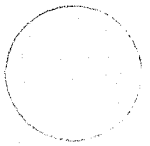


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AN APPLICATION OF COMMUNITY POLICING STRATEGIES:

THE PRIDE PATROL IN ST. PETERSBURG

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ABSTRACT

The St. Petersburg Police Department deployed a community-based patrol unit in Jordan Park, a troubled inner city public housing complex, in April of 1990. The PRIDE (Police and Residents Immobilizing a Dangerous Environment) Patrol's intensive efforts in Jordan Park have led to improved community/police relations; a dramatic decrease in crime and residents' fear of crime; improved perceptions of police service, sensitivity, attitudes and cooperation with residents; and, more positive perceptions on the part of residents of their community.

The work of the PRIDE Patrol exemplifies the results that are possible through the application of community-based, problem-oriented policing strategies. The St. Petersburg Police Department has evaluated the impact of the PRIDE Patrol in Jordan Park utilizing a survey instrument that was administered to a sample of residents before the PRIDE Patrol was deployed in the community and again one year after its deployment. The PRIDE Patrol is an ongoing effort in Jordan Park. The success of this community-based patrol unit has led to the deployment of several other similar units throughout the city.

INTRODUCTION

Inner city public housing communities have become focal points in the challenge law enforcement practitioners, other service providers, public housing authorities and citizens face to find effective, lasting solutions to the problems in these communities of illicit drug use and crime. The majority of public housing residents are law-abiding citizens, who are, more often than not, the victims of the epidemic of crime sweeping their neighborhoods.

Jordan Park is a large public housing community comprised of approximately 650 residential units, located in central St. Petersburg. Jordan Park comprises a crime tract (CT) within the city that has historically generated more calls for police service than any other in St. Petersburg. (Crime tracts are smaller divisions of police zones, which define the geographical areas for which specific patrol squads are responsible.) The Jordan Park CT is an area of intense drug activity. Drug-related crimes (burglary, robbery, theft, et al.) have escalated rapidly since the introduction of crack cocaine in 1986. Relations between Jordan Park residents, who are predominantly low-income blacks, and the police, who are predominantly middle-income whites, were very poor. The St. Petersburg Police Department identified Jordan Park as a neighborhood in crisis and developed a community-based strategy to resolve the problems there, facilitate a partnership with the residents, and improve the neighborhood's quality of life.

The PRIDE (Police and Residents Immobilizing a Dangerous Environment) Patrol was deployed in Jordan Park on April 24, 1990. The deployment of the PRIDE Patrol followed an intensive three-week campaign in Jordan Park by a Special Operations tactical team, designed to significantly reduce the level of drug activity. Three police officers were assigned to the PRIDE Patrol and given a great degree of autonomy in terms of scheduling their hours and planning their daily activities. They were charged to go into the community, analyze the problems there and come up with workable solutions that would reduce the rate of crime, reduce residents' fear of crime and improve community/police relations.

The impact of this project has been and continues to be carefully monitored. The success of the PRIDE Patrol, as measured by a reduction in crime, an improvement in community/police relations and a reduction of community residents' levels of fear of crime, has led to additional deployments of community-based, problem-oriented patrol units throughout central city neighborhoods.

APPLYING THE STRATEGIES OF COMMUNITY-BASED POLICING

The PRIDE Patrol initiative in St. Petersburg is a unique approach to the challenges confronting urban police departments. What makes the PRIDE Patrol unique is the breadth of its approach, reaching beyond merely reducing crime and the fear of crime to building an active partnership with area residents, becoming participants in the everyday activities of the community and utilizing the resources of other public and private agencies to meet the needs of the neighborhood. The PRIDE Patrol is not a "quick fix". It is an ongoing, long-term effort, designed to create lasting change and improve the overall quality of life within Jordan Park. The PRIDE Patrol represents a comprehensive application of community-based policing strategies.

The success of community-based policing applications, designed to address the root causes of and resolve specific problems within a community, are a part of a larger movement heralding a period of transition in the methods of conducting police business and the philosophy of policing.

Goldstein (1987) describes the elements most commonly associated with community-based or problem-oriented policing as follows:

"... involvement of the community in getting the police job done; the permanent assignment of police officers to a neighborhood in order to cultivate better relationships; the setting of police priorities based on the specific needs and

desires of the community; and the meeting of those needs by the allocation of police resources and personnel otherwise assigned to responding to calls for police assistance" (pg 7).

Goldstein (1987) goes on to explain that the purposes of community-based policing are "reducing fear and deterring crime; that the police have a presence in the community; that they are easily accessible, frequently visible, and caring in their relationships with citizens" (pg. 9). Accessibility, visibility and interaction with citizens are facilitated by placing officers on foot, with mobility enhanced by the use of bicycles or golf carts.

Crime prevention, community organization, problem-solving and citizens' participation in community safety efforts are also integral components of community-based policing. Community policing officers focus on "working with the good guys, and not just against the bad guys" (Wilson & Kelling, 1989).

Goldstein (1987) asserts that what is reflected in the work of seasoned observers of policing, who are advocating broader usage and applications of community-based policing strategies, is the gut feeling that the projects they describe are responsive to the most critical needs of the police field. They incorporate a number of important elements that we have not seen in previous efforts to improve policing:

"(1) a more realistic acknowledgment of police functions;

(2) recognition of the interrelationship between and among police functions; (3) an acknowledgment of the limited capacity of the police to get their job done on their own and the importance, therefore, of an alliance between the police and community; (4) less dependence on the criminal justice system, with emphasis, therefore, on developing new alternatives for responding to problems; (5) greatly increased use of the knowledge that police officers acquire about the areas to which they are assigned; (6) more effective use of personnel; and (7) a modest, but significant increase in the systematic analysis of community problems as a basis for designing more effective police responses" (pp. 27-28).

Research on applications of the values of community-based policing is in its infancy. Trojanowicz (1982) published an evaluation of the Neighborhood Foot Patrol Officer program in Flint, Michigan. This study found that crime and calls for service decreased in the 14 experimental foot patrol areas over the three years of the program. Residents in the experimental zones responded very positively to the foot patrols in their areas. They reported feeling safer in their neighborhoods, sharing information with the police more readily, and improving community/police relations.

The Neighborhood Foot Patrol Officer program was also instituted in inner-city neighborhoods in Kalamazoo, Michigan. An evaluation of this program (Trojanowicz, 1986) showed that residential

burglaries were reduced, residents increased crime reporting to the police and community/police relations were improved.

In an article commissioned by the Police Executive Research Forum, Taft (1986) reported the results of an evaluation of the Baltimore County Community Oriented Police Enforcement (COPE) project. The study was done in 1985 by Gary Cordner, Chief of the St. Michaels (Maryland) Police Department and former professor at the University of Baltimore. Cordner's findings included the following: (1) a reduction in the fear of crime in target neighborhoods; (2) a decrease in crime and calls for service; (3) an increase in citizen satisfaction with, and awareness of, police service; and, (4) a better attitude toward work on the part of COPE officers compared to traditional patrol officers.

When residents of a Houston neighborhood became fearful about crime in their area, the Houston Police Department assigned community-based patrol officers to talk with area residents in their homes. Over a nine-month period the officers visited more than one-third of all the dwellings in the area, made contact with residents, asked about neighborhood problems and left their business cards. The project was evaluated by researchers from the Police Foundation, who found that the people in the target neighborhoods, unlike others living in a similar area where no citizen-contact project had occurred, felt that social disorder had decreased and that their neighborhood had become a better place to live. Moreover, the amount of property crime in the area was noticeably reduced (Pate & Wycoff, 1986).

The foot patrol project in Newark was also evaluated. While crime rates were not reduced, residents of the foot-patrolled neighborhoods reported feeling more secure than persons in other areas, tended to believe that crime had been reduced, and took fewer steps to protect themselves from crime (staying indoors, for example). Moreover, residents in the foot-patrolled neighborhoods had a more favorable opinion of the police than people in other areas. Officers walking neighborhood beats reported higher morale, greater job satisfaction, and a more favorable attitude toward citizens in their neighborhoods than did officers assigned to patrol cars (Pate & Wycoff, 1986).

Goldstein (1987) asserts that, while it is natural to call for more rigorous research, the effects of some of the changes being advocated may simply not be subject to evaluation. Too many changes are occurring at the same time. And there are enormous methodological problems, in addition to cost, in conducting many, large-scale controlled experiments.

At present, the results of less rigorous research, may have to suffice. In their book, *The New Blue Line*, Jerome Skolnick and David Bayley (1986) described community policing innovations in Santa Ana, Detroit, Houston, Denver, Oakland and Newark:

"Our recommendations about the usefulness of community-oriented policing are based, like those of police administrators themselves, on arguments that such innovations 'make sense' or on conclusions developed from field observations.

If some of the new we have praised is unproven, so too is the old. Rarely have traditional police practices been subjected to rigorous evaluation. When they have, they have usually been found wanting. Because doubts about traditional strategies are so widespread, the burden of proof should be on those who seek to maintain them. They, after all, account for the expenditure of vast sums of public money without reassuring results" (pg. 226).

Recent or ongoing applications of community-based or problem-oriented policing efforts, specifically targeting inner city or high crime areas include:

* The COPE (Community Oriented Police Enforcement) Project in Baltimore County, Maryland was implemented in 1982, to fight the fear of crime by addressing the social problems that cause it. An evaluation of the COPE Project is discussed above.

* In New York City, CPOP (Community Police Officer Program) has been in operation since 1984. Under New York Police Commissioner Lee P. Brown, who pioneered community policing efforts in Houston when he was Chief of Police there, community policing operations are planned for the entire city of New York. CPOP officers are permanently assigned to beats covering about 18 city blocks. They are responsible for getting to know the community; uncovering problems; facilitating community and governmental efforts at developing

solutions; and, increasing the flow of information between the public and police (Brown, 1991).

* Atlanta's "Crime Prevention in Low-Income Areas" initiative was designed to prevent crime in low-income neighborhoods and to counsel and assist persons on the brink of crime. Police were assigned to neighborhood centers. They organized general activities and special programs and functions designed to identify areas where crime was likely to occur and to take appropriate preventive action (Trojanowicz, 1986).

* Fort Worth (TX) police targeted minority, high-crime areas for foot patrol activity. Officers were to act as a deterrent to crime and enhance personal contact with area residents. At the end of a year, an evaluation showed a dramatic decrease in Part I offenses (homicide, sexual battery, robbery, aggravated/simple assault, burglary, theft, arson and narcotics violations) though no other police practices had been changed. A private consultant also found that area residents expressed more favorable opinions toward the foot patrol officers (Trojanowicz, 1986).

* The Los Angeles Police Department enlisted management personnel from major industrial firms in the area to form the Newton Boosters Association in the Newton Street Division, a predominantly black neighborhood. An athletic program was also started in the area. The goals were to involve area residents in crime prevention and to promote

community/police relations. Los Angeles also operates the Basic Car Plan to foster a sense of geographic responsibility and stabilize assignments of patrol officers (Trojanowicz, 1986).

* In Dade County, Florida, twelve officers and three sergeants were assigned to a program servicing a densely populated black area in order to address the serious community/police problems that existed there. Officers received training in cultural awareness, human relations and crisis intervention. They also utilized available resources in existing social service agencies in the area (Trojanowicz, 1986).

* In Houston, an intensive community-oriented patrol was deployed in a troublesome neighborhood. Officers established contact with area residents and engaged in problem-solving activities within the area. The evaluation of this project done by researchers from the Police Foundation was discussed earlier.

* Since June, 1989, the Winston-Salem (NC) police department has deployed foot patrols within the city's public housing neighborhoods. Their goals are to eliminate drug-related crime, make residents feel safer and improve the overall quality of life in these areas (St. Petersburg Police Department Research, 1991).

* The New Haven (CT) police department deploys foot patrols

in three neighborhoods, targeted as high crime areas. Their major goals are to engage in proactive, preventive activities (St. Petersburg Police Department Research, 1991).

* Foot patrol units in Omaha (NE) work primarily to control gang activity in Omaha's inner city housing projects (St. Petersburg Police Department Research, 1991).

* Hartford (CT) police officers, assigned to neighborhood areas, serve as liaisons between area residents and the police department. They establish good relationships with residents, and mobilize the resources of other city agencies to solve problems in specific neighborhoods (St. Petersburg Police Department Research, 1991).

* Foot patrol officers in Phoenix (AZ) work the city's five public housing neighborhoods. They answer calls for service in their areas and engage in problem-solving strategies. PAL also operates an athletic program for the youth in these low-income areas (St. Petersburg Department Research, 1991).

The projects discussed above, similar to the Jordan Park PRIDE Patrol though more limited in their approach, have focused initial efforts in inner city areas and public housing communities, where the need to control crime is most acute, fear of crime is high and improvement in community/police relations is needed.

Other police agencies have applied the strategies of community-based or problem-oriented policing throughout all agency opera-

tions and/or throughout all areas within their jurisdictions. The community-based policing efforts in Newport News (VA), Aurora (CO) and Madison (WI) typify this agency- or city-wide approach.

The impact of community policing and problem-solving on the quality of life in neighborhoods throughout a community is often dramatic. As efforts become long-term and increasing percentages of police budgets are devoted to community-policing strategies, more rigorous evaluations will be forthcoming and necessary to provide substantiation for the continuation of these efforts.

METHODOLOGY

The effects of the presence of the PRIDE Patrol in Jordan Park were measured by a comparative analysis of responses to a survey administered within the community before the deployment of the PRIDE Patrol and again, one year after it was deployed. The questionnaire was designed to measure Jordan Park residents' perceptions of the police; attitudes about the nature of crime, fear of crime and danger within their community; their willingness to share information with police and accept personal responsibility for community safety; and, their personal victimization. The survey contained seventeen questions. It was modeled after a similar survey that was administered as part of the evaluation of the COPE Project in Baltimore County, Maryland.

The sample of residents (N=95) who were initially surveyed was chosen by selecting every fourth apartment unit in each of the four quadrants within Jordan Park. An adult (someone 18 years of age or older) residing at each of the representative units was interviewed. The sample represented about 20% of the total Jordan Park population. The residents of Jordan Park are predominantly black females. Age and length of residency vary widely, depending upon the section of the complex in which people reside. The survey sample was representative of the larger population, being 90% female, 92% black, with the average length of residency being 10.0 years, and the average age being 43.3 years.

The same residents were surveyed both years, whenever possible. If the previous tenant interviewed had moved, a follow-up interview was not done. A total of 24 tenants, out of the original sample of 95, had left the community over the course of the year. Therefore, the sample size upon which frequency distributions were calculated was reduced to 71, in order to ensure that those respondents who participated in both the pretest and the posttest were being compared. Chi squares were calculated in order to identify significant changes, if any, between survey responses from one year to the next (see Table 5).

Members of the St. Petersburg Housing Authority staff assigned to work in Jordan Park were trained to administer the survey. The same staff members interviewed the residents both years, except, in 1991, there was one less interviewer available. Staff members administered the survey verbally, to ensure successful completion of an interview with each resident, and also for the purpose of consistency, given residents' varied levels of literacy. Interviews were conducted during late afternoon and early evening hours. The pretest data were collected from March 22, 1990 to March 30, 1990. The posttest data were collected from March 12, 1991 to March 29, 1991.

Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data for 1989 and 1990 were compared for the Jordan Park Crime Tract, before and after the deployment of the PRIDE Patrol, in order to examine changes in the crime rate (see Table 6). While decreasing rates of crime cannot be solely attributed to the presence of the PRIDE Patrol within the

Jordan Park community, this data was examined to provide an indication of progress toward the reduction of crime in the area, a major goal of the PRIDE Patrol.

FINDINGS

The survey questions can be grouped according to: (1) residents' perceptions of the police; (2) residents' level of fear; and (3) residents' personal sense of responsibility for community safety and perceptions about their community and its crime-related problems.

Questions designed to measure residents' perceptions of the police are reflected in Table 1.

Following one year of the PRIDE Patrol's presence in Jordan Park, residents' opinions of the police, perceptions of police officers' sensitivity, attitudes and service, and their sense of partnership with the police have all improved, as demonstrated by the responses to the questions presented in Table 1.

The greatest improvement from 1990 to 1991 was the respondents' rating of police service. Over two-thirds (67.6%) rated police service as "good" or "very good" in 1991, compared to 45% in 1990. The ratings of officers' attitudes improved also, with nearly three-quarters (71.8%) of the respondents rating attitudes as "good" or "very good" in 1991, compared to 51% in 1990. The percentage of respondents agreeing that the police and residents worked together to solve problems in Jordan Park changed significantly- from 46% in 1990 to 62% in 1991 (see Table 5). A majority of respondents in both years agreed that the police were sensitive to their problems, however there was significant improve-

ment, with 73% indicating agreement in 1991, compared to 53% in 1990 (see Table 5). The respondents' overall opinions of the police were very favorable in both years, with 73% indicating a favorable opinion in 1990 and 80% in 1991.

The residents of Jordan Park appear to have responded very positively to the presence of the PRIDE Patrol police officers in their community. One of the major goals that the PRIDE Patrol officers had set for themselves was to improve relations with the residents of Jordan Park. The data indicates they made progress in achieving that goal.

Questions designed to measure residents' levels of fear are reflected in Table 2.

From the changes in response percentages summarized in Table 2, it is evident that Jordan Park residents' levels of fear have decreased. The greatest change observed from 1990 to 1991 to the set of questions designed to measure levels of fear was in respondents' avoidance of going out after dark. In 1990, almost two-thirds (64.8%) of the respondents reported avoiding going out after dark. In 1991, less than one-quarter (22.5%) of the respondents were avoiding going out after dark. Reports of gunshots dropped from 1990 to 1991 as well, with 80% of the respondents in 1990 indicating they frequently heard gunshots, compared to 45% in 1991. A majority (56.3%) of the respondents in 1990 agreed that their fear of crime was high. In 1991, less than one-third

(29.6%) reported a high fear of crime. Respondents' concerns of the danger of living in Jordan Park also dropped, with 34% reporting that Jordan Park was dangerous in 1990, compared to only 13% in 1991. Less than 20% of the respondents in both years reported avoiding going out during the daytime.

Reducing residents' fear of crime, which often "imprisons" people (particularly women and the elderly) in their homes, was another major goal of the PRIDE Patrol in Jordan Park. The reduction in residents' fear of crime, their increased willingness to go out after dark, their perceptions that the level of danger in their community has decreased and the drop in the reporting of frequently heard gunshots all demonstrate that progress toward this goal was also achieved. Three of the five variables measuring respondents' levels of fear showed statistically significant changes from 1990 to 1991 (see Table 5).

As fear of crime drops and residents are more willing to be out and about in their neighborhoods, the benefit to the police officer is the strengthening of informal or social controls gained by the willingness of law-abiding residents to, in essence, regain control of their streets. The strengthening of informal controls and heightened police visibility combine to act as a deterrent to criminal activity in a specific area.

Questions designed to measure residents' feelings about personal responsibility for community safety, reporting information on criminal activity and registering complaints with the police,

victimization, perceptions about who is responsible for crime in Jordan Park, how serious Jordan Park's crime and drug problems are in comparison to the rest of the city and their perceptions of crime in Jordan Park as being drug-related are reflected in Tables 3 and 4.

The percentage of respondents who agreed that they have a personal responsibility to keep their community safe decreased from 1990 to 1991. However, in both years, results showed that an overwhelming majority of residents felt a sense of responsibility for community safety. In 1990, 92% of respondents reported a personal sense of responsibility for community safety, while 75% felt this way in 1991.

There is no readily discernible reason for why the percentage of people expressing a sense of personal responsibility for community safety in Jordan Park decreased from last year to this. However, a discussion of this issue by Wilson and Kelling (1982), provides a plausible explanation. In their article, "Broken Windows", they mentioned the fact that psychologists have done many studies on why people fail to go to the aid of persons being attacked or seeking help, and they have learned that the cause is not apathy or selfishness, but the absence of plausible grounds for feeling that one must personally accept responsibility. Ironically, this avoidance of PERSONAL responsibility is greater when a lot of other people are around. In a densely populated public housing community, many people are apt to "be around", therefore reducing the chance that any one person will feel

he/she must PERSONALLY act as an agent of the community to protect the safety of the others.

Additionally, a police officer, readily identifiable and visible, is singled out as the person who MUST accept responsibility for protecting residents' safety. The relationship between the intensity of police presence in neighborhoods and the amount of citizen self-help in solving problems might be inverse. That is, the more police solve community problems, the less likely it is that residents will resort to taking responsibility for those problems themselves. Therefore, a consequence of increased police presence might be just the opposite of desired results, where residents' sense of community responsibility is concerned (Black & Baumgartner, 1980).

Over the past year in Jordan Park, residents have clearly reported a decreased fear of crime and an increased willingness to go outside. They've also reported significantly improved perceptions of the police and, of course, the daily presence of PRIDE Patrol officers greatly enhanced police visibility in the Jordan Park neighborhood. Therefore, it may follow that Jordan Park residents feel a decreased sense of PERSONAL responsibility for the overall safety of their community. This does not detract from the worth of the partnership and SHARED sense of responsibility that has been established between the PRIDE Patrol officers and the Jordan Park residents. This is evidenced by the increasing percentage of respondents who did indeed agree, in another question, that

police and residents WORK TOGETHER to solve problems in Jordan Park.

Only one respondent reported being a victim of a crime in the six month period preceding the 1991 survey (administered in March of 1991). This compares to six respondents who were victimized by crimes in the six months preceding the 1990 survey, (administered in March of 1990). The 1991 respondent was a victim of a petty theft. In 1990, there were several different types of crime reported by victims, ranging from petty theft and criminal mischief to shooting, strong-armed robbery and assault.

The number of residents who reported registering a complaint with the police decreased from 31% in 1990 to 15% in 1991. This is to be expected given the decreased incidence of victimization, as indicated above, and also the decrease in the crime rate experienced in the Jordan Park crime tract, which is summarized in Table 6.

In 1990, over two-thirds (69.0%) of the respondents named outsiders as responsible for the majority of crime in Jordan Park. An almost equal percentage (64.8%) of the respondents in 1991 indicated that they felt outsiders were primarily responsible as well. Tenants were named as responsible for the majority of crime in Jordan Park by 13% of respondents in 1990 and by 17% of respondents in 1991. Both outsiders and tenants were felt to equally responsible for crime within Jordan Park by 18% of the respondents in both 1990 and 1991.

Crime continued to be overwhelmingly perceived as drug-related. An almost identical percentage of respondents in both 1990 (85.9%) and 1991 (81.7%) agreed with the statement that most crimes in Jordan Park were drug-related. Crime has become inextricably linked to the presence of illicit drugs and drug-related criminal activity.

In both years the majority of respondents reported that it was their duty to report information on criminal activity to the police. In 1990, 79% of those surveyed felt that it was their duty to report information; in 1991, that figure dropped slightly to 76%.

Respondents were perceiving an improving quality of life in their community, as they compared the seriousness of Jordan Park's crime and drug problems to those in other areas of the city. In 1990, 42% respondents felt that the crime/drug problems in Jordan Park were very serious compared to the level of problems in the rest of the city. In 1991, one-quarter (25.3%) of the respondents felt this way.

Uniform Crime Report (UCR) data for the Jordan Park crime tract was analyzed to compare reported Part I crime in 1989 to reported Part I crime in 1990 (see Table 6). The data was summarized in six-month increments. The blocks of time of greatest interest in terms of drawing comparisons of criminal activity were the last six months of 1989 (prior to any changes in police operations in

the area) and the last six months of 1990 (the PRIDE Patrol was deployed on April 24, 1990).

Crime decreased substantially, down by 84% overall. Crimes against persons (homicide, sexual battery, robbery, aggravated and simple assault) decreased 86% from the last six months of 1989 compared to the last six months of 1990. Reported robberies alone decreased from 33 reports in the last six months of 1990 to only 3 reports in the same period in 1991. Aggravated and simple assaults dropped from 87 reported incidents to 13.

Property and drug-related crime also decreased. Burglary and theft decreased by 83% over the same period. The number of reported burglaries dropped from 36 in the last half of 1989 to only 7 in the last half of 1990. The incidence of theft decreased from 86 reports to 14 reports. Reported narcotics violations dropped by 81%, from 26 incidents to only 5.

Although residents' fear of crime is a personal, subjective perception that may or may not be supported by actual crime rates, the crime data support the perceptions expressed by the survey respondents that Jordan Park is less dangerous and also provide an objective substantiation of their decreasing levels of fear of crime. Additionally, the crime data provide evidence that the PRIDE Patrol made substantial progress toward their goal of reducing crime within Jordan Park.

CONCLUSION

Jordan Park residents surveyed in 1990, prior to the deployment of the PRIDE Patrol, and again in 1991, following one year of the PRIDE Patrol's presence in the community, reported improved perceptions of the police, decreased levels of fear and improved perceptions of the quality of life in their community.

One of the limitations of evaluating the applications of community policing in the real world is the lack of experimental control in an uncontrollable social environment. (Even given the ability to control all other variables, other than the presence of community policing officers, the cost of fielding such rigidly controlled research is prohibitive.) The static design used in this evaluation demonstrated that changes occurred within the population studied. The changes that were observed in Jordan Park suggest the results that may be possible through the application of community-based, problem-oriented policing strategies. However, because of the lack of a control group, the causes of the positive changes that took place in that neighborhood following the deployment of the PRIDE Patrol cannot be clearly identified. Jordan Park, which encompasses one crime tract, is an exclusive, well-defined neighborhood. There is no comparable neighborhood within St. Petersburg that would mirror the conditions in and population demographics of Jordan Park. Nor was it possible to draw a control group from within the Jordan Park population for the purpose of comparing it to an isolated segment of the population that would be served by the PRIDE Patrol. The population of

Jordan Park, AS A WHOLE, was serviced by the PRIDE Patrol officers. Although the changes that were observed in Jordan Park cannot be attributed solely to the presence of the PRIDE Patrol officers, there can be no doubt that something positive happened in this community. The PRIDE Patrol officers, at the very least, contributed to some degree to this positive change.

Survey findings underscore the importance of positive community/police relations to effective police work. Without information from and a working partnership with the community, police are little more than mobile secretaries, running from call to call, with little impact on controlling crime rates or apprehending suspects. Without a partnership with residents, the police remain isolated from the community, perceived as adversaries, rather than problem-solvers and community servants.

An atmosphere of partnership enables the problem-solving strategies of community policing to lead to effective, positive change. As the community becomes a visibly safer place in which to live, residents' fear of crime drops and their perceptions of the quality of life in their community improve.

Uniform Crime Report data showed a dramatic decrease in Part I crime within the Jordan Park Crime Tract. Crime decreased 84% from the end of the year preceding the PRIDE Patrol's presence in Jordan Park to the end of the year following its deployment.

The success of the PRIDE Patrol officers has led to the implementation of increasing numbers of community-based, problem-oriented policing units in other areas of the city. Reduction of crime, improved community/police relations, reduction of fear of crime and a renewed sense of neighborhood pride all demonstrate an overall improvement in the quality of life of the entire community. Jordan Park today is a community that is more livable, safer and positive about its future.

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TABLE 1: RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE

RATING OF POLICE SERVICE	1990		1991		% Change
	N.	%	N.	%	
Good/Very good	32	45.1%	48	67.6%	+22.5%
Fair	27	38.0%	21	29.6%	(8.4%)
Not good/poor	12	16.9%	2	2.8%	(14.1%)
POLICE/RESIDENTS WORK TOGETHER					
Agree	33	46.5%	44	62.0%	+15.5%
Neutral	15	21.1%	21	29.6%	+ 8.5%
Disagree	23	32.4%	6	8.4%	(24.0%)
POLICE SENSITIVE TO OUR PROBLEMS					
Agree	38	53.5%	52	73.3%	+19.8%
Neutral	14	19.7%	16	22.5%	+ 2.8%
Disagree	19	26.8%	3	4.2%	(22.6%)
RATING OF OFFICERS' ATTITUDES					
Good/Very good	36	50.7%	51	71.8%	+21.1%
Fair	25	35.2%	18	25.4%	(9.8%)
Not good/poor	10	14.1%	1	1.4%	(12.7%)
No answer	-	-	1	1.4%	-
OPINION OF POLICE IS FAVORABLE					
Agree	52	73.2%	57	80.3%	+ 7.1%
Neutral	8	11.3%	14	19.7%	+ 8.4%
Disagree	11	15.5%	0	0.0%	(15.5%)

TABLE 2: RESIDENTS' FEAR OF CRIME

	1990		1991		% Change
	N.	%	N.	%	
AVOID GOING OUT AFTER DARK					
Agree	46	64.8%	16	22.5%	(42.3%)
Neutral	7	9.9%	4	5.6%	(4.3%)
Disagree	18	25.3%	51	71.9%	+46.6%
LIVING IN JORDAN PARK IS DANGEROUS					
Yes	24	33.8%	9	12.7%	(21.1%)
No	44	62.0%	58	81.7%	+19.7%
No answer	3	0.2%	4	5.6%	+ 5.4%
MY FEAR OF CRIME IS VERY HIGH					
Agree	40	56.3%	21	29.6%	(26.7%)
Neutral	18	25.4%	14	19.7%	(5.7%)
Disagree	13	18.3%	36	50.7%	+32.4%
OFTEN HEAR GUNSHOTS IN JORDAN PARK					
Agree	57	80.2%	32	45.1%	(35.1%)
Neutral	7	9.9%	8	11.2%	+ 1.3%
Disagree	7	9.9%	31	43.7%	+33.8%
AVOID GOING OUT DURING DAYTIME					
Agree	13	18.3%	8	11.3%	(7.0%)
Neutral	4	5.6%	11	15.5%	+ 9.9%
Disagree	54	76.1%	52	73.2%	(2.9%)

TABLE 3: RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF DUTY TO REPORT INFORMATION,
RESPONSIBILITY FOR COMMUNITY SAFETY AND VICTIMIZATION

	1990		1991		% Change
	N.	%	N.	%	
COMMUNITY SAFETY MY RESPONSIBILITY					
Agree	65	91.6%	53	74.7%	(16.9%)
Neutral	3	4.2%	17	23.9%	+19.7%
Disagree	3	4.2%	1	1.4%	(2.8%)
CRIME VICTIM IN PAST SIX MONTHS					
Yes	6	8.5%	1	1.4%	(7.1%)
No	65	91.5%	70	98.6%	+ 7.1%
REGISTERED A COMPLAINT WITH POLICE					
Yes	22	31.0%	11	15.5%	(15.5%)
No	49	69.0%	60	84.5%	+15.5%
MY DUTY TO PROVIDE INFORMATION TO THE POLICE					
Yes	56	78.9%	54	76.1%	(2.8%)
No	11	15.5%	16	22.5%	+ 7.0%
No answer	4	5.6%	1	1.4%	(4.2%)

TABLE 4: RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE NATURE OF CRIME
IN JORDAN PARK

	1990		1991		% Change
	N.	%	N.	%	
WHO COMMITS MOST OF THE CRIME IN JORDAN PARK					
Outsiders	49	69.0%	46	64.8%	(4.2%)
Tenants	9	12.7%	12	16.9%	+ 4.2%
Both	13	18.3%	13	18.3%	0.0%

CRIME IN JORDAN PARK IS DRUG-RELATED

Agree	61	85.9%	58	81.7%	(4.2%)
Neutral	8	11.3%	13	18.3%	+ 7.0%
Disagree	2	2.8%	0	0.0%	(2.8%)

CRIME/DRUGS IN JORDAN PARK VERY SERIOUS,
COMPARED TO REST OF CITY

Agree	30	42.3%	18	25.3%	(17.0%)
Neutral	16	22.5%	7	9.9%	(12.6%)
Disagree	25	35.2%	46	64.8%	29.6%

TABLE 5: CHI SQUARES

VARIABLES	CHI SQUARE
RESIDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE:	
Police and residents work together	15.4193
Police officers' sensitivity	13.9475
RESIDENTS' FEAR OF CRIME:	
Avoid going out after dark	31.1169
Fear of crime is high	19.7484
Often hear gunshots in Jordan Park	22.3864

NOTE: Chi squares were computed to identify significant differences between responses to each survey question from 1990 to 1991. Chi squares found to be significant at the .001 level are shown in the table above. The changes in responses to these questions are discussed in the Findings section of this report.

TABLE 6: UNIFORM CRIME REPORT DATA, JORDAN PARK CRIME TRACT
1989 - 1990

NUMBER OF CRIMES REPORTED:

TYPE OF CRIME	First 6 mos. 1989	Last 6 mos. 1989	First 6 mos. 1990	Last 6 mos. 1990
Homicide	2	0	0	0
Sexual battery	4	4	2	1
Robbery	25	33	25	3
Agg./Sim. assault	72	87	106	13
Burglary	20	36	37	7
Theft (all categories)	60	86	65	14
Arson	5	2	0	0
Narcotics violations	47	26	22	5
TOTALS	276	286	273	45
PERCENT CHANGE	-	+3.6%	(4.5%)	(83.5%)

SUMMARY OF DECREASES IN CRIME

LAST SIX MONTHS OF 1989 VS. LAST SIX MONTHS OF 1990

TYPE OF CRIME	Last 6 mos. 1989	Last 6 mos. 1990	% Change
Robbery	33	3	(90.9%)
Agg./Sim. Assault	87	13	(85.1%)
Burglary	36	7	(80.6%)
Theft (all categories)	86	14	(83.7%)
Narcotics violations	26	5	(80.8%)
TOTALS	268	42	(84.3%)

(The PRIDE Patrol was deployed in Jordan Park on April 24, 1990.)