

PERFECT PARTNERS

CO-PRODUCTION AND CRIME PREVENTION

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The age of cut-back management has been a cause of concern for all public administrators. Traditional methods of service delivery and policy formulation for those services bereft of strong community involvement have come under fire for being unrealistic in tight budgetary times. Law enforcement especially seems threatened. The liability suits resulting from unsatisfactory service, the perceived inability to deal with the pervasive influence of drugs, the perceived prejudicial approach in dealing with different races, and forced cutbacks in service are signs. They signal to law enforcement agencies the need to come out from behind their "blue line" and rethink the way in which business is done. One such concept to be considered in the delivery of service is "coproduction".

This process could be said to be a further extension of the community oriented attitude which some local enforcement agencies have attempted to implement since the late 1960's and early 1970's. Coproduction is already used in crime prevention programs conducted by these agencies. Expansion of the limited coproduction activities existing by expanding the definition of crime prevention to include environmental design and behavior may open up new ways of dealing with crime and more innovative policy formulation. Thus, this paper studies coproduction concepts and theories and how such concepts may be implemented to produce a newer model of crime control. It also attempts to view the existing structure of police agencies and what changes must be made to implement these concepts.

TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS VERSUS COPRODUCTION

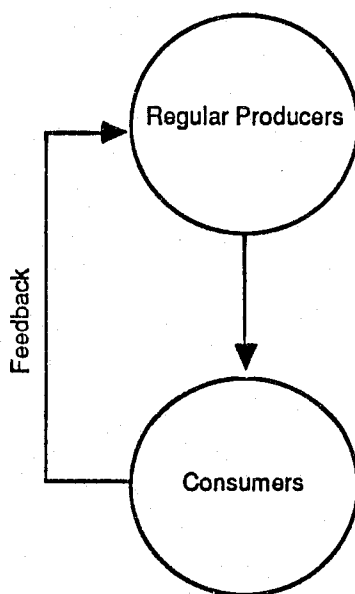
The traditional service delivery concept is the economic market model in which the producer decides the goods and services and how they are to be provided to consumers. Consumer preferences are then fed back to the producer and the producer adjusts the goods and services accordingly. Under this model, the public service agency is the producer and the citizens are consumers. Based on feedback from citizens through such processes as voting, or lobbying, or citizen boards, the public agency adjusts its policies. In theory, this adjustment sounds simple, but in practice it is much more difficult. According to Whitaker in his review of the traditional model, the public agency is frequently bound by administrative rules in attempting to adjust, and thus individual "agents" fall back on their own personal experiences or prejudices.¹

A somewhat similar view is taken by Sharp in her analysis. Sharp calls the traditional model, the "dominant" model which assumes three characteristics: "the official performance" function (public administrators "engineer" programs and "deliver" them to the public); the "citizen as judge" (including making demands on the government and providing evaluative feedback); and, "accountability equal effectiveness plus communication" (accountability requires that the agency delivers services effectively and listens to citizen evaluations).²

Brudney and England have graphically depicted their concept of the traditional service delivery model which agrees with that of Whitaker and Sharp (see following page).³ However, while their model portrays regular producers (the public agency) and the consumer (the citizen) on the same horizontal plane, a more logical depiction of the model for law enforcement agencies might be a hierarchical structure. Like the military, law enforcement agencies in providing services seem more removed from the impact of citizen participation than other public agencies by the technical aspects of their work. The attitude is that "as

long as we solve crimes, we know best how that job needs to be done so don't bother us." Such agencies may be less open to programs which involve direct citizen participation or assist the citizen in assisting the agency such as "Crimestoppers" or victim-witness assistance programs.

TRADITIONAL MODEL OF SERVICE DELIVERY

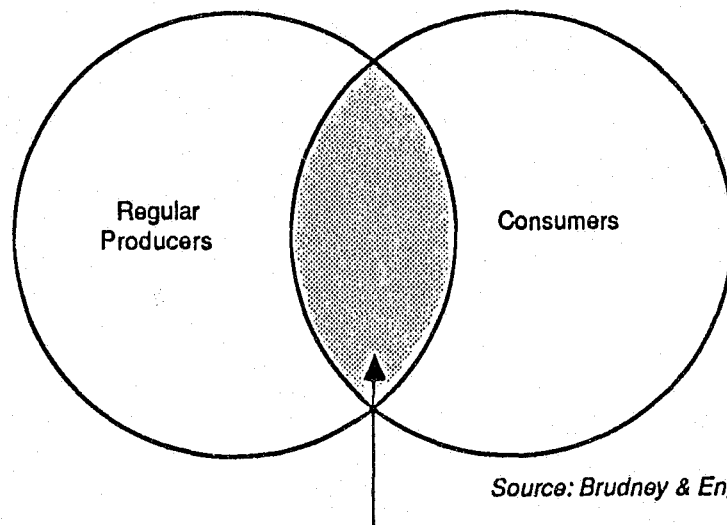


*Source: Brudney & England
(Adjusted for Law Enforcement Agencies)*

On the other hand, the newer model of service delivery shows an interrelationship between the consumer and the producer which is active and participative (see following page). Under this concept--called "coproduction"--the citizen as consumer assumes a much greater role. Citizen support and cooperation are used to define service patterns.⁴ In his review of works on coproduction, Percy points out that each researcher defines the concept somewhat differently.⁵ For Sharp, the coproduction model is one in which the citizen is also responsible for the creation of public services.⁶ For Schneider, coproduction may surpass the importance of the traditional kinds of political

feedback such as voting, lobbying, and special interests groups, because of "its impact on the quantity, quality, and distribution of both individual and collective goods".⁷ Her second point--that the aims of the public agency or its impact on its clients may not be achieved without coproduction--is especially important to law enforcement agencies. This point may not be recognized by the law enforcement agency. Consider the inability of many large urban police agencies to operate in ethnic communities or the black-white confrontations of the 1950's and 1960's in the South. Finally, Schneider cites Ostrom in noting that the market cannot provide all the products and services demanded--another key for law enforcement.⁸ Cases in which citizen witnesses proved the key to solving the case are lengthy, but the apprehension of the serial rapist "The Night Stalker" by a group of citizens is a good example. Citizens actually "produce" in these instances, as opposed to only "consuming services"--another key part of the definition of coproduction according to Perciasepe.⁹

COPRODUCTION MODEL OF SERVICE DELIVERY



Source: Brudney & England

There remains a dispute as to the boundaries of coproduction. Whitaker's broad view discusses coproduction in terms of three types of activities in which the citizen becomes involved with the public agency in the production of services--thus the term "coproduction". First, citizens request assistance; second, citizens provide assistance; and, third, citizens interact with public agencies to adjust each others' service expectations and actions. ¹⁰

In looking at the typology developed by Whitaker, law enforcement certainly relies on coproduction in each of the three activity areas indicated. Citizens' requests for assistance constitute the greatest proportion of police time demands. While many police agencies are attempting to work under new concepts such as "problem-oriented patrol" and "directed" patrol, politically the first priority of the police is to answer citizen calls for service. These requests can be said to be responsible for the "hook 'em and book 'em" mentality of most police agencies. Much money has been spent in the last 15 years improving the ability of the police to handle citizen calls for service. This money has been spent on expensive computer assisted dispatch systems automatically routing the call to the proper police dispatcher with the status of all units and extensive emergency 9-1-1 systems automatically providing the caller's phone number and location. Agency budget requests for additional personnel and equipment are frequently tied to increased calls for service from citizens. A common denominator for police agencies in determining their volume of business is the number of calls for service or events that the agency handles in a given time period. An agency's reputation as a law enforcement entity becomes tied to how well and how quickly these calls are answered.

Law enforcement agencies are also dependent on citizen assistance, Whitaker's second set of activities. As previously mentioned, citizen assistance has made a success of such programs as crime scene reenactments and

"Secret Witness," which sets up an elaborate system by which tips on information on crimes can be rewarded with money. Witnesses and informants are a key part in the law enforcement puzzle. Nor can the use of volunteer police officers--"reserve" or "auxiliary officers" and rescue teams be underestimated, although liability concerns have to some extent reduced the effectiveness of these volunteers.

Are these activities cited by Whitaker coproduction? Not according to Brudney and England, who insist that coproduction is not a new form of "official responsiveness".¹¹ If agencies have spent so much money on making it easier for citizens to request assistance, then isn't that more "official responsiveness" as opposed to coproduction? If these are people demanding preferential treatment over other citizens, inequities are created in providing service to these citizens. However, in looking at this activity, it is not necessary to state that either Whitaker or Brudney and England are correct. Citizen calls for service which report fires, robberies in progress, or other reports of crime are coproduction. Almost 85 percent of the calls for service are not to report criminal activity, but to take advantage of specialized services which the police provide such as accident reports for insurance companies or property watches for vacationing homeowners. The latter should not be considered coproduction.

In defining the boundaries of coproduction, Brudney and England also point to the work of Sharp which states that coproducers work together "to develop their capacities as potential coproducers of services."¹² This concept of coproduction is in agreement with Whitaker's statement that public agencies and citizens interact to modify each other's expectations of service levels.¹³ This is a critical point in coproduction theory. After all, public administration students have read much about the inwardly turning citizen. There is John Dewey's view of the citizen so confused by technology and the amount of detail that the citizen is

apathetic as well as bewildered. And then there is Edelman's contention that people want only symbolic assurances like "homicides are down." Is this the same society which is willing to become involved in coproduction? Given the participation in programs such as "Secret Witness," neighborhood block watch programs, and mass programs such as "Night Out" in which citizens fight against crime by sitting out in their front yards, there may still be hope.

Compromise or agreement is not so easily reached on another boundary question. Brudney and England view coproduction as "positive" actions on the part of citizen.¹⁴ Whitaker writes on a similar vein by calling "positive" actions "cooperative."¹⁵ Yet Whitaker sees a very tenuous relationship between cooperation and coproduction. He agrees that people's unwillingness to comply with laws or with programs requiring them to comply do affect the public services that are provided. Obviously, if all people obeyed the law not to kill one another, many of the programs now in place to capture those people who do kill could be dissolved. If only the handicapped parked in the designated parking spaces, much enforcement time could be spent on other measures. On the other hand, he questions compliance as a form of co-production.¹⁶ Brudney and England share that view stating that non-compliance affects the citizen since there are frequently sanctions for non-compliance. Non-compliance is really negative coproduction with adverse affects for service delivery, but non-compliance should not be considered as a part of the meaning of coproduction.¹⁷ Sharp disagrees. By their compliance or non-compliance, citizens set "service conditions." In other words, citizens help to determine the social and physical environment in which services are provided by their behavior.¹⁸

From a law enforcement perspective, Sharp's expanded boundaries for coproduction are more realistic. Non-compliance and its impact on the environment under which services must be delivered may be negative

coproduction, but it is coproduction. Consider the permissive attitude which has existed regarding illegal drug use. "Everybody does drugs so it must be okay" became a symbol. Law enforcement agencies are bogged down in implicating drug dealers who have multiplied to service their growing market. "Smoke houses" and "hash factories" have multiplied. The level of non-compliance to drug abuse laws has become so great that law enforcement agencies are expending major resources in the effort to combat drugs. Since resources are limited, resources devoted to one area can not be used in other areas--affecting service delivery. There will always be a drug problem until there is no longer a market for the drugs or the market is so small, it is not worthwhile to expend the large scale efforts that are now occurring to bring drugs into the country. This example is clearly indicative of how non-compliance impacts service delivery and should be considered as a part of coproduction.

Whitaker's typology assists in defining and establishing the boundaries of coproduction. Another coproduction typology that helps to determine the societal impact is the concept of individual, group, or collective coproduction. This dimension of coproduction will be important in the implication of coproduction to crime prevention discussed later in this paper. Schneider presents the view of individual versus collective coproduction. Her analysis in this area is particularly helpful as it views decisions to coproduce public and private safety.¹⁹

In discussing individual coproduction, Schneider bases her proposal on theories of choice. If individuals want to maximize security from crime, then those individuals will enhance whatever they consider insufficient measures that have been taken by the public agency devoted to this purpose and any neighborhood measures. In order to enhance the level of security and thus act as coproducers, individuals must have both the knowledge as to how security can be improved

and the resources to implement that knowledge. While Schneider calls into question the utility maximization theories which look at only one variable (Kahneman and Tversky, Lichtenstein, or Meehl), she does note that this greater demand for security beyond what is already provided can be expected to depend on several variables. These variables are the probability that the individuals may be victimized, the individuals' perception of their ability to ward off the attacker, and the value of items that might be stolen or vandalized. The willingness of the individuals to coproduce household security is based on prior victimization, age, home ownership, income, contact with neighborhood crime prevention programs, and the type of neighborhood.²⁰ While Schneider discusses each one of these in very little detail, one wonders why there is no mention of the numbers of members in the household or the hours away from home. Home ownership would also seem questionable if it is based on a higher potential loss. Fewer security measures may be undertaken if the residence is rented based on rental agreements. Research is cited which would indicate that income and private household protection have been correlated as have prior victimization and more private household protection. Schneider points to a study in which 80 percent of the crime prevention efforts in one city involved individual activities to emphasize the impact of individual coproduction.²¹ In response to this last, crime prevention efforts for individuals such as security surveys are much easier for law enforcement agencies to implement than group or collective activities as no coordination effort is required.

The opposite end of individual coproduction is collective coproduction. For Schneider, this is a much more complex issue based on the free rider issue of utility maximization theory. Basically that theory states that public goods will be under provided or not provided at all as individuals seek to maximize private gains. Once a public good is provided, individuals can share in that public good

equally with all others. Knowing they can be a free rider makes them reluctant to share in the cost of the producing the good. Schneider cites other theorists who believe that personal utility includes not only private gain from an exchange, but social consequences as well.²² Olson is also mentioned for his contention that individuals will have an incentive to undertake participation in a group engaged in collective behavior if those individuals believe that the collective good will not be provided or will be under provided. Although other studies have been done looking at bystander intervention, it appears that collective action is taken for different reasons than individual action. In her final point on collective action, Schneider suggests that on the basis of available theory and research, persons who have lived in their neighborhoods for longer periods of time will have greater incentives to provide collective security.²³

While Schneider studies only individual versus collective coproduction, Brudney and England add the third view of "group". Individual coproduction is of two types--either captured (such as children attending school) or voluntary behavior undertaken for individual consumption (such as reporting a crime). Group coproduction (which was grouped with collective coproduction by Schneider) consists of a number of citizens involved in voluntary actions in an effort to improve the quantity and quality of services consumed in a small area (such as neighborhood watch groups). The collective coproduction of Brudney and England has inherent in its definition the redistribution of benefits from citizen activity to a wide area. Thus, collective coproduction affects the entire jurisdiction whereas group coproduction only provides additional services for one particular area.²⁴

COPRODUCTION SUMMARY

Based on the above, citizens involved in coproduction are active and participative. As coproducers, they assist in determining service delivery and

may create new concepts of service delivery. They affect service delivery by their non-compliance as well as by their compliance and without their assistance, the aims of the service provider may not be accomplished. By the same token, both the agency and the citizen may modify their expectations by their interactions. The interaction of coproduction takes place at the individual, the group, or the collective level. Before turning to how law enforcement agencies can utilize this concept for more effective policy formulation, it is important to understand the models used to control crime.

CRIME CONTROL MODELS

In the past the control of crime has depended on three models: retribution; punishment and deterrence; and, treatment and rehabilitation. Retribution is the underlying basis for capital punishment. After almost total rejection during the 1960's, there has appeared to be a return to punishment and deterrence even though the model was unsuccessful in the eighteenth century. Treatment and rehabilitation, the modern day model, unfortunately has created no success stories even though there has been the development of behavioral research and behavioral therapies which show some promise.²⁵ The rehabilitative model has two branches: the individual pathology model which depends on family service clinics, day-care centers, and other psychiatric social work centers; and, the social pathology model which attempts to cure the ills of society: poverty, racial discrimination, unemployment, etc.²⁶

In looking at crime control models, there are two views of human behavior. The classical model, according to Jeffery, is based on individual responsibility in which the individual has a free will and is morally responsible for his or her actions. The positivist model is based on social responsibility which states that anti-social behavior is caused by society. This ties back to the rehabilitation and treatment theory of crime control in which society--having created this criminal

must then be responsible for their rehabilitation.²⁷ In *Understanding and Controlling Crime*, Farrington *et al.* note that research has determined how criminals develop, but it hasn't determined why some people become criminals over others who have the same life style and do not.²⁸

If there is a return to deterrence and retribution, more police, courts, and detention facilities will be required. An example of the costs of such a return is clear in a speech by former Attorney General Edwin Meese, who said that several billion dollars are required to construct and operate needed prisons on the federal level. These are proposed increases to what is already the "largest federal prison construction program in history."²⁹

Since none of the three crime control models have been successful, it is not surprising that Jeffery has proposed a fourth model--that of "prevention."³⁰ Prevention is primary prevention similar to that found in the medical concept where actions are taken for a general population to decrease the incidence of the "disease."³¹ The emphasis of this model is on preventing the problem from happening in the first place. This is not a new concept. Crime prevention has been applied to any kind of effort aimed at controlling criminal behavior. Much of the work in this area prior to the late 1960's was in the area of juvenile delinquency with a "social welfare" approach to police work.³² Today, this approach represents the only one of two distinct crime prevention approaches--the social prevention. This paper is concerned with the second approach--that of physical prevention.³³ Physical prevention considers direct controls which are taken to prevent the criminal act.

Physical crime prevention also requires an interdisciplinary approach. Jeffery places considerable emphasis on the physical environment in which crimes are committed.³⁴ In viewing the environment, learning psychology, environment psychology, sociology, engineering, and urban design are all a part

of the solution.³⁵ However, it is important to distinguish between the more architectural "defensible space" concepts popularized by Newman and more lately Poyner *et al.* from the wider ranging theory of Jeffery, who looks at human behavior and learning theory in addition to the environment.³⁶ Physical design is only one of numerous activities that should reduce or eliminate the occurrence of crime. Other measures include creating behavioral change models which would apply to potential victims and potential criminals (neighborhood watch groups and behavior modification would fall in this realm); developing alarm and surveillance systems; and, implementing economic sanctions;³⁷

Newman centers his work on Jeffery's first activity--physical design measures for development. His concepts of defensible space are "a model for residential environments which inhibit crime by creating the physical expression of a social fabric that defends itself."³⁸ His concepts, based on his study of crime in various New York Housing Authority projects, furthered the argument of Jane Jacobs that the "anonymous" cities that had been built had made collective action cumbersome.³⁹ While he does discuss the sociological implications of highrise buildings--seeing different implications for the wealthy and middle class as opposed to the poor who live in such buildings, his concepts center on the following: territoriality and how design can be used to create zones of influence; surveillance opportunities for residents based on physical design; the stigma and isolation associated with most housing projects and how that can be reduced through design (image) and, "safe" areas (surroundings) and their creation by design.⁴⁰ While Newman's work somewhat overshadowed Jeffery's, two of his concepts were immediately called into question: "territoriality" and the willingness of residents to take action once they saw something. Regarding the former, Hillier in a strongly worded rebuttal indicated that territoriality was an "ignorant" view of human behavior which had been disproved by anthropological

research.⁴¹ The willingness of residents to take action refers to the bystander intervention theories involved in collective coproduction (discussed on p. 10). Mawby was also to question Newman's concepts on the basis of the contradictions contained within them and his research methodology.⁴²

Nonetheless, it was the first time that the theory that design might have a detrimental affect on the "safety" of the neighborhood was presented in some detail. While land use planning theory in the past had discussed the detrimental affects of intermixing business or industrial uses with residential uses from the standpoint of congestion and "inappropriateness," the concept of safety had not been introduced other than from the traffic standpoint. Yet, Newman went to quite some lengths to discuss the problems that could be created by placing a high school in proximity to a housing project or locating entrances away from the street.⁴³ These "externalities" create a social cost by impacting the "safety" of the neighborhood.⁴⁴

During this same time period, similar work on design concepts was being done by the British Home Office Research and Planning Unit in London. Poyner in his *Design Against Crime* took Newman's work and the British research a step further to talk about not only the design, but the "management" of the urban environment.⁴⁵ Poyner also points out that many of the earlier theories as well as some of the later ones on environmental design remain unproven by actual studies. He makes the important point that the types of crimes which design measures can best handle are "crimes of opportunity" (purse snatchings, robbery, larcenies, burglary and vandalism).⁴⁶ It may be that the criminal cannot be changed, but the situations in which crimes occur and the behavior of the victims may be able to be changed.⁴⁷ The U.S. National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice (now the National Institute of Justice) expended considerable monies on its "Crime Prevention Through Environmental

Design (CPTED)" program which was based on four activities: surveillance; movement control (limiting the opportunity for crime and back to Newman's territoriality); activity support (diversifying land use so that more activities are clustered to increase use); and, motivational reinforcement (a coproduction concept of involving the citizen more).⁴⁸ Poyner concentrates on design measures, but looks at urban management by viewing public transportation and how that can be made safe as well as the placement of schools.

Jeffery's contention that crime prevention must be an interdisciplinary approach has been followed by the work that sociologist Marcus Felson of the University of Southern California has done in viewing the physical phenomena of crime. In past articles, Felson has argued that there are sociophysical principles involved in crime as well as the concept of criminokinetics which deals with the four minimum elements of an ordinary crime. In his most recent article, Felson argues that the changing "cityscape" requires new ideas about metropolitan facilities, taking into account the design and management of metropolitan facilities.⁴⁹ By understanding the sociophysical concepts such as the "principle of least effort" which states that people have the tendency to find the shortest route or seek the easiest means to accomplish something, these principles can be applied to environmental design to reduce crime.⁵⁰ Another such principle is that of the principle of the most obvious, in which people tend to make choices largely on the basis of highly tangible and nearby information. To illustrate his belief that these principles can be used to design against crime, Felson points out that research has shown that public high schools elevate the crime rates of nearby neighborhoods while crime risk appears inversely related to the distance from McDonald's restaurants!⁵¹ On this basis, crime prevention efforts devoted to environmental design which go beyond the design of a building or the locks on a door may be able to do much to reduce the opportunity for a criminal act to occur.

It is crime prevention geared not only to environmental design, but designing the environment on the basis of behavior.

LINKING COPRODUCTION TO CRIME PREVENTION

As has been seen during the discussion of coproduction, many of the existing examples are in the field of law enforcement. Individual coproduction such as home security measures and "learning how not to be victimized" educational programs; group coproduction such as neighborhood block watch groups; and collective coproduction such as witness assistance and auxiliary police programs are all examples. Many of these examples are in the area of crime prevention. Crime prevention through environmental design and behavior involves concepts such as surveillance, increased use of areas, lighting, etc. which must be done in conjunction with the public. Since no one wants to have buildings designed as fortresses, it is important to have the public involved to determine to what extent the community wants to design against crime. While it might be more appropriate to move high schools to the middle of nowhere based on behavior patterns and crime prevention criteria, it is not likely that law enforcement agencies will be able to become involved in the locating of schools without having the support and involvement of the community.

The other important consideration is the modification of expectations which can be produced by coproduction. Law enforcement agencies generally are not convinced that allocating resources to crime prevention is the most efficient use of limited resources. Some agencies have used reduced budgets to cut back in crime prevention areas contending that personnel are needed for "real" police work. The citizen effort is essential in some of the newer crime prevention design and behavior techniques to interact with the police and change service concepts. Unfortunately, the public must first be educated to what can be done. And even more unfortunately, most police agencies also

need to be educated about crime prevention design and behavior techniques. In this coproduction effort, it may be necessary for police and public to learn together. But, isn't that a part of the definition of coproduction?

Finally, Schneider makes an important point by noting that coproduction provides a

...critical linkage between policy and eventual outcomes....Dimensions of coproduction are important to study to determine if activities are designed to produce private benefits or collective benefits; whether they tend to be parallel activities or undertaken jointly with government; whether there is a socioeconomic bias in the extent of coproduction which may influence the distribution of goods and services, and whether the government action that encourages coproduction intentionally or inadvertently alters the mixture of private vs. collective benefits or the socioeconomic characteristics of the coproducers.⁵²

Most of the crime prevention activities police agencies utilize are with individual coproduction in which the police department shows individuals how to be less of a victim, and the individuals implement those strategies for their individual benefit. The remainder of the activities are devoted to working with neighborhood block watch groups which promote group coproduction. In deciding to provide these types of activities, it is doubtful that any agency reviewed what the unintended outcomes of that policy might be. No consideration was given to those people who could not afford to provide security devices for their homes. Nor was any concern expressed about crime being displaced to rental units or areas outside of neighborhood block groups since most neighborhood block programs are only geared to owner housing. Nor was the provision of a "public good" considered. Schneider indicates that research has been inconclusive as to whether crime is displaced.⁵³ A Seattle study on burglary indicated that there was no displacement to other blocks when a neighborhood watch block group was implemented.⁵⁴ Regardless,

police agencies must consider these concerns as crime prevention programs are developed, especially in environmental design concepts. Requiring developers to provide certain security measures may increase the costs of a home or add to the rental costs. Given the present governmental costs which may add anywhere from \$2,000 to as much as \$25,000, the question of costs must be considered.⁵⁵ The implications of crime prevention activities cannot be blindly neglected. And, once again, it would appear that it is here that coproduction can be of assistance by involving all income groups.

Throughout this paper, coproduction has been cited as being an innovative approach to service delivery. It is not intended to replace the traditional service model. As Sharp has shown clearly, coproduction and traditional service delivery must go hand in hand. This synthesis will not occur easily.⁵⁶ After all, prevention efforts are aimed at preventing the crime before it takes place. Crimes will still occur. And law enforcement agencies will continue to perform those services outside the scope of "fighting crime."

CHANGING LAW ENFORCEMENT TO ADAPT TO COPRODUCTION

Law enforcement agencies, similar to other bureaucracies, are examples of dynamic conservatism, making the minimum amount of change possible.⁵⁷ Part of this aversion to change is the "sunk cost" variable. Since most agencies are manpower intensive, there is a considerable amount of costs involved in providing training to reeducate all personnel to new procedures or new methods.

There is a more basic problem. While law enforcement agencies rely heavily on the community, greater citizen involvement is on the opposite end of the spectrum as to how most agencies operate. Since police agencies are closed organizations and promotion comes only from within, people who express similar ideas are those who get promoted. In the past, citizen involvement has been associated with community demands to change "use of force" or "shoot-

don't shoot" policies which often pit the officer against the citizen in the amount of force to be used. Or civilian oversight commissions may actually administer the agency providing an "us against them" mentality.

As paramilitary organizations, the "chain of command" is strictly adhered to in a rigid hierarchical structure. Consequently, a small group of people reared in this closed society make most of the policy decisions. Crime prevention assignments are not considered to be a position which guarantees upward mobility. A survey of crime prevention units in southwestern United States police agencies found that the head of a crime prevention unit was usually at least two ranks below the heads of investigative or patrol units.⁵⁸ Consequently, it is often a "retirement" position staffed by an individual usually unmotivated to make changes. Even the National Standards for Law Enforcement Agencies, which standards must be met in order to become an accredited agency, provide few mandatory standards related to crime prevention efforts. Indeed, according to the standards, only one person involved in the crime prevention function is necessary to qualify (these standards are shown in Appendix I).

These problems are not solely those of the United States alone. In reviewing British policing innovations, Weatheritt points out that "Crime prevention has not become a part of mainstream policing and the specialist crime prevention service has been left to languish in something of a policing backwater," and "the crime prevention job remains an activity performed on the sidelines while the main action takes place elsewhere."⁵⁹ The status of British law enforcement crime prevention units can be seen by noting that less than one percent of the total force is assigned full time to crime prevention and that the highest rank held in such units is considerably below the rank of other operational units.⁶⁰

Nor is the situation helped by noting that personnel assigned to such responsibilities are usually the first to be reassigned in a budget crunch. Note that one crime prevention effort in Cincinnati was hampered by the lack of a liaison in the police agency. It seemed that a budget deficit in the agency forced the officer assigned to this crime prevention function to be reassigned to other duties.⁶¹

Another limiting factor is that the interdisciplinary approach taken by new kinds of crime prevention efforts requires a broader background than most of the commissioned crime prevention commanders possess. While civilian employees could provide this broader background, civilianization has been slow to infiltrate law enforcement agencies other than the larger and/or more progressive departments. Civilians bring new skills and different viewpoints to the organization and to policy formulation if they are involved.

Short term program successes are essential. Since many new programs are federally funded, deciding whether or not the program is successful within a short time period may determine whether the program will be picked up for local funding. In addition, the crime prevention control model of crime remains unproven. Much more research remains to be done to prove the actual value of many crime prevention programs. Whether the opportunity to commit a crime is reduced by environmental design and behavior considerations is in great part yet to be seen. These are long-term programs, just as reducing poverty and unemployment are long-term programs. In already developed localities, environmental design programs may be less applicable. Even in rapidly growing localities, the impact of such programs may not be seen for years.

All of the above bodes poorly for expansion of the coproduction concept. The area of crime prevention which is not highly regarded within law enforcement agencies is certainly the branch of law enforcement most conducive

to expanding coproduction. After all, many of the activities involving coproduction are already carried out by the crime prevention unit, e.g. neighborhood watch and security surveys.

In coproduction, however, there is no hierarchical structure and it is up to the citizen and the police agency to work together to modify the other's expectations. Such changes will not come easily. The following are suggestions which, if implemented, may provide a smoother path for expanded coproduction opportunities:

****** The chief executive of the department indicates his support of crime prevention efforts geared toward environmental design and behavior. Sharp also indicates the need to have the commitment of public administrators on coproduction, but recognizes that this is difficult because of union resistance and liability issues.⁶² A program which produces coproduction may be easier to support than the concept. NOTE: This may be the chicken or the egg situation. Many executives are unwilling to support a new program unless other, larger agencies have already implemented the program. However, it takes a large, well-known agency to implement and *write* about the program in well-known police organization publications before other agencies are willing to spend limited dollars on a new program. And the time in which the federal government fronted the money for innovative programs is over except for drug-related programs.

****** Establish the crime prevention position on the same level as the commander of investigative or patrol functions. Many agencies now assign this to a lieutenant or lower. By making this change, the position will be more involved in the upward mobility track with the hope that more aggressive individuals will be assigned.

****Greater civilianization of the department in mid and upper management positions must occur. Civilians tend to stay in one occupational area and gain expertise as opposed to commissioned personnel who are promoted through a variety of positions. Upper management positions should be involved in policy formulation in order to widen the views presented. Such positions include a variety of administrative assignments: communications, fiscal activities, planning, crime prevention, data processing, crime analysis, supply, training, criminalistics (including the crime lab). By involving civilians in the day to day operations of an agency, it will also seem more logical to have citizens involved in committees to implement new programs.**

****Develop a planning function held by a professional land use planner, regardless of whether or not the person has had police planning experience. While the police experience comes with time, the land use background does not. This position is an ideal resource to work with the crime prevention unit on physical design and development concepts. This position would also work with developers, depending on local ordinances, to utilize environmental design concepts and behavioral considerations in viewing proposed development. It would also be the responsibility of this person to closely monitor crime prevention programs to determine policy implications for socioeconomic groups.**

****Utilize the planner as an information source of crime prevention and environmental design for local county and city planning organizations. Knowledge can create interest.**

****Expect results to be long-term only--in the five years or more category.**

****Establish a "Crime Prevention Committee" made up of prestigious local community leaders to investigate and hopefully push to implement environmental design concepts as well as behavioral concepts. This outside community**

pressure is essential in situations involving input into school locations or zoning ordinance changes.

****The law enforcement agency should work with local officials to develop ordinances which promote environmental design and behavior concepts in development. While Sharp suggests that there should even be ordinances promoting coproduction--her example is requiring people to keep streets clear during snow removal--this is a questionable suggestion. She even admits that it may have limited impact.⁶³**

****Consider a small fee structure for neighborhood watch signs and brochures above and beyond actual costs in order to provide same to lower income neighborhood blocks.**

****Closely investigate private enterprise crime prevention services, many of which are associated with security measures for private homes or self-defense courses. Such firms may either promote or injure departments' efforts in crime prevention.**

****Increase the travel budget of the crime prevention unit in the department and send personnel to as many schools as are available in the crime prevention area involving environmental design and behavior. Many of these courses are not offered simply because there is no demand.**

****Involve local universities or colleges and their staffs in this pursuit. Not only do they serve as a good resource (often at a price), but interest may be piqued enough to spend time and money on research in areas that need to be addressed. NOTE: Citizen surveys are an example which help law enforcement agencies determine citizen needs, but should not be conducted by the department on the basis of perceived intimidation. Universities serve as a resource in this area since the survey can be conducted as a part of a class project. NOTE: Sharp considers these surveys a part of the traditional service model, but the results may be used to promote coproduction.⁶⁴**

The above portrays methods not only to enhance crime prevention efforts, but to do them in such a manner that citizen involvement and consequently, coproduction are a key ingredient. Is coproduction a workable concept for law enforcement agencies? The National Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals wrote:

The police in the United States are not separate from the people. They draw their authority from the will and the consent of the people, and they recruit their officers from them. The police are the instrument of the people to achieve and maintain order; their efforts are founded on principles of public service and ultimate responsibility to the public....The police, the criminal justice system, and government in general could not control crime without the cooperation of a substantial portion of the people.⁶⁵

There should be no doubt that it is a workable concept--it is working. And coproduction can become even more beneficial with its pairing to crime prevention through environmental design and behavior.

ENDNOTES

- ¹Gordon Whitaker, "Coproduction: Citizen Participation in Service Delivery," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 40 (May/June 1980), p. 242.
- ²Elaine Sharp, "Toward a New Understanding of Urban Services and Citizen Participation: The Coproduction Concept," *Midwest Review of Public Administration*, Vol. 14 (June, 1980), p. 106.
- ³Jeffrey Brudney and Robert England, "Toward a Definition of the Coproduction Concept," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 43 (January/February), p. 61.
- ⁴*Ibid.* p. 60.
- ⁵Stephen Percy, "Coproduction, Equity, and the Distribution of Safety," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, Vol. 19 (June, 1984), p. 433.
- ⁶Sharp, "Toward a New Understanding...", p. 105.
- ⁷Anne Schneider, "Coproduction of Public and Private Safety: An Analysis of Bystander Intervention, Protective Neighboring, and Personal Protection," *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 40 (December, 1987), p. 613.
- ⁸*Ibid.* p. 614.
- ⁹Percy, "Coproduction, Equity, and Distribution of Safety," p. 433.
- ¹⁰Whitaker, "Coproduction," p. 242.
- ¹¹Brudney and England, "Toward a Definition," p. 62.
- ¹²*Ibid.*, and in Sharp, "Toward a New Understanding," p. 110.
- ¹³Whitaker, "Coproduction," p. 244.
- ¹⁴Brudney and England, "Toward a Definition," p. 62.
- ¹⁵Whitaker, "Coproduction," p. 243.
- ¹⁶*Ibid.*
- ¹⁷Brudney and England, "Toward a Definition...", p. 62.
- ¹⁸Sharp, "Toward a New Understanding," p. 112.
- ¹⁹Schneider, "Coproduction of Public and Private Safety," 614.
- ²⁰*Ibid.*
- ²¹*Ibid.* p. 615.
- ²²*Ibid.*
- ²³*Ibid.*, p. 617.
- ²⁴Brudney and England, "Toward a Definition," p. 64.
- ²⁵C. Jeffery, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design* (Sage Publications: Beverly Hills, 1977), p. 21.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*
- ²⁷*Ibid.* p. 22.
- ²⁸David P. Farrington, Lloyd E. Ohlin, and James Q. Wilson, *Understanding and Controlling Crime: Toward a New Research Strategy*, (Springer-Verlag, New York, 1986), p. 4.
- ²⁹*Criminal Justice Newsletter*, Vol. 19 (January 18, 1988) p. 3.
- ³⁰Jeffery, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design*, p. 33.
- ³¹*Ibid.*, p. 37.
- ³²The first beginnings of crime prevention are discussed both in John P. Kenney, "The Police and Crime Prevention," and Gary Adams, "Crime Prevention: An Evolutionary Analysis," in Dan Pursuit, John Gerletti, Robert Brown, and Steven Ward, eds., *Police Programs for Preventing Crime and Delinquency* (Charles C Thomas: Springfield, 1972).
- ³³Mollie Weatheritt, *Innovations in Police* (Croom Helm: London, 1986), p. 56.
- ³⁴Jeffery, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design*, p. 41.
- ³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 42.

- ³⁶Oscar Newman, *Defensible Space* (MacMillan Co: New York, 1972) and Barry Poyner, *Design Against Crime: Beyond Defensible Space* (Butterworths: London, 1983).
- ³⁷Jeffery, *Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design*, p. 45.
- ³⁸Newman, *Defensible Space*, p. 3.
- ³⁹*Ibid.* p. 2.
- ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 50.
- ⁴¹B. Hillier, "In Defence of Space," *RIBA Journal*, Vol. (November, 1973), p. 539.
- ⁴²R. I. Mawby, "Defensible Space: A Theoretical and Empirical Appraisal," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 14 (1977), p.176.
- ⁴³Newman, *Defensible Space*, p. 111.
- ⁴⁴The economic concept of externalities as a type of market failure is discussed in almost any economic text; Harvey Rosen, *Public Finance, Second Edition* (Irwin: Homewood, Ill., 1988), p. 53 is one.
- ⁴⁵Poyner, *Design Against Crime*, p. 1.
- ⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ⁴⁷*Ibid.*, p. 6.
- ⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ⁴⁹Marcus Felson, "How The Sociocirculatory System Delivers Crime to Your Doorstep," unpublished paper to be printed in *Criminology* (November, 1987), p. 1. Parts of this paper were presented at the Western Conference of the Association of Police Planning and Research Officers, October, 1986.
- ⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 31.
- ⁵²Schneider, "Coproduction of Public and Private Safety," p. 626.
- ⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 617.
- ⁵⁴Betsy Lindsay and Daniel McGillis, "Citywide Community Crime Prevention: An Assessment of the Seattle Program," Dennis P. Rosenbaum, ed., *Community Crime Prevention: Does it Work?* (Sage Publications: Beverly Hills, 1986)p. 61.
- ⁵⁵Monica Caruso, "Las Vegas Must Pay Price for Growth," *Las Vegas Review Journal* (January 31, 1988), p. 1AA. Note: costs are those of a new house for government fees and expenses to help fund the infrastructure and view Las Vegas and Southern California.
- ⁵⁶Sharp, "Toward a New Understanding," p. 115.
- ⁵⁷Donald Schon, *Beyond The Stable State* (W.W. Norton and Co: New York, 1971), p. 50.
- ⁵⁸Planning Bureau, Las Vegas Metropolitan Police Department. The survey of 15 agencies was conducted during late January, 1989, and found that sergeants and lieutenants headed most crime prevention units compared to captains and deputy chiefs for investigative and patrol units.
- ⁵⁹Mollie Weatheritt, *Innovations in Policing* (Croom Helm: London, 1986), p. 49.
- ⁶⁰*Ibid.*
- ⁶¹Edward Latessa and Lawrench Travis, "Citizen Crime Prevention: Problems and Prospectives in Reducing Crime," *Journal of Security Administration*, Vol. 10 (1987), p. 38.
- ⁶²Sharp, "Toward a New Understanding," p. 117.
- ⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 116.
- ⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 108.
- ⁶⁵National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, *Report on Police* (LEAA: Washington, D. C., 1973), p. 9 as quoted in the National Crime Commission Institute, *Understanding Crime Prevention*, p. 18-19.

45

CRIME PREVENTION

Standards in this chapter relate to the prevention, resistance, and suppression of crime. Subchapters deal with, respectively, the organizational and administrative elements of crime prevention and the operational considerations that should be brought to bear in establishing and maintaining crime prevention programs.

Beyond stating their commitment to crime prevention, law enforcement agencies should establish specific policies, goals, and objectives by which their commitment can be realized.* In some agencies, the creation of a crime prevention component may be called for; in others, designating an individual as responsible for crime prevention activities may suffice. In all agencies, it should be understood that all officers and components are responsible for achieving agency crime prevention goals and should assist others in this regard. In addition, the use of nonsworn officers and senior citizens should be encouraged and programs geared toward youths and youth groups developed.

Plans should be developed based on data indicating the types of crimes that pose the greatest threat to the community and where (geographically) criminal activity is most prevalent. The plans behind specific crime prevention programs should be designed with evaluation in mind. Programs should be evaluated annually to determine if they have been effective in achieving stated goals.

The development of neighborhood watch groups should be fostered as should provision of security surveys and other related services. Once established, neighborhood watch groups should not be allowed to "wither on the vine"; a maintenance plan should be established and adhered to. The harassment of citizens participating in such programs should be a chief concern of those responsible for maintenance activities.

45.1 Organization and Administration

45.1.1 *A written directive states that the agency is committed to the development and perpetuation of community crime prevention programs.*

Commentary: A firm commitment should be made by both the agency's chief executive officer and high-ranking administrative staff to the concept of reducing crime through proactive crime prevention programs. Because a myriad of programs and approaches exist in the field of crime prevention, each agency will, of necessity, limit the scope of its activity to those programs and approaches that best suit its needs. For this reason, all offi-

*A state-level agency must comply with those crime prevention standards that are consistent with its mission. A state agency is not expected to perform crime prevention activities that would interfere with local crime prevention efforts, but it may assist local departments as deemed appropriate. State agencies may wish to consult Commission staff about the applicability of these standards to their operations.

cers, especially patrol officers engaged in field assignments, should be acquainted with the specific approach and techniques their agency has chosen to use. (O O O O O O)

45.1.2 *A written directive establishes the agency's crime prevention component and defines the relationships between all organizational elements of the agency in pursuing crime prevention activities.*

Commentary: Most law enforcement activities consist of reactive policing. No less legitimate, however, is the pursuit of the prevention of crime. The key to effective law enforcement lies in seeking a reasonable balance between the two broad mandates. The creation of a crime prevention component is a major step in achieving this balance. Preventing crime demands an integrated, coordinated agency response. Therefore, for a crime prevention component to meet its goals, it should maintain close ties with those compo-

nents that support, and make possible, the furtherance of the crime prevention effort.

(N/A N/A N/A M M M)

45.1.3 *The agency has at least one employee whose responsibilities include planning and coordinating crime prevention activities.*

Commentary: The fact that an agency is small does not exempt it from seeking a reasonable balance between its reactive and proactive (crime prevention) functions. Small agencies may actually be better equipped to prevent crime because of their officers' close personal ties with the community. The person responsible for crime prevention should possess a wide general knowledge of crime prevention theory and practice.

(O M M M M M)

45.1.4 *A written directive requires the crime prevention component to have access to foreign language specialists.*

Commentary: The success of community crime prevention efforts is predicated on close interaction with the community. Without appropriate language capabilities, community interaction may be impossible in some cases.

(N/A N/A N/A O M M)

45.2 Operations

45.2.1 *A written directive establishes the agency's crime prevention priority programs and provides for the following:*

- *the targeting of programs by crime type and geographic area based on an analysis of local crime data; and*
- *the evaluation of all crime prevention programs at least annually.*

Commentary: The agency should establish priorities for action. Based on pertinent data, the agency should decide which crime types present the greatest problem; where the problems are most severe or where crime prevention activities could be most productive; and what types of programs would be most effective in combating crime. In addition, after a thorough evaluation of both quantitative and qualitative elements of a program (at least annually), a decision should be made regarding whether the program should remain functioning as is, be modified, or be discontinued. (O O O O O O)

45.2.2 *A written directive requires the agency to assist in organizing crime prevention groups in res-*

idential areas targeted for such activity, as well as on request.

Commentary: Neighborhood crime prevention groups should form the nucleus of any comprehensive crime prevention effort. All other services should be delivered as a complement to this one indispensable service. Crime prevention groups generally comprise 10 to 15 neighbors interested in mutual protection. (O O O O O O)

45.2.3 *The agency promotes crime prevention programs for all citizens and proprietors in areas targeted for such activity.*

Commentary: Of the many crime prevention programs that have been conceived and implemented, a few have been found to be almost universally successful in either reducing victimization rates or leading to the recovery of stolen property. Conducting security surveys, marking property indelibly, and disseminating information to the community on prevailing types of local crime are examples of activities that can result in positive outcomes. It is the intent of this standard that such programs be conducted in areas targeted for crime prevention activity as well as on request. (O O O O O O)

45.2.4 *A written directive requires the agency's crime prevention practitioner to maintain liaison with interested community groups.*

Commentary: Communities comprise individuals with diverse interests. Crime prevention officers should attempt to incorporate in their plans and programs the interests of those in the community, including the business community, local citizens' organizations, local civic associations, private security agencies, and statewide associations. (O O O O O O)

45.2.5 *A written directive requires the agency to provide crime prevention input into development and/or revision of zoning policies, building codes, fire codes, and residential and commercial building permits.*

Commentary: The opportunity to be involved in this process is an integral element in ensuring that crime prevention concerns are addressed prior to construction. In many localities, the crime prevention component reviews, or is given the opportunity to review, site plans of residential and commercial construction and proposed revisions to zoning or building codes. This review and recommendation process is facilitated by policy direction or by local ordinance, and the adoption of recommendations may be mandatory or voluntary. (O O O O O O)