modern methods and better-qualified personnel into the crime control field.

In line with its commitment to citizen action, NCCD formed a new unit in 1967 to involve the business community – the National Emergency Committee, a group of about 850 businessmen and labor officials. They aim to build support and leadership to fight crime.

Who Staffs NCCD?

NCCD's professional staff is composed of some 90 specialists in many fields. They are located in the New York City headquarters, four regional offices, 20 state council offices, and research and survey centers.

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APPENDIX 3

Exhibit.—Offender Aid and Restoration Project, "The OAR Volunteer's Book", Fairfax County, Va. (1973).

OAR VOLUNTEER'S BOOK

Offender
Aid and
Restoration

I. THE PLIGHT OF VIRGINIA'S JAIL INMATES

I've been in the City Jail 22 times. They save a cell for me down there. When I get out, nobody will give me a decent job, so all I can do is hustle. Then I get busted and go back to jail.

—*Snake Jones*

The courts of Virginia commit over 125,000 men and women, boys and girls, to the State's jails, year after year. The jails are said to be part of our "correctional system." They are intended to correct

people, to help them go straight and lead better lives. The fact is, however, that the people locked up in our jails are not being helped in this way.

No one is more sharply aware of this situation than the jails' supervisors--the City Sergeants and the County Sheriffs. They are conscientious men, doing their best. Nevertheless, because of public apathy, they do not now have the tools to help their inmates to reform.

When a man is locked up in jail, there is nothing for him to do generally speaking but to sit there. The only way he has of passing the dragging time is to hob-nob with his jail-mates, many of whom are skilled in various kinds of crime. When he gets out of jail, he is more likely to commit a serious crime than before he got in in the first place.

Congressman Richard H. Poff of Virginia's Fifth District, who is certainly not soft on the matter of coddling criminals, put the picture accurately in one of his 1970 Reports from Washington. In this Report, Mr. Poff declares that our jails are not fulfilling their corrective function. "Too often the function of our jails...is not corrective but custodial, not constructive but destructive, not rehabilitative but debilitative," Mr. Poff said.

II. TOWARD A SOLUTION

I know not whether laws be right
Or whether laws be wrong
All that we know who be in gaol
Is that the wall is strong
And that each day is like a Year,
A year whose days are long.

--Oscar Wilde

Why have we done nothing about our public, tax-supported jails, which operate today just about as they did 100 years ago? The leading reason, we suggest, is public ignorance. As things stand now, the public at large has no way of knowing what the jails are like. Most of Virginia's 93 jails are open only 15 or 30 minutes a week--and then only to a restricted few.

This state of affairs prevails in nearly all of America's 4,000-odd jails. With few exceptions, jails are public, tax-supported institutions that the public knows nothing about. As a result, and as Mr. Poff points out, they are destructive and debilitative places which scar millions of lives.

Beginning in the 1960's, however, the citizens of a few widely-scattered American communities have succeeded in tearing the veil between the public and the jails. In Bucks County, Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, citizens acting in support of the courts and the jail authorities have succeeded in transforming their local correctional systems.

The breakthroughs accomplished in these communities through trial and error provide a point of departure for an effective program here.

Our dream is to establish a program here that will work so well that it will set an example for communities across Virginia and America in upgrading their jails. You are invited to dream the dream, too, and to help make it come true.

III. STRATEGY

There are many prisoners--I would estimate some 10 percent--who are completely impervious to just about anything that the society or its correctional system might do for them. They are emotionally stunted individuals who will be in and out of pens all their lives. But that's 10 percent. What about the other 90 percent? Those who can be reached and helped...?

--Ed Tromanhauser, imprisoned for armed robbery, 1970

Attacking the Root--There are many possible ways to change our jails. We might think in terms of better jail structures, or an adult education program for the prisoners, or job training or constructive kinds of prisoner employment, or better medical service or jail libraries--all of these are needed. However, we do not believe that we can attack the root of the problem in these ways.

Otis L. Brown, Director of Virginia's Department of Welfare and Institutions, gave a speech in Richmond in December, 1968, titled "Where Do We Go From Here in Rehabilitation?" Mr. Brown suggested the root of the problem in this speech, saying:

> 'To help people help themselves' is becoming a very real motto in our system. The greatest area of rehabilitation can come not in teaching the trades to a person, not in teaching him to read and write and do arithmetic, but in teaching a man to become motivated, and to instill in him self-pride and self-interest in doing the job. This is the greatest accomplishment...

Otis Brown's insight is foreshadowed by this thought of Dr. Richard C. Cabot, who combined a medical career with distinguished social service:

> Why should this (jail) regime reform anyone? In my experience there are few tougher and more unyielding structures in the world than bad habit. It does not change as the result of a few months of forced, unpaid and unpalatable labor... So far as I have seen such reforms or heard of them from others, there has been at least one necessary condition-that someone should come to know and to understand the man in so intimate and friendly a way that he comes to an understanding of himself and the world he lives in.

Brown and Cabot both dug deep into the problem of human regeneration, and each suggested, you notice, the futility of outward pressure and the invaluable worth of contact with an understanding, warm

personality. Walter Thomas, Chaplain at the Virginia State Penitentiary, when asked in February, 1970, what he would do with 50 volunteer sponsors to help him, replied thoughtfully:

> Most of these guys--the prisoners--are isolated, rejected. They need a human contact, someone to listen to them and treat them with respect. To call a man by his name is to identify him, respect him. Along with dignity, you must talk with a man about his choices, the decisions he has to make. You mustn't take on his concerns or try to make his choices, for him--an inmate must be his own concern. ...the volunteer brings life into limbo--he is a sounding board with whom the prisoner can shape his expectations, vent his frustrations, define his goals, declare that he is somebody.

IV. THE VOLUNTEER'S JOB

...every human being has a spark somewhere hidden in him that will make it possible for redemption and rehabilitation. If we accept the idea that each human, however "bad", is a child of God, we must look for that spark.

--Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, 1967

OAR invites you and other concerned and warmly outgoing men and women in your communities to interact as human contacts with the inmates of your community's jails. As a volunteer, you will:

Prepare intensively for three consecutive evenings.

Swear or affirm to do your best as an OAR volunteer for one year, at a courtroom ceremony on the day following training, and receive credentials which will admit you to the jail.

Go to work on a one-to-one basis to help specific prisoners to help themselves (or on a one-prisoner-to-two-volunteers basis, in some cases), and

Attend monthly meetings with other

volunteers and with a seasoned professional to exchange experiences and work out ways to solve specific problems.

That is to say, you will set out with OAR to provide the "one necessary condition" that offenders must have in order to change their life styles.

In the process you will learn things about the dynamics of human behavior, about crime and delinquency, and about the workings of your community that no course in psychology or sociology can teach. Your experience as an OAR volunteer can be life-deepening, enriching.

OAR volunteers must be an elite group because the mission is delicate and responsible. These are the criteria for accepted applicants:

Evidence of stability, balance, and integrity

Reasonable maturity--volunteers usually must be 20 or over

A quality of empathy and sympathy

You are signed on as a volunteer for one year. Good volunteers who feel a continuing urge to serve at the end of their year can re-enlist. During your time of service, you will receive all the support that the OAR Community Director can muster, to help you change the lives of jail inmates entrusted to your care.

No one has all the answers to this business of life-changing. As an OAR volunteer, you belong in a

vitally important enterprise, an adventure in upgrading the community, not cut-and-dried. Our movement needs your insights and findings as we–Volunteers, offenders, and staff–move ahead.

WHAT IS OAR FOR?

OAR's primary purpose is to help people who are committed to jail and prisons to help themselves. We aim to help offenders to retain or to gain self-respect: and to enter the mainstream of community life as self-sustaining citizens.

A secondary OAR purpose is to support jail and prison officials in their efforts to improve their institutions–to make them truly corrective, rehabilitative, restorative, therapeutic.

V. WHO ARE THE OFFENDERS?

The man who falls by the wayside is indeed our brother, who, if not helped, will become a burden many times over.

—H. Jack Griswold
serving 10 years for
armed robbery, 1970

There are not many reliable statistics to be found concerning jail inmates. However, it is important for us at the outset to try to get as true an idea as possible about the backgrounds of the offenders we will help. Your OCD has a set of Jail Inmate Statistics which represent an attempt to pull together the needed information. Here are the 14 valuable facts that emerge from the statistics:

More offenders are in their 20s than in any other age group.

More than nine out of ten are males.

About two-thirds are white.

Most come from broken homes.

Most have some high school education, but few have diplomas.

About one in ten is mentally retarded, and two in ten are on the borderline of retardation

Nearly two out of five (38%) were unemployed when they got into trouble.

Nearly all have training only for unskilled or semi-skilled jobs.

Three out of four earn less than $5,000 a year.

About half are married. Two in five have children.

Most are unsettled as to residence and have put down few roots in their neighborhoods.

Most claim some religious preference.

Most have been in repeated trouble with the law.

Alcohol is a part of the reason why one out of three is in jail.

VI. GUIDELINES FOR VOLUNTEERS

Behavior scientists today agree in the view that the individual continually attempts to make an adaption to the environment. Sometimes the individual seems to conquer his environment, at least in part; sometimes the environment seems to win. Most of the time one can speak of neither winning or losing, but of cooperating, with more or less satisfaction and minimal pain for both.

This cooperation has to reach a tolerable point for both parties so that a 'vital balance'...can be maintained. ...If the environment gets 'kicked around' too much, it will react; and if the individual gets pressed upon too heavily, he will react...Mr. X, we say, seems very nervous recently. His wife might tell us he is sleepless and distressed. Mr. Y is known to be using increased amounts of alcohol, and Mr. Z. just gave up his job without any apparent reason.

These symptons...all are signs of a losing struggle... of demoralization or partial disorganization in a perennial adaption struggle.

[The thing to do then is] to find where the pressure is too great and where it can be lifted. What forces are driving adversely? Some men can be driven to drink, some to crime; some even to suicide. We are all driven to some extent, and we all have some resources to withstand the drives and take control of the situation. What happens to those who cannot? And more important, what can be done to restore or strengthen their counteracting capacities?

--Karl Menninger, M.D.
The Crime of Punishment, 1966

Most misdemeanants who wind up in jail have had more than their shares of "too great" frustrations in their early lives. Most have undergone repeated failure experiences. As a result their "counteracting capacities," as Dr. Menninger says--their "inward control" or "self-respect"--have been damaged. So they do antisocial, irresponsible things, often on the spur of the moment.

Inward control can frequently be repaired by the coming into their lives of a confidence-inspiring person--someone who can be relied on, someone who will listen patiently, who respects the offender and treats him as a decent person, who understands and cares. Such a person can become a guiding example, a rock in a weary land.

In one important sense you are in a better position to help the offender than a judge or a probation officer. You do not represent the law, you do not have to be sternly authoritative, you do not have to deal out punishment. You can be a friend. You must represent acceptance, understanding, affection, and concern--"somebody who'd come to my funeral if I died."

The process of establishing inward control begins when a bond develops between the offender and you, his new friend, to the point where the offender does not want to let you down. After this desire develops, the next step--transferring the desire not to let <u>you</u> down to not wanting to let <u>himself</u>, the offender, down--is an easier accomplishment. Thus we go from lack of inward control to objective inward control (I don't want to get into trouble because it would

hurt the person I respect) and then to the final goal of subjective inward control (I have my own standards to which I must be true).

While the offender and you are struggling toward the basic "inward control" goal, ask yourself continually "What are the pressures that have overwhelmed this person--and how can they be eased? What forces are driving him adversely--and how can he counteract them?" Your secondary goal must be: to work out a plan with your offender which will enable him to cope, and then to help him to put that plan into effect.

Working with offenders cannot be reduced to "cook-book" form. Much will always be left to your good judgement. The guidelines given below provide a frame of reference for you in your efforts to help the offender 1) to gain inward control and 2) to help himself.

Break the Ice--Once an offender is assigned to you, the first step is for you to meet him and to explore with him the possibility of a useful relationship.

Even in the free community where new relationships are spontaneously and mutually sought, we often find ourselves uneasy in meeting a stranger. The inmate will share your uneasiness at first meeting. Do not expect him to welcome you with open arms. You will probably find that he is suspicious and has difficulty in talking openly with you. For many offenders, the OAR volunteer represents the first person from the community who has offered him friendship. It will take time and patience before the offender develops trust and confidence in you.

In approaching your new relationship, we suggest that you do not fall back on small-talk about the weather or sports. It's better to talk about the situation in which you find yourself. You might start off by saying that you too are uneasy in this situation. You might share with the offender your reasons for being a volunteer–what you expect to gain from it, how you happened to be assigned to him, and so forth. Another possibility is to ask about what's familiar to the inmate and unfamiliar to you. What is jail life like? What is a typical day in jail?

The point is that you will do well to confront early the issue of your new relationship and the reasons why you are both in it. You can small-talk your way around the issue, but that does little toward building a relationship.

Be yourself--There is no need to establish a facade or to create some kind of special status for yourself in your relationship with the offender.

Use Appropriate Language--Whose language is to be used, your's or the offender's vernacular? To use language that is not part of you will likely lead to your being seen as a phony. There is a language that both of you can use. Aim to speak simply and directly and use words within the offender's comprehension.

Mean What You Say--Never make a promise unless you've thought it through first and are prepared to carry it out. The offender will test you, call your bluff, and see if you will deliver. This is

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an important part of the offender's learning to trust you (which will come slowly in any case).

Don't let the offender down even in small things. Show up for appointments and be on time. If you don't show responsibility, you can't expect him to learn it.

Express Your Honest Feelings–Do not use up your energy in keeping back your genuine feelings. The offender needs to know that you have limits to your patience and that you are not God. Express your feelings genuinely. Your honest reactions to the offender's actions tell him who he is! Further, an honest and unmasked expression of feelings in one important way for you to show concern.

There is, however, a big difference between losing control of your anger and rejecting your offender, as against a measured expression of anger and continued acceptance of him.

Be Supportive, Encouraging, Friendly, But Also Firm--It's part of your job to be honest and objective, disapproving when this is warranted, as well as praising, supporting and encouraging when that is warranted.

What You Do Means More Than What You Say–Early in your relationship your offender may need some concrete help. He may need cigarettes or writing paper. If possible, get these things, personally and cheerfully. What you do for him at this point may speak louder to him than anything you can say.

Set The Example–There is a great tendency for the offender to identify with the volunteer. He may assume your mannerisms and even your way of thinking. You have a big responsibility to conduct yourself in an honest, fair, and responsible way.

All of us have had someone in our lives who served as a good model for us. Now it is up to you to fill this role for your offender. The whole concept of a corrective experience implies that a new model is introduced that will correct old misconceptions.

Respect–Respect is the keystone. The offender will not open himself to you until he respects and trusts you. Conversely, you must respect the offender's individuality and his basic rights as a human being. View him with the dignity that another human being in trouble deserves. There is no room for narrow prejudices or feelings of superiority. Respond to his needs and interests, not to your own.

Respect is something that most of us take for granted, but the offender may never have known respect before. Your treatment of him as a worthwhile human being may have a tremendous corrective impact. In this connection, deal with his present and future rather than his past. To dwell on an unsavory past weakens the offender by giving him more opportunity to justify his present troubles on the basis of past deprivation.

Call Him by His Name--as much as possible. When you call him by name you communicate respect, friendliness and warmth.

Listen--Maybe it's easier for you to do most of the talking, even to preach or scold; but chances are the offender has had plenty of this before. What he likely hasn't had is another human being who will hear him out, really listen to what he has to say.

Listening is not easy for most of us. We ache to stick our two cents in, to pass judgment, to moralize. It takes will power to develop an attitude of patient, objective listening.

Try to understand the underlying feeling. Do not be overly concerned about the actual words, for words can be used to hide feelings. It isn't so much what is said as how it is said.

Listen for themes in your conversations with the offender. What repeats itself will give you the clues you need as to what is bothering him.

It will take considerable listening and questioning in order ascertain what is pressing on him because people hide their problems–even from themselves–when they are painful.

What the offender has to say when he opens up and begins to level with you may shock you in its difference from your own set of values. Try to think of these shockers in terms of their causes, objectively, without either judging or condoning.

Let the comments you make and the questions you ask be primarily in terms of the pressures that are demoralizing your offender–that is, his problems–

the things that are bothering him. As the offender talks and you listen, try to understand and define, in your own mind, what they are.

Besides determining your offender's pressures, your patient listening will help you to determine his needs and capabilities and limitations. Through listening you can determine his interests, too. All this will be as pure gold when the time comes for you to work out a plan with him.

Another good reason to listen: it allows your offender to verbalize and to get out his pent-up emotions–a cleansing, cathartic, and healthy thing.

Don't Probe––Let the offender tell you in his own good time about the offense he committed, the family he left behind, or any other deeply held guilt-associated matters. He will tell you when he comes to trust you.

Protect His Confidences––Do not discuss what he tells you with unauthorized persons who are not involved in his case.

Accept the Offender––Accept him as a human being with problems and as an individual who is no better or no worse than any of us. To pigeonhole or to categorize a man is, in a way, to dehumanize him. Assume a non-judgmental attitude toward him so that you will be able to give him the acceptance he needs so badly in his time of trouble.

Accepting the individual as he is may be difficult. Because of your different backgrounds, he probably has a different set of values from

yours. If at any time during your relationship you find that you can't be accepting of him, do not hesitate to make new arrangements with the OCD; but if you can accept him as is, he will be aware of this acceptance and the basis of his rehabilitation will then be established.

Be Patient--Do not expect overnight miracles. When things have been going wrong for years and years with a person, they cannot be corrected in a few weeks or months. The positive effects of your relationship with your offender may not have a decisive effect until long after you've stopped working with him.

Expect Setbacks--Even if slow progress is visible, there will be setbacks.

Many a volunteer has no indication of success until he has followed his offender out of jail and then back into jail and out again.

You will probably find that your offender half expects to fail in his effort to change for the better. Patient persistence is a key part of your job--it conveys to the offender that you will not give up on him. You must stick with him until your expectations for change overcome his expectations to be a disappointment.

Be prepared to deal with your feelings when the setbacks and disappointments happen. You can show anger-under-control as a normal human being responds to "bad" behavior. But you cannot vent your frustrations and uncontrolled anger on the offender.

Although you are trying to achieve success with the offender, remember that he does not owe success to you; he owes it only to himself.

Win Respect for Yourself--The offender will never respect you until he realizes that he cannot con or manipulate you and that you will not con him. He has probably learned that he can con most people like yourself (teachers, parents, employers). You must be different.

Part of the reason for attempts to con you is to measure you--to find out whether you are a naive weakling or someone who can be respected. The con man respects those he cannot con even though he may express anger when his manipulative efforts fail.

The offender's manipulations may be expressed in requests for you to influence guards, or a witness, or for you to bring something into the jail which may not be allowed. If the offender asks you to do some borderline thing while he's in jail, tell him you will check to see if it's all right. Then ask the appropriate jail official.

After your offender gets out of jail, he may ask you to loan him money or your car, or to co-sign a loan. Say "no" to such sweeping requests, for such loans have a way of destroying the best friendships. A denial of the request for that reason will be understandable and probably acceptable to your offender.

Don't let your desire to establish a friendship lead you into doing anything for the offender that isn't in his best interest. The manipulator's favorite strategy is to work on your sympathy and to plant a sense of guilt about letting a friend down.

You are wrecking your relationship with the offender when you allow him to con you.

You don't have to believe everything he tells you, either. Some offenders have come to believe that stretching the facts is necessary--maybe they have had to lie and to con in order to survive. Check the facts whenever you can. See how well what he tells you accords with reality. When it doesn't, it's usually good to let him know that you know this, kindly but firmly. When you do this, you provide a "reality test" for him. As he comes to know that you expect accuracy (within his means to achieve it), he may get into the habit of producing it more often. Certainly he'll respect you more because you expect the truth.

Expect Hostility--There will be times when your offender, overwhelmed by his troubles, will confront you with hostility. At such times do not force conversation upon him and above all do not respond in a hostile, sarcastic or anxious manner. Do not act shocked. Retain your composure, ignore it or withdraw for awhile, and chances are that your offender will regain his composure.

Try to differentiate between a withdrawn and a hostile offender. A withdrawn offender can use your quiet attention and perhaps psychiatric help as well.

Some offenders harbor deep-seated hostilities that have built up over a long time--usually directed toward people connected with the offender's difficulties. Some of these feelings rise from the offender's real frustrations, while others may represent his efforts to blame his troubles on other people. Tell the offender when such hostility surfaces that you can appreciate the in-

tensity of his feelings but are not in a position to judge him or his enemies. Then help him to take a realistic look at the consequences of acting on his angry feelings in terms of his own chances for success in the free community.

Discussing Yourself--If your offender asks you personal questions, answer them honestly, even if this is difficult. Although your association is focused on helping him to help himself, it should be a give and take situation which may include some talk about yourself and your family.

Advice---Before you give advice, make sure that you understand the offender's problem fully and from his point of view. Wait until you have figured out the pressures on him and his needs, his capabilities and limitations and his interests. "See through John--and then help John to see his way through."

Advice goes astray when given from the volunteer's point of view rather than the offender's. Given a certain situation, you might solve it in a certain way which would be very good for you; however, this same solution for him might not be good at all. Put yourself in the other fellow's shoes before you give him advice. A person who feels obliged to accept a solution foreign to him will never really identify with it. He will merely go through the motions.

Your offender has received much advice which hasn't helped him. Wait until he asks for your advice before you give it. Advice should come only after your relationship is well-established.

Expect Success--You can easily trap yourself

into thinking that because your offender has been a failure he will continue to be a failure. If you allow yourself to feel this way, you can be sure that your offender will pick up the feeling and act in the way you expect.

You can teach old dogs new tricks. People continually mature and mellow, and we are capitalizing on this aspect of human nature.

Part of holding out expectations of success for the offender is to get him to face up to his own responsibility in his dilemma. To allow him to see himself as someone that "things just happen to" or as "a born loser" will only encourage further distortion and lack of inward control.

Exploit Dissatisfaction--When your offender begins to express dissatisfaction with his lot in life, move to exploit that feeling. As much as is possible, try to bring about discomfort along with this feeling of dissatisfaction. Now is the time to underline what future success will mean to the offender. Now you can demand success. Get your offender to want something and help him to go after it.

Encourage Self-awareness--Don't rush it; but as your relationship develops, encourage your offender to think about himself and his future. You will have come a long way together when you get to the place where you can help him to plan the steps which will win him self-respect and success. Many offenders have previously done almost no thinking about themselves in any planful, forward-looking way. They seem almost to turn away from self-awareness.

Set Goals--When you begin planning ahead, try

to get your offender to think in terms of realistic goals. Present these goals as tentative suggestions, rather than as stern commands. In your own thinking, emphasize the realities of the situation– no solution is worth anything if it is unrealistic for this particular offender at this present time.

Prepare for Release––Most offenders, when release day approaches, become anxious and ridden by self-doubt, although such feelings may be carefully disguised. Will my record follow me everywhere? Am I really a born loser? At this time it is very supportive and necessary for you to tell him that "Millions of others have made it, and so can you." At the same time, help him to realize that he will probably meet people with prejudices who will be unwilling to give him a friendly reception, even though he has paid his debt to society. Talk to him about controlling his reactions to such people. He will encounter many other pitfalls just like the rest of us in the free world. He must decide how to deal with these pitfalls, but you will be available to talk things over and to help find ways to get around the pitfalls between him and and a decent life.

Help After Release––The most important part of your job begins when the offender becomes a free man. If you have his trust and have established mutually a plan of action, you can be a major help to him in working his plan. Now is the time for you to steer your offender to those services (listed at Appendix A) which he needs. Now intercede for him in his efforts to land a job. Now keep in close touch with him and reinforce his efforts to accept himself as a worthy human being who can succeed in the free community.

A word of caution here–it is easy to lose your

contact with your offender just after he gets out. Be sure to agree as to the time and place of the next visit before you part, at every meeting.

Use the Crisis--If your offender is typical, he has lived with a crisis much of the time. In fact his whole life may have been one big crisis. He is accustomed to being overcome by crises and may expect to be defeated. If, after he leaves jail, you are able to help him win some small victory in the first crisis that comes along, it will go a long way toward enabling him to make the turn from habitual defeat to habitual victory.

Two Don'ts:

Don't Expect Thanks--You may not receive thanks or any show of gratitude from the offender. He may feel it but may not know how to express it, may actually be embarrassed by it. Maybe he has never known really sustained attention and affection before, and he may not be able to handle it in a normal way. He may just sop it up hungrily without giving in return. You may never hear a "thank you", but your effort will be in the long run appreciated, probably more than you or anyone will ever know.

Don't Over-Identify--You cannot take the burden of an offender's problems on yourself. They are his problems, not yours.

You cannot behave as the offender does, and you are not to join him on his level. Your job is to find a meeting ground where you can relate

in a friendly way. The idea is for him to level up to you and not for you to level down.

To feel <u>with</u> another person gives him strength. To feel <u>like</u> him makes him believe that you are as powerless as he is.

VII. AIDS AND RESOURCES

I have spent over twelve years in three state prisons...During all that time not one prison official has ever bothered to ask me to live decently when I'm released...No one has told me anything.

You out there had better damned well hope that someone talks to me before I walk out of the front gate of this prison.

--Mike Misenheimer, a "lifer" in Indiana State Prison, 1970

OAR's Community Director in your community will enlist a number of resources to help you in the task of restoring offenders to a self-respecting, self-controlling, and self-sustaining life.

You must be prepared to spend considerable time in obtaining such services for your offender. Appointments must be made, forms must be filled out, formidable officials behind large desks must be interviewed, and hours must be spent in waiting rooms waiting for interviews in order to obtain the services of some agencies. The OCD will do all he can to help with arrangements. Nevertheless, you must go along with your offender to help cut through

the red tape–or else he will not get the services he needs.

Hopefully, these services will include:

Psychiatric Service––Some offenders are so disoriented from reality that they need more than the reality level kind of counseling that you as a volunteer are equipped to provide. The OCD will arrange for the services of a volunteer psychiatric team to help in such cases.

Emergency Financial Assistance for Newly Released Prisoners––Some offenders leave jail penniless and homeless. There will be available in your community a small cash fund where money for a night's lodging, a day or two of meals, bus fare or the like can be obtained. The OCD will enlist the services of some separate agent or agency to distribute this money, in order to avoid the embarrassment and strain on a warm relationship that financial obligation brings.

Education––Often you will determine that an offender should pick up the strands of his broken education as an important part of rehabilitation. Help with regular school enrollments or enrollment in night adult classes can be arranged.

Vocational Training––Some offenders need vocational training in order to obtain work more fulfilling and more suitable to their capacity than dead-end jobs like dishwashing. Mentally retarded and

physically handicapped prisoners also may need suitable vocational training.

Employment-- The OCD will obtain the cooperation of the State Employment Commission in your community, and he will also enlist the support of certain major employers in the community in giving a chance to the ex-prisoner.

Bonding--We are exploring the possibility of obtaining special surety bonds for ex-prisoners. Such bonds encourage employers to hire ex-prisoners.

Health--Some offenders need glasses, dental work, operations or other medical services which they have no money to pay for.

Alcoholics Anonymous--Note that one offender in three gets in trouble through excessive drinking.

Family Problems--Many of the offenders' pressures and frustrations involve their families.

Housing

Legal Aid--If there is no legal aid society in your community, legal aid by mail can be obtained through OAR's Charlottesville office which has a working arrangement with the Prisoner Information Council of the University of Virginia's Law School.

Clothing--Men who go to jail in summer may be released in winter in their shirtsleeves.

Day Care--May be needed for preschool age children of mothers who must work in order for the family to make ends meet.

Group Counseling--Counseling sessions involving groups of offenders may have reinforcing psychotherapeutic effect in affording our offenders a new point of view. Your OCD will establish such group sessions in support of OAR in your community in due course.

The group sessions, and all other services that we are establishing for offenders, are to be extended to the families of offenders in appropriate cases. Where two volunteers are assigned to a case as an "outside-inside" team it will be the job of the outside member to bring the offender's dependents in contact with these services as needed.

Finally, we emphasize that the bad habits, anomie, and the despair which bring many people into conflict with the law, are deep-seated and long-standing. You will not be able to correct them in any short time. Based on the experience of probation officers, it will be necessary to work with most offenders from six months to a year and longer before we can feel any confidence that they can go ahead on their own.

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VIII. SOME VOLUNTEERS' SUCCESSFUL TECHNIQUES

The Descent to hell is easy
The gates stand open day and night
But to reclimb the slope
And escape to the upper air
This is labor...

--Vergil Aeneid, VI

As long as your offender is in jail, your methods will be somewhat restricted. It is a time for you to pay regular visits to him, to let him know that someone cares, to lay plans for the future, to help him maintain his family ties and other constructive ties. From the day that the offender leaves jail, however, techniques employed by the volunteers may vary greatly. This is the way it should be. Your relationship with your offender should match your respective personalities. There is no model to follow. The following ten success stories may give you some good ideas:

One volunteer dropped everything he was doing one day to assist his offender with a legal problem. The volunteer, who was not a lawyer, took the young man to court and helped him to get a Writ of Replevin to recover a stove wrongfully possessed by an ex-landlord. The first stop was at the volunteer's home to get a baby-bottle warmer for temporary use by the offender's wife. The offender appeared in court that day for the first time as a civil court plaintiff rather than as a criminal court defendant. They did more than just get that stove back. The offender has never been in trouble since.

Another volunteer, who was thoroughly tested by the young offender in his charge, met the youngster in the executive dining room of the corporation where he worked. The youngster appeared without a shave and in poor clothing several times before he appeared neatly dressed. The volunteer dealt with the young man with patience, understanding, sympathy. Finally after several visits, the youngster, who had earlier stated that "only squares work" told the volunteer he wanted a job. The volunteer helped him get one, which eventually ripened into an apprentice situation. Then it became apparent that the young man had taken charge of his own life to the point where regular visits with the volunteer were no longer needed. "This boy is simply not the same person," declared the volunteer then.

Another volunteer meets his offender at a drive-in restaurant occasionally. He also gives him a hockey ticket now and then. Once he was responsible for the boy and his father attending a hockey game together–with two tickets furnished by the volunteer. The offender later said that it was the first time he ever remembered going anywhere with his Dad. The volunteer also lent his charge a typewriter to assist him in doing his homework.

Yet another volunteer likes to have his offender come to his home for dinner on Sundays once or twice a month. He's been effective at finding jobs for offenders.

Still another volunteer likes to have his offender several times a month at his office. Both are interested in athletics, and much of their relationship is built on this common interest.

Another technique employed by volunteers is to employ ex-offenders. Often the employee-employer relationship involving a caring employer has truly affected the behavior problem of young ex-offenders.

Another volunteer, convinced that his ex-offender needed a change of environment, took the ex-offender to a state employment counselor, who arranged an excellent employment opportunity in Texas. The rehabilitation of this ex-offender has been successful.

Other volunteers have worked on old cars with their charges. In such a situation the volunteer can do a lot more than just fix up a car.

Another volunteer, who--like his ex-offender--is interested in athletics, works out regularly with the offender. They have found a mutual interest in weight-lifting at the "Y".

Another volunteer referred his young charge to a commercial art course. For the first time the young man really could dig his teeth into something. He has not been seen again in the criminal courts.

Another person assisted an ex-offender and his bride through the first difficult year of marriage by excellent marriage counseling.

IX. OFFENDERS' FAMILIES

Wealth makes many friends,
but the poor is separated
from his neighbor.

--Proverbs 19:4

An important part of OAR's plan is to work with offenders and their families, for many of the strains and frustrations which cause offenders to get into trouble somehow involve their families.

In cases where families play an important role in the offender's life, our plan is to assign two volunteers, one to the offender and one to his family, with the two volunteers working as a team. Often it will be appropriate for the Family Volunteer to be a woman.

Being put into jail is traumatic both for the person in jail and for his family. Marriages by the thousands are torn apart by the shame and disgrace associated with going to jail.

The tasks of a Family Volunteer are:

To help the wife (or husband or parents) to realize that all is not lost, that there is still hope, and that much depends on the family's hanging together and facing the crisis so as to overcome it.

To arrange for some emergency source of income--from welfare, emergency food

programs or the like. In many offender-with-family cases a severe financial problem arises when the breadwinner is jailed and the family source of income is cut off.

To try to straighten out any chaotic or pressure-causing features of the family set-up.

Almost all the families we become involved with are low-income families. It is important for the Family Volunteer to put herself into the shoes of the offender's wife. The following discussion of low-income life styles (from the book of the same name , edited by Lola M. Irelan and published by the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1968) will be helpful:

In our society a low income is directly associated with certain life circumstances–mean, crowded living quarters, reduced access to education and recreation, simple manual types of labor. The result of these circumstances is a kind of life for the poor which has four general limitations:

1. Limited Alternatives––The poor, of all Americans, have the least opportunity for varied experiences. Throughout life, they experience a narrow range of situations and demands. They seldom take part in any activity out of the daily routine. They rarely play a leadership role. On their jobs they confront uncomplex situations and have few and simple standards to meet. Socially, they seldom associate beyond the borders of kinship and neighborhood groups–people like themselves.

2. Powerlessness--The position of poor people vis-a-vis society is one of impotence. They have practically no bargaining power in the working world. Unskilled and uneducated, they are the most easily replaced workers. They do the harder and dirtiest work-at the lowest pay. On the job, the poor man can exercise little choice and has small opportunity to influence his working conditions. His helplessness in relation to the larger community leads naturally to the conviction that he cannot control his life or the workings of society. The poor are likely to voice such views as "a body just can't take nothing for granted. You just have to live from day to day and hope the sun will shine tomorrow.

3. Relative Deprivation--The American poor feel deprived more than the poor elsewhere. Deprivation is, after all, relative. When an American family sees comfort and luxury shown nightly on television and the family members realize that such comfort is not available to them no matter how hard they try, then frustration, resentment, and an acute feeling of being deprived results. There is a gap in America between generally accepted goals and the extent to which the lower class can realistically expect to obtain them. The relative deprivation of our poor is, perhaps, the condition which more than anything else embitters them.

4. Insecurity--People of low income are more at the mercy of life's unpredictability than are the more affluent. Sickness , injury, loss of work, debts can worry anyone; but to the poor man they are especially fearful. His savings, if any, quickly disappear in an emergency. Certain conditions of his life make emergencies more likely--his

work skills are more expendable and more dependent on seasonal demands; he is more likely to lose his job on short notice; an emergency expenditure of funds may mean no way to pay the rent, and eviction; he is unable to secure for his family the preventive health measures which fend off medical emergencies for well-to-do families. Often he cannot successfully navigate the tortuous channels involved in using public sources of emergency help, such as clinics and legal aid agencies.

Besides the real limitations on the lives of the poor described above, there are certain feelings that poor people commonly have which powerfully influence their point of view.

5. Anomia--The term "anomie" describes situations in which social standards have broken down. This normless condition is a result of the failure of prescribed behavior to lead one to expected goals. The poor man who is taught that economic success is the most desirable thing in life--and then is barred from any legal means of achieving it--may come to expect that illegal behavior is necessary to reach approved goals.

6. Isolation--More than any other segment of society the poor are socially isolated. The poor man not only fails to comprehend what's going on in his community, he is out of touch with it. He reads fewer newspapers, hears fewer news programs, joins fewer organizations, and knows less of the current life of either the community or the nation than more prosperous, better educated people do. Feeling no identity as a citizen of the community, he views the world as indifferent and distant--"No one is going to care much what happens to you when you get right down to it."

7. Fatalism--The alien conditions in which poor people are caught up tend to be unintelligible to them. They do not grasp the structure of their world and never know what to expect from it. Typically they believe in uncontrollable external forces and that people cannot avoid what is going to happen to them. Even optimistic feelings are likely to be expressed in terms of the workings of chance--"You should never give up hope. There's always the chance of a lucky break." The poor buy most of the numbers slips.

8. Orientation to the Present--This fatalistic attitude acts as a brake on planning forward. It is, after all, fruitless to try to plan your life when fortune and luck are considered its basic elements. Also, when so much of one's resources must be spent to survive the present, little is left for the future. Such an orientation inhibits systematic savings, frugality, and rainy-day planning. In the home children quickly learn to think in terms of the here and now. This low concern for future goals is related to low academic achievement for low income children–and the cycle continues. It has a lot to do with the unpremeditated, spur-of-the-moment, acting-out kinds of acts which cause poor people to crowd the jails.

9. Authority is a strong factor in the relationships of poor people. They believe in the validity of strength as the source of authority and in the rightness of existing systems. From simple life experiences one learns to prefer simplistic solutions to complexities. Poor people classify others a "weak" or "strong". They believe that deviance or disobedience

should be severely punished. They rely on authority rather than reason as the proper source of decisions. This outlook affects family relations, child-raising patterns, and relation to community institutions--schools, the police, welfare agencies, even churches.

10. Concreteness--Stress on material things rather than ideas is also common among the poor, which is natural for people occupied by material problems. The poor speak in less abstract language, with fewer concepts and more frequent reference to concrete objects. They make fewer generalizations, rely less on intellectual processes than on direct observations, and are more tied to the world of immediate happenings and sensations. Poor people admire the practical, down-to-earth man of action--they have no time for egg-heads. What counts are hard, tangible results.

X. YOUR OBLIGATIONS AS A VOLUNTEER

What is most rewarding is doing something that really matters with congenial colleagues who share with us the firm conviction that it needs to be done.

--Elton Trueblood

When you join OAR, you agree to serve six hours a month for one year.

With few exceptions, you will have only one offender to work with at any one time. We want to introduce you into the life of the offender as soon as possible after the offender runs afoul of the law. Often the OCD will introduce you to your offender as soon as he learns that he will have to go to jail–to help him settle his affairs and to make some arrangements so that his family will not be left alone and on their own. Once in confinement, and after confinement is ended, we want you to see the offender at least three weeks out of four; and it is hoped that these meetings will be more often than three weeks out of four.

We also want you to attend the monthly "feedback" sessions when you and all the volunteers will meet together with the Community Director.

We will expect you when you come to the monthly feedback session to hand a brief written report of your progress with your offender to your OCD. These

reports are needed for the offender's file.

Let the OCD know immediately if you can no longer meet with your offender. It is far better to turn down an assignment than to neglect the offender. Remember, most offenders have been hurt and let down again and again. A poor experience here can have a crushing effect. If you can't see the offender three weeks out of four, by all means let the OCD know right away. The OCD can then re-assign.

If you have to be relieved temporarily--due to illness, a business trip or something similar--please let the OCD know and the offender, too, so that he will know he is not being ignored by you.

There is a pitfall into which OCD volunteers may fall at the beginning. The jail's supervisor is charged with controlling and disciplining the prisoners as well as rehabilitating them; and the volunteer, whose task is to help the jail supervisor to carry out the job of rehabilitating the prisoners, must not interfere with the supervisor's custodial responsibilities. For this reason you must schedule your activities completely in accordance with existing jail routine, and it is up to you to achieve a cordial working relationship with the custodial staff. Conversely, we ask the supervisor, on his part, to be flexible to the point where he will alter long-standing jail arrangements in order to take advantage of the enlarged opportunity that the volunteers offer to treat the prisoners as well as to keep them.

XI. OAR, JAILS AND PRISONS, AND THE FUTURE

Now the message I want to get across is that we cannot simply indict the superintendents, the judges, the probation officers and other people in the (correctional) system for these tragedies. It is not their system, it is ours. But we must rather indict the American public for its attitude and apathy...I think each of us must carry a share of the blame...At the very least we must create widespread public awareness of these problems and only then can we expect constructive action.

--Allen C. Hubanks, Director Correctional Service of Minnesota, 1969

The local OAR program that you are part of has implications for all of Virginia and for our nation. Your local program is a pilot effort, and its progress is being followed with interest by leaders in other communities in Virginia and elsewhere. The program is being jointly sponsored by the Virginia Council of Churches, the Chaplain Service of the Churches of Virginia, and the Virginia Council of Human Relations. In Virginia, OAR has a State Board of Directors with a State Coordinator and a central State office located in Charlottesville. Funds to operate the program for a three year period are being furnished by the Virginia Council on Criminal Justice and by a group of private foundations, national church headquarters, and corporations. After three years the program must be so well-planted in your community that it will be continued with local funds.

Our community program then, when it is established, will spark a movement to upgrade jails and prisons all across Virginia. Once the effectiveness of citizen participation is clearly demonstrated in Virginia, similar efforts will be launched in other states.

Implicit in the purpose of your local program is the formation of a local association of citizens who will support your community's judges and sheriff in their efforts to rehabilitate offenders. As things stand now, our jails are public, tax-supported institutions which the public at large knows nothing about. Because of public apathy, the deficiencies of our jails, their complete lack of facilities for rehabilitating anyone, are ignored. OAR members work to correct this massively negative and unsatisfactory state of affairs.

In some communities, OAR volunteers have gained the confidence of the community's judges to the point where the judges commit certain offenders directly to a volunteer's care as "an agent for treatment" instead of jail. Such offenders often are first offenders where there is danger that commitment to jail and to association with confirmed criminal types will hurt, not help, efforts to reform them. Such an arrangement operates to decrease the jail population, decrease jail costs and enable jail authorities to treat prisoners on an individual basis rather than a mass basis.

OAR volunteers also work to help the community's sheriff in his efforts to make the jail a correctional kind of place–instead of a scarring and destructive "school for crime." OARmen have already had a hand in introducing the following correctional features in jails –

An intake system – to enable the jailers to know who each new arrival is at the jail and what his correctional and security needs may be.

Medical screening and services for jail inmates

Adult education

Libraries

Newspaper and T.V. delivery to enable the inmates to keep in touch with the outside world.

Job search services

Psychiatric services

Work release

I was in prison and you came to me...as you came to one of the least of these my brothers, you came to me.

––Jesus of Nazareth

Appendix 4

Exhibit A.—Goodin, C., *Crime Reduction: A Community Approach*, Police Chief, vol. 42, November 1973, at 20.

Exhibit B.—Erickson, J., *Community Service Officer: New York's Model Cities' Effect on Law Enforcement*, Police Chief, vol. 42, June 1973, at 40.

Exhibit C.—Crime Insurance: Despite New Marketing, It Can Still be Hard to Get, Black Enterprise, April 1973, at 33.

Exhibit D.—Ackland, L., Anti-Crime Politics, reprinted in *Hearings on the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Before Subcomm. No. 5 of the House Comm. on the Judiciary*, 93d Cong., 1st sess., ser. 4, app. B at 651 (1973).

Exhibit E.—Jagoe, A., *Volunteer Insurance*, VIP Examiner, Spring 1973, at 4, col. 1.

Exhibit F.—Citizens vs. Crooks: Local Crime Commissions at Work, Changing Times, vol. 26, December 1972, at 47.

Exhibit G.—Brietenbach, H., *Does Your Community Need a Citizen Crime Commission?*, 8 Am, Crim. L. Q. 62 (1970).

Exhibit H.—Address by Malcolm R. Wilkey, General Counsel and Secretary, Kennecott Copper Corp., Delivered before the Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association, Pittsburgh, Pa., July 28, 1969, in *Vital Speeches*, Sept. 15, 1969, at 718.

Exhibit A

[From the Police Chief, November 1973]

Crime Reduction: A Community Approach

By Col. Carl V. Goodin, Chief of Police, Cincinnati, Ohio

The past several Christmas seasons in Cincinnati, Ohio, were greeted with substantial increases in armed robberies, purse snatchings, burglaries, and auto thefts. Key indicators such as the rise in the total number of robberies in 1972, the rise in the number of armed robberies, and the fact that since Aguust 1972, armed robberies outnumbered strong-armed robberies caused deep concern for the upcoming holidays. The increase in the number of robbery-related homicides for 1972 over 1971 (eight in 10½ months of 1972 compared to four all year in 1971) and the physical violence against victims, including two robbery-homicides in the first 2 weeks of November 1972, pointed to the fact that a very dangerous, violent Christmas season lay ahead.

Faced with the monumental problem of protecting the masses of people on the streets and the fact that stores were open later for Christmas shopping, the Cincinnati Police Division took direct action. A temporary, specialized unit was formed to combat the anticipated robbery increase. The unit was composed of 40 uniformed and 28 nonuniformed personnel drawn from various bureaus and sections of the police division. Task Force Six, which derived its name from "Signal Six," the police radio code designation for a robbery in progress, became operational November 20, 1972, and was disbanded January 5, 1973. Realizing that 68 men and women alone could not combat the problem, a multipronged attack was launched.

A great deal of preparatory work was done. A comprehensive robbery analysis for the Cincinnati area was written and turned into a training bulletin for distribution to sworn personnel. All police officers, particularly district men, were advised of the impending problems and potential target areas.

The operations analysis unit of the research and development section identified 10 high probability areas of robbery for saturation patrolling. A spot map was coded showing the probabilities of robberies occurring throughout the city. A schedule of deployment times for Task Force Six was formulated based on previous

robbery experience and updated continually. Posters of "points to remember" and daily time charts of robberies to keep the task force personnel aware of the present situation were prepared.

Prior to the implementation of the task force, the News Media Advisory Committee, a group of representatives from local newspapers, television, and radio stations who advise and participate with the police division on matters of interest to the public, were given copies of the robbery analysis to publicize the contents and inform the public about robbery prevention.

The local news media, interested in the actions of the police, gave excellent coverage of the division's goals and activities. The various news media reported tips on robbery prevention and interviewed members of the police force. In this manner a great deal of attention was placed on the crime problems of the Christmas season. The public was informed of the existing situation and educated as to what they could do to help.

Interested citizens and storekeepers responded to the advice of the police and the news media. As a result, the police division received a great deal of cooperation in crime prevention and investigation.

Since the job of stopping street robberies is extremely difficult, prevention of business holdups was the primary target for Task Force Six. Using guidelines from the robbery analysis, task force and district personnel visited more than 2,300 businesses to give store owners and clerks information on "target hardening" (making the business a less desirable place to rob) as well as what to do while being held up and the necessary action immediately afterwards.

The task force personnel were divided into two groups, uniformed in marked cars and nonuniformed in unmarked or undercover cars. The uniformed men were used for saturation patrolling in one of the 10 selected areas. The nonuniformed people were in two units; detectives from the robbery squad would patrol and immediately begin investigations of robberies, and plainclothesmen dressed in old clothes were used for stakeouts and patrolling areas in which the uniformed members of Task Force Six were not present. All task force personnel except supervisors were assigned in pairs for patrol or stakeouts. To achieve a saturation effect in the city, all Task Force Six members worked the same hours.

The city of Cincinnati is shaped like a V with the Ohio River forming the lower boundary. The most frequently used areas for saturation patrol were at the bottom of the V. While on duty, the uniformed men did not remain in one area more than 3 hours. Since the probabilities of a robbery occurring changed in the areas at different times of the day, the uniformed men moved where the chances were best of an incident happening. The upper and wider portion of the V required a different deployment technique. Here there were small, scattered areas of high robbery potential. By choosing key street intersections, an unmarked or undercover car was assigned to a particular locale. By this deployment of the uniformed and nonuniformed men around the city, there was a quick response to any robbery scene.

Because prevention was the goal, the uniformed and nonuniformed personnel made many contacts with people in businesses and on the streets. Aggressive patrolling by uniformed men, particularly in areas with a high probability of robbery, resulted in a number of arrests of persons for carrying concealed weapons.

Never before had the Cincinnati Police Division dedicated this much manpower and equipment to combat a specific crime trend. Theoretically the idea was sound, but the concept was untested in Cincinnati. Thus, the antirobbery offensive began.

On Monday, November 20, 1972, Task Force Six personnel, accompanied by a tremendous amount of news coverage, became operational. It already was clear that, although district personnel had the initial burden of crime prevention, Task Force Six was the focal point of attention.

Within the first few minutes after Task Force Six became operational, a holdup of a small grocery store occurred. Two hours later, both suspects were captured by task force personnel and identified. Another person was arrested for carrying a concealed weapon.

On the first day, 7 felony and 11 misdemeanor arrests were made. Within the first 8 hours, Task Force Six had made its presence felt and its personnel were quickly adjusting to the new routine.

After the first week, the task force men and women had a smooth operation established. As problem areas were analyzed, appropriate action was taken. Several purse snatchings occurred in one section. The canine units were brought in and saturation patrol in unmarked cars was employed. A group of juveniles was

caught and the purse-snatching problem in the area ceased. Of particular concern were several businesses that were hit frequently. Stakeouts were established which resulted in the arrests of several suspected robbers and persons carrying concealed weapons.

Once deterrent efforts had failed to prevent a robbery, apprehension of the criminals became important. Because robbers frequently return to their neighborhoods immediately after a "hit," some Task Force Six personnel were assigned key street intersections in hopes of observing the getaway car. This method of searching for suspects worked successfully on several occasions.

Task Force Six was in existence 47 days. Sundays and holidays were offdays, since the least amount of robberies occurred on these days. The task force personnel made 219 felony arrests (juvenile and adult), of which 51 arrests were made for robbery offenses. One thousand five hundred and thirteen traffic citations and 1,419 warning tags were written. Six hundred and seven field interrogation reports were made, and 62 stolen automobiles were recovered. Two of the robbery cases closed by Task Force Six with arrests involved homicides of the victims, one of which occurred during the existence of the task force.

TABLE I.—ROBBERY TOTALS, NOV. 20, 1972–JAN. 5, 1973

	1972 (actual)	1972 (anticipated)	1971	1972/1972 (Actual number increase/decrease)	1972/1971 (Actual percentage increase/decrease)
Purse snatchings or strong-arm robberies (against females)	106	124	120	−14	−11.7
Strong-arm robberies (against males)	43	80	77	−34	−44.2
Armed street robberies (against females and males)	53	55	46	+07	+15.2
Business robberies	44	104	100	−56	−56.0
Assaults to rob	26	26	25	+01	+94.0
Totals	272	389	368	−96	−26.1
Total number of armed robberies	97	154	149	−52	−34.9

During the 47 days Task Force Six operated, 272 robberies, purse snatchings, and assaults to rob occurred. Recalling that robbery was on the increase in 1972, this compared to 368 (96 less than 1971) robberies during the same time span in 1971. The total robbery decrease was 26.1 percent for 1972 over 1971 with a 56 percent decrease in business holdups, the prime target of the task force. Only one robbery occurred in the area where Task Force Six personnel were patrolling, which resulted in the immediate apprehension of the two offenders. (For a breakdown on robbery statistics, see table I.)

There was a significant reduction in auto theft and a decrease in burglary during the task force tour of duty. What effect Task Force Six had on these crimes cannot be determined due to the many factors involved, but it is felt they played a role in the reduction.

A few of the smaller communities not under the jurisdiction of the Cincinnati Police Division had an increase in robberies which could be a result of displacement of crime. But most of the neighboring municipalities reported robbery decreases or the same activitity as the previous year.

Task Force Six does not claim complete credit for the overwhelming success of the antirobbery campaign. Even the entire police division preparing and implementing a program aimed at a specific target does not deserve all the credit. The unique combination of publicity by the local news media, participation by the citizens of the community, restrictions on bail of certain offenders charged with numerous counts of robbery by the courts, and a good deal of hard work by the police succeeded in obtaining substantial reductions in crime.

As with any program, everything was not perfect. Had more overtime been authorized, task force personnel could have remained on duty for longer periods of time. Equipment failures resulted in lost patrol time, since all available radios and vehicles were in use. There were no reserve units. The topographical conditions of Cincinnati made deployment difficult. Although north-south roads are adequate, east-west streets, particularly connecting high probability robbery areas, are few in number.

Even with these complications, crime reduction was the best in many years, showing that an approach involving a total community effort can be successful.

EXHIBIT B

[From the Police Chief, June 1973]

COMMUNITY SERVICE OFFICER: NEW YORK'S MODEL CITIES EFFECT ON LAW ENFORCEMENT

(By James M. Erikson)*

Traditionally, law enforcement in an urban area rested primarily with the patrolman, the man on the line, whose duties ranged from handling minor traffic violations to facing a hardened criminal with a gun. Between these two extremes, numerous duties required neither expertise in law enforcement nor the necessity for use of deadly physical force. Thus, when The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice issued its report in 1967, it was not surprising that one of the recommendations was to establish the position of *Community Service Officer*.[1]

The Commission believed the position of Community Service Officer (SCO) would improve police service in high crime rate areas, enable police to hire persons who could provide a greater understanding of minority group problems, relieve police agents and officers of lesser police duties, increase the opportunity for minority group members (mainly blacks and Puerto Ricans) to serve in law enforcement, and tap a new reservoir of manpower by helping talented young men, who had not as yet been able to complete their education, to qualify for police work.[2]

The Commission went on to recommend that a typical candidate for the position of CSO should be a young man between the ages of 17 and 21 and suitable to perform police work. "A CSO would be, in effect, an apprentice policeman."[3] He would not have full law enforcement powers or carry arms; neither would he perform clerical duties as many police cadets presently do. The recommended duties were defined:

1. To assist police officers;
2. To improve communication between the police and the community;
3. To render selected police services to the community; and
4. To engage in community relations work within the community.

The Commission recommended that requirements for entrance into the CSO ranks need not necessarily follow the rigid traditional prerequisites of a sworn officer, and that minor offense records should not automatically eliminate a candidate for the position. This recommendation was based on the fact that, in a Commission-conducted study, there was a 60 percent probability that a Negro youth growing up in a slum would have a minor police record.[4] Further, the Commission recommended that CSOs be assisted in continuing their education, be given in-service training, and, after an appropriate internship, be eligible for consideration as an appointee to the position of police officer.

Many law enforcement administrators agreed with this concept in principle, but most law enforcement agencies had a big enough problem getting adequate funds for existing services, let alone for an unproven program. However, unbeknownst to many police administrators, during this period a funding source was becoming available. This was the Model Cities Program, authorized under Title I of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. In December, 1968, there were 150 cities in 45 states, including the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, which had received Model Cities grants, and the first action program began in 1969. The goal of this Act was to improve the quality of urban life in selected target areas by effective, economical coordination of funding and services.

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He holds A.S. and B.A. degrees in police science and criminal justice, respectively, from the John Jay College of Criminal Justice; an M.B.A. degree in organizational behavior from the Iona Graduate School of Business; and is currently a Doctoral candidate, with all course work completed, for a degree in public administration at New York University.

The views expressed in this article are those of Mr. Erikson and not necessarily those of either the New York City Police Department or the Model Cities Administration.

[1] The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, *Task Force Report: The Police*, Washington, D.C., 1967, p. 123.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 124.

In November, 1967, New York City was formally designated a Model City. Under the direction of Mayor John V. Lindsay, various Model Cities committees were established in the three model neighborhoods: Central Brooklyn, Harlem/East Harlem, and the South Bronx. The first Housing and Urban Development (HUD) grant to New York City for $65 million was approved in May, 1969. By executive order, Mayor Lindsay established the Model Cities Administration and appointed a cabinet-level Model Cities administrator to head this new agency and to assure cooperation by the community groups and various operating agencies.

The stage was set.

POLICE INVOLVEMENT

While the objective of the Model Cities program was to improve the quality of urban life generally, the communities selected as model neighborhoods were also areas of high crime. Thus, during the early planning stages one of the first committees to be established within the various neighborhoods was the Safety and Sanitation Committee; and it was in 1969 that negotiations began between the various community groups for the establishment of a Model Cities Police Program.

Howard Leary, then police commissioner, chose the Planning Division of the Police Commissioner's Office to represent the Police Department in the negotiations for establishing the model police program. Responsibility for this was delegated to Captain Matthew J. Neary, then executive officer of the Planning Division, and Lieutenant Charles L. Suss, a member of the Research and Development Unit. Both of these officials attended numerous community meetings throughout the planning stages—often in an antipolice atmosphere.

The President's Commission report was used as a guide, and it was decided that the best program for the police to become involved in was the concept of Community Service Officer. To this end, Lieutenant Suss authored several proposed programs which were based on community desires and neighborhood goals. These programs were submitted to the Central Brooklyn Model Cities Neighborhood in late 1969, and after being reviewed by the planning committees and the various neighborhood groups, one plan which is the basis for the present CSO program was finally accepted. The other neighborhoods (Harlem/East Harlem and the South Bronx) were not willing to participate with the Police Department at this time.

The program's goal were to increase minority group entry into the police service, establish better lines of police-community relations and improve police services within the community. To achieve these goals, the Police Department would hire indigenous youths of the Central Brooklyn Model Cities Neighborhood as Community Service Officers, train them in the Police Academy to perform the duties of CSO, and, eventually, to compete successfully in various civil service examinations with emphasis on the position of patrolman.

The selected program called for the Police Department to be the operating agency, the Model Cities Administration to provide the necessary funds, and the Central Brooklyn Model Cities Neighborhood Office to monitor the program.

The Model Cities Administration provided a first year operation budget of $559,089. This budget provided for the total cost of the program, including a salary of $5,200 a year for each CSO and the total reimbursement to the Police Department for all costs, including personnel, incurred in the operation of the program.

The program began to become operational in November, 1969, with the selection of a project director, Lieutenant Kenneth London, who, as of this writing, is still the project director for the citywide CSO program. Selection of CSOs began almost immediately. Both the police and the Model Cities community agreed that the CSOs would be supervised by Police Department supervisors (sergeants and lieutenants). However, the use of peer group supervisors was considered essential to the program and, once the program became street operational, peer group supervisors were selected.

CANDIDATE QUALIFICATIONS

Qualifications of a candidate for the position of CSO were essentially based on those required for the position of patrolman with some slight modifications. The requirements were: between 17 and 21 years of age; ability, integrity, and character background to eventually become a police officer; 5 feet 8 inches minimum height; uncorrected vision of 20/30 in each eye; free from medical defects; resident of the Central Brooklyn Model Cities area; no past history of drug addiction; and no serious criminal record. A high school diploma was not required at the time of appointment.

On January 26, 1970, the first component of 25 CSOs were appointed at the Police Academy. Many police officers who took part in the appointment process were quite surprised at both the attitude and the atmosphere generated by the candidates, who were anything but cordial to the police. However, some of the original officers are still in the program today and one can see the complete turnabout—but that will be discussed later.

A training syllabus was developed by the staff of the Police Academy in conjunction with the Planning Division and various Model Cities community groups. This training was broken down into three phases: Academic, Physical, and Auxiliary.

The academic phase consisted of approximately 280 hours of instruction, divided into three main areas: community development, professional development, and self-development. Community development consisted of various courses, some of which were governmental structure, family crises, narcotics, consumer fraud, community health problems, fire inspection, and ambulance training. The professional development phase went into areas of law, driver training, scooter training, accident and criminal complaint reports, radio communication, information on various local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies which the CSO might encounter, and community relations. The self-development phase consisted of sensitivity training, human relations, remedial reading, typing, and history of minority groups. The majority of these classes were identical to those given to a probationary patrolman attending the Police Academy. All of the physical training, including self-defense, was identical. The auxiliary phase consisted primarily of on-the-job training and field trips.

The Community Service Officers attended the Police Academy for a period of five months. Though most of their time was taken up by formal instruction, they learned informally much about police officers and police work. They got to know many police officers in the Police Academy locker room and lunchrooms—both seasoned officers and rookies.

By the time the first graduation rolled around in June, 1970, the class of twenty-five CSOs had shrunk to fifteen, but these were fifteen well-trained individuals who were not only eager to take their place in the community, but who had also developed a new attitude towards the Police Department. As a result of the initial reports on the program and the successful operation of on-the-job training within the community, the authorized quota of CSOs was increased from twenty-five to fifty; and, as the first class was moving into the community, a second class of thirty-five CSOs (ten to make up for first class losses) entered the Police Academy for their five months of training.

Success in implementing the program proved to be uneven. Cooperation between the Police Department and the Central Brooklyn Model Cities Neighborhood and Model Cities was, throughout the program, fairly harmonious. However, little headway was made between the Police Department and the Harlem/East Harlem and South Bronx Neighborhoods.

Aside from the antipolice sentiment of these communities, a companion problem arose. The fact that Central Brooklyn Model Cities had a CSO Program tended to alienate the other neighborhoods. They wanted no part of a program that would be similar to that of a supposed "competitor."

This problem of competition and/or animosity among the three neighborhoods had caused many programs to be offered simply in one neighborhood rather than citywide. However, when Mayor Lindsay appointed Judge Joseph B. Williams, of the New York City Family Court, as the new administrator of the Model Cities Administration in early 1970, things began to change. Under his direction, Model Cities took a much more active role, and programs rapidly began to be more responsive to the community. Where there was a need, programs became citywide (i.e., offered in all three neighborhoods). The Mayor, through Judge Williams, took a strong stand and gave full backing to the CSO Program, and at times both had to intervene or use the power of their offices to solve programmatic difficulties.

When the first group of CSOs took to the street in the Central Brooklyn Model Cities area, it was decided that they would operate within the confines of the 79th Police Precinct and, initially, would perform patrol duty in the residential area with low police activity, thus allowing time for gradual acceptance by both the community and police personnel. The CSOs would operate out of their own headquarters and were initially given ten specific duties:

1. To assist in the program to prevent juvenile delinquency and work with the precinct community relations patrolman;
2. To serve as escorts upon the request of Model Cities area residents;

3. To engage in patrol-related activities;
4. To survey the community and report unsafe and unsanitary conditions;
5. To conduct the ambulance service;
6. To man a CSO headquarters and engage in further recruitment when necessary;
7. To man a CSO headquarters and receive and refer complaints of crime not ordinarily reported to the Police Department;
8. To patrol parks and playgrounds, and other locations where youths congregate;
9. To resolve inflammatory police-community problems, such as illegal use of fire hydrants;
10. To perform other duties as directed by the police commissioner.

In September, 1970, a statistical study of crime in the areas patrolled by CSOs was conducted by the commanding officer of the 79th Precinct, then Captain Sidney Kampner, This study covered the months of July and August, 1970, as compared to July and August, 1969, during the hours of 5:00 and 9:00 P.M. when all CSOs were on patrol. The balance of their day was spent in career development training in the classroom.

These initial statistics showed that the presence of CSOs on patrol apparently discouraged street crime. Other initial reports from the community, the patrol force, and the 79th Precinct revealed that the CSOs were indeed performing a needed service. These officers were successfully used for school and church crossings, parade duty and, of course, patrol. In November, 1970, the second graduating class of twenty-three CSOs was assigned to the 70th Precinct.

The problem of attrition for the first two groups was initially a serious one. Of the fifty-eight COSs appointed in the two groups, only thirty-eight successfully completed their training, eighteen were terminated, and two resigned. In the beginning, absenteeism and inattentiveness in class were problems, but gradually they lessened. Although one may say the termination rate seemed rather high, such termination proved to be both a necessity and in the best interest of the program. The CSOs who remained and successfully completed their training were definitely much more reliable and efficient.

During the period from June to December, 1970, the CSOs performed over 15,000 man-hours of patrol and handled numerous duties other than law enforcement.

Due to the success of the Brooklyn program, Mayor Lindsay set up a task force on Model Cities comprised of members of the Mayor's Office, the Model Cities Administration, the Police Department, and the Department of Personnel. Out of these task force meetings, the concept of the *Police Aide* was created. This position of police aide was seen as the first step of a career ladder for the CSOs. Due to the initial success of the CSO program, it was used as a guide for establishing a similar program in the Fire Department and in the Housing Police.

Under the police aide concept, an individual would be given a civil service examination for the title and position of police aide. Upon successfully completing this examination, he would be appointed to the position of police aide and be eligible to take an examination for the position of patrolman-model cities, if over 21; or police trainee-model cities, if under 21. Qualifying in either of these examinations would insure appointment.

It was decided that a class of 360 CSOs would be assigned to the Police Academy in August, 1971 (this included 34 of the CSOs who were assigned to patrol in Brooklyn). This class was to be given a six-week course to prepare them for the police aide exam which was scheduled for October.

MILESTONES

During the month of September, the line organizations of both the Police Department and the Fire Department filed an injunction against the promulgation of the test results, on the grounds that both the test and the position were unconstitutional. The whole process, they argued, tended:

1. To discriminate against appointments from other than Model Cities areas;
2. To circumvent other than normal civil service practices, by allowing an "equivalent" type of exam;
3. To be unfair to appointments on existing fire and police lists;
4. To lower the standards of recruiting, by allowing entrance by other than traditional means.

The police aide examination, however, was finally held on October 2, 1971, and, to date, the court action has not been settled. Due to this court action, the Police Department and the Model Cities Administration were forced to continue

with the existing concept of the CSO program, and position training was begun at the Police Academy on October 4 of that year. On February 11, 1972, two hundred were graduated from the Police Academy and assigned to the three Model Cities areas. For the first time, the CSO program was operating under the citywide concept. This brought the total of CSOs to 235.

In August, 1972, one hundred additional CSOs were graduated from the Police Academy, bringing the total strength up to 335—only ten short of the authorized strength. The officers' patrol area was now expanded to include the 73, 75, 77, 79, and 81 Police Precincts in Brooklyn, the 40, 41, and 42 Police Precincts in the Bronx, and the 23, 25, and 28 Police Precincts in Harlem/East Harlem.

With this expansion, the budget of the CSO program had grown to over $3 million, the major portion of which was for personnel costs, with the next biggest expenditure for communications equipment (primarily walkie-talkies). In addition to being equipped with walkie-talkies, all CSO are uniformed, and all patrol both on foot and with radio cars. They respond to calls as directed by the precinct in which they are assigned. However, it is anticipated that, some time this year, the CSO may take direction from the Police Central Communications Division.

HAS IT HELPED THE CSO'S?

To date, fifty-six CSOs have received their high school diplomas since entering the program. Additionally, there are 972 presently attending high school equivalency classes. Thirty-eight have left the program to take positions in other agencies such as the state and city corrections departments, port authority police, social services, or with police departments outside New York.

Though the future of the CSO program is still uncertain, and court litigation is still going on, it must be said that to date the program has definitely made a favorable impact on the community, the Police Department, and the CSOs themselves. It has enabled the community and the police to begin to build a spirit of harmony by working together to solve common problems on common ground. It has been an education for both the Police Department and the CSO in a "partnership for change."

The reality of this first came to light in January, 1972, when over two hundred uniformed CSOs stood in formation on a cold morning in the middle of an all-white community on Staten Island to pay their respects at the funeral of Lieutenant William Judge, a white policeman who had been killed by a hit-and-run driver.

The follow-up came on February 11, 1972, from the CSO graduating class in the form of the presentation of a plaque to Deputy Chief Inspector Cornelius Behan, Commanding Officer of the Police Academy, to be presented to the wife of Lieutenant Judge on behalf of the CSO's. It was their show of appreciation for Lieutenant Judge's output of effort, friendship, and help offered them during his period of responsibility for their training. Chief Behan himself was touched by this action of the CSOs. This is not surprising in that Chief Behan had been the commanding officer of the Planning Division when the Model Cities program began. The emotion in his voice certainly reflected the feelings of the entire audience.

It has certainly been proven that the concept of a CSO is workable and not merely a fond hope of the President's Commission. This program further proved that cooperation by the city agencies and the community can be a reality. The Model Cities Administration, the Police Department, and the community had formed a bond which has brought dividends to all concerned.

The old cliché of "the government (particularly the police) not being responsive to the community" and the cliché that "the community has no interest in the police or its problems" have been put aside. Surprisingly, when problems arose, they were quickly solved and it became quite apparent that the people involved were solely interested in solving the problem and not in who would get credit for the solution nor whose idea would be followed. Of course, the individuals who benefitted from this close cooperation were CSO's who found themselves both as residents of the community and as members of the Police Department with a real job to do, and at no time were these officers forced to choose sides because of bureaucratic problems.

Exhibit C

Crime Insurance: Despite New Marketing, It Can Still be Hard to Get

The fear of crime in some areas has minimized the hours a shopkeeper can safely remain open, and driven commercial insurance rates skyward or made such in-

surance altogether unavailable. Though crime's aura has pervaded all sections of America, nowhere in the nation is it more prevalent than within the inner cities. Consequently, businessmen and residents in those areas have often found it nearly impossible to insure their properties.

Insurance companies accept risks on the basis of property soundness, location and crime history, and generally take the attitude that one loss presages another. As a result, whole sections of a city may be "red-lined" as high crime areas, and insurance made scarce for property owners in those districts.

Responding to inquiries and complaints from the nation's "uninsurables", the federal government established itself as an insurer in 1971 under Title VI of the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970. The object was to provide crime insurance at "affordable rates" in states where it had been largely unavailable and where there had been no state program offering solutions.

Federal crime insurance, available in Connecticut, the District of Columbia, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and Tennessee, may be obtained by any resident of the aforementioned states. To date there are about 13,000 policies in force.

The annual rates of the insurance vary according to the crime level in a particular urban region, and all communities within a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) are treated as a single rating territory (high risk area, medium risk area, and low risk area). This provision allows, for the first time, city residents and business owners the same insurance rates as their suburban counterparts. It makes no difference whether you live in an apartment in the city or a house in the suburbs, you pay the same.

In states where the sale of Federal Crime Insurance is available, policies are sold primarily through state licensed agents and brokers and by the appropriate servicing company. Servicing companies act as agents for the insurer, which is the federal government, and compete to submit the lowest bid per policy, per claim. Since the program is backed by federal money, the taxpaying public carries the burden of the program's losses.

Under the commercial insurance policy, an insured may obtain either robbery insurance or burglary insurance or both. A robbery claim is valid only in an instance of hold-up or theft of property that the insured actually observes. A burglary claim is payable when the insured's business or home is unoccupied at the time of the theft. The policy stipulates that there must be visible signs of breaking and entering. Included in these two types of coverage, subject to policy type, of course, are: loss from robbery inside the premises, robbery outside the premises (up to a limit of $5,000), kidnapping (wrongful taking of property by compelling an insured to admit a person into the premises), safe burglary (up to a limit of $5,000), theft from a night depository in a bank, burglary or robbery of a watchman (not to exceed $50 for each article of jewelry) and damage to the promises for which the insured is owner or liable.

Business insurance premiums and deductibles depend on location, type of business and amount of gross receipts. A medium-risk business (a drugstore, for example) in a medium risk area grossing between $50,000 and $999,999 per year would pay $200 annually for $1,000 of burglary and robbery insurance, $130 for just robbery, and $100 for just burglary, with premiums due semiannually. Because rates are determined by the size of the insured firm as well as the amount of coverage a larger firm—one with gross receipts exceeding $1 million, for instance—would probably pay less for insurane through a private company.

A policy may be written for from $1,000 to $15,000 and is subject to a deductible of $200 for each loss occurrence, or five percent of the gross loss, whichever is greater. However, the deductible amount is $150 for businesses whose gross annual receipts are under $50,000, and $100 for those under $25,000.

There are certain protective device standards that must be met by the insured in order to qualify for the insurance. However, a businessman insured for robbery only has no minimum lock or protective device requirements for his property. Requirements for burglary insurance vary, depending on the type of business and where it is located. Some businesses may need burglar alarms and dead-bolt locks and bars or grillwork over accessible openings such as windows other than plate glass store front windows.

A residential insurance policy holder gets both robbery and burglary insurance for money and possessions in a single policy which is available in amounts from $1,000 to $10,000. Premiums range from $20 to $80 annually depending on the

area and the amount of coverage. This policy is not sold in separate parts. The residential policy insures against loss of all personal property, including jewelry. However, loss of money is covered only up to $100.

For residential insurance in low-risk areas (largely rural), the insured pays $30 for $1,000 of insurance, $40 for $2,000, $50 for $3,000 and $60 for $5,000. In medium-risk areas—for example, Boston, Hartford or Philadelphia—the insured pays $40 for $1,000, $50 for $2,000, etc. In high-risk areas, such as New York and Washington, D.C., the insured pays $50 for $1,000, $60 for $2,000, etc. Claims under the residential policy are subject to a deductible for $75 or five per cent of the gross loss, whichever is greater.

Almost any commercially sold penetration type lock is feasible for a residential policy. A policy may be obtained without any inspection, but locks are inspected at the time any claim is presented. Visible signs of entry must be present for a burglary claim.

The Federal crime insurance program is not the only government initiated effort to make insurance available to the inner city property owner. Another program Congress established in 1968, called the Federal Riot Reinsurance Program or the FAIR (Fair Access to Insurance Requirements) Plan, enlists the states, the insurance industry and the federal government in a joint effort to channel insurance into these areas. Briefly, this program calls for the joining together of private insurers into clusters under the supervision of the state insurance authority in an effort to provide coverage for all who need it.

Critics of both programs charge that they are not really benefiting those people for whom they were initiated. The federal insurance program, though most agree its premium rates are fair, is censured because many inner city business owners and residents do not know of the plans' existence. The Fair Plan, possibly because it has been in existence longer and critics have had more time to evaluate its worth, appears to have several strikes against it.

George K. Bernstein, federal insurance administrator of the crime insurance program says that "far too few" policies have been sold and points to the absence of agents and brokers in black areas as a main contributor to this problem. To date $60 million has been written in residential policies and $20 million in commercial policies, giving it a total of $80 million in force. He says the program soon will be advertised on city subways and buses.

In Philadelphia, where the need for a viable marketing method for the federal insurance was also felt, the Philadelphia Urban Coalition, in cooperation with the Insurance Company of North America (the state's servicing company), has instituted a campaign to promote the sale of the insurance to nearly one million inner city residents.

The Coalition, composed of 101 community service organizations, hopes to put 250 trained volunteers on inner city streets to inform area residents of the availability of the insurance and prepare them for actual solicitation by licensed insurance agents.

"The program that we have in Philadelphia," says John Bowser, program manager of the Philadelphia Urban Coalition's OMBE-funded business development organization, "has a unique feature in that the licensed agent that subsequently consumates the sale of the residential policy has agreed to make a donation or contribution to the community group responsible for the sale." In return for the contribution, the agent receives a "hot lead" toward a commercial insurance sale from the canvassing volunteers, since in the course of their residential campaigns the volunteers will let business owners know of the insurance also. This approach is designed to make the best use of the agent's time. "As opposed to an agent having to go out and cold canvass and do initial explanation that the insurance exists and what that coverage consists of," says Bowser, "the community groups have been encouraged to do that for him." A business owner who has an understanding of the need for such coverage, the amount his business would require, and is interested, is a "hot lead," says Bowser. The community groups are being urged to turn in at least one "hot lead" for every ten residential policies that are sold.

The Coalition, a strong advocate of minority causes, has a contract with OMBE to provide management and technical assistance to minority business people in Philadelphia. That contract also provides for the development of new businesses. "In this regard," says Bowser, "the OMBE-funded staff looked at crime insurance as a potential new business for minorities and subsequently formed Grassroots Funds, Inc." The firm is chartered to develop marketing administration and training. The primary product that it is developing this marketing administration and training for is crime insurance.

The OMBE-funded technical assistance staff developed the mechanics of the program, the training classes and record keeping system. Further, it offered the servicing company, which in this case is The Insurance Company of North America, continued management and technical assistance during the company's three-month trial period. The staff anticipates that at the end of the three-month period the volume of policy sales will be large enough to sustain a fulltime staff. At that point, the business development organization will cease to be involved in crime insurance. Grassroots Funds, Inc., as an on-going profit making company, would then continue the marketing chores. The Coalition hopes that this kind of promotional effort at the community level—the door to door salesman type of situation—might be offered to commercial firms as a means of promoting other kinds of products, and hopefully, the development of a marketing network. Grassroots Funds, Inc. also aspires to market the insurance in all other states where it is available.

Bowser feels that there are strong reasons for a person living outside the inner city to consider buying crime insurance. "Our basic analysis," says Bowser, "is that it costs substantially less under our crime insurance policy to get furs and jewelry covered than under a rider added to a homeowner's policy." He believes there is nothing a commercial company could offer that would be similar to this.

Whether the effort being made in Philadelphia will be successful—they hope to sell 25,000 residential policies by the end of this year—is difficult to say. But to date, the Philadelphia effort seems to be the only viable marketing method in existence for the sale of the federal crime insurance. If the plan is successful in its three-month trial period (they hope to sell 4,000 policies by the end of May) the Philadelphians may be given the go-ahead to take their expertise into other states where sales are lagging.

The other federal insurance program, the FAIR Plan, with $23 billion of insurance coverage in force, is also having its problems. A report done by administrator Bernstein, under the auspices of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, cites numerous potentially crippling weaknesses in FAIR, and an Insurance Information Institute progress report, entitled How Fair is FAIR, though pro-FAIR, reviews reasons why the Plan is criticized.

Outstanding among the faults that have been found with the plan are complaints that the private insurance companies should not be required to pay for problems which are social in nature. This adds to business costs and cuts legitimate profits, they reason, because the cost of the insurance ultimately and unfairly has to be passed on to consumers who are good risks, through higher insurance premiums. Critics in the federal government and other sectors charge that coverage through FAIR stigmatizes policyholders; that processing of applications and claims has been slow; and that there have been administrative inefficiencies.

Weaknesses that Bernstein himself points out include excessively high underwriting expenses averaging nearly $50 per policy (exclusive of commission) and loss adjustment expense averaging at about $550 per claim. These figures, he says, are about double those in the voluntary amrket. The ratio of incurred losses to paid losses, which is typically about 1.0 to 1.0 in the voluntary market, continues to be abnormally high in the FAIR plan, at about 1.5 to 1.0.

In some areas, such as Illinois, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania, a random sampling indicates that the average rates on dwellings placed in the FAIR Plan appear to be approximately double those that would have been charged for similar risks in the voluntary market.

Though each of the federal plans has its obvious shortcomings, it is equally obvious that both are needed and that they are all that is available to a large segment of the population. The problem of crime insurance has become a vicious cycle that only government has the power to break. At least this seems to be the view held by some industry insiders. Writing in the Journal of Insurance, Myro Dubain, senior vice president of the Fireman's Fund American Insurance Companies, stated:

"The insurance industry depends on the health of society for its survival. The spread of risk inherent to the insurance concept means exactly that—crime cannot be a universal certainty and be insurable."

FAIR PLAN FOR INNER CITY PROPERTY INSURANCE NOW SOLD IN 10 STATES

The Fair Access to Insurance Requirements (FAIR) Plan operates primarily in the nation's inner cities, and is administered by private insurance companies working in "pools."

The program is authorized by the Urban Property Protection and Reinsurance Act of 1968 and is administered by the Federal Insurance Administration of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The collective nature of FAIR allows the companies to share the risks and the proportionate costs of settlement of approved claims. The Plan, currently effective in 26 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, makes it possible for residents and property owners to obtain insurance which they formerly would have found difficult or impossible to acquire because their property was located in areas subject to hazards over which they had no control.

FAIR works this way:

Private insurance companies participating in the Plan join together under the supervision of a state insurance authority to provide all property owners in a high risk area basic insurance coverage. The companies, in turn, may apply to the federal government for reinsurance (for which they pay a premium) against any losses they might sustain due to riots or civil disorders.

Coverage provided by the FAIR Plan began with insurance against fire. Coverage has since been expanded to include vandalism and malicious mischief. Some Fair Plans included robbery and burglary coverage, but the federal insurance program is now the primary insurance source for such problems.

Anyone having difficulty obtaining insurance may apply to the nearest Plan facility for inspection of the property to be insured. If the property is found insurable, a policy will be issued upon payment of a one-year premium. Should repairs be necessary, the property may still be insured at an increased rate until such improvements are made. If the property is found ineligible for coverage, the applicant is advised as to the repairs necessary for coverage.

FAIR Plan Placement facilities are located in the following states and jurisdictions: California, Connecticut, Delaware, District of Columbia, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Puerto-Rico, Rhode Island, Virginia Washington, and Wisconsin.

At the end of last year, an Insurance Information Institute report placed FAIR Plan coverage at $23 billion in force.

Exhibit D

Appendix B

Anti-crime Politics

(By Len Ackland)

Ben Bezoff, the Mayor's emissary, was introduced as the "strong hand" whose support has come from "behind the scenes." Bezoff was representing City Hall at the first anniversary meeting of the Denver Anti-Crime Council, appointed February 22, 1972, by Mayor William McNichols. After briefly praising the 16 members of the 28-member Council in attendance, Bezoff wryly noted, The Mayor watches the attendance record. There are ordinarily not quite as many here as tonight." An average of 12 members attend the monthly meetings.

Letters have now gone out from the Mayor's office asking for resignations from those members of both the Anti-Crime Council and the five nine-member Task Forces who have been delinquent in attending meetings. Phase II of the community participation charade has begun.

But first, perhaps we should go back to the beginning—January 13, 1972, when Vice President Spiro Agnew announced Denver's selection as one of eight cities to receive some $20 million in federal funds from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) for a "High Impact Anti-Crime Program." (When local matching funds are added in, the Program's grant total is $25 million.) Crime was the main selection criterion, and Denver had plenty of it.

Crime statistics show that from 1966 to 1971 burglaries in Denver increased 152 percent, more than double the rate nationwide; robberies shot up 210 percent; forcible rapes increased 168 percent; and aggravated assault went up 184 percent. These four stranger-to-stranger crimes occur most frequently of all violent crimes and are of most concern to the public. High Impact's stated goal is to reduce these specific crimes by five percent over a two-year period and 20 percent over five years, although the initial experimental program was funded only for 28 months.

"High Impact will revolutionize crime control," said LEAA Administrator Jerris Leonard following Agnew's announcement of the program. He added that the program would be "innovative, enlightened, tough and effective" and ended by calling it "a new partnership with our people."

Since the first projects funded under Denver's High Impact program got under way just last December, it is too early to tell whether or not the program will be "tough and effective" in meeting its own quantified goals. Many observers agree, however, that it is neither "innovative" nor "enlightened."

In fact, the taxpayers' $25 million is going to fuel a program which is little more than a funding mechanism for the traditional agencies of the criminal justice system—including the police department, courts and correctional institutions. Fully three-fourths of the 15 projects so far approved by the Denver Anti-Crime Council come from these agencies.

"High impact would have met with a lot of community opposition, if it'd been known that the dollars would only go for suppressive measures," said one angry critic, voicing an opinion held by many who have watched the program develop. This source, like so many others, asked not to be identified—an indication of the true power of the anti-crime bureaucracy in Denver.

The direction High Impact is taking derives in part from the horrendous LEAA bureaucracy stretching from Washington to Denver. The criminal justice agencies have the resources and the red tape mentality which allow them to push their proposals through the bureaucratic maze, while community groups don't.

Also, the restrictive federal and local guidelines were designed to discriminate in favor of criminal justice agencies.

But most importantly, these agencies have the political clout to get their projects funded. For Denver's High Impact program boils down to a highly political game in which non-agency, community-based groups too seldom understand where the power resides and how to get to it.

The public is unaware that the decisions being made now and the precedents being set could extend far beyond the 28-month life of the program. The professional eight-man Anti-Crime Council Staff "is" gearing to become the nucleus of the city's "superagency" once special revenue sharing for law enforcement comes about. Denver is getting its first look at the way Nixon's "New Federalism"—the shift of more program responsibility and control into the hands of state and local government—may work.

Created by the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 for the purpose of improving law enforcement agencies and the criminal justice system, LEAA has become the most visible *law 'n' order arm* of theNixon Administration. During a time when social programs are under the knife LEAA's budget is soaring. It rose from *$63 million in 1969 to $850 million in fiscal 1973.*

Eighty-five percent of LEAA money is awarded to states as "block" grants (based on population), and 15 percent is given in the form of "discretionary" grants. LEAA serves as the "cutting edge of the New Federalism," in the words of one high LEAA official.

The metaphor is most apt; LEAA funds have primarily gone to provide "hardware"—machine guns, helicopters, sophisticated communications equipment—to law enforcement agencies around the nation. Yet, and to the suprise of few, better crime suppression technology has not reduced our country's crime rate—the social and economic root causes remain untouched.

Even LEAA officials recognized that some new track had to be laid, if only to save its own bureaucratic life. In 1972, the High Impact Anti-Crime Program was presented as the experimental vehicle. The city governments of eight cities (Newark, Baltimore, Cleveland, Atlanta, St. Louis, Dallas, Portland and Denver) were given the ultimate responsibility to decide how the available LEAA funds would be allocated, although not without ample state and federal strings.

Also, the goal of reducing the four specific crimes of burglary, robbery, rape and assault by a quantified amount was called a new approach to crime reduction.

When the first rumors began circulating in late 1971 that Denver was being considered for High Impact, several community groups feared this was simply old vinegar in a new bottle. Some eight civic, religious and cultural groups joined together under the banner of "Citizens for Involvement in LEAA."

They had some leverage, since even the LEAA planning guidelines sent out to the Impact cities recognized the need for community participation: "If the Impact Program is to reduce crime in a city, it must have the active support and cooperation of as many members of the community as possible."

"We wanted input into the planning and project development," remembers Howard I. Rosenberg, director of the Legal Aid Society, who was active in the citizens group. "We asked to meet with the mayor, but were refused."

Despite the refusal, Mayor McNichols must have felt the need for some kind of community participation. On February 22, 1972, he announced his appointment of a 27-member Coordinating Council on Criminal Justice (soon simplified to Anti-Crime Council) and the appointment of five Task Forces of nine members each. The Anti-Crime Council was designated as the city's primary decision-making body on projects proposed for funding. One-third of the members were to be from criminal justice agencies, one-third "other professionals" and one-third from the community. It is chaired by Minoru Yasui, the energetic director of the mayor's Commission on Community Relations.

The make-up of the Anti-Crime Council was immediately challenged by the "Citizens for Involvement in LEAA." James Garcia, Director of Metro Denver Urban Coalition, charged that although nine of the members represented law enforcement agencies, most of the so-called "community members" only represented business and professional interests. "I'm talking about the Corky Gonzaleses and the Lauren Watsons when I speak of community members," said Garcia.

The Anti-Crime Council itself acknowledged this community under-representation in its first meeting on March 21, 1972. A motion was passed requesting the mayor to expand the Council by six to include young people, women and Indians. McNichols responded by appointing one additional member, Joe Locust of the American Indian Movement.

As the sparring over the composition of the Council continued, the mayor appointed a director and assistant director of what in fact has become the key decision-making body of the High Impact program—the professional Anti-Crime Council Staff.

Charles Denny Weller, a former Denver patrolman, was brought in from the American Justice Institute in Sacramento, California, to be staff director. His assistant is Anthony Pasciuto, formerly assistant dean of the School of Criminal Justice at the State University of New York at Albany. Weller in turn helped select the five criminal justice specialists which comprised his staff.

Again, there were misgivings by the citizens' group. "It seems strange," one woman commented, "that a supposedly local program only got two of its staff from Denver."

Until the staff began operating in mid-April and actually began accepting project ideas in June, the mainstay of the High Impact program was Minoru Yasui, director of the Commission on Community Relations and chairman of the Anti-Crime Council, Yasui was active in helping get the five Task Forces—on Courts, Corrections, Police and Community Relations, Youth Department, and Impact Neighborhoods—off the ground.

Statements by officials at this time indicated that High Impact would be very flexible. For example, Yasui was cited in the *Rocky Mountain News* of March 28, 1972, as saying that a portion of the $20 million in federal money "will definitely" be used for recreational purposes.

The "Citizens for Involvement in LEAA" faded away. "There was only so far we could push," explains Rosenberg of Legal Aid. "We attended meetings, but got turned off. If the mayor has control and refuses to meet with you it's hard to keep going."

Nevertheless, it appeared that a structure for some citizen participation existed. According to Sheldon Steinhauser, a member of the Anti-Crime Council, "The Council started with a great opportunity for citizen involvement. But the complexity of the application procedures eliminated organizations without resources. Thus, any kind of nontraditional projects were knocked out."

From last September up to March the Anti-Crime Council has approved all 15 projects which were presented to it following staff and Task Force review and comment. Yet, only five of those projects have been funded and are in operation while two have been held up in the state and federal review process and may not be funded.

In theory the whole process was to take 55 working days, but "trying to get the state and federal bureaucracies to speed up is like trying to move the unmovable," says Yasui.

These time delays don't have much effect on established agencies waiting for special projects to be funded, but it is just one way that non-agency, community based projects are hamstrung. Project guidelines are another.

The project proposal guidelines drawn up by the Anti-Crime Council Staff last May state, "The Denver Anti-Crime Program is designed to accommodate a maximum of community participation and contribution in reducing the incidence of crime in Denver yet operate within the guidelines set by both State and Federal government."

In practice, those guidelines are being interpreted in a way which minimizes community participation.

The two main guidelines are that projects be crime specific and have a state or city government agency as sponsor.

The crime specific requirement means that a project must have data to show that its success will achieve the overall High Impact goal of reducing at least one of the specific High Impact crimes by five percent over two years and 20 percent over five years.

Data is the name of the High Impact game. It may even become unmanageable, as stated in the staff's draft "1973 Crime Reduction Plan." This document warns project applicants that "When the amounts of data become so large they become unmanageable, it is advisable to have included a discussion of the method of sampling that would be most appropriate for the given situation."

There can be a good deal of flexibility even within the guidelines, depending how they are interpreted. It is no secret that the same statistics can be used to promote contradictory arguments.

The sponsor requirement is often the most "glaring problem" for community groups, according to Phil Walker, the staff specialist for youth projects. The sponsor, which has purse-string control, must be an agency of state or local government. This means that groups must solicit support from government agencies and give up some autonomy in the process.

Yasui argues that this guideline is intended to provide for continuity in the program once the High Impact money runs out.

"Sure, continuity is the argument," counters one source. "But it really means control by the city."

The interpretation of the guidelines at the city level is a function of the Anti-Crime Council Staff. This function makes the staff, whose role on paper is to provide "policy review and guidance" for grant applicants, a central decision-making body. Instead of using its resources to help community groups get their projects through the bureaucratic jungle of High Impact, according to a source close to the staff, "Guidelines are being used as an excuse to block those projects."

The Westwood neighborhood in southwest Denver generally is regarded as one of the city's most volatile problem areas. Last summer the large, predominantly Chicano Westwood Housing Project, which is surrounded by older, single-family dwellings, became the scene of serious confrontations between youths and police. (See "Trouble in Westwood," *Capital Ledger*, September, 1972).

The draft of the High Impact "1973 Crime Reduction Plan," approved by the Anti-Crime Council at its February meeting and now undergoing state and federal LEAA review, describes Westwood as follows: "In general, Westwood reflects a number of physical and socio-economic factors that are problematic. Housing overcrowding, income levels, education achievement, and unemployment are indicators of its urban-social problems. At the same time, Westwood is an area of serious residential burglary problems with Precinct 412 having in absolute numbers the most reported burglaries of any precinct in the city for the first six months of 1972." The Westwood Housing Project is located in that precinct.

The report concludes that the Westwood area is considered to be "one of the most serious burglary problem areas in the City of Denver."

There are also a large number of youths in the Project. Youth between 12 and 18 years old make up two-thirds of the Project's population. (Police Department arrest figures attribute 63 percent of all Denver burglaries to juveniles.)

One of the first programs approved by the Anti-Crime Council and the first to get its money and go into operation was the Special Crime Attack Team (SCAT) of the Denver Police Department. SCAT is a 33-man police unit which concentrates particularly on high-burglary areas. It presently operates in three Denver precincts, two in northeast Denver and Precinct 412 in Westwood.

Lt. Don Brannan, the sum-tanned and mustached director of SCAT, says his unit is using neighborhood search type techniques against burglary and will soon put into operation a SCAT helicopter which will pick up signals from strobe lights attached to burglar alarms. That particular "hardware" is being purchased for SCAT by the state LEAA money, and is not coming directly from High Impact funds.

As far as relations between SCAT and the Westwood community, Brannan says, "The general homeowner feels more secure. Younger people don't like us there, but respect us. I wouldn't say we're chums."

Brannan says Westwood burglary figures from February, 1973, compared with February, 1972, indicate a reduction of about 40 percent. High Impact analysts

are now trying to assess whether this crime is actually being suppressed or simply being shifted into areas where SCAT is not conducting intensive operations.

Although Brannan claims he has no figures on the number of arrests, it is clear that SCAT is directing much of its efforts toward apprehension of suspected offenders.

Citizen complaints have been recently filed with the Police Department about SCAT officers investigating the incidents, and sources say an "invasion of privacy" suit may be filed.

Brannan admits that SCAT officers did take photographs and argues that this was necessary to identify "new faces" in the area.

While saying that in some ways the SCAT members hassle youths less than other officers in the area, one Westwood Housing Project resident described the constant police patrols of the four-block area as "making us feel like we're living in a concentration camp."

The SCAT project was supported by the Anti-Crime Council Staff project through the Denver Anti-Crime Council, even receiving a supplemental draft to make its total award a hefty $797,256—far and away the largest of any program yet approved. In addition, once it was approved by the Anti-Crime Council in September, it quickly went through the state and federal process and received its money by December, a record time.

Another program directed toward the problems of Westwood, but aimed at prevention of crime by the youths rather than detection or apprehension, has not fared so well, however.

In August and September, at the same time the SCAT proposal was being polished up, members of several social service agencies in Westwood began working on a proposal to address the problems of the many youths in the Housing Project who were school drop-outs and at the same time unemployed and often un-employable. This project is called Westwood Youth Employment Service, or Westwood YES.

In September the group approached the Anti-Crime Staff for support and Phil Walker, a black who is the only minority group member of the staff, was assigned to help with the project proposal. "We had an outline and went over with the staff member all the necessary statistics and evaluation requirements," recalls Barbara Karr, an employee of the Denver Housing Authority and one of the Westwood YES proponents.

After talking with many of the youths and older residents of Westwood Housing Project, one of the biggest reasons for the high burglary rate in the area was traced to the high drop-out rate from school and the lack of jobs. So Westwood YES started planning a program which would provide part-time jobs through work-study programs with the nearby junior and senior high schools.

The Denver Housing Authority (DHA) agreed to sponsor the program, and some matching funds for the proposed $67,000 budget were committed by the DHA and the Department of Health and Hospitals.

In December Westwood YES proponents met with members of the Anti-Crime Council's Youth Task Force. "They supported us in so far as asking Phil Walker to put the proposal in final form for presentation," says Karr.

Then in January the group was told by the Anti-Crime Council Staff's assistant director that the new federal guidelines restricted funding to "suppressive programs," like SCAT and other law enforcement projects. There reportedly was no room for non-suppressive programs involving employment, education or welfare.

But after putting so much work into the proposal and knowing that this spring and summer promised to be very hot in the Housing Project, Westwood YES was not going to give up without a fight.

On March 14, the proposal proponents went to meet with the staff at the Anti-Crime Council offices at 1313 Tremont Place. This reporter was present. Originally scheduled to meet with Assistant Director Tony Paschiuto, at the last minute the group was told he would be busy.

A Westwood YES spokesman demanded that Pasciuto come in and explain what was going on. And this time the Westwood YES proponents carried some heavy weight behind their demands. In addition to the proponents were persons from several groups and agencies who in some way supported the proposal. They included representatives from the Chamber of Commerce, Juvenile Court, SCAT, the National Alliance of Businessmen, and Rep. Pat. Schroeder's office.

Pasciuto, stylishly dressed in a double breasted coat and puffing on a cigar, finally came into the packed conference room. After expressing surpirse that anyone would want to see him, he settled in for what turned out to be a two-hour meeting.

"The ball game has changed since you all came in with the idea," Pasciuto started off. He first explained that now High Impact was aiming toward "large projects with a large clientele," such as the Youth Services Bureau in Northeast Denver, which has been approved but not yet funded.

Pasciuto then proceeded to sketch out the present High Impact program on a briefing pad. He seemed to be preparing to tell the group why the program would not fit the guidelines.

Various participants said he was misrepresenting their program. At one point, when Pasciuto claimed that Westwood YES was not crime specific—meaning that it would not reduce a specific crime by five percent over two years—one person read figures showing how an employment program in Las Casitas-Sun Valley had reduced crime in that area.

"Everybody has different data," responded Pasciuto, "so I'm not going to deal with that now."

"Why?" retorted Maurice Valasquez. "We're dealing with yours."

When asked why the group had not initially been told there was little chance for them to be funded instead of letting them working along for several months, Pasciuto replied, "You're talking like there was a stagnant political situation over this period. The federal government right now is not taking an easy stand on law and order."

Pasciuto complained that there was too little staff to do all the work required. "My concern," he said, "is that I've rewritten three community projects since I've been here. That's not the job of the assistant director."

In the end, Pasciuto did go through the Westwood YES proposal page by page, giving suggestions on word changes and emphasis in the document which would allow it to meet the guidelines. "This is exactly the kind of technical assistance we've been asking for," one of the group told him.

After the meeting Pasciuto asked a couple of times that Pat Schroeder's representative, who had left earlier, be contacted so she doesn't carry a "wrong impression" to the Congresswoman.

Following the meeting some of the Westwood YES supporters felt that project had been rejected; others felt they were being put off to die on the vine but that it was worth the slim chance for success to keep reworking the proposal.

"This is the best session we've ever had," said one member of the group, "But if the proposal is ever funded it won't be on the merits of the program, but the result of political pressure."

Denny Weller and his Anti-Crime Council Staff are engaged in a precarious balancing act between several potentially contradictory interests from the federal down to the community level.

Release of federal funds for Denver's High Impact program comes on a project by project basis. Thus, any divergence from the hard line law and order policies of the Nixon Administration could cause the spigot to be turned off. It could also cost Weller his job.

Staff members point out that to date the directors of five of the eight High Impact cities have been fired and two staffs completely overhauled. Following one Anti-Crime Council meeting where community leaders and the "establishment" carried on a heated discussion, a staff member grumbled. "This is not going to become a damned Model Cities program. The Feds won't approve it."

Press accounts say the director of the Newark program was ousted by federally LEAA pressure because he was putting too much emphasis on social programs.

Those accounts don't tell the full story, according to Weller. The Newark director was removed because the "criminal justice agencies in the city were bypassed," Weller claims.

That certainly is not the case in Denver. The agencies here are being taken care of. Twelve of the 15 projects so far approved by the Anti-Crime Council is 85 percent of the $2.7 million of federal funds allocated to date, have come to these agencies.

At the city level, Weller and the staff need to please the mayor. "The staff likes Denver," Weller says. "If we can show an honest track record without manipulating statistics, then the mayor will take a hard look at us. And if special revenue sharing passes, then it's possible that we'll stick around."

The public, for the most part, is not aware of the High Impact Anti-Crime program and how it's working. The daily papers carry stories about this or that meeting of the Anti-Crime Council or occasionally describe one of the projects, but to date they have failed to put it all in context.

The "Citizens for Involvement in LEAA" just gently drifted away. Community based groups coming to the Anti-Crime Council Staff for assistance generally find themselves either immediately discouraged or strung along for a while, without any results. Patience, however, is beginning to wear thin.

"We've been manipulated and mislead for months," complained one tired project proponent.

Kenneth W. Kindelsperger, dean of the University of Denver School of Social Work, has been working since last fall on a proposal which would enable students to work in housing projects around the city. "The Anti-Crime Council Staff is always encouraging," Kindelsperger comments. "But when it gets down to the proposal, there's always some tie-up.

"The critical power is the staff and whatever liaisons can be made with political people," he adds.

Supporters of the High Impact program always stress how Denver is unique among the eight cities with these programs because it has a 28-member Anti-Crime Council and five nine-member Task Forces. Seventy-three people all together . . . theoretically.

The Task Forces vary greatly in terms of member interest and activity. From March 1972, to January, 1973, the most active Task Force (Corrections) met 45 times, while the Task Force on Courts met only seven times. In terms of decision-making it would not make much difference if the Task Forces never met. They have no teeth, as became clear when the Impact Neighborhoods Task Force tried to block a program presented to the Anti-Crime Council in September and were ignored.

The Anti-Crime Council has passed every one of the programs which have come to them from the staff, including one which had a pending legal suit by the Colorado Commission on Civil Rights against the proponent. It appears to be little more than a "rubber stamp."

If the current trend continues, the lion's share of the remaining $17 million in High Impact federal funds and more than $5 million in state and local funds will flow into the coffers of the city's law enforcement agencies, which deal with the symptoms rather than causes of crime. The Anti-Crime Council Staff may come up with data proving the successes of the program and gain a permanent place for itself as a "super-agency" under special revenue sharing funds for law enforcement. And the "community participation" called for at the outset of the High Impact Anti-Crime Program will remain rhetoric.

Exhibit E

[From VIP Examiner, Spring 1973]

Volunteer Insurance

(By A. L. Jagoe, Corporate Insurance Management Inc.)

Editor's Note: Because of the need for adequate insurance protection for the volunteer, the non-profit organization Volunteers Insurance Service (VIS) was formed with the assistance of the National Center for Voluntary Action. The purpose of VIS is to research available and feasible insurance relating to volunteers, compile underwriting information, maintain a central insurance library, and to design and place insurance for volunteers.

Any agency using services of volunteers should understand its exposures to a liability claim and provide adequate protection.

A liability claim arising from a volunteer service could be made against (1) the agency, (2) an officer or director of the aegncy, (3) an employee, or (4) the volunteer.

(1) A claim against the agency would be made by an employee or a non-employee. The agency protects itself against an employee claim by carrying workmen's compensation and employer's liability insurance. Be certain to add to this policy the voluntary compensation endorsement. This does not cover a volunteer who is donating his or her services. However, it does cover a claim from an injured employee who may be outside the provisions of the workmen's compensation law or whose status is doubtful.

To protect the agency for an act from a non-employee, which would be any member of the public or a volunteer, the agency must have a comprehensive general liability policy. The insurance should be extended to cover personal injury, which

includes libel, slander, false arrest, defamation of character and invasion of privacy. Be certain to delete exclusion "c" on this endorsement in order to have coverage for a claim made by an employee.

The policy should cover products of an "if any" basis. Also, if the agency has any contacts in which it has agreed to hold another party harmless or to assume another's liability, extend the policy by endorsement to cover this contractual liability. Carefully examine your premises leases. A hold-harmless clause in favor of your landlord is automatically covered without charge on the comprehensive general liability policy. However, there may be the requirement that you add the landlord as an additional named insured on your policy.

(2) A claim against an officer or director of the agency is covered under the liability policy, as long as that person was acting within the scope of his duties.

(3) Employees of the agency are not covered under the agency's liability policy. For example, if the agency and the personnel supervisor are sued, and there is a judgment rendered 50% against the agency and 50% against the supervisor, the agency policy will not pay for the award against the supervisor.

You can extend you liability policy to protect all employees for a very nominal cost. However, this must be done by specific endorsement.

(4) if the volunteer is sued in connection with services that he is donating to the agency, he is not protected under the agency policy. Also contrary to the situation with the employees, there is no way to extend the agency policy to protect the volunteer.

Instead, the volunteer must depend upon coverage under his own comprehensive personal liability insurance, which is a part of the homeowners' package insurance. However, this policy excludes a claim "arising out of a business pursuit, except activities therein which are ordinarily indigent to non-business pursuit or (b) the rendering or failing to render professional services."

The vagueness of this wording can leave the professional volunteer at the mercy of interpretation of this coverage. For example, a claim adjustor may deny a claim arising out of a volunteer's services by saying "that person worked as a nonsalaried employee of the agency, fulfilling an important agency function just as if he were a salaried employee. I recommend denying coverage because this was a business pursuit, even though it was a nonprofit business."

Also, the term "professional service" is a term that can have wide interpretation, We have professional volunteers, professional insurance men, professional homemakers, professional waiters, professional teachers, etc. For example, if a volunteer were assisting a Red Cross professional swimming instructor and a child drowned, and the volunteer was sued in connection with the accident, would his insurance company deny defense on the basis that there was a professional service involved?

The first project was to plan a program that would provide both accident and liability coverage for volunteers. For example, if an agency has a volunteer working side-by-side with an employee, and both should be hurt, the paid employee receives the full benefits for medical expense and salary continuation from the agency's workmen's compensation policy. He also has the additional fringe benefits of social security, paid vacations, and perhaps hospitalization and a retirement plan. While performing the same service at no cost to the agency, the volunteer receives nothing.

The insurance plan which has been tailored for VIS by Corporate Insurance Management (CIMA) enables the agency, for the first time, to provide insurance protection for its volunteers. The plan provides $2,500 accidental medical and death coverage for the volunteer if injured while performing volunteer services. In addition, should the volunteer be sued in connection with his donated services, he has $1,000,000 liability protection. The VIS Insurance Plan is underwritten by the Insurance Company of North America (INA).

The cost is $1.50 for each volunteer per year or part thereof. If the agency joins VIS with a $5.00 membership charge, it can participate in the plan. The agency maintains a volunteer roster, and as soon as a person is registered, he is protected.

At the inception of the plan, the agency pays a deposit, based on the number of volunteers it intends to register during the next twelve month period. There is a $100 minimum premium. At the end of this period, the agency reports the number on its volunteer roster, and the initial deposit is adjusted according to this number.

EXHIBIT F

[From Changing Times, December 1972]

CITIZENS VS. CROOKS: LOCAL CRIME COMMISSIONS AT WORK

Distressingly similar problems plague cities and towns across the nation—rising crime rates, spotty law enforcement, overcrowded courts, drug addiction and the spread of organized crime. Most people shrug helplessly, feeling: "There's nothing I can do."

Yet a large body of concerned citizens in 21 cities big and small are doing a great deal about these problems. They are neither police nor vigilantes but members of citizen crime commissions. The goals of these groups of private citizens, often leading members of the community, vary from bringing about cleanups of corruption in official circles to promoting more effective programs for rehabilitating convicts. Their methods, however, usually are similar: investigation first, then private and public persuasion in behalf of the reforms they favor.

Some of the commissions are run completely by volunteers, as in Las Vegas. Chicago, on the other hand, has a full-time staff of about 20 persons. Others, such as Phoenix, Ariz., have only one full-time person.

While they often work closely with mayors, sheriffs, judges and chiefs of police, none of these officials has any affiliation with a commission nor do any commission funds come from governmental sources. Generally, they get their money by community fund drives or by fees from a fixed number of members. The Atlanta commission, for example, received its first money from local foundations but now receives funds from the United Way. Chicago covers operating costs through contributions from outside donors and its 210 members. A number of commissions raise money by holding an annual community dinner and charging $25 or $50 a plate.

Those that have professional staff frequently are headed by a former agent of the FBI, mainly because of their technical training and investigative and administrative experience.

HOW THEY DID IT IN ATLANTA

The Atlanta commission, a working example of a good organization, came into being because many of the city's leading citizens, as well as officials, were concerned over public safety in their city. A blue-ribbon group of businessmen, clergy educators, doctors, and lawyers both black and white, decided to find out what was wrong.

A year later, in February 1966, their report was complete. It contained some 45 major recommendations: Upgrading police training and manpower; expanding the probation system and hiring more parole officers; presentence investigations of those convicted in the courts; a uniform search and seizure law; new procedures for handling first offenders and habitual offenders; expansion of child day-care systems; vocational training and high school job counseling; development of a sound police-community relations program.

Their catalog of needs probably would be appropriate for any urban area. In fact, they closely paralleled those of President Johnson's Crime Commission, which issued its national report a year later.

Once they had defined the problem, the Atlanta citizens raised the money to establish a full-time Metropolitan Atlanta Commission on Cirme and Juvenile Delinquency. And they hired as executive director James L. McGovern, a former top FBI agent who had been in charge of such cases as the killing of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo. For about a year and a half, McGovern was the entire staff. Then, because the panel also had urged that the commission serve as a watchdog against organized crime, the commission directors agreed to hire another man who would devote most of his time to that.

McGovern points out that "we're not competing with law enforcement agencies. We don't hold ourselves out as super sleuths. We did feel the need to develop a criminal intelligence network among official agencies on a city and statewide basis." His assistant, James B. Henderson, another former FBI man, has done just this through Georgia's Organized Crime Prevention Council.

Henderson says that there have been a number of attempts by Detroit-area mobsters to establish legal footholds in Atlanta businesses, but the commission has been doing its best to make things difficult for them. Among other things, it holds briefings for selected businessmen on the organized crime situation in their areas, naming names and exact situations. "We don't tell them what to do, we just tell them the background so they can decide whether they want to deal with such men," Henderson says.

But, as McGovern notes, "you don't have to have a Godfather type running an organization in your city to have organized crime present.

"If you can make a phone call and lay a bet on a football game, then you have organized crime services. If there's a heroin problem, and there is in almost every urban area . . . if you live in a dry county and belong to a club where you can get liquor over the bar and play slot machines . . . then you've got organized crime. You are dealing with services that are illegal."

Both men are active on a variety of councils and commissions where they can make their views known. McGovern, for example, is chairman of the Georiga State Crime Commission, which is the planning agency for allocating federal funds throughout Georgia. Both have served on the commission that allocates federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration funds in the Atlanta metropolitan region.

With the backing and direct help of the commission's 21 directors, McGovern can point to some positive changes: The statewide criminal intelligence network; higher police salaries and better training, meaning better police and more of them; studies of police management aimed at improving the present system; court reforms for speedier trials for defendants; a coordinated approach to drug- and alcohol-abuse programs.

OTHER CITIES, OTHER STORIES

THE NEWEST CRIME COMMISSION is on Long Island, N.Y. This Committee for Crime Control is headed by Warren Spellman and is an offshoot of the Long Island Restaurant and Caterers Association, which he formed about ten years ago to fight the influence of organized crime in many of the service trades that do business with restaurants.

Just recently the committee hired an executive director, William Kane, formerly with the FBI's organized crime division for the New York area, and plans to become more active.

Spellman explains that five of the top Mafia "families" operate on Long Island and that the "Don" also lives there. "They're in every kind of supply and service," he says. "They have it pretty well monopolized. Even some of the counties and towns have had trouble with them because they've gotten together and rigged the bids for services. We hope to put them out of business if we can prove they forced their way into those businesses.

"Another thing we want to do is publish a 'Hood's Who' (as Chicago does) to show their involvement in business. Then it will be up to the general public to treat them the way they should be treated. We'll be setting up a filing system on who's involved in the rackets out here, including their front men, so we can serve also as a watchdog for the business community, something like Chicago's commission."

The Chicago commission, probably the best known of all such groups, has been operating since shortly after World War I, and its staff includes undercover investigators who probe rackets, vice and gambling. It serves as an independent investigator of criminals and of public officials.

A key service of the Chicago commission is its compilation of massive files on criminal activities. It has records of everyone indicted and convicted in Cook County, Ill., plus data on organized crime—well over a million items in all. The information is used by businessmen, the news media, governmental agencies, other crime commissions and, from time to time, the U.S. Congress. Last year the commission handled over 3,000 inquiries.

The Chicago commission says its information has saved businesses and governmental agencies from being defrauded of huge sums of money and has also saved some businesses from being infiltrated by organized crime.

The Wichita (Kan.) Crime Commission, formed in 1952, dug into the operation of the bootleggers and gamblers who were operating in the area and learned that some club owners had made unusually large campaign donations to a candidate for sheriff. After his election, professional gamblers began showing up in large numbers. When the sheriff paid no attention to the commission's pleas for action,

the members went to state authorities for help. Simultaneous raids were conducted, gamblers prosecuted and some deputies convicted of malfeasance in office. The sheriff was defeated for re-election and left the state.

In another case, the commission found that one of the presiding judges at the county level was associated with a ring of professional burglars. He was ousted from office and left the state. The Wichita commission was instrumental in organizing a metropolitan narcotics squad and has a number of undercover drug agents on its own staff.

A more general approach has been taken in Chattanooga, Tenn., where the crime commission started in 1961. Among its achievements: Resolving differences between city and county agencies; helping prevent a threatened police strike; demanding a crackdown on illegal liquor sales; improved race relations. Current projects include working toward sounder rehabilitation of prisoners and alcoholics; new programs for first offenders using volunteer parole workers; improved court facilities, and procedures to assure better and speedier trials.

SOME QUESTIONS FOR YOUR TOWN

It should be noted that the efforts of those who tangle with crime, particularly organized crime, are not always greeted with applause. For example, Aaron M. Kohn's activities as managing director of the Metropolitan Crime Commission of New Orleans have made him a highly controversial figure for years. He has been indicted four times, sued, criticized by public officials and jailed three times, once for ten days. His commission also has helped bring about the ouster of three judges and a police chief and the indictments of a assistant district attorney, a sheriff and a large number of policemen.

Virtually every community in the country needs a crime commission in one form or another, according to Atlanta's McGovern, who is the elected president of the National Association of Citizen Crime Commissions, a loosely knit organization whose members swap ideas and bring each other up-to-date on what's happening around the country.

Big cities, McGovern says, need a full-time staff but small towns can get by with local volunteers. To help communities size up their problems and their needs, the national association has compiled a list of leading questions:

Does your police department need better equipment, more officers or other changes?

Are loan sharks at work in the area?

Is there drug abuse or vandalism by teenagers?

Do the courts face large backlogs of criminal cases? Are there too few judges? Do the courts use 50-year-old systems and methods?

Can probation officers keep up with their caseloads?

Do the jails and prisons change criminal attitudes or do they disgorge more and more repeaters?

Are law enforcement officials blaming each other for mounting lawlessness?

Are you tired of footing the bill for a criminal justice system that is producing more criminal repeaters than ever before?

If only some of these conditions are present in your community, McGovern says, it may be ready for a citizen crime commission. He stresses, however, that every commission must guard against becoming a vigilante group, stamping out wrongs by trampling on the rights of others.

Although most groups start with a particular local grievance, McGovern says, they should also consider other general problems at the same time—the quality of law enforcement, court reform, police training and recruitment.

"Too often," he asserts, "you hire people to protect your basic rights and you don't even tell them what those basic rights are."

The real function of a crime commission, he says, is that of a prodder. "You find the nerve and then you keep at it until you get change."

THE FIRST STEPS

THERE ARE THREE basic steps that have to be taken to establish a working crime commission.

1. Someone must assume leadership. In Atlanta it was a group of community leaders; on Long Island it was one determined man. It could be a ministerial association concerned with prostitution or a chamber of commerce worried about organized crime's infiltration of business.

2. A volunteer group must examine the community and determine the exact nature of the problems, talking to law enforcement officials, judges, convicts, victims. Once they know the score, they can decide to go ahead, either with a volunteer force or by hiring a professional.

McGovern says that as president of the national association he will respond as best he can to request for assistance but that his aid will be largely in the form of printed data or counsel by letter. Interested groups can write to him at 52 Fairlie St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

3. Money must be raised, whether a small amount for stamps and office supplies for a volunteer commission or the much larger amounts necessary for hiring a staff, renting an office and acquiring equipment. If a full-time staff is hired, the commission should plan its budget on a three-year basis. This will mean that the staff doesn't have to spend time raising funds instead of doing the job. Money can be raised in any number of ways. In Wichita members can contribute only up to a maximum amount, which eliminates the danger of one or two heavy contributors acquiring excess influence. Naturally, the commission should incorporate as a tax-exempt organization.

It is very important for the members of the group to be aware not only of the surface events in their community but of the effects those events may have two, five and ten years from now.

Exhibit G

[From American Criminal Law Quarterly, 1970]

Does Your Community Need a Citizen Crime Commission? Section of Criminal Law Cooperates With National Citizens Crime Commissions To Help Concerned Communities Answer This Question

(By H. Eugene Breitenbach)*

The Section of Criminal Law is convinced there is an urgent need for meaningful mobilization of citizen concern in the war to prevent and control crime. The Section's experience tells it the only way for progress in this war—and it is war—is through constructive and enthusiastical involvement of the individual—young and old, underprivileged and affluent urban and suburban.

In the past five years, this Nation has seen convened a National Crime Commission, a National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, a National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence; and who can say how many privately funded or state, or local studies? They have made voluminous findings of fact. They have made intensive examination of causes and effects pertaining to most serious conditions in our society and in many of its institutions. They have drawn conclusions, many of which do not make pleasant reading. And they have made many recommendations for corrective action, most of which still clamor for meaningful implementation.

There is no power on earth like an aroused and concerned citizenry. But an indispensable corollary is that, just like the power of the wind and the sun, "people power," to be truly effective, must be guided, led, or coordinated. To help do this is one of the major objectives of the Section of Criminal Law.

But citizen involvement will not just happen; it must be caused. The Section of Criminal Law is the functional segment of the American Bar Association entrusted with the responsibility to provide leadership and coordination for lawyers to "do their thing" toward the prevention and control of crime, the improvement of criminal justice, the return to relevance of law and our legal institutions, the restoration of confidence in our democratic system, and a return to social peace. The legal profession has occupied a traditional role of national and community leadership throughout the history of this Nation. Lawyers can help as coordinators, catalytic agents, blenders of parochial, political, professional, and paraprofessional interests.

But lawyers have no corner on the market, and indeed, most would fail miserably in the arena of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce; or in the realm of the housewife; or in the environment of the public school teacher; or in the technical domain of the psychologist, psychiatrist, and sociologist; or in the special and vital role of the church. The realization that lwayers are but one part is the reason the

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*Chairman, ABA Section of Criminal Law.

Section of Criminal Law has joined in a cooperative venture with the National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions in order to make available to concerned communities, through local representatives of the organized bar, a team of experts and advisers to assist these communities in making their own objective and sophisticated evaluation of whether they are properly organized and otherwise equipped to cope successully with the mounting menace of crime.

In order to orient members of the Section of Criminal Law to what this cooperative program is all about, we are reprinting here the text of an address given by Ephraim R. Gomberg, Esq., of Philadelphia, President of the National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions, at a program on citizen involvement sponsored by the Section of Criminal Law at the American Bar Association Annaul Meeting, Dallas, Texas, August 13, 1969. Following this is a supplemental note which will give the interested reader specifics on what he can do in his own community in order to bring this service to them to help decide whether any given community needs a Citizens Crime Commission. The text of Mr. Gomberg's remarks follows:

REMARKS OF EPHRAIM R. GOMBERG, ESQ., PHILADELPHIA, PA. PRESIDENT, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CITIZENS CRIME COMMISSIONS BEFORE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION CRIMINAL LAW SECTION, STATLER HILTON HOTEL, DALLAS, TEXAS

9:30 A.M., Wednesday, August 13, 1969

The nation's most potent weapon against crime is an aroused citizenry. With every new killing, with every added robbery or vicious assault, the public breaking point comes closer. Once the nation realizes that law enforcement and criminal justice are not the exclusive responsibility of police, the courts and correctional services, we shall have attained the age of effective citizen involvement. Only with such involvement at every level of law enforcement will the protective services of the nation show the improvement that is a prerequisite to ending this age of lawlessness in contemporary America.

Lawyers and judges alone will never make America safe from the criminal. They have their role to play, along with police and correctional administrators, in operating the criminal justice system. But they must have the public behind them.

The American Bar Association and all local bar associations as of this month and for the first time in history have a powerful new resource placed at their disposal to enlist and to program citizen support in the fight against crime. The National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions, equipped with experience and expertise in the structuring and programming of local citizen efforts to improve law enforcement and the administration of justice, places its services at the disposal of the organized bar. With generous funding provided by The Sears-Roebuck Foundation, the National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions is undertaking a two-year field program to aid communities to channel their crime fighting efforts through an effective non-political and non-governmental local agency.

When local bar officials speaking for or as part of community leadership demonstrate the readiness of their communities for a formal citizen crime commission structure, the highly trained professional personnel now working in the member commissions of the National Association will visit such communities and assist in structuring and programming local citizen crime commissions.

This new program is a resource of the American Bar Association and affiliated local bar associations. We have no desire to foist a crime commission on any city that does not wish it or is not ready for it. But every community desiring to take stock of its law enforcement resources, every city wishing to improve the effectiveness of law enforcement, every city with gaps in its criminal justice system will benefit from the citizen involvement that is made possible by a crime commission such as is to be found now in cities like Chicago, Baltimore, New Orleans, Miami, Philadelphia, Kansas City and elsewhere throughout the nation.

National headquarters for the movement have been established in Philadelphia. Hopefully, in collaboration with the American Bar Association, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chambers of Commerce, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the potent Million Dollar Round Table of insurance executives, the National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions now makes its professional resources available to bring order and effectiveness to citizen involvement in law enforcement.

Just how does a citizen become involved in improving the quality of law enforcement? As an individual, there are many ways and many suggestions for him from organizations like Citizens for Justice with Order, the National Council on Crime

and Delinquency, the United States Chamber of Commerce, The Junior Chambers of Commerce and the General Federation of Women's Clubs. If he is a member of a group, there are a multitude of group projects worthy of his concern and suggested by these same national organizations.

But if the individual citizen wants to be sure of a continuing nonpolitical, objective rating of the criminal justice system in his community, something else is needed. If he wants to be sure that weaknesses in the administration of justice will be disclosed and corrected, if he wants to be sure that corruption wherever it may occur will be divulged promptly regardless of where the chips may fall, then he must look for another kind of instrumentality to manifest his concern. these are the purposes of a citizen crime commission.

The United States is a pioneer in developing the citizen arm of criminal justice. Nowhere else in the world has a citizen crime commission been created to maintain a careful watch over the exercise of police and law enforcement powers to the end that these powers be exercised effectively for the protection of the public.

Here in the United States such citizen involvement began more than 100 years ago. It was a municipal or local movement and it was concerned with improving the quality of criminal justice and law enforcement expressed through police, courts, and correctional services. Invariably the management of the affairs of these citizen crime commissions has been entrusted to civic leaders and not to political leaders.

Citizen crime commissions do not permit government officials responsible for the administration of justice to serve on policy making boards. The reason for this is that the citizen crime commission must be free to challenge the authority, to question the performance, and to criticize the effectiveness of the kind of criminal justice dispensed in their communities.

Five years ago there were not more than two dozen governmental or citizen crime commissions in the United States. Most of them were citizen commissions and were members of the National Association I represent today. But in the past year literally hundreds of local and state crime commissions have been created, virtually all of them governmental. Most of these new crime commission both state and local were created by Legislatures or appointed by mayors and governors in order to comply with the requirements of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. But the very fact that they are governmental and that they exist at the pleasure of public office holders makes them completely different from citizen crime commissions. These differences are apparent both in program and structure.

Another distinction between governmental and citizen crime commissions is the source of funding. Financial support of the citizen crime commission is derived from non-governmental sources and no tax money is used for its operations.

The citizen commission probes and studies, explores and evaluates the performance of police, courts, parole and probation services, jails and prisons. When authorities fail to act in accodance with the mandate of the law, the citizen crime commission speaks out. When there are gaps in the quality of performance of law enforcement, the citizen commission mobilizes public sentiment in support of change. When study and research are necessary as a means of bringing about such change, the citizen crime commission brings in the researchers and the agencies that specialize in studies like the International Association of Chiefs of Police or the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. But they do this only when government fails to act.

When studies are completed and evaluated by the citizen crime commission it then calls for government action. Failing such action by the government the citizen commission then takes its case to the people. This approach represents an organized and properly planned citizen action program, objective, free of politics, and based on a citizen concern with all of the facets of the criminal justice rather than a limited involvement in but one phase of criminal justice. The crime commission supplies to the community the coordinating instrumentality so desperately needed if citizen involvement is to be made meaningful in the urban centers of the nation.

By way of example of the potential of a citizen crime commission I cite the unique Philadelphia Gun Control Law of 1965, the first such local to set an example for the nation of what is demanded by the vast majority of citizens. It was enacted over the organized opposition of one of the nation's strongest lobbies, the National Rifle Association. It was enacted through the combined efforts of private citizens and civic, fraternal and religious groups. They produced the support needed to convince the city government that strict control of the purchase of shotguns, rifles and handguns was essential to the reduction of crime.

The role of the Crime Commission of Philadelphia was to research the problem and to mobilize popular demand for gun control.

There are 15 presently operating citizens crime commissions in the United States. They are strategically located throughout the country. Their highly trained professional staffs number more than 50. These professionals, thoroughly trained in structuring and programing citizen crime commission efforts, today are prepared to take to the field to strengthen the apparatus of citizen action in the criminal justice process of the nation. The National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions stands ready to honor the call of local leaders of the legal professions in helping to structure and to organize the citizen attack on crime.

DOES YOUR COMMUNITY NEED A CITIZEN CRIME COMMISSION?

There *is* something you can do about crime and law enforcement.

If you and others in your community feel that criminal justice is not just the responsibility of the police, courts and correctional services, a citizen crime commission can make your personal crime-fighting efforts felt. Such a commission will be the strongest crime-fighting weapon citizens can have.

A citizen crime commission is created by citizens to improve the quality of law enforcement. There are many *governmental* crime commissions created because of the requirements of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968. They will spend Federal money. The *citizen* crime commission is something else—financed by voluntary contributions from non-governmental sources. No tax money is used in operating such commissions.

These commissions, now found in cities such as Chicago, Baltimore, New Orleans, Miami, Philadelphia, Wichita, Chattanooga and others, are non-governmental. They provide a continuing objective rating of local criminal justice systems. Their freedom to act as a check on the effectiveness of law enforcement is ensured by the fact that governmental officials responsible for administering justice may not serve on citizen crime commission governing boards.

The citizen crime commission studies and evaluates the performance of police, courts, parole and probation services, jails and prisons. It may undertake to get rid of organized crime or help solve juvenile problems in a community—whichever seems to be the area in which its services are needed most. Such a commission of involved citizens develops a coordinated approach to the entire criminal justice system, not just to one or two aspects. The citizen crime commission does these things:

a. Identifies the problems based on research and study.

b. Recommends governmental action based on its studies.

c. If governmental authorities ignore its recommendations, it makes known its findings to the public and mobilizes such support for the program recommended.

If you and others who speak for your community wish to form such an effective, non-political group to assure continuing quality criminal justice in your area, here's what to do:

a. Take the initiative in bringing together a small committee of concerned community leaders. Discuss the local crime situation. Are there areas of law enforcement which need improvement? Are you willing to help? These are a few of the questions you should ask:

Does your Police Department need better equipment, more officers, improved morale or any other changes that make for stronger law enforcement?

Has organized crime made its appearance and is the criminal snydicate quietly at work?

Are loan sharks victimizing those least able to pay?

Are drug abuse and vandalism among teenage problems?

Do your courts face large criminal case backlogs? Are there too few judges? Do the courts still use the operating methods and systems of 25 or 50 years ago?

Does the probation staff of your courts provide meaningful supervision for the convicted criminals who are at liberty?

Do your jails and prisons change criminal attitudes or do they disgorge more and more repeaters?

Are you getting tired of footing the huge bill for a criminal justice system that is producing more criminal repeaters than ever before?

Are your law enforcement officials blaming each other for mounting lawlessness?

b. If you are sufficiently concerned to explore the structure and program of a citizen crime commission, then all you need to do is communicate with the National Association of Citizens Crime Commissions. The Association exists to help structure the citizen attack on crime.

c. The next step is a meeting in your community at a convenient time. An executive from an existing crime commission will talk with you and other like minded citizens and organizations in your area. He will tell you how to survey local crime conditions, describe the nature of the citizen crime commission, how it relates to governmental activity in the field of law enforcement, what a program for your city might be and the program's possible contribution to your city.

d. If your group decides to set up a citizen crime commission, one or more visits can be arranged from the professional director of an operating commission. At this time discussion of personnel recruitment will take place and attention will be given to other practical aspects of setting up a citizen crime commission. Many citizen crime commissions start from action by the local Chamber of Commerce, the Bar Association or other organizations. The U.S. Jaycees, the Million Dollar Round Table of Insurance Executives, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and other organizations also may be interested in participating in the citizen crime commission movement.

The citizen crime commission has become a dynamic force in facing crime problems throughout the country. Think about it. If it is what your community needs, call or write:

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GROUP ACTION BEGINS WITH INDIVIDUAL ACTION—RECRUIT YOUR FELLOW LAWYERS TO MEMBERSHIP IN THE SECTION OF CRIMINAL LAW

From the foregoing, the Section of Criminal Law hopes to illustrate one of a number of important programs it has for helping to mobilize the community to constructive action for the improvement of criminal justice. The Section is also working closely with the American Bar Association Special Committee on Crime Prevention and Control, the Section of Bar Activities, the Section of Judicial Administration, and the Section on Individual Rights and Responsibilities. In turn, all of us are endeavoring to work with and through the organized bar at the state and all local levels so that we will be able to realize maximum potential from the tremendous leadership talen of the Nation's lawyers. We hope every concerned lawyer will realize that he can do his part best by first joining the team of the Section of Criminal Law. In this way, he will be kept informed and he will be eligible to become involved in these programs at his community level as well as provide a line of communication in both directions between his community and its problems and the national organization and its resources.

In this issue of the American Criminal Law Quarterly, there is a tear-out application for membership in the Section which you are urged to make available to someone whom you feel would be a good addition to the Section.

Exhibit H

[From Vital Speeches, Sept. 19, 1969]

Crime: The Community and the Corporation

(By Malcolm Richard Wilkey, *General Counsel and Secretary, Kennecott Copper Corporation*)

Delivered before the Pennsylvania Chiefs of Police Association, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, July 28, 1969

Being here with this splendid group of law enforcement officers brings back pleasant memories of those days when I was first a United States Attorney in Houston, and then in charge of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice in Washington. Over the years I have kept in contact with my old friends in law enforcement, particularly in the investigative agencies, so it's a real privilege to be back with you once again.

I need not tell this audience the horrible details of the crime problem in America today. We all *live*—and you *work*—in what someday will doubtless be labelled "The Golden Age of Crime." I'm not going to try to analyze and dissect all the

problem, its various causes and, hopefully, cures. But it might be helpful to point out at least *FIVE causes* for the tremendous rise in crime:

1. More and more people are *living closer together*—a massive urban problem; inadequate housing, overwhelmed courts, etc.
2. A growing *impatience with the pace* of economic and social change. People see what is available, often on T.V. They no longer are willing to simply accept the fact that there are many things they cannot have.
3. A breakdown of *traditional restraints*—family, church, and social groups. With this,
4. A *disrespect for all duly constituted authority*, of which the *Police* are the *most visible* symbol.
5. The prevalence of "right your own wrong" theory, i.e. if you don't believe something is correct, *change it yourself* (now). Take the law into your own hands. Be your own Prosecutor, Judge and Jury. "Bad" laws need not be obeyed.

From the enumeration of these causes, it is perfectly obvious that the Crisis of Crime is *not*—and cannot be—the responsibility of law enforcement agencies *alone*. A legal maxim states "Silence gives consent." The passive citizen who waits for others to solve his community's problems is condoning the drift to lawlessness.

"To match the magnitude of our tasks," said President Nixon in his inaugural address, "we need the energies of our people—enlisted not only in grand enterprises but, more importantly in those small, splendid efforts that make headlines only in the neighborhood newspapers."

The President very early in his campaign last September gave evidence that he sought the involvement of concerned and responsible citizens. Mr. Nixon enlisted 15 Task Forces for counsel and assistance in the areas of national need, and there was none more important than his "Task Force on Crime." Mr. Nixon has repeatedly expressed his conviction that Government alone cannot solve the problems confronting us, and that volunteers and the voluntary sector are required.

Attorney General Mitchell has also spoken, publicly and upon repeated occasions, in this vein. On May 28th, in a White House graduation ceremony for the FBI National Academy, Mr. Mitchell stated: "President Nixon has said on a number of occasions that it is most important that we involve *another factor* into our war on crime. Government, whether it be state or local, can*not* with its own resources handle this problem. The President has recommended that the *voluntary sector* be brought into this over-all war. . . . The total *involvement of the community* in this particular area will *make known* to the legislators, the city councils, the mayors, the governors, *that* the law enforcement establishment, particularly the police departments, must be upgraded. They have got to have pay increases, better education, all the facilities necessary to cope with the new problems."

It was in response to this obvious national need—and President Nixon was not the only one speaking out on this—that Citizens for Justice with Order was formed.

On December 5, 1968, CJO was announced nationally on a five-minute network television program, featuring Bob Hope and Milton Eisenhower, at the conclusion of the dramatization of "Dragnet." In response, more than 7000 letters indicated that the national mood was attuned to CJO's objectives.

Citizens for Justice with Order was planned to help multiply the impact of sound, individual community projects. It is designed to make available the research and programming expertise of the leading professional associations to citizen groups willing to attack the problems of their own communities. Its fund-raising goals are to provide money, not for a huge, dominant, central organization, but rather for grants to qualified groups which have the professional background for research and programming and to citizens groups skilled in community organization.

If I could say that "Crime has been researched to death" I'd be happy. But sadly, that is not so. Research will never kill crime. We have study after study put out by Bar Associations, police organizations, social projects, Presidential Commissions—all defining, describing, and categorizing crime—in some cases prescribing definite remedies for many types of criminal activities.

The problem is to translate these well documented recommendations into *ACTION*. This is where Citizens for Justice with Order comes in. CJO is to act as the *catalytic agent*, to take the good ideas of the professional organizations—like yourselves, or the International Association of Chiefs of Police, or the American Bar Association—translate it into language, form, tools, and a program that a civic group, for example, the Jaycees or the Kiwanis Club, can put across in a particular community.

CJO will have a reservoir of proven, tested, well thoughtout programs that have worked effectively in various communities for particular problems. Another city, or perhaps a civic organization in that city, will come to CJO for help. CJO will recommend and put at the disposal of the civic action agency its programs. CJO may actually provide part of the funds, although generally local civic groups have the capacity to raise their own funds.

CJO will serve as an overall fund raising agency, much like a giant Community Chest to finance the fight against crime. It is anticipated that most CJO funds will be allocated by the Board of Directors to the professional organizations, on the basis of the comparative merit of and need for the action programs being developed. CJO *itself* will not put these action programs into effect, but will put them in the hands of civic action groups, as I have mentioned before.

CJO wants to mobilize this enormous voluntary sector. There are 1,000,000 non-commercial, non-governmental enterprises in the United States—churches. civic and charitable organizations, service clubs, etc. This private sector formerly had an attitude of *disengagement*, of non-involvement in such messy things as crime and related problems. *No longer is this true.* Their mood has changed. The problem is *not* to spur these private groups to action—they *are thirsting for it*. The problem is to direct that action along constructive channels to meet the real problems, to do the things they can do better than Government. After all, Government can do only *two things better* than the private sector—make war and promote inflation.

We've been talking about community action to fight crime, now—what are some of the things which *individual businesses* can do? In conversation with David Craig and Jim Slussen, at the table, I find Pittsburgh is already in the forefront of *doing* some of these things.

One is the program to train and hire hard-core employed, a large percentage of whom have criminal records. THIS TAKES THE BURDEN OFF POLICE. The typical hard-core unemployed has never had a steady job, has no permanent address, no social security number, has usually had no more than a few years of school, and has generally done time in jail. When this man is given training by a corporation, *put to work* on an assembly line or in a tool shop, at regular wages, there is *at least a chance* that a useful man can be returned to society. Not just training to tighten a bolt, but some rudimentary education; for example, some are illiterates. Teach a man to read and write, you put his foot on the first rung of the ladder upward. Make him realize this, and he will provide his own momentum.

Let me describe one specific example:

Chrysler has a hard-core training program. They have been in the training business of some kind for a long time. They may have a larger percentage of Negro employees than any other American company in all but skilled trades, in which they are second to Ford. Training the so-called hard-core was new to them, a new ball game. It was not all success. They fell on their faces many times. When you see their criteria for making the determination that a trainee was not just a ghetto resident, but eligible for the hard-core training program, you'll see it wasn't easy:

Black
26 or younger
No Social Security Number
Never had a permanent job
Probably a police record
May be on parole
No reading skills
Never registered to vote
Never counted in a census
Joined no communal organizations—though may belong to a gang
82 percent of the men they picked made it through training
18 percent dropped out, mostly for drugs or alcohol or mental problems
72 percent of the 82 percent are still working for them, which is a *slightly better record than that of walk-in employees*
To date 725 employees have gone through the mill.

A man needs some hope in life. If you find jobs and give men the skill to do them well, you will make *tax-payers out of tax-takers*, police supporters out of police goaders. It also happens to be the right and decent thing to do.

A certain percentage of the hard-core relapse into their old ways even after training, but the hope is that more and more will take up useful pursuits. As this training program works with some, it becomes attractive to others. There is a

multiplier effect. So here is an expanding opportunity for business to help society cut down on crime.

A second contribution business can make is to undertake an objective examination and appraisal of the *welfare system* in the community to correct abuses and remedy short-sighted policies. A welfare system that protects the weak, the needy, the sick and the helpless, is obviously a requirement of the modern age, but a welfare system that encourages shiftlessness and dependence sabotages any community. Indeed, it destroys self-reliance and undermines the family. Business has too long turned its back on the problems of welfare, leaving the administration of welfare to government. This is shortsighted. The community welfare program should, and must, be a responsibility of business as well as government.

Third, business executives ought to examine the *administration of justice* in their communities—the workings of the court system, the jail system, bail, the jury system, etc. with particular reference to the poor and the blacks. Blacks are bitter about what they consider to be the unfair and inequitable administration of justice. Business executives ought to take an interest in the police system, get to know the Police Chief, and start understanding *his* problems and the problems of the police at first hand. How many of you have had businessmen come around to talk about *your job* and *your problem?* Moreover, business ought to insist that communities modernize and improve not only jails, but the whole system of handling crime and criminals. If businessmen understood the problems at first hand, they could bring powerful pressure to bear on City Councils and Mayors for proper allocation of tax money to improve police systems, give higher pay to police officers, and better equipment for them to work with. *The system of justice is too important to leave to politicians.*

Fourth, after the conviction, after the sentence is served, what then? *Can an ex-con get a job?* Can ex-con qualify for a security bond? If he can't, some jobs are closed to him. At least one private insurance company has started writing bonds for ex-cons, realizing it's either this or have them back in jail.

Fifth. Business, particularly the financial community, can direct the investment of huge sums of money. The first *Billion Dollar Fund* was set up in September of 1967 to create housing in blighted areas. Loans were made that ordinarily would not have been made, each company lending up to 1 percent of its assets. The amortization period is 35 years, and the total cost to 200 companies will be $750,000,000. The companies are not prime developers, but had to seek out opportunities, which were not easy to find. But 63,000 families will have been housed, and 30,000 new jobs will have been created in 227 cities in 47 states.

They learned as they went around. They worked more with Negro mortgage bankers, of whom only six have FDA approval in the country.

A second billion dollar pool will contribute to black capitalism. More money will be put in revenue-producing enterprises in preference to housing.

In summary, what I'm trying to tell you is that *you are no longer alone out there.* America, American communities by the thousands, have awakened. Programs of community action, *such as Citizens for Justice with Order will sponsor,* will directly aid the Police in their work. Programs of private *business enterprises will reduce the number of malcontents* in our society, and thus take a great burden off the Police. And all over our great land there is a new awareness of the problems and the importance of law enforcement which will give you the support you must have to do your job.

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