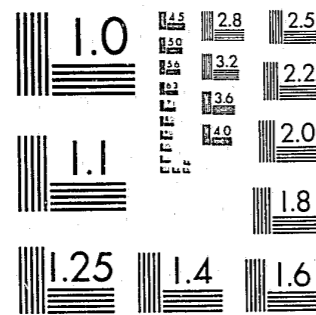


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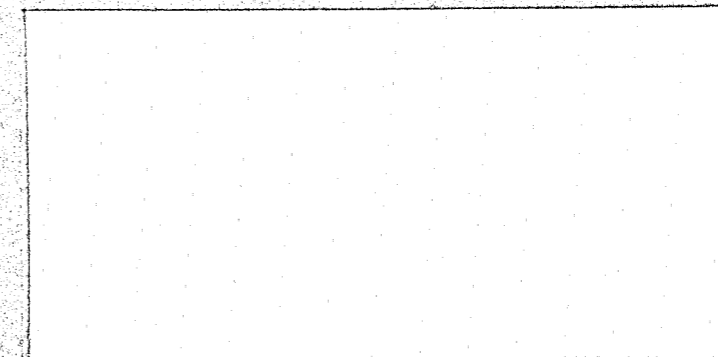
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TO COME

Neighborhood Team Policing in
Hartford, Connecticut:
A Case Study

by

Katryna Regan

September 1977

Prepared under Grant Number 76-NI-99-0030 National Evaluation of the Full Service Neighborhood Team Policing Program, from the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice.

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Contract Report 5054-14



THE URBAN INSTITUTE

PREFACE

In 1975, The Office of Technology Transfer (OTT) in the National Institute of Criminal Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, awarded grants to six demonstration sites for the purpose of testing the "Full-Service Neighborhood Team Policing" concept. The Urban Institute received a grant to conduct "the national evaluation" of the demonstration project. Between the last quarter of 1976 and the third quarter of 1977, The Urban Institute made multiple visits to the demonstration sites and conducted an evaluation of the implementation of team policing at the sites. The evaluation has been documented in eight separate reports.¹ Six of the reports are

1. The reports are:

- White, Thomas and Gillice, Robert. "Neighborhood Team Policing in Boulder, Colorado: A Case Study," The Urban Institute, Working Paper 5054-11, August 1977.
- Regan, Katryna. "Neighborhood Team Policing in Elizabeth, New Jersey: A Case Study," The Urban Institute, Working Paper 5054-12, April 1977.
- Bell, James and Horst, Pamela. "Neighborhood Team Policing in Multnomah County, Oregon: A Case Study," The Urban Institute, Working Paper 5054-13, May 1977.
- Regan, Katryna. "Neighborhood Team Policing in Hartford, Connecticut: A Case Study," The Urban Institute, Working Paper 5054-14, August 1977.
- Bell, James and Horst, Pamela. "Neighborhood Team Policing in Santa Ana, California: A Case Study," The Urban Institute, Working Paper 5054-15, July 1977.
- White, Thomas. "Neighborhood Team Policing in Winston-Salem, North Carolina: A Case Study," The Urban Institute, Working Paper 5054-16, August 1977.
- Horst, Pamela; Regan, Katryna; White, Thomas and Bell, James. "Evaluation of LEAA's Six Site Full-Service Neighborhood Team Policing Demonstration: A Summary Report," The Urban Institute, Working Paper 5054-17, August 1977.
- Horst, Pamela. "LEAA's Implementation of the Full-Service Neighborhood Team Policing Demonstration," The Urban Institute, Working Paper 5054-09, August 1977.

case studies for the demonstration sites which were: Boulder, Colorado; Elizabeth, New Jersey; Hartford, Connecticut; Multnomah County, Oregon; Santa Ana, California; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

A detailed portrayal of how the program was designed and implemented by The Office of Technology Transfer is the subject of one report while another report summarizes the experiences of the entire evaluation.

Each case study--this one included--follows a standard format, addressing a similar set of topics including the background of the department, planning and implementation of team policing components, and the consequences.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
PREFACE	iv
I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF TEAM POLICING IN HARTFORD	1
A. Introduction	1
B. Summary of Implementation	2
C. Summary of Outcomes	4
II. THE ORIGINS OF TEAM POLICING IN HARTFORD	4
A. The Hartford Setting	4
B. Department Personnel and Budget	6
C. Hartford Police Department Labor Dispute	8
D. Residential Neighborhood Crime Control Study	9
E. Planning for Team Policing Demonstration	11
F. Team Policing Grant Budget and Expenditures	12
G. Statement From Chief Masini	13
III. IMPLEMENTATION OF TEAM POLICING ELEMENTS	14
A. Summary of Elements	14
B. Data Availability	14
C. Team Boundaries Established (Element #1)	17
D. Varying Sized Teams Formed (Element #2)	19
E. Continuity of Assignment (Element #14)	20
F. Teams Deliver Services in Neighborhood Only (Element #3)	22
G. Training in Team Policing Conducted (Element #4)	25
H. Detectives Not Decentralized (Element #5)	27
I. Officers Trained to Conduct a Degree of Investigation (Elements #6 and #7)	28
J. Linkages and Referrals to Social Service Agencies (Elements #8 and #9)	33
K. Service Activities and Community Contacts Emphasized (Elements #10 and #13)	35
L. Street Stops and Field Interrogations Emphasized (Element #11)	40
M. Foot Patrol Emphasized (Element #12)	40
N. Personnel Not Deployed According to Demand (Element #15)	41
O. Management Style Changes (Elements #16, #17, #18 and #19)	43
P. Opportunity for Information Sharing Increased (Element #20)	45
IV. OUTCOME CHANGES	46
A. Improve Police/Community Relations (Outcome #1)	48
B. Officer Job Satisfaction (Outcome #2)	56
C. Improve Crime Prevention and Control and Decrease Crime Rates (Outcomes #7 and #9)	56
1. Neighborhood Crime Prevention Program Established	58
2. Crime Increase Curtailed	59
D. Decrease Citizen Fear (Outcome #10)	59

TABLES:

	<u>Page</u>
1 Hartford Police Budget	6
2 Hartford Police Department Personnel	6
3 Team Policing Grant Budget Expenditures	12
4 Summary of Hartford Police Department Experience with Implementation of Team Policing Elements	15
5 Hartford Team Personnel, December 1975	20
6 Field Services Bureau Shifts in Personnel in Hartford, 1975-1976	21
7 Departmental Orders and Directives Related to Referral Agencies and Procedures	34
8 Percentage of Hartford Citizens Attending Meetings of Groups Concerned with Problems in Asylum Hill Neighborhood	38
9 Total City Calls for Service by Shift	42
10 Available District Patrol Personnel by Shift	42
11 Calls for Service and Field Services Bureau Personnel on Duty by Shift by District	42
12 Summary of Hartford Police Department Experience with Outcome Changes	47
13 Summary of Grants Received by Hartford Police Department	57
14 Degree of Safety Felt When Alone in Neighborhood	63

FIGURES:

1 Characteristics of Hartford Residents, 1975	5
2 Distribution of Cities According to Per Capita Expenditures on Law Enforcement, 1974-1975	7
3 Map of Hartford	18
4 Percentage of Calls in Each District Answered by Other Districts, 1976-Hartford Police Department	24
5 Function Chart	30
6 Characteristics of Asylum Hill Residents--1973, 1975 and 1976	50
7 Citizen Attitude Statements, 1975 and 1976, Asylum Hill Area	51
8 Citizen Attitude Statements, 1975 Only, Hartford	52
9 Rating of Job Hartford Police Department Does Protecting People in Neighborhood, 1973, 1975 and 1976--Asylum Hill Area	54
10 Perception of Treatment of People in Neighborhood by Hartford Police, 1973, 1975 and 1976--Asylum Hill Area	55
11 Hartford, Connecticut Compared to 100 Other Cities With Population of 100,000 to 250,000--Percent Change in Part I Crime for 1974-1975	60
12 Hartford, Connecticut Compared to 100 Other Cities with Populations of 100,000 to 250,000--Percent Change in Part I Crime for 1975-1976 (First 9 Months of 1975-1976)	61
13 Percent Change in Part I Crime by Area (District), City of Hartford, 1974-1975 and 1975-1976	62

I. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF TEAM POLICING IN HARTFORD

A. INTRODUCTION

Team policing was first introduced in one district of Hartford in January 1975 in response to recommendations from The Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice which had conducted a major crime control research project in the city since 1973. The main emphasis of the program was on interacting with the community and responding to its needs. In the fall of 1975, team policing was introduced in Districts I and II which, along with District V, were selected by the department to participate in LEAA's demonstration.

The city of Hartford and the police department have experienced a number of changes during the 1970s. The city is in the throes of urban renewal and the downtown business area is being revitalized. In 1974, Chief Hugo Masini assumed command of the department. Since then, the department has been reorganized into a district configuration for providing police services; at the same time, the traffic division was decentralized as were the youth services personnel. During 1974 and 1975, the department suffered budget cutbacks and a major labor dispute ensued.

After two-and-a-half years of team policing, department officials believe that the "shakedown" period is over and the department is settling down. Plans are under way to implement team policing citywide by early 1978 and to test the feasibility of decentralizing detectives by experimenting with placing a crime against property detective in each district.

In the fall of 1977, Hartford's neighborhood crime prevention program, an effort department officials say is a direct outgrowth of team policing and the accompanying community orientation was in full swing. Public Safety committees have been established throughout the city and a central crime prevent resource center is open. Police/community relations are stressed city-wide and responsibility for police operations is increasingly passed to the district level.

B. SUMMARY OF IMPLEMENTATION

The Urban Institute has identified 20 team policing elements in the literature the LEAA Office of Technology Transfer (OTT) sent to the sites. These elements encompass characteristics of team policing ranging from defining neighborhood boundaries and forming teams of 20 to 40 personnel to specifying the "full-service" activities and community orientation of the team policing approach.

Ten of these elements had been implemented in Hartford prior to the full-service neighborhood team policing demonstration. During the demonstration, the department established the District I and II teams and continued its policy of personnel working only in their assigned district to the maximum extent possible. Also continued were the policies of making referrals to social service agencies and emphasizing police interaction with the community. Detectives were not assigned to the teams, but a personnel exchange system was inaugurated between the Field Services and the Investigative Services Bureaus.

Participation in the demonstration led to the department providing training in team policing to all personnel. It also enabled some officers in one district to work as team investigators full time. A policy of participative

management also was inaugurated as part of the demonstration. The department planned to deploy personnel based on crime and service demand, but was not successful in doing so; currently adjustments in deployment are being planned.

C. SUMMARY OF OUTCOMES

There are eleven outcome changes found in the OTT team policing literature. The Hartford team policing grant application mentioned five of these as local objectives. They include:

- improve police/community relations;
- improve police service;
- improve crime prevention and control;
- decrease crime rates; and,
- decrease citizen fears.

There were some minor changes in police/community relations and citizen fear. Part I Crime increased citywide, but decreased in some districts. Since no measures for improving police service were cited by the department and since it can refer to virtually any police activity, we did not attempt to measure this outcome.

II. THE ORIGINS OF TEAM POLICING IN HARTFORD

A. THE HARTFORD SETTING

Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, is located on the Connecticut River, midway between Boston and New York. In 1973, the population was 148,000. The per capita income is \$3,428 per year, almost the lowest in the state.

In 1975, Part I Crime in Hartford was up 25 percent from the previous year. In 1976, however, Part I Crime rose only 5 percent.

The city of Hartford covers 17.4 square miles. It is the home of 43 insurance companies. Hartford also is a retail trading center and is located in an important tobacco-raising district. Manufacturing companies are another major source of employment. Products range from precision tools and propellers to glassmaking machines and dishwashers.

Figure 1 displays selected characteristics of Hartford residents surveyed in 1975. Slightly over half of the residents were nonwhite, including blacks, Puerto Ricans, Spanish and others. Just over a third of the residents were women and 70 percent rented the apartment or home in which they lived. About one quarter of the residents had some education beyond high school.

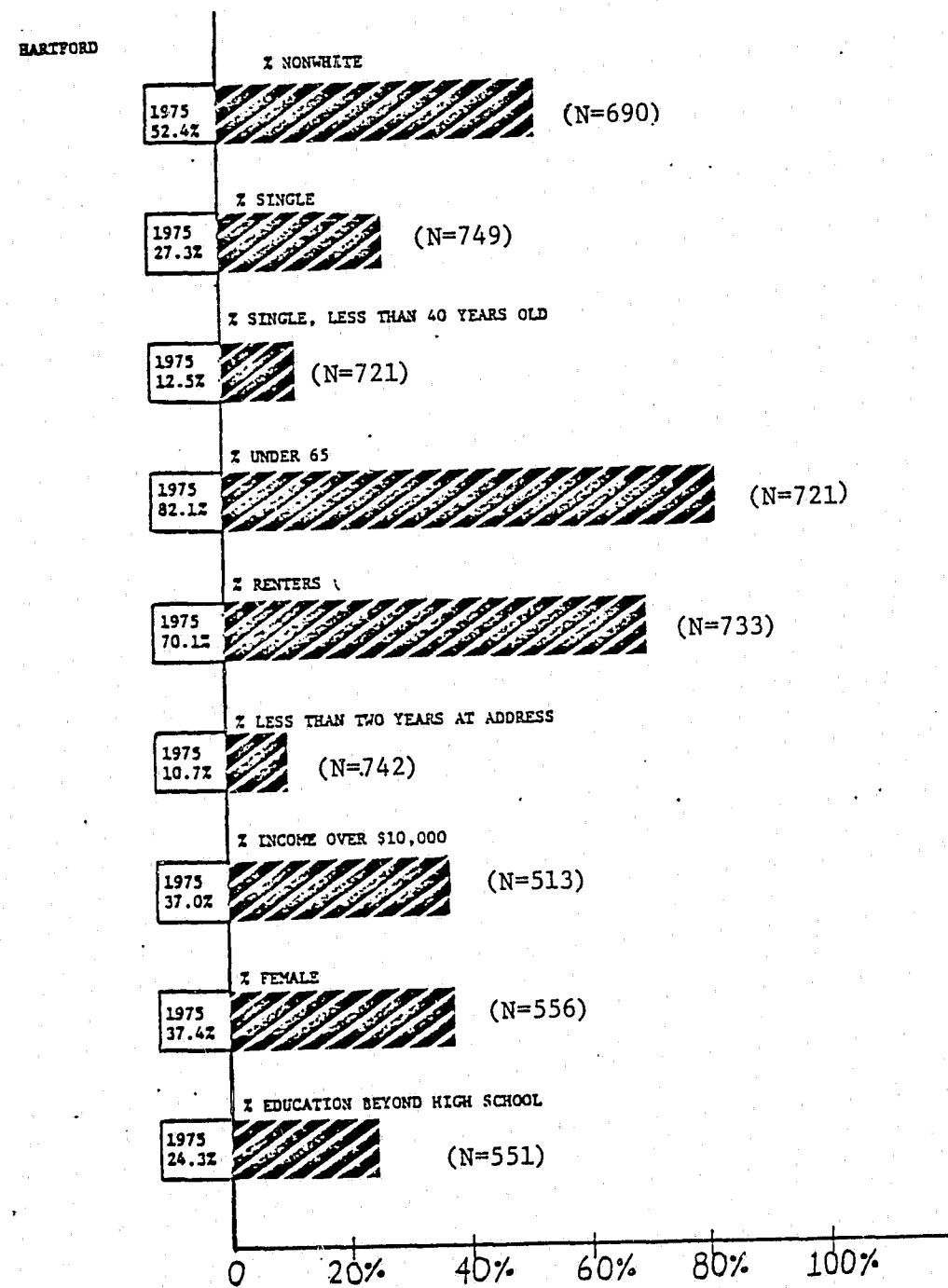


FIGURE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF HARTFORD RESIDENTS, 1975

Source: Survey Research Program for Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice, Late Spring 1975

B. DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL AND BUDGET

Since 1973, the Hartford police budget has been fluctuating. As Table 1 shows, the budget increased between 1973 and 1974, then dropped for 1975.

TABLE 1: HARTFORD POLICE BUDGET, 1973-1976

Year	Budget
1973-1974	\$ 7,957,070
1974-1975	\$ 8,113,130
1975-1976	\$ 7,979,475

Source: The City of Hartford's Program of Services for 1975-1976, The City Council's Adopted Budget.

Law enforcement expenditures per capita in Hartford were \$57.15 in 1974. Only 12 of 100 cities of the comparable 100,000 to 250,000 population range spent more than that. (See Figure 2.)

With the exception of 1975, personnel levels have been decreasing since 1973. (See Table 2.) Especially noticeable is the decrease in sworn personnel, from 475 in 1976 to 433 in 1977.

TABLE 2: HARTFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT PERSONNEL

Year	Total Hartford Police Department Personnel
1973	585
1974	576
1975	607
1976	576
1977	526

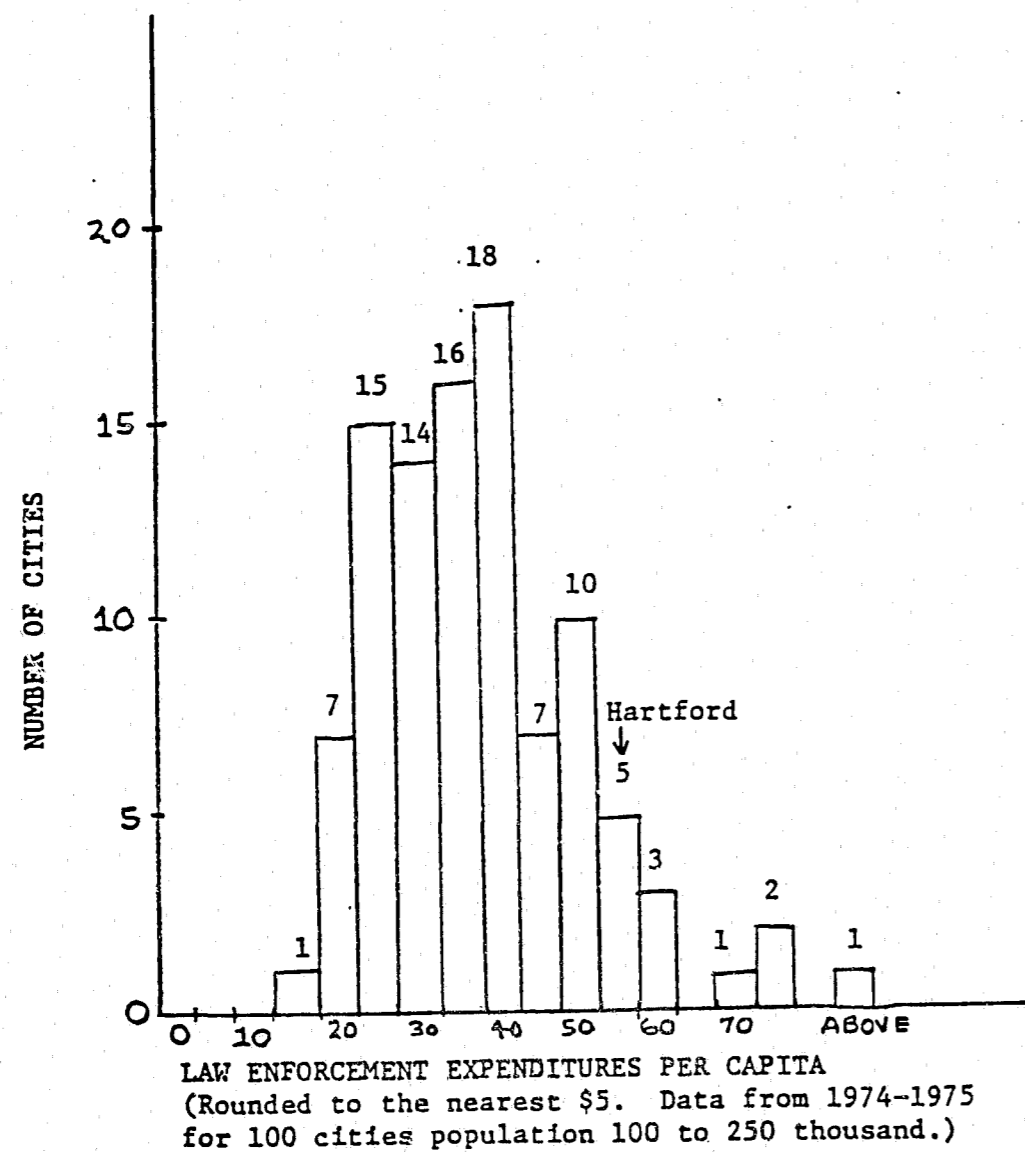


FIGURE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF CITIES ACCORDING TO PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES ON LAW ENFORCEMENT, 1974-1975

Source: City Government Finances in 1975, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, No. 4.

C. HARTFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT LABOR DISPUTE

The implementation of team policing occurred during and was affected by a prolonged labor dispute between the Hartford Police Department and the city of Hartford. The following is a statement from the department describing the problem and summarizing the consequences.

"During 1975 and the first six months of 1976, contract negotiations were a focal point for officers of the Hartford Police Department. The Hartford Police Union's contract with the city of Hartford had expired in June 1974 and through an agreement reached between the city of Hartford and the Hartford Police Union (IBPO Local #308), the expired contract was extended while negotiations continued. Because of the economic factors inherent in the city of Hartford, a rise in inflation and the union request, negotiations proceeded at a slow pace and with several verbal confrontations between union and city officials which were noted by the local news media and press. This precipitated alleged friction among the union body which is composed of patrolmen, sergeants, detectives and lieutenants.

"The Hartford Police IBPO Local 308 executive board, although not taking an active leadership role in implementing job actions, consisted of members who were receptive to notions of picketing, Blue Flu, work slowdowns and ticketing blitzes. As a result of prolonged negotiations and tactical police problems, several job actions surfaced between July 1975 and July 1976 at which time a contract settlement was reached. These are the incidents:

"July 1975, an informational picket line was initiated through the central business district and around Hartford civic center. Over 100 persons, most of whom were police officers, participated. Placards being carried by some indicated displeasure with shotgun deployment in the field, reduction of dependence on 2-man cruisers, and protracted contract negotiations.

"September 1975, Blue Flu epidemic permeated the Hartford Police Department for a 3-day period. Supervisors, administrative personnel and detectives were ordered to duty to complement the depleted patrol force caused by the sick-out. Following the sick-out, a work slowdown and ticketing blitz began. During January 1976, officers of the Hartford Police Department were tagging vehicles at an accelerated pace and initiating an increased number of vehicle stops on motor vehicle offenses. Furthermore, the average time expended on calls for service increased by one-third.

"Editorials, letters to the editor and statements by union and city officials began to surface in the news on a daily basis. It became evident that the police image was being tarnished by the job actions and it appeared that confidence in the Hartford police force displayed in the past had abated.

"The tension was culminated on a Sunday afternoon in the early spring of 1976.

"The Aetna World Cup Tennis matches were being held at the Hartford civic center. The police union attempted to obtain a court injunction to bar the sports event from being allowed to take place on a Sunday due to obscure blue law legislation. The injunction was denied. Subsequently, on the day of the event, several persons marched to the civic center while others, most of whom were Hartford Police Department officers, had vehicle breakdowns at major intersections around the civic center causing traffic jams and delaying the start of the tennis cup competition.

"As one can readily see, the atmosphere within the Hartford Police Department during 1975 and 1976 was not conducive to professional public service that is one of the objectives of neighborhood team policing. Public attitude toward the police suffered and as of yet the public impression of the Hartford Police Department, although increasing, has not reached the level prior to June of 1975. Furthermore, the bad habits adopted by some Hartford Police Department personnel during the job actions have not as yet been completely corrected. Corrective action continues to take place and with the active cooperation of the present union executive board, it is anticipated that our image will continue to improve and also that the work habits of Hartford police officers will increase up to the expectations of the community and the department."

D. RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME CONTROL STUDY

In July 1973, the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice began a project (funded by LEAA) to "design a comprehensive environmental approach to crime in urban neighborhoods."¹ Specifically, the project was an attempt to deter crimes of opportunity. The research was conducted in police District V

1. "Residential Neighborhood Crime Control Study in Hartford, Connecticut: Final Report Redraft, Executive Summary." The Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice, January 1976.

- "1. The crime rate in a residential neighborhood is a product of the linkage between offender motivation and the opportunities provided by residents, users and environment.
- "2. The crime rate for a specific offense can be reduced by lessening crime opportunities.
- "3. Crime can be absolutely reduced and not merely displaced to adjacent areas.
- "4. Opportunities can be reduced by:
 - a. Alteration of the physical aspects of buildings and streets to increase surveillance capabilities and lessen target/victim vulnerability;
 - b. Increasing citizen concern and involvement;
 - c. Selected target hardening;
 - d. Utilization of the criminal justice system to support the above.
- "5. A reduction in the crime rate will reduce fear."²

One finding was that flexibility in delivering police service was essential to the crime control project. Neighborhood team policing was the suggested means for achieving this flexibility in both Asylum Hill and Clay Hill. It was characterized as differing from traditional police operations because of:

- "1. Geographic Stability: A group of officers are permanently assigned to a specific geographic area rather than rotated from neighborhood to neighborhood.
- "2. Decentralized Authority: The team is given the authority to make changes in operational procedures without the necessity of approval from headquarters.
- "3. Resident Participation: The team seeks to establish frequent and regular contact with residents on policing and procedural matters."³

In Asylum Hill, environmental design changes also were recommended to modify traffic patterns and the direction of traffic flow, to enhance small neighborhood characteristics and, hopefully, reduce the opportunity for crime.

2. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

3. Ibid., p. 14.

E. PLANNING FOR TEAM POLICING DEMONSTRATION

Much of the planning for team policing occurred as part of the research project conducted by the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice and the Hartford Police Department. In addition, however, the department established a task force in July 1975 to set departmental goals for neighborhood team policing. Members of the task force included: the team policing project director; the project coordinator; the commanders from the Districts I and V and their team leaders; a staff member of the Research, Budget and Evaluation Division; and two representatives from the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice.

The task force met one day a week for five weeks after which time the following departmental goals were set forth by the task force and accepted by the Chief:

- To develop productive mechanisms for involving the community with the police so as to facilitate an understanding of their joint responsibilities in serving the community.
- To effect the incidence and opportunity of crime.
- To reduce the communities' fear of crime.
- To improve the job satisfaction of department personnel, especially in the district/team areas.
- To increase the quality of police service through improved productivity in the allocation/deployment of department resources.

Individual teams held meetings and drew up their organizational plans which outlined how the teams would operate. These organizational plans, while not uniform, conformed to the departmental goals, the Field Services Bureau Order on Neighborhood Team Policing and the District Concept.

The overall goals set forth in the organizational plans include:

- Increased community involvement with police in order to orient the citizens toward safety and encourage community input into the policing of their neighborhood;
- Significant and consistent reductions in crime due to citizen involvement; and,
- More positive interaction with the community.

F. TEAM POLICING GRANT BUDGET AND EXPENDITURES

The team policing demonstration grant to the Hartford Police Department totaled \$179,000. As Table 3 shows, the major expense categories were for personnel, equipment, contractual and other.

TABLE 3: TEAM POLICING GRANT BUDGET EXPENDITURES

Category	Budget Expenditures
Personnel ^a	\$ 81,366.74
Travel	5,874.54
Equipment ^b	44,187.59
Supplies	6,025.60
Contractual ^c	20,032.73
Other ^d	<u>21,512.80</u>
Total	\$179,000.00

a. Overtime accounted for 48 percent of personnel costs.

b. Included typewriters, desks, chairs, air conditioners, 6 band radios, pocket pagers, auxiliary police uniforms, conference table, status board, calculators, CB radios, and \$16,000 for a crime van.

c. Included \$10,000 for organization development workshops, \$5,000 for evaluation workshops to define team policing as it relates to Hartford, \$5,000 to develop an MBO system for the Field Services Bureau and assist in completing the final report on team policing in Hartford.

d. Included rent for community crime prevention centers, organization development seminars, and technology transfer activities.

G. STATEMENT FROM CHIEF MASINI

The following is a statement from Chief Masini summarizing his feelings about Hartford's experiment with team policing.

"The unrest experienced by numerous urban areas from the mid-60s through the early 70s brought many police administrators throughout the nation to the realization that traditional police methods must change in order to facilitate policing's responsibilities relative to the maintenance of the public order and prevention and repression of crime. At the outset, police officials determined that the police alone could not cope with the problems confronting them. Input and cooperation from all segments of society were determined the most critical factors necessary to alleviate existing problems.

"In order to address these problems, Hartford, along with other urban centers, adopted many of the tenants proposed by the Full Service Neighborhood Team Policing concept. After formulating goals which were aimed at assuring the development of productive mechanisms for involving the community with the police so as to facilitate an understanding of the joint responsibility in servicing the community; affecting the incidence of crime; reducing the community's fear of crime; improving the job satisfaction of departmental personnel; and increasing the quality of police service through improved productivity in the allocation/deployment of department resources, a Neighborhood Team Policing management philosophy evolved. The philosophy includes providing for the decentralization of decision making, authority/responsibility down to the lowest possible level with provision for participative management; geographic stability and 24-hour, 7-day per week responsibility for patrol areas; and maximum interaction between the police and the community.

"The Hartford experiment is an evolutionary process that is far from being complete. We feel that we have made great strides in alleviating many of the problems that once confronted us. But we also realize that we have much left to do. A graphic, tangible indicator of our success with the experiment thus far is that police/community interaction and community involvement in crime prevention programs have reached levels never experienced before in the city of Hartford."

III. IMPLEMENTATION OF TEAM POLICING ELEMENTS

A. SUMMARY OF ELEMENTS

Team policing in Hartford is examined here in light of the 20 elements identified by The Urban Institute. Table 4 lists the elements and briefly answers the following questions:

- Was the element operational prior to the team policing grant application?
- Was there a plan to implement the element during the demonstration period?
- What was the source of the plan?
- Was the element implemented during the demonstration period?
- What are the post-grant plans for the element?

The following sections discuss the elements as they were planned, implemented and experienced in Hartford.

B. DATA AVAILABILITY

This case study examines the Hartford team policing program in light of what was implemented and what the outcomes were. The primary data sources for the case study were interviews with Hartford Police Department personnel, both team members and headquarters staff.

The main data sources for answering questions about implementation activities were:

TABLE 4: SUMMARY OF HARTFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT EXPERIENCE WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF TEAM POLICING ELEMENTS

Element No. in Federal Model	Description of Elements In Federal or Local Team Policing Model	Was The Element Operational Prior To Team Policing Grant Application?	Was There A Plan to Implement The Element During The Demonstration Period?	What Was The Source Of The Plan?	Was The Element Implemented During The Demonstration Period?	What Are Plans For Post Grant Use Of Element?	Comments
1	Define Neighborhood Boundaries for Team Areas	Yes	Yes	HPD District Concept	Partially	Continue	One section of District II designated as team area. All of V and I.
2	Establish Teams of 20 to 40 Personnel	Yes--District V	Yes--Districts I and II	NILE-CJ Research Project	Yes	Plan to Clearly Define Team Areas For Entire City	
3	Teams Deliver Services in Neighborhood Only	Yes		HPD District Concept	Partially	Continue	Department policy since reorganization of Field Service Bureau 1/19/75
4	Training for Team Policing	No	Yes	OTT	Yes	Continuing Use of Organization Development Seminars	
5	Assign Detectives to Teams	No	No	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	May Experiment With Partial Decentralization	
6	Detectives Train Team Officers	No	No	Not Applicable	Yes	Continue	Brokerage System. Rotate investigative and field personnel
7	Team Officers Conduct A Degree of Investigation	No	Yes	NILE-CJ Research Project	Partially	Continue	MCI in District I
8	Make Linkages With Social Services	Yes	Not Applicable	Existing Policy	Not Applicable	Continue Existing Policy	Numerous Department Orders on this subject
9	Make Systematic Referrals	Yes	Not Applicable	Existing Policy	Not Applicable	Continue Existing Policy	
10	Emphasize Service Activities	Yes	No	NILE-CJ Research Project	Yes	Continue	

TABLE 4 CONTINUED: SUMMARY OF HARTFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT EXPERIENCE WITH IMPLEMENTATION OF TEAM POLICING ELEMENTS

Element No. in Federal Model	Description of Elements In Federal or Local Team Policing Model	Was The Element Operational Prior To Team Policing Grant Application?	Was There A Plan to Implement The Element During The Demonstration Period?	What Was The Source Of The Plan?	Was The Element Implemented During The Demonstration Period?	What Are Plans For Post Grant Use Of Element?	Comments
11	Use Street Stops, Field Interrogations Sparingly	No	No	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	
12	Emphasize Foot Patrol	Yes	Not Applicable	Existing Policy	Not Applicable	Continue	
13	Encourage Community Contacts	Yes--District V	Yes	NILE-CJ Research Project	Yes	Continue	
14	Establish Continuity of Assignment to Teams	Yes	Yes	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	Continue Previous Policy	Proposal states "implementation of team policing will insure stability of assignment of individual police officers"
15	Deploy Personnel Based On Crime and Service Demand	No	Yes	Arthur Young study and NILE-CJ Research Project	No	Reallocation and Redeployment Alternatives Being Considered	
16	Decentralize Authority/Accountability to Team Leader	Yes	Not Applicable	HPD Districting Concept	Not Applicable	Continue Previous Policy	
17	Eliminate Quasi-Military Style of Command	No	No	Not Applicable	No	Not Applicable	
18	Use Participative Management to Set Objectives, Plan and Evaluate Team Performance	No	Yes	NILE-CJ Research Project	Yes	Continue	Team meetings, special resource units
19	Set Incentives Compatible With Team Policing	No	No	Not Applicable	No	Not Applicable	
20	Increase Team Interaction and Information Sharing	No	Yes	?	Yes	Continue	

- interviews with department personnel;
- district crossover reports;
- personnel rosters;
- monthly activity summaries;
- Quarterly Grant Reports;
- the Demonstration Grant Application; and,
- department orders and directives.

Questions pertaining to the outcome of the program were answered mostly from the following data sources:

- interviews with department personnel;
- District V and total city citizen and District V patrol officer surveys conducted for the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice;
- Hartford Police Department data processing section reports; and,
- UCR Part I Crime Reports.

C. TEAM BOUNDARIES ESTABLISHED
(ELEMENT #1)

The team boundaries in Hartford were established in conformance with the district boundaries that were set in 1975 when District V was cut out of the center of what had been four areas. The are not compatible with existing neighborhood boundaries. All of Districts I and V and the central business section of District II were designated by the department to participate in the federal demonstration. District I and the designated section of District II are each considered a single team area. District V had been divided into two teams-- Asylum Hill and Clay Hill, in early 1975 and these team boundaries were continued under the federal demonstration. Figure 3 is a map of Hartford with the districts and team areas defined.



FIGURE 3: MAP OF HARTFORD

D. VARYING SIZED TEAMS FORMED
(ELEMENT #2)

Team policing theory specifies that teams of 20 to 40 personnel be established. The Hartford grant application stated that no more than one-half of the District I officers would be assigned to the district team; the proposed team size was 18 personnel. The District II team (assigned to cover the downtown business district) was to have 47 members. In District V, 20 personnel were allocated for the Assylum Hill team and 21 for the Clay Hill team with one commander for both teams.

In December 1975, the teams were staffed as shown in Table 5. The major departure from the proposed team configuration occurred in District I. After a brief period with only one-half of the district personnel assigned to team policing, the District Commander and Field Services Bureau Chief decided to assign all the district personnel to the team for two reasons. First, the district only had 32 officers assigned there and that size group did not lend itself to only a partial team operation. Second, the community made no distinction between team and nonteam members and department officials felt that to say they were different would confuse citizens and possibly result in unnecessary misunderstandings.

When the first teams were formed in District V, they were staffed primarily with existing district personnel. However, a few officers were transferred out of the district because the commander at that time felt that they had a history of insensitivity to the community. When team policing was implemented in Districts I and II, teams were staffed with existing personnel.

TABLE 5: HARTFORD TEAM PERSONNEL, DECEMBER 1975

	District I	District II	District V	
			Asylum Hill	Clay Hill
Team Commander	1	1	---	1
Assistant Team Commanders (Lieutenants)	3	1	1	1
Team Leaders (Sergeants)	3	2	3	3
Officers	32	33	23	28
Youth Services Officer	—	1	—	2
Total:	39	38	27	34

E. CONTINUITY OF ASSIGNMENT
(ELEMENT #14)

Team policing theory stipulates that officers' assignments should be stable in order that they become familiar with the area in which they work. This has been a regular department procedure in Hartford since the five patrol districts were formed in January 1975. The grant application stated that this procedure was established to overcome "[T]his practice of rotating assignments among geographic areas of the City [which] precluded personnel from gaining an intimate understanding of any area and from becoming well-known to those persons living and/or working in any area."¹ Hartford has been successful in maintaining a low level of personnel transfers between districts.

Table 6 shows the shifts in Field Service Bureau (FSB) personnel between 1975 and 1976. FSB Patrol Division rolls for June 24, 1975 and June 25, 1976 were used to construct the table. Assuming that it takes five people to fill each position 24 hours a day, 365 days a year based on a three-shift system, we would expect to find about 60 percent of the 1975 personnel on the 1976

1. Hartford Grant Application, unpaginated p. 9, April 9, 1975.

TABLE 6: FIELD SERVICES BUREAU SHIFTS IN PERSONNEL IN HARTFORD, 1975-1976

		1976							
		DISTRICT I	DISTRICT II	DISTRICT III	DISTRICT IV	DISTRICT V	HEAD-QUARTERS	NOT PRESENT	TOTAL
1975	DISTRICT I	23			1		2	12	38
	DISTRICT II		43		1			18	62
	DISTRICT III		1	34			2	23	60
	DISTRICT IV	1	1		25			24	51
	DISTRICT V	1	1			34	3	16	55
	HEADQUARTERS	1					3	20	52
	TOTAL	26	46	34	27	37	27	121	318

Source: Field Services Bureau Patrol Division Rolls, June 24, 1975 and June 25, 1976.

roll.² In fact, 62 percent of the people on the 1975 roster were present in 1976. Examining those present in both years, we found that fewer than 10 percent (9.13 percent) had changed assignment within the Field Services Bureau and Hartford was successful in maintaining continuity of assignment.

F. TEAMS DELIVER SERVICES IN NEIGHBORHOOD ONLY
(ELEMENT #3)

Team policing theory specifies that major police services in a neighborhood be delivered by the area team and assisted by nonteam personnel in exceptional circumstances only. One of the purposes of assigning personnel to districts in Hartford was to facilitate police response and service by having Field Services Bureau personnel work within their district only, to the maximum extent possible. Formal procedures were set forth in a departmental order on March 2, 1975. It defines three dispatch status terms--urgent, expedite and routine--and sets criteria for assigning units once the status is determined. Typically, a call is given first to an officer whose patrol area includes the location of the incident; if no such officer is available, another officer from the district is called. If the second unit also is not available, all but urgent calls are held and a district supervisor is notified.³

When the Full Service Team Policing Operations Guide was prepared by the officers and personnel of Districts I, II and V in December 1975, each district stated that crossover rates between districts would be monitored and

2. The remaining 40 percent not present would be people who were on vacation, light duty, day off, transfer (temporary or permanent), injured or no longer with the department.

3. Hartford Police Department Order 5-6, effective March 2, 1975, "Assignment of Calls for Police Services--Priority Dispatch."

steps taken to keep down the number of calls in a team area that were handled by nonteam officers. The steps to be taken, should a need arise, were not specified.

Deputy Chief Neil Sullivan, who commands the Field Services Bureau, said that any department must tolerate a "reasonable crossover rate." In Hartford, that is interpreted as an instruction to the districts to handle at least 70 to 75 percent of the calls for service in their area. Figure 4 displays the proportion of calls for service in each district during 1976. Districts I and III sustained the lowest crossover rates throughout the year, always answering more than 80 percent of calls assigned to them. District IV was always within the prescribed range with District V consistently at the upper end or slightly over the prescribed range. District II has had to rely on other districts to handle an average of 46 percent of its calls. Personnel in District II say that they are unable to maintain geographic integrity because they must provide police support at the Civic Center, located in the heart of the downtown business district and also are often called in to run errands or otherwise assist police headquarters. Furthermore, each time a District II foot patrol officer, civic center detail officer, or cycle officer answers a call in the district, it is recorded as a crossover. This occurs because, despite the fact that the officer is assigned to District II, he is not in a District II car and technically must be considered to be a "crossover."

PERCENTAGE OF CALLS IN EACH DISTRICT
ANSWERED BY OTHER DISTRICTS

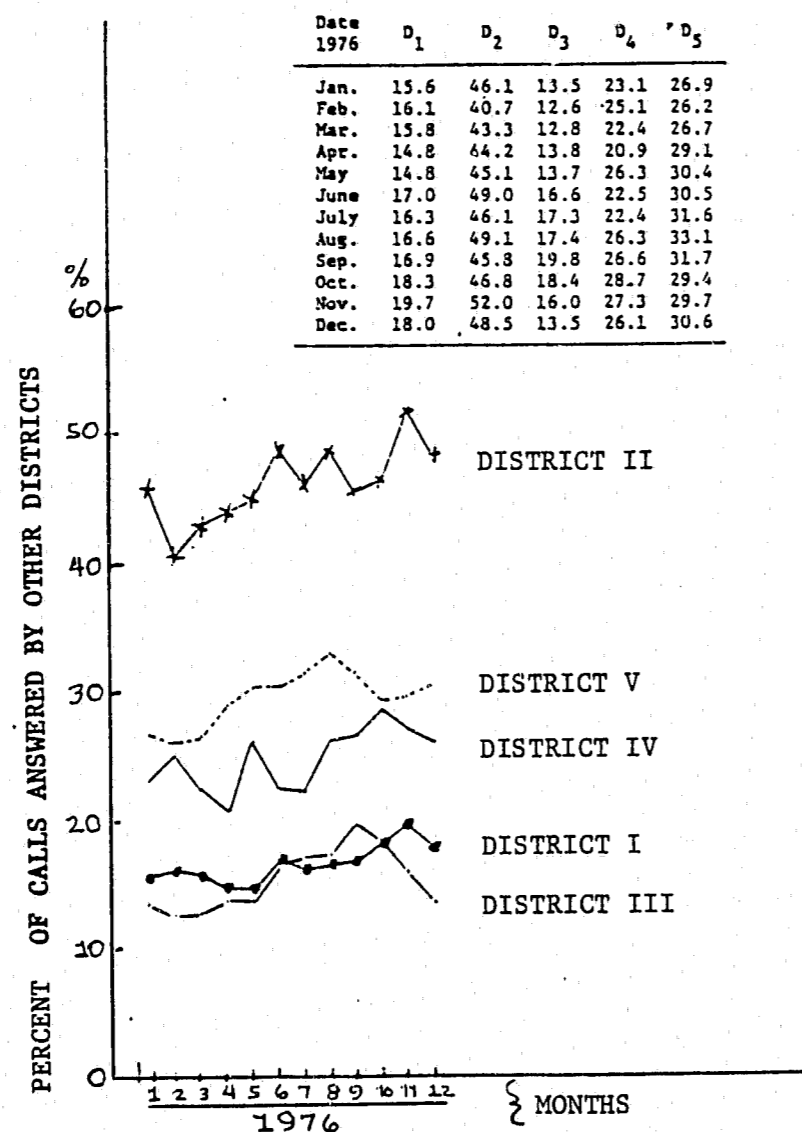


FIGURE 4: PERCENTAGE OF CALLS IN EACH DISTRICT ANSWERED BY OTHER DISTRICTS, 1976—HARTFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT

Source: District Crossover Table, Hartford Police Department Data Processing Section

G. TRAINING IN TEAM POLICING CONDUCTED
(ELEMENT #4)

In its demonstration grant application, Hartford earmarked \$50,000 out of a total of \$174,000 for training. The 115 personnel designated to be directly involved in the program were slated to receive 40 hours of pre-implementation training. An additional 120 personnel were to receive "familiarization training."

Chief Masini issued a department directive in November 1975 "to bring to the attention of all personnel within the department the commencement of our Organizational Development training under our Experimental Full-Service Team Policing Grant."⁴ The Career Development Division was charged with developing a comprehensive training package.

Hartford provided 15 on-site eight-hour seminars, each attended by a group of approximately 24 personnel. Participation in these seminars was mandatory. In addition, the department provided 5 two-and-one-half day retreats in Northampton, Massachusetts, each attended by a group of approximately 18 personnel. Participation in these retreats was voluntary.⁵

The training was given in waves organized by departmental rank. Civilian division directors and commanders (down to the level of captain) were trained first, then lieutenants and sergeants, then sergeants and patrolmen. Among the training techniques and exercises used were:

- Force field analysis to bring about attitude modification.
- Games such as "Lego Man."

4. Hartford Police Department Directive 21-75, November 14, 1975, "Full-Service Team Policing Program," p. 1.

5. Horst, Pamela. "The Hartford Conference on Neighborhood Team Policing, October 27-29, 1976," The Urban Institute, Working Paper 9-5054-17, November 16, 1976, pp. 10-11.

- Business case studies to illustrate actual change.
- Readings in Theory Y management.
- Explanations of team policing.
- "Don't Make Waves" game. (Officers are given an inflated ball and instructed to move the ball from one end of a swimming pool to the other. They were told "don't make waves." The officers tried to splash the ball to get it to move; it took a long time for them to realize they had already been given the solution, namely not to make waves but to set up a current which will propel the ball.)
- OD building blocks such as problem solving, confrontation meetings, goal setting and planning throughout the organization, and third-party facilitation.
- Outside speakers including specialists in counseling, leadership and transcendental meditation.⁶

During the retreats, small groups worked on defining real problems facing the department. (The groups restricted their work to identifying 16-18 problems which were considered tractable.) Problems included "apathy, allocation of resources, morale, job satisfaction," etc. The trainers singled out four problems for extensive study and corrective actions. Problems and solutions include the following:

- How to better allocate manpower in the districts. (They took the problem to the chief and he said "let the troops solve it.")
- How to improve the reward system. (At the time, recognition was only given through commendations for courageous deeds. The department has since instituted a community services award.)
- How to develop an inservice job assignment program. (People in the field felt stifled. They weren't allowed to learn investigative techniques and/or to participate in investigations. Departmental policy was altered so that if an officer had been in the field more than three years he became eligible for transfer to the investigative divisions. In addition, detectives are rotated to the field.)

6. Ibid., p. 12.

- How to improve communications (verbal and written) between the Field Services Bureau and patrol officers. At the time, "patrol officers didn't get the word." (Certain members of the districts are assigned as field training specialists responsible for keeping officers aware of contemplated orders and directives, so the Field Services Bureau can get feedback from the field.)⁷

An organizational development review board was established to assist teams returning from the retreats to formalize solutions they developed. The board is composed of two permanent members and a rotating membership dictated by the speciality area germane to the particular problem and solution. The department has begun action on 12 of 13 problems considered.

At the end of each training session, officers were provided with forms to critique the seminar. According to S.R. Chester, Director of the Career Development Division, "the majority of participants gave great appraisals."⁸ He said the participants felt that the organizational development training was long overdue and some questioned why it hadn't been started five years earlier.⁹

H. DETECTIVES NOT DECENTRALIZED (ELEMENT #5)

There was no plan in Hartford to decentralize the detective function. According to Chief Masini, the district commanders were given the choice of having investigators assigned to the teams or not and opted not to include them.¹⁰

7. Ibid., p. 11.

8. Ibid., p. 12.

9. Ibid.

10. Speech by Hugo Masini at the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, Washington, D.C., on February 15, 1977.

Deputy Chief Neil Sullivan (former District V commander) reported that the district commanders first thought decentralizing detectives was a good idea. However, they changed their minds when they considered the small size of the city and examined data from the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice which showed that criminals are very mobile throughout the city. Instead, they decided to inaugurate a brokerage system (on a trial basis in District I first) under which officers would be assigned to the General Investigations Division for 30 days. This has evolved into a regular 30-day personnel rotation/exchange between the Field Services Bureau and the Investigative Services Bureau and is discussed in the following section.

I. OFFICERS TRAINED TO CONDUCT
A DEGREE OF INVESTIGATION
(ELEMENTS #6 AND #7)

The Hartford grant application states that "the Hartford Police Department proposes to develop a collection of generalists/specialists who are competent at all levels of police work."¹¹ It also refers to team members as officers "who [are] capable of taking the investigation from the original dispatch through the judicial disposition."¹²

Investigative responsibilities in the Hartford Police Department are shared by the General Investigative Division in the Field Services Bureau and the Investigative Services Bureau. The General Investigative Division consists of a commander, operations supervisors, evidence technicians and investigators. The mission of the division is "to assure a mobile investigative response capability

11. Hartford Proposal, unpaginated p. 13.

12. Ibid.

that provides timely investigation and referral of all crimes reported to the police."¹³ Division personnel have primary responsibility for investigating:

- second- and third-degree assaults;
- reckless endangerment;
- suicides;
- accidental deaths;
- vehicular homicides and serious motor vehicle accidents; and,
- larcenies in the second-, third- and fourth-degrees, excepting fraud.

The mission of the Investigative Services Bureau is "to assure professional investigation of major crimes, management of criminal cases aimed at reduction and the targeting of subjects involved in organized or multi-crime activity."¹⁴ when created the Bureau had four divisions:

- Crimes Against Property;
- Crimes Against Persons;
- Special Services; and,
- Youth Services.

In the fall of 1975, Youth Services was transferred to the Field Services Bureau and decentralized. Figure 5 shows how specific responsibilities are divided among the divisions.

Since November 1976, the Hartford Police Department has had a rotational training program for Field Services Bureau and Inspectional Services Bureau personnel. The purpose of the program is to "promote more complete understanding of the function of the department's operation among all operations personnel."¹⁵

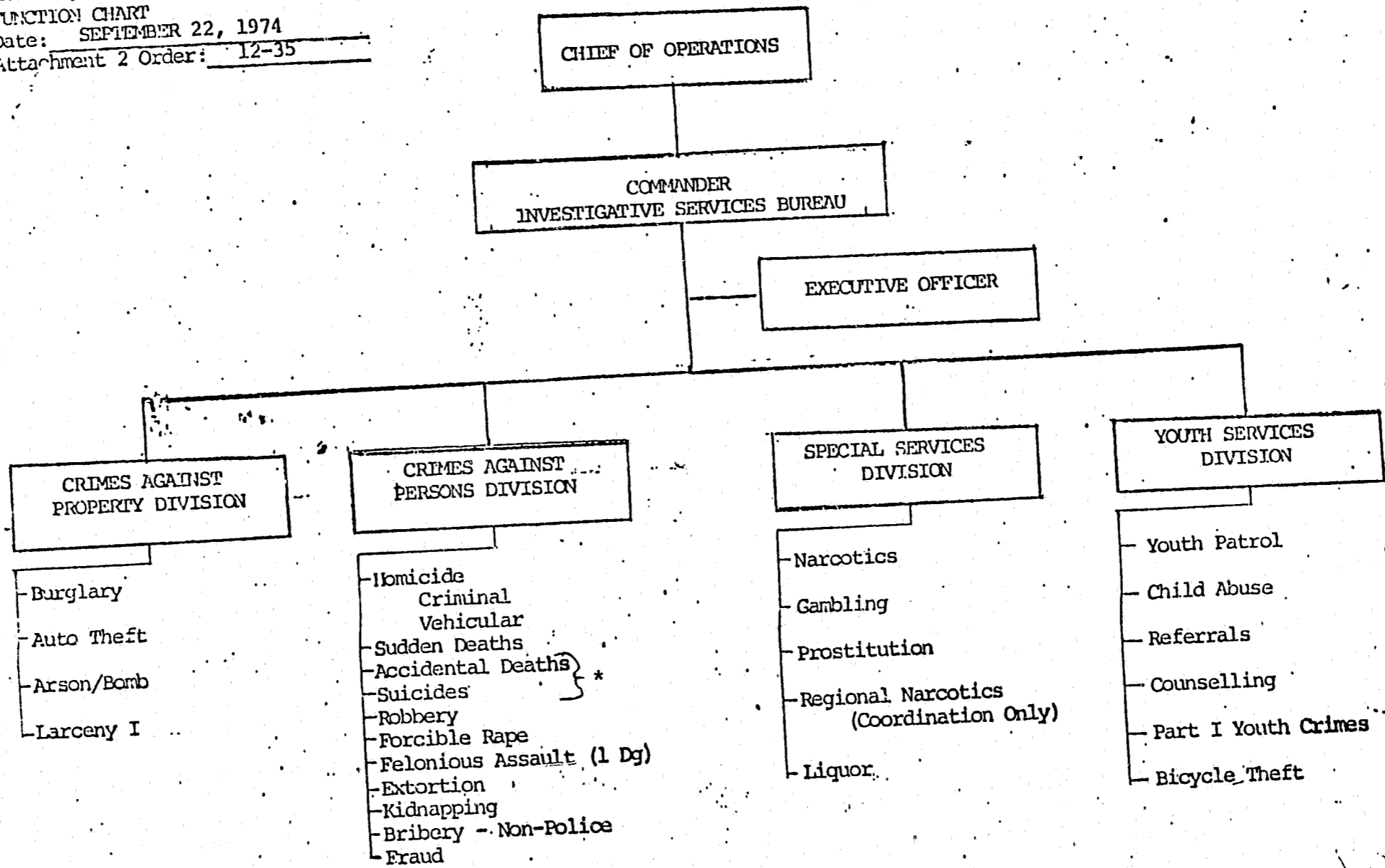
Officer involvement in investigations varies from district to district. In District I two patrol officers have been full-time team investigators since January 1977. They spent the month of January working in the General Investigations Division as evidence technicians. Previously, both officers had worked on special

13. Hartford Police Department Order 12-36, Mission and Function, General Investigative Division, effective September 22, 1974, p. 1.

14. Hartford Police Department Order 12-35, Mission and Functions, Investigative Services Bureau, effective September 22, 1974, p. 1.

15. Field Services Bureau Directive, November 2, 1976, Rotational Training Program.

Hartford Police Department
 Investigative Services Bureau
 FUNCTION CHART
 Date: SEPTEMBER 22, 1974
 Attachment 2 Order: 12-35



*Accidental Deaths and Suicides are handled by the General Investigative Division.

FIGURE 5: FUNCTION CHART

robbery, burglary and auto theft details and gained some investigative experience. Both officers have worked extensively in District I, one for the past six years and one for the past three. The team investigators set their own schedule which is typically one week of days, one week of evenings, then back to days. Their days off are Sunday and Monday. Although they claim they could handle twice as much work if they always worked days, they feel that the shift rotations are needed to maintain their relationships with other team officers.

The District I investigators are assigned cases in two ways. The majority come from headquarters; the remaining cases come from District I officers who give the investigators or shift sergeant a copy of their preliminary report before it goes to headquarters.

A suspect file and a photo file are kept by the investigators. The suspect file was compiled from information collected from District I patrol officers, headquarters and District I investigators and police records.

The file contains:

- name of suspect (indication of whether photo on file);
- address;
- code;
- type of crime; and,
- location of suspected criminal activity.

The photo file is made up of three albums, one for white males and females, one for blacks and one for Hispanic suspects as well as some loose pictures.

Between January and mid-March 1977, the District I investigators investigated 56 cases of which 24 were closed by arrest.

During the spring of 1977, a District I sergeant prepared a strategy outline for managing criminal investigations in anticipation of a grant award from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Included were plans to:

- develop policies on investigative responsibilities;
- develop management control;
- establish a training plan for supervisory personnel; and,
- develop a patrol/investigator field training program.¹⁶

To date, this project is still in the planning stage.

District V had a special resource unit of seven officers and one sergeant from November 1976 until March 1977. The unit investigated cases in both team areas in District V concentrating on robbery for the first three months and all types of crimes between mid-January and March. The unit was discontinued by the district commander who said a lack of manpower and a need to use the men for regular patrol assignment led to his decision.

The special resource unit had seven members. Their schedules were frequently in variance with the other team members, according to one squad sergeant, because the special squad needed flexibility in order to track criminals who had no schedules to adhere to. District V personnel report that robberies in their area dropped while the unit was in operation, but rose in surrounding towns during that time.

On September 15, 1977, the special response unit was reconstituted in District V. Some changes were made from the original structure. Currently, there are two officers assigned to the unit and will be called on to assist an officer who encounters a specific problem on his beat which needs investigation. Lt. Leroy Bangham, District V Acting Commander (the third one in

16. "Criminal Investigation Strategy Outline," Sgt. R. Adams, undated.

nine months), said he believes that it will take at least 18 months before the results of this unit assistance approach are seen. However, he believes that by giving an officer assigned to a beat responsibility for taking care of problems that arise, and by providing the support from the special resource unit, the police will be able to serve the community most effectively.

Supervisors and patrol officers in both District V teams say that while patrol officers are "encouraged" to do follow-up work, they seldom are able to because of demands on their time due to understaffing.

J. LINKAGES AND REFERRALS TO SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES (ELEMENT #8 AND #9)

Team policing theory suggests that linkages be established with social service agencies in order to facilitate systematic referrals. Such linkages and referrals have been an integral part of policing in Hartford for a number of years so no additional activities in this area were undertaken as part of team policing. Table 7 summarizes seven departmental orders and directives which relate to these elements.

Records on referrals are not routinely kept by the department. However, conversations with department personnel indicate that, in addition to following general department policy, some officers are spending more time with people who call the police, especially in cases of domestic disputes and trying to refer them to social services agencies when specific help is needed.

TABLE 7: DEPARTMENTAL ORDERS AND DIRECTIVES RELATED TO REFERRAL AGENCIES AND PROCEDURES

<u>Departmental Order 7-15</u> (7/28/72)	Methadone Maintenance. Lists hours of operation, phone numbers and instructions on how to use the local methadone program and alcohol and drug dependence program.
<u>Departmental Order 7-35</u> (8/24/73)	Transporting Sick Persons. Outlines procedures for police transport of sick persons.
<u>Departmental Order 7-55</u> (4/22/74)	How to Handle Rapes. States that first priority should be given to physical and emotional condition of victim. Announces that the services of the Capital Regional Rape Crisis Center are available.
<u>Departmental Order 7-59</u> (5/30/74)	Referrals to Family Relations Court. States that domestic disputes in which no arrests are made will be referred to the Family Relations Division of Circuit Court 14 if circumstances dictate.
<u>Departmental Order 74-50</u> (7/1/74)	Processing Intoxicated Persons. States that police will transport drunks to the detoxification center or, if that is closed, to the nearest hospital.
<u>Chief of Operations Directive</u> (1/28/75)	States that the Connecticut Task Force on Abused Women has provided a listing of resources available for abused women. Included are hours of operation, phone numbers and addresses of 12 local agencies covering services such as counseling, housing and financial and legal assistance.
<u>Departmental Order 6-76</u> (2/6/76)	Infoline. Acquaints officers with "Infoline" which has over 600 helping organizations in the region for assistance, including family, legal aid, health, consumer protection, senior citizens, welfare, employment and recreation. Infoline operates 24 hours a day and has referral services available.

K. SERVICE ACTIVITIES AND COMMUNITY CONTACTS EMPHASIZED
(ELEMENTS #10 AND #13)

As has been mentioned earlier, the main thrust of the Hartford team policing program is in the areas of community relations and community involvement. While the proposal does not specifically call for an increased emphasis on service activities, it notes that "Under the direction of Chief Hugo J. Masini, the department has been reorganized to . . . make police services more accountable to community needs . . ." ¹⁷ The department's commitment to emphasizing community contacts is found in the proposal which states that "specific team programs implemented will facilitate our ongoing objectives of . . . the fostering of improved police-community interaction and cooperation." ¹⁸

The extent of police interaction with the community varied greatly among the teams in Districts I, II and V. Community activities are an ongoing, integral part of police work in District V. In District I, team personnel are encouraged to establish contacts with the community, but the emphasis is not as pronounced (i.e., reflected in formal activities) as it is in District V. In District II, because the team area included the downtown business section, most contacts were with businesses.

In District II, only a few citizen meetings had been held by the fall of 1977. Team personnel said at that time that they really did not have many problems in the small residential neighborhood included in the team area. However, the emphasis on working with the business community is seen in the

17. Hartford Proposal, unpaginated p. 5.

18. Ibid., unpaginated p. 8.

working relationship that has developed between the police downtown coordinator and members of the business community, including the Downtown Council, the Civic Center, hotels and sometimes the nearby Jai Alai.

In District I, most community activities are coordinated by the sergeants with some assistance from team patrol officers. Police participation in community meetings is mostly at the request of the citizens. Usually, team members are involved in a formal meeting with community members about once every other month. Captain John Oliver, District I Commander, instructs team sergeants to tell citizens that the police will do "everything in [their] power" to help out with problems which arise, but he cautions the sergeants to make no promises they cannot fulfill.

A Public Safety Committee currently is being established to provide a formal mechanism for dealing with community/police concerns in District I. This is part of a citywide neighborhood crime prevention program which will include funding for a community crime prevention center, a modest amount of money to support anti-crime strategies and a main crime prevention resource center for the whole city.

Other community projects in District I include:

- A Neighborhood Watch Program run by the Police Explorers who use citizens band radio units and staff a monitoring system. In the evening, volunteers patrol area streets with CB units. One person transmits to central communications if there is an emergency situation. They log in all calls that come in through the CB patrol.
- An Operation Identification Program conducted by Police Explorers. Explorers deliver the engravers to the citizens who engrave their own property. After the property is engraved, citizens call the Police Explorers who pick up the engravers.
- A SCAT (Silent Citizens Awareness Team) Program which encourages citizens to call into the police station if they see a crime being committed or something that looks suspicious. The citizens do not have to give their names.

District I has a storefront field office staffed by volunteers, including Police Explorers, that is open from 7:00 p.m. until 10:00 p.m. weekdays. When a team officer is assigned to light duty, he often will staff the office during the day. The field office serves as a base station for the Explorer working patrol, as an information office for the community and as an office area for the team members.

The District V emphasis on police/community interaction predated the federal team policing demonstration by nearly two years. The specific community projects under way in District V include:

- Police Advisory Committee
- Neighborhood Watch
- Police Explorers

The commander of each District V team is responsible for community outreach. Each team area has regularly scheduled monthly meetings with members of the community. At these meetings, community problems are discussed and citizens' specific concerns are solicited and are a factor in setting priorities for police action. As a result of these meetings, community residents have formed additional civic associations which continue to work closely with the police and are also addressing other problems including building conditions, rat infestation and other housing code issues.

Despite the emphasis on community meetings and a concerted effort on the part of the police to work more closely with local citizens, surveys of Asylum Hill residents in 1975 and 1976 show a decrease in the number of citizens who attended meetings of groups concerned with problems in the neighborhood. (See Table 8.)

Furthermore, the proportion of Asylum Hill residents who said they agreed with the statement "People in your neighborhood have a lot of say in what police do," dropped from almost 42 percent in 1975 to about 35 percent in 1976.

TABLE 8: PERCENTAGE OF HARTFORD CITIZENS ATTENDING MEETINGS OF GROUPS CONCERNED WITH PROBLEMS IN ASYLUM HILL NEIGHBORHOOD*

Year	N =	YES	NO
1975	176	18.2%	81.8%
1976	140	10.4%	89.6%

*Note: All percentages are weighted to adjust for the number of eligible adults in each household.

However, at both points in time, over 90 percent of the citizens interviewed agreed with the statement "If police got more help and cooperation from citizens, they could reduce crime in your neighborhood."¹⁹

The Asylum Hill team anti-prostitution squad is an example of police response to a community-identified problem. During the spring and summer of 1976, citizens had expressed concern about prostitutes loitering around local businesses and problems of "Johns" who were looking for prostitutes soliciting female residents. By late summer, after considerable study, the decision was made for the police to designate a special squad to deal with the prostitution problem. The team commander met with members of the vice and intelligence squads for guidance on how to proceed. Four team officers were assigned to the anti-prostitution squad which operated Tuesday through Saturday during August and September 1976.

A report on the squad described the strategies used as follows:

1. The arrest of any prostitute caught flagging down cars. In such cases, the prostitute was charged with disorderly conduct and the "John" was requested to serve as a witness in the case.
2. Frequently members of the anti-prostitution squad served as decoy "Johns" in order to make an arrest and female police officers were utilized as decoy prostitutes in order to snare "Johns" driving around the area looking for prostitutes. Decoy prostitutes were used on an infrequent basis due to the sensitivity of

19. Hartford Resident Surveys 1973, 1975 and 1976, by Survey Research Program for the Hartford Institute for Criminal and Social Justice. All statements based on these data are those of The Urban Institute and not the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice.

the operation. Because of the dangerous nature of this assignment, only volunteers were used as decoy prostitutes. Each instance in which this strategy was used, the team leader and members of the anti-prostitution squad carefully thought out each detail in order to protect the female decoy and therefore minimize the possibility that the operation would fail. The decoy prostitute was wired for sound; a vehicle housing a tape recording system operated by a highly skilled officer of the HPD Intelligence Division was close by; and two observer cars, two chase cars, and a tow truck operated by a civilian were assigned to the operation. In all cases, the female officer decoy was well protected and was observed at all times by the backup squad personnel; moreover, all conversations between the "Johns" and the decoy were fully recorded.²⁰

One direct effect of the squad was readily apparent--the prostitutes were discouraged from working in Asylum Hill and moved to other areas of the city.

Despite the department emphasis on police/community interaction, some officers and supervisors view it as a public relations effort to counter possible citizen dissatisfaction with the quality of police service which some police personnel feel is deteriorating due to manpower shortages. They express concern that the citizens' expectations are being raised too high--that it is not realistic or productive for community members to think they really have a role in planning police work. Rather, this may lead to citizens feeling frustrated and dissatisfied when they are told, as they have been in one area, "No, you cannot dictate which officers will be assigned to work in your area." An exception to this occurs when citizens document and police officials concur that an officer is not sensitive to community needs and customs. In such cases (a few have occurred), the officer is transferred from the team area.

20. "The Development of the Asylum Hill NTP Anti-Prostitution Squad and the Role of Community Groups in the Decision to Institute the Squad," undated.

L. STREET STOPS AND FIELD INTERROGATIONS EMPHASIZED
(ELEMENT #11)

The Hartford proposal does not address the use of street stops and field interrogations. However, discussions with officers, supervisors and commanders revealed a general departmental attitude that they are useful patrol strategies. Prevailing opinion seems to be that such stops enable the police to know who is out on the streets and lets the people know that the police are there. Data on the number of street stops and field interrogations and the amount of time spent on them are not available.

M. FOOT PATROL EMPHASIZED
(ELEMENT #12)

The use of foot patrol on a regular basis predates the federal team policing demonstration in some areas of Hartford. In the downtown area there are six walking beats designated to be filled 16 hours, 7 days a week; two others require 8 hours of coverage Monday through Friday and one beat is designated to be filled 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Due to personnel shortages in District II, the two 8-hour and one 24-hour beats are regularly staffed, but only two of the six 16-hour beats can be filled. In District I, while there are no walking beats per se, according to the district commander, the officers are encouraged to get out of their cars and walk in a pre-determined area.

There are five officers assigned to three walking beats in the Clay Hill team area of District V. However, according to the district commander, these beats are not regularly covered because the officers often are needed to drive patrol cars or work a special assignment.

N. PERSONNEL NOT DEPLOYED ACCORDING TO DEMAND
(ELEMENT #15)

The Hartford team policing grant application states:

The primary goal of this project is the control and reduction of crime and citizen fear. This will be accomplished through more innovative utilization of police manpower and changing of the police role in the community. Police manpower will be deployed in configurations which are more flexible and adaptive to specific area needs.²¹

The Operations Guide prepared by personnel from the three districts participating in the demonstration also stated that their respective team personnel would be assigned as demand indicated.

Table 9 displays the calls for service for the total city by shift for June 1975. It shows that 50 percent of the total calls for service for the month were received during the evening shift (4:00 p.m. to 12:00 p.m.); 30 percent between 8:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. and 20 percent on the midnight to 8:00 a.m. shift. Looking at man hours available by shift by district also for June 1975, we find that district personnel deployment rarely matched the demand. (See Table 10.) As Table 11 shows, deployment and demand levels (demand is measured by calls for service) during the demonstration period were very similar to those from the previous year. Based on this evidence, it must be concluded that Hartford was not successful in adjusting patrol personnel allocation to demand. During the day shift, personnel consistently exceeded demand requirements, while on the evening and night shifts the districts were generally understaffed in relation to demand. The exceptions to this occur in District V on the evening shift when 46 percent of the patrol personnel are on duty and 43 percent of the calls come in; and in Districts III and IV on the midnight shift when the staffing level is 5 percent and 1 percent (respectively) above the demand level.

21. Hartford Grant Application, unpaginated p. 7.

TABLE 9: TOTAL CITY CALLS FOR SERVICE BY SHIFT

	Shift 8-4	Shift 4-12	Shift 12-8	Total Number
TOTAL CITY	30%	50%	20%	13,133
Source: June 1975 Monthly Activity Summary				

TABLE 10: AVAILABLE DISTRICT PATROL PERSONNEL BY SHIFT

District	% Shift 8-4	% Shift 4-12	% Shift 12-8	Total Personnel Hours
I	29	37	34	136
II	38	45	17	338
III	19	43	38	280
IV	29	38	33	240
V	21	48	31	256
Source: June 24, 1975 Field Services Bureau Personnel Rosters.				

TABLE 11: CALLS FOR SERVICE AND FIELD SERVICES BUREAU PERSONNEL ON DUTY BY SHIFT BY DISTRICT

DIS-TRICT	Shift 8-4		Shift 4-12		Shift 12-8		Total Number	
	% Calls For Service*	% Personnel on Duty**	% Calls For Service	% Personnel on Duty	% Calls For Service	% Personnel on Duty	Calls For Service	Personnel on Duty
I	28	44	52	39	20	17	2827	23
II	37	46	43	37	20	17	5764	48
III	31	38	48	36	21	26	4253	39
IV	33	43	48	37	19	20	3128	30
V	33	40	43	46	23	13	3959	45
*Source: March 1976 Monthly Activity Summary								
**Source: June 25, 1976 Field Service Bureau Roster								

District II personnel caution that the figures on personnel available and demand based on calls for service must be interpreted with care. Since the district contains the central business district, the Civic Center and major convention spots, demand for police service often exceeds calls for

service. For example, half the available personnel may be required to work the evening shift when there is a concert or sports event at the Civic Center.

O. MANAGEMENT STYLE CHANGES
(ELEMENTS #16, #17, #18 and #19)

Four management principles are commonly associated with neighborhood team policing. They are:

- decentralization of authority;
- elimination of traditional quasi-military command style;
- use of participative management to set team objectives and plan and evaluate team performance; and,
- setting of incentives compatible with team policing.

Decentralization to the district level occurred prior to the federal team policing demonstration. There was no mention in the proposal of eliminating the quasi-military command style, but scrutiny of the department in terms of its policing, procedures and personnel indicate a trend away from the traditional rigid management approach. Through formal team meetings as well as more informal means, attempts were made to encourage a participative management style. The proposal did not address the use of incentives compatible with team policing. However, the department currently is considering establishing the position of field service specialist which would be classified the same as investigative trainees and hopes ultimately to financially reward Field Services Bureau personnel just as detectives are now.

When the city of Hartford was divided into districts, a commander was designated for each of the five districts. On January 27, 1975 a departmental order was issued defining the responsibilities of, among others, the district commanders. One of the outlined responsibilities reads: "Assume direct control over and be responsible for the personnel of the Field Services Bureau

in his district on a seven day per week basis." In turn, the district commanders delegate to district supervisors (lieutenants) authority for supervising activities within the district and assuming operational control for the specifically assigned team. The lieutenants are assisted by assistant district supervisors (sergeants) who can assume responsibility for operational control of the team assigned to him.

Under team policing, the changes in the role of the sergeant seem to be most noticeable. For example, sergeants now can rotate officers' shifts and beats in response to need and resources. In the past, such changes were permitted only in the case of an emergency. Also, sergeants report that they allow patrol officers more flexibility in their roles and are getting away from always telling the patrol officers what to do.

In Districts I and V, team meetings did not prove to be the expected mechanism for soliciting the opinions of team officers regarding how the team should be operating. Rather, they turned into either "gripe sessions" or silent meetings, the latter due to peer pressure against speaking up for fear of being labeled an "apple polisher" or worse. As a result, the District I commander plans to establish a team "Executive Committee" made up of an elected representative from each squad who would meet monthly with the captain and lieutenants. In District V, a team advisory board has been established in the Asylum Hill area for long-range planning purposes. The team members elected three members and the lieutenant appointed three members to this board. At this writing, the results of these hybrid approaches to participative management are not known.

P. OPPORTUNITY FOR INFORMATION SHARING INCREASED
(ELEMENT #20)

The Hartford proposal states that "the very rationale of sharing information among team members is that they will use their increased knowledge to decide upon better strategies for the delivery of police services to their neighborhood." However, other than the actual formation of the teams, only one specific adjustment was made to increase information sharing among team members. In addition to regular roll call that each oncoming shift attends, a district roll call is held in the same room. The duty chief conducts the traditional general roll call at which time information affecting or of interest to all department personnel is given. The district supervisor conducts the district roll call and addresses issues which are of interest to district personnel only.

IV. OUTCOME CHANGES

The team policing literature sent by OTT to the demonstration sites includes eleven elements which reflect the expected benefits of the program. As can be seen in Table 12, the Hartford proposal stated objectives for five of the eleven elements. Hartford did not specify what was meant by "improve police services." Since "police services" is open to such broad interpretation and since we identified no specific activities associated with achieving the related outcome, we did not examine the department's achievement in relation to this goal.

The impact of the team policing demonstration cannot be disentangled from other strong influencing factors. For example, a number of other changes, e.g., dividing the city into districts for delivery of police services and the original District V team policing project, took place just prior to or at the same time as the demonstration. Also, the department experienced a budget crisis which resulted in unrest among police personnel. And the city itself was in the throes of urban renewal.

Data from surveys of officers and citizens in District V conducted for the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice were used to measure three of the expected changes:

- improve police/community relations;
- improve crime prevention and control;
- decrease citizen fear.

TABLE 12: SUMMARY OF HARTFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT EXPERIENCE WITH OUTCOME CHANGES

Outcome Change in Federal Team Policing Model	Was Element Stated As a Local Objective	What Were The Types Of Measures For The Change Used In The Local Objective	Considering the Number, Timing and Magnitude Of The Implementation Changes, Is A Significant Outcome Change Plausible?	What Data Were Collected To Measure Change?	Do The Data Indicate A Change? What Direction?
1 Improve Police Community Relations	Yes	Not Specified	Yes	Data from Survey Research Program, Hartford Institute of Criminal & Social Justice (date pre/post)	Minor changes--some improvement; some deterioration
2 Increase Officer Job Satisfaction	No	Not Applicable	Perhaps	Interviews With Department Personnel	Department just beginning to recover from effects of labor dispute and job satisfaction improving
3 Increase Productivity	No	Not Applicable	--	Calls for service and manpower levels	Possible increase
4 Increase Flow of Crime-Related Information to Police, Increase Reporting Rate of Crime	No	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	--	--
5 Increase Quality and Quantity of Investigations, Increase Number of Criminals Apprehended and Prosecuted	No	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	--	--
6 Improve Police Service	Yes	Not Specified	Perhaps	None	--
7 Improve Crime Prevention and Control	Yes	Not Specified	Yes		
8 More Effective Law Enforcement	No	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	--	--
9 Decrease Crime Rates	Yes	Not Specified	Perhaps	UCR Crime Rates	Smaller increase in overall Part I Crime than during previous period
10 Decrease Citizen Fear	Yes	Not Specified	Perhaps	Survey Research Programs for Hartford Institute (pre/during)	Some increase in fear
11 Improve Community Services	No	Not Applicable	Not Applicable	--	--

Additional data used to examine the additional outcome changes include:

- UCR Part I Crime;
- calls for service and manpower levels;
- arrests for Part I crimes.

Examination of available data revealed that there has been some increase in officer productivity. There seems to have been little change in citizen fear in the Asylum Hill area of District V, where the program was implemented to the greatest extent. Also in District V there was some decrease in public satisfaction with the police. Citywide Part I Crime was up 7 percent in 1977 from 1976.

A. IMPROVE POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS
(OUTCOME CHANGE #1)

The Hartford proposal states that an "ongoing objective [of team policing is] the fostering of improved police-community interaction and cooperation."¹ It also speaks of bringing the police "closer to the community they service."

As was discussed earlier (Section J, p. 33), a variety of activities designed to foster good police/community relations were undertaken or, in some cases, received more emphasis than they had before. These included crime prevention efforts, community meetings and citizen/police committees.

The emphasis on working with the community was most apparent in District V where the police initiated some activities in addition to responding to specific citizen requests. In District I, most police involvement with the community was in response to requests from citizens. District II personnel did not begin to emphasize community relations until the end of the demonstration period. We examined data from baseline (1975) and update (1976) District V,

1. Hartford grant application, unpaginated p. 8.

Asylum Hill area citizen surveys and from baseline total city surveys to assess citizens' feelings about the police.

It is important to note here that Asylum Hill is an area in transition with a changing population. (Figure 6² displays the characteristics of Asylum Hill residents in 1973, 1975 and 1976.) The residents are generally young, single, earning increasingly higher incomes, and becoming more educated, although the proportion of people who have continued beyond high school decreased somewhat between 1975 and 1976. There also are an increasing number of women and nonwhites in the area. Because of this changing population, any changes in citizens' opinions of and attitudes toward the police must be interpreted cautiously and it becomes very difficult to attribute such changes to a specific intervention such as team policing. Also, citizens' attitudes toward the police could have been adversely affected by the police labor dispute which received widespread publicity, sometimes reflecting negatively on the police, sometimes reporting unwillingness to provide their normal level of services.

As Figure 7 shows, in both 1975 and 1976 most Asylum Hill residents (84.1 percent in 1975, 82.4 percent in 1976) agreed with the general statement, "The police in your neighborhood really try to do what is best for the people that live there." This matches the response of citizens citywide in 1975. (See Figure 8.) Also, over 90 percent agreed that "If police got more help and cooperation from citizens, they could reduce crime in your neighborhood." In this case more Asylum Hill people than residents citywide agreed. At the same time, the proportion of people who agreed that "No matter what police

2. For the figures in this section, considering the sample sizes and proportions of people who responded to the questions posed, if the difference between years exceeds 6 percent, it is significant at the 0.05 level.

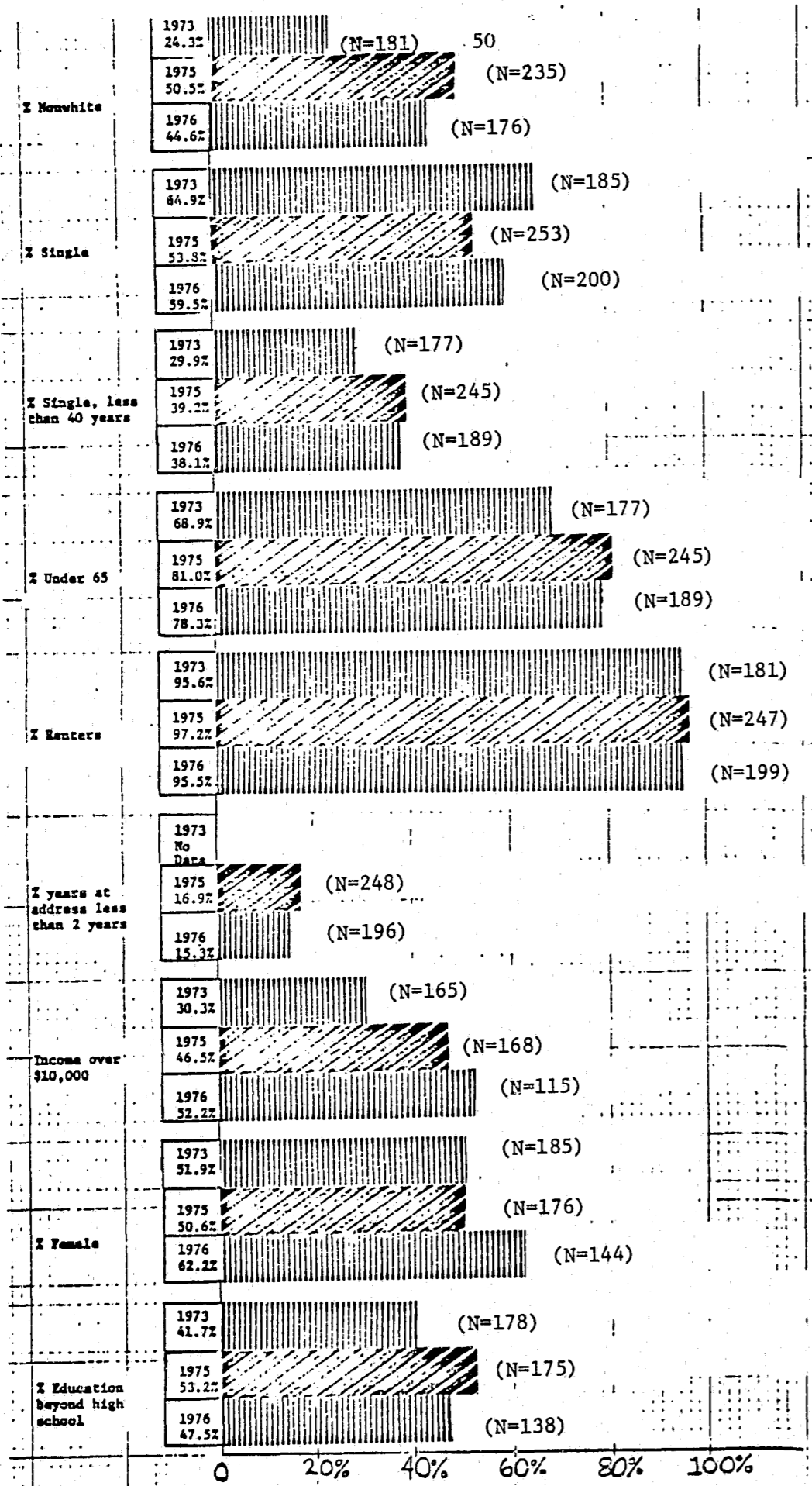
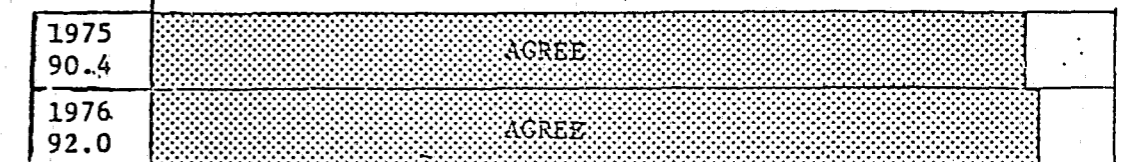


FIGURE 6: CHARACTERISTICS OF ASYLUM HILL RESIDENTS—1973, 1975 and 1976

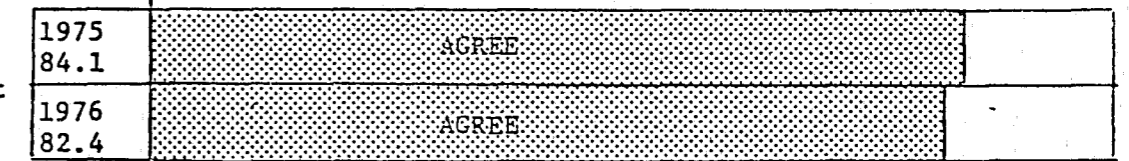
ASYLUM HILL

PERCENT WHO AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS

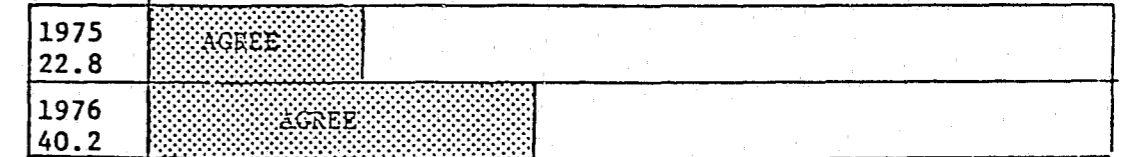
If police got more help and cooperation from citizens, they could reduce crime in your neighborhood.



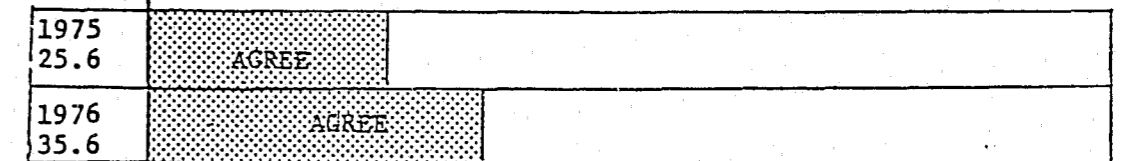
The police in your neighborhood really try to do what is best for the people in your neighborhood.



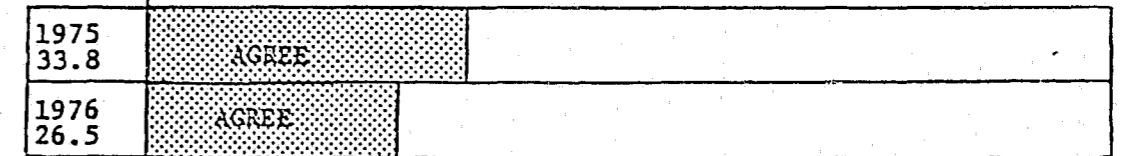
Reporting minor crimes to police is a waste of time.



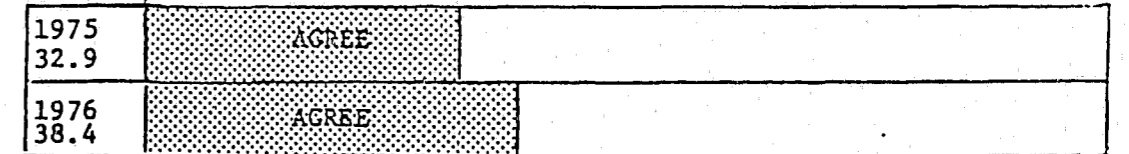
Police don't spent their time on the problems people in your neighborhood really care about.



The police really don't understand the people in your neighborhood.



No matter what police or citizens do, crime in your neighborhood will keep going up.



People in your neighborhood have a lot of say in what police do.

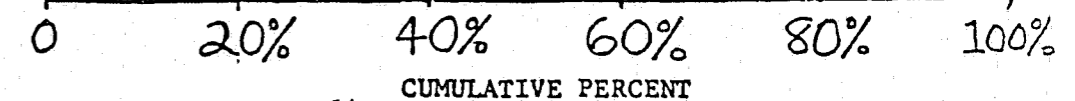
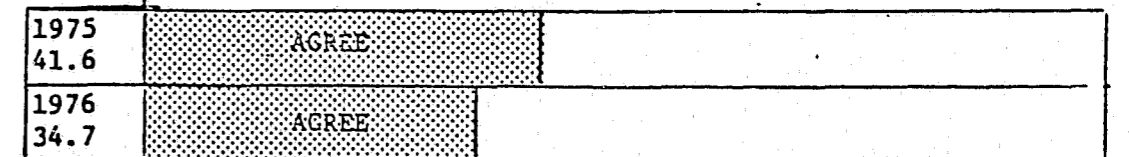


FIGURE 7: CITIZEN ATTITUDE STATEMENTS, 1975 and 1976, ASYLUM HILL AREA (N=170)

Source: Survey Research Program for Hartford Institute of Criminal and S

HARTFORD:

PERCENT WHO AGREE WITH THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

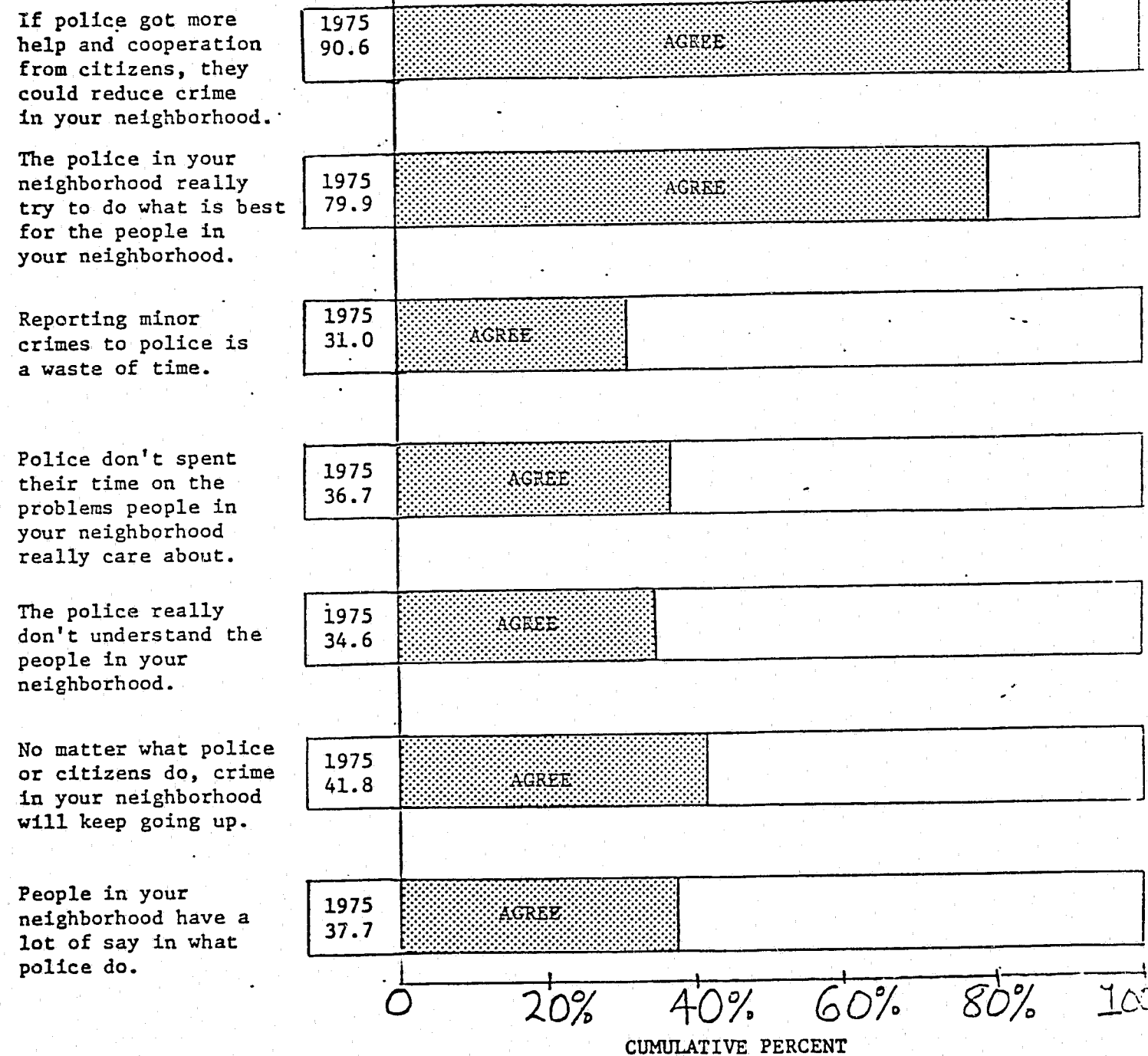


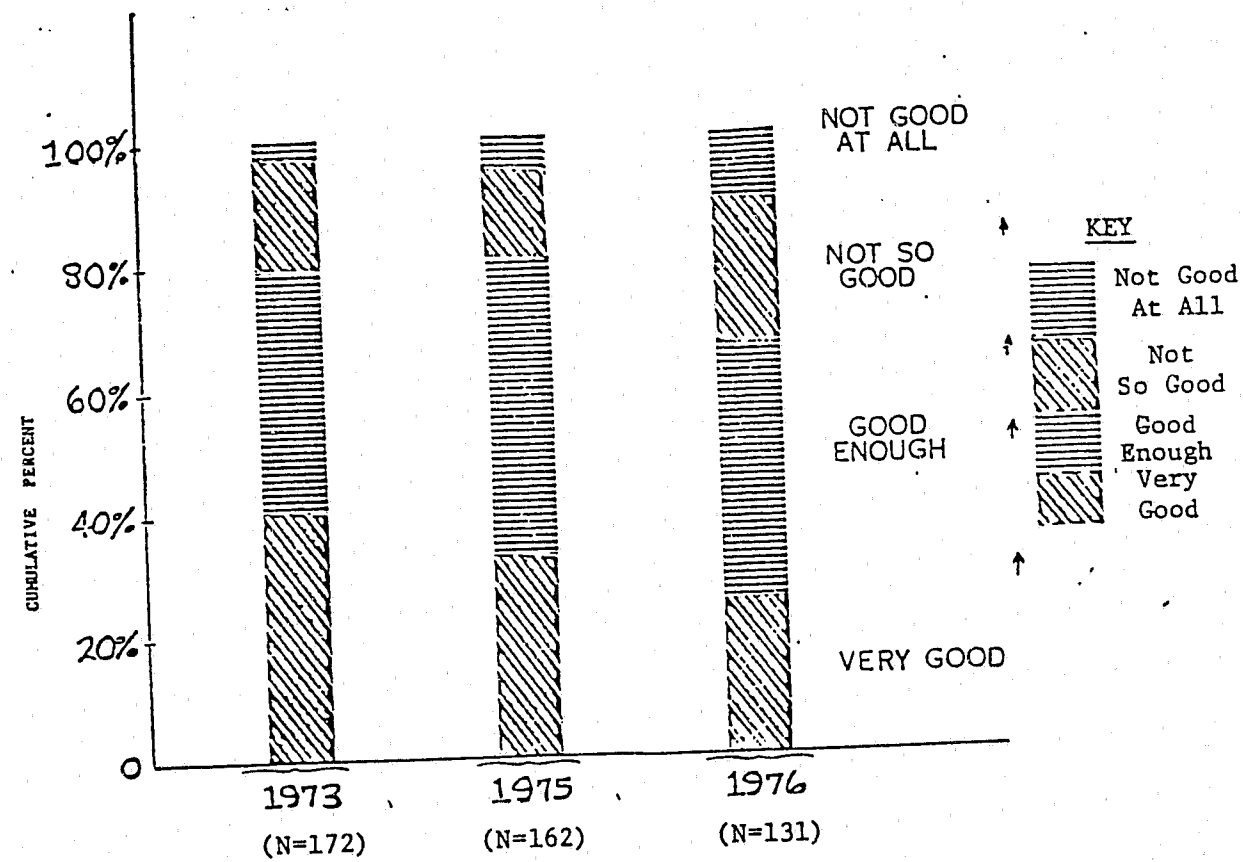
FIGURE 8: CITIZEN ATTITUDE STATEMENTS, 1975 ONLY, HARTFORD (N=535)

Source: Survey Research Program for Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice, Late Spring 1975

or citizens do, crime in your neighborhood will keep going up" increased between 1975 and 1976. (In 1975 Asylum Hill respondents already were more pessimistic on this matter than residents citywide were.)

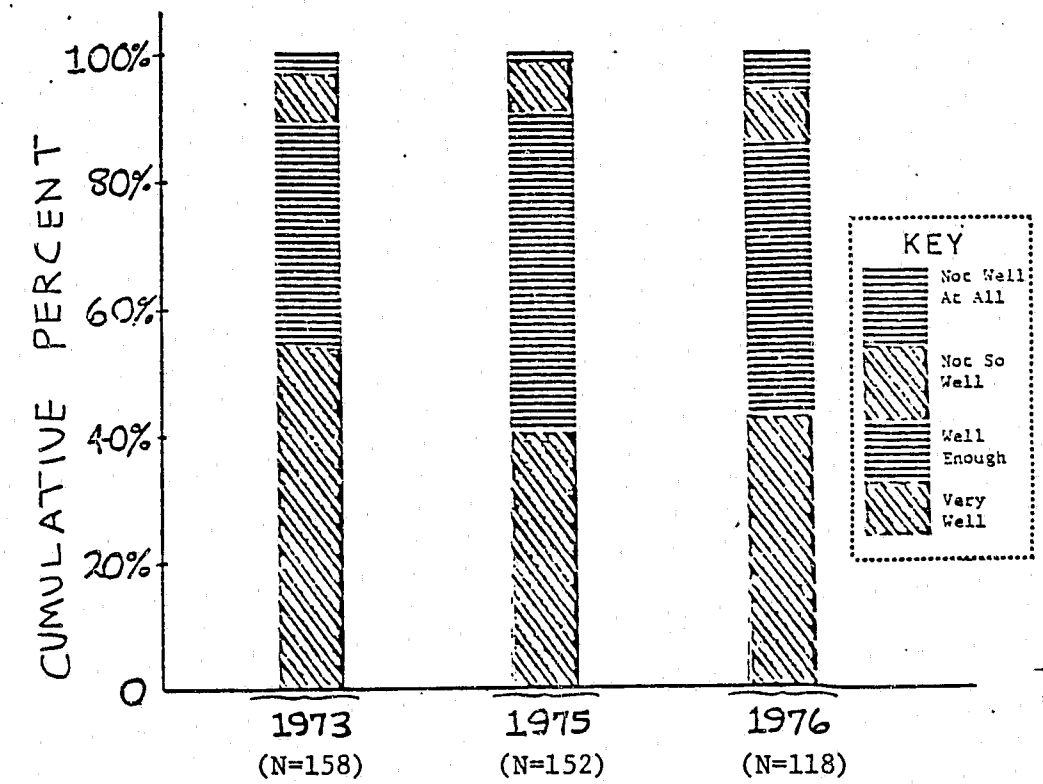
In 1976, the proportion of Asylum Hill Residents who agreed with the statement "The police really don't understand the people in your neighborhood" increased from 1975. However, more people (35.6 percent in 1976 compared to 25.6 percent in 1975) agreed that the "Police don't spent their time on the problems people in your neighborhood really care about." Another shift away from police expectations was reflected by the change in the proportion of people who agreed that "People in your neighborhood have a lot of say in what police do." In 1975, about 42 percent of the Asylum Hill respondents agreed with the statement. In 1976, the figure dropped nearly 7 percent to about 35 percent. Also, more Asylum Hill residents felt that reporting minor crimes to police is a waste of time.

Asylum Hill residents were asked to rate the department's job of protecting people in their neighborhood. Data are available for 1973, 1975 and 1976. As Figure 9 shows, in both 1973 and 1975, 80 percent of the people interviewed felt the department did a "very good" job or a "good enough" job. In 1976, only 66 percent of the respondents felt a good job was being done, with about 23 percent stating the police were doing a "not so good" job and 10 percent said that police protection was "not good at all." Asylum Hill residents perception of how people in their neighborhood are treated by the police changed during the same period. The shift in how the citizens felt they were treated by police was away from "very well" to "well enough" between 1973 and 1975. (See Figure 10.) The following year there was a small increase in those who felt they were treated "very well," but a decrease in those who replied "well enough" and an increase in those who replied "not well at all."



Source: Survey Research Program for Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice, Fall 1973, Late Spring 1975 and ? 1976.

FIGURE 9: RATING OF JOB HARTFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT DOES PROTECTING PEOPLE IN NEIGHBORHOOD, 1973, 1975 AND 1976--ASYLUM HILL AREA



Source: Survey Research Program for Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice, Fall 1973, Late Spring 1975 and ? 1976.

FIGURE 10: PERCEPTION OF TREATMENT OF PEOPLE IN NEIGHBORHOOD BY HARTFORD POLICE, 1973, 1975 AND 1976--ASYLUM HILL AREA

B. OFFICER JOB SATISFACTION
(OUTCOME #2)

Improving officer job satisfaction was not addressed in the Hartford proposal. Discussions with both team and nonteam personnel reveal that the labor dispute in 1975 which continued into 1976 resulted in a lot of dissatisfaction among officers. Also, the coming of team policing raised false expectations which contributed to officers feeling let down once the program was implemented. However, command and line personnel alike say now that department morale is beginning to improve but note that there are still remnants of dissatisfaction to be overcome.

C. IMPROVE CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL AND DECREASE CRIME RATES
(OUTCOMES #7 AND #9)

The Hartford grant application notes that the department reorganization was designed to, among other things, "provide a better structure for more effective crime control and prevention programs."³ A number of crime prevention efforts are underway in Hartford both as part of and independent of the team policing program. Table 13 is a summary of related grants received by the department between fiscal years 1973 and 1976. Other crime control and prevention activities that are underway in the team areas include the Police Explorer Scouts; community meetings devoted to public safety and crime prevention; Operation Identification and Neighborhood Watch as well as the special resource units periodically formed to combat specific crime problems. Because of the considerable overlap between team policing efforts and other

3. Hartford Proposal, unpaginated p. 5.

TABLE 13: SUMMARY OF GRANTS RECEIVED BY HARTFORD POLICE DEPARTMENT

GRANTS RECEIVED			
Fiscal Year 1973-74			
NAME OF GRANT	FUNDING SOURCES	AMOUNT	PERSONNEL/EQUIPMENT PURCHASES
Coffee House I	Federal State Grantee Minimum contribution Grantee in-kind TOTAL	18,755 1,562 938 3,751 25,006	Three—Project Coordinator Asst. Project Coordinator Semi-professional Assistant
Crime Prevention I Operation Ident	Federal State Grantee Minimum contribution Grantee in-kind TOTAL	20,140 1,678 1,007 4,028 26,853	Two detectives, half time Five officers, 5 % time One Community Relations Specialist 2% time
Auxiliary Police	Federal State Grantee Minimum Contribution Grantee in-kind TOTAL	14,165 1,180 708 2,833 18,886	Project Coordinator 10% time Training Coordinator 5 % time Street Supervisors Nightsticks (50 @ \$2.30 = \$115.00) Portable Radios 4 @ 1,210.00 = \$4,840.00)
Community Relations Improvement	Federal State Grantee Minimum Contribution Grantee in-kind TOTAL	\$ 8,410 701 420 1,682 11,213	One Police Sergeant; One fire lieutenant. No bodies bought. Continuation of old grant. Most equipment was education and information materials, videotapes, film supplies and project slides and trays
Hartford Institute for Criminal & Social Justice Continuation	Federal State Grantee Minimum Contribution TOTAL	\$30,000 1,667 1,667 33,334	Two staff members 100% time One secretary 20% time
Coffee House II Continuation	Federal State Grantee Minimum Contribution TOTAL	3,333 185 185 3,703	Project Coordinator 33 1/3% Time
Crime Prevention Project Continuation (Training Program)	Federal State Grantee Minimum Contribution TOTAL	15,200 844 844 16,888	43 officers 100% time 3 Sergeants 100% time 4 Lieutenants 100% time Overtime pay for 15 hrs. 43 patrol @ \$9.00/hr. 3 Sgts. @ 10.12/hr. 4 lts. @ 11.59/hr.
Crime Prevention III	Federal State Grantee Minimum Contribution TOTAL	\$12,000 667 667 13,334	16 mm Movie Projector \$650 Two Film Strip Projectors \$800 Accessories & Supplies \$350 Consumables
Hartford Institute for Criminal & Social Justice	Federal Other TOTAL	33,000 187,000 220,000	Two staff men 100% time One Secretary 80% time

program activities, it is impossible to assess these outcomes in the context of one program or another. However, an overall discussion of what has happened is possible and is presented below.

1. NEIGHBORHOOD CRIME PREVENTION PROGRAM ESTABLISHED

During the summer of 1977, the Hartford Police Department was awarded \$111,000 to support a neighborhood crime prevention program throughout the city. The goals of the program are:

- (1) to more effectively utilize police personnel in controlling the incidence of crime; and,
- (2) to bring police personnel and local community residents and businesses closer together in an organized partnership of mutual understanding of each other's problems and needs with the intention of directly involving these community individuals in the development and implementation of policies and programs aimed at crime prevention.⁴

To meet these goals, the following strategy will be used:

- (1) a planning and organizational capacity within the Police Department which maximizes the potential planning and service delivery capability which the district policing system provides;
- (2) the establishment of a police/community Public Safety Committee in each of the five police districts; and,
- (3) the establishment of a small staff, Crime Prevention Center which can provide information and technical assistance both to the public and the police department.⁵

At this writing, Public Safety Committees have been formed and the department is working with the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice which opened the Crime Prevention Resource Center in July.

4. Neighborhood Crime Prevention Program, City of Hartford, July 1976. p. 6.

5. Ibid.

2. CRIME INCREASE CURTAILED

The reduction of crime was another program goal cited in the team policing demonstration grant application. In 1975, Hartford experienced a 25 percent increase in Part I Crime over the previous year. Only 4 of 100 cities in the same 100,000 to 250,000 population range experienced a larger increase than Hartford. (See Figure 11.) In 1976, Part I Crime rose only 5 percent and Hartford was more in line with other cities of a similar size, although more cities were experiencing a decrease in crime at the same time. (See Figure 12.)

Figure 13 displays the percent change in Part I Crime by district between 1974 and 1976. All the districts had experienced a dramatic increase in Part I Crime between 1974 and 1975. In 1975, three districts experienced a decrease over the previous year while in two districts Part I Crime was higher than the year before.

D. DECREASE CITIZEN FEAR
(OUTCOME #10)

The control and reduction of citizen fear is cited in the Hartford proposal as one of the primary goals of the team policing project there. The proposal cautions, however, that the various team policing approaches and models "will not be a panacea for eliminating all policing problems or crime."⁶

Table 14 shows how safe citizens in the Asylum Hill Team area of District V and the total city felt when alone in the neighborhood during the daytime and at night. During 1975, the year for which data are available for both Asylum Hill and the total city, the team area citizens felt safer during the day but more unsafe at night. For just the Asylum Hill area, however, the

6. Hartford Proposal, unpaginated p. 7.

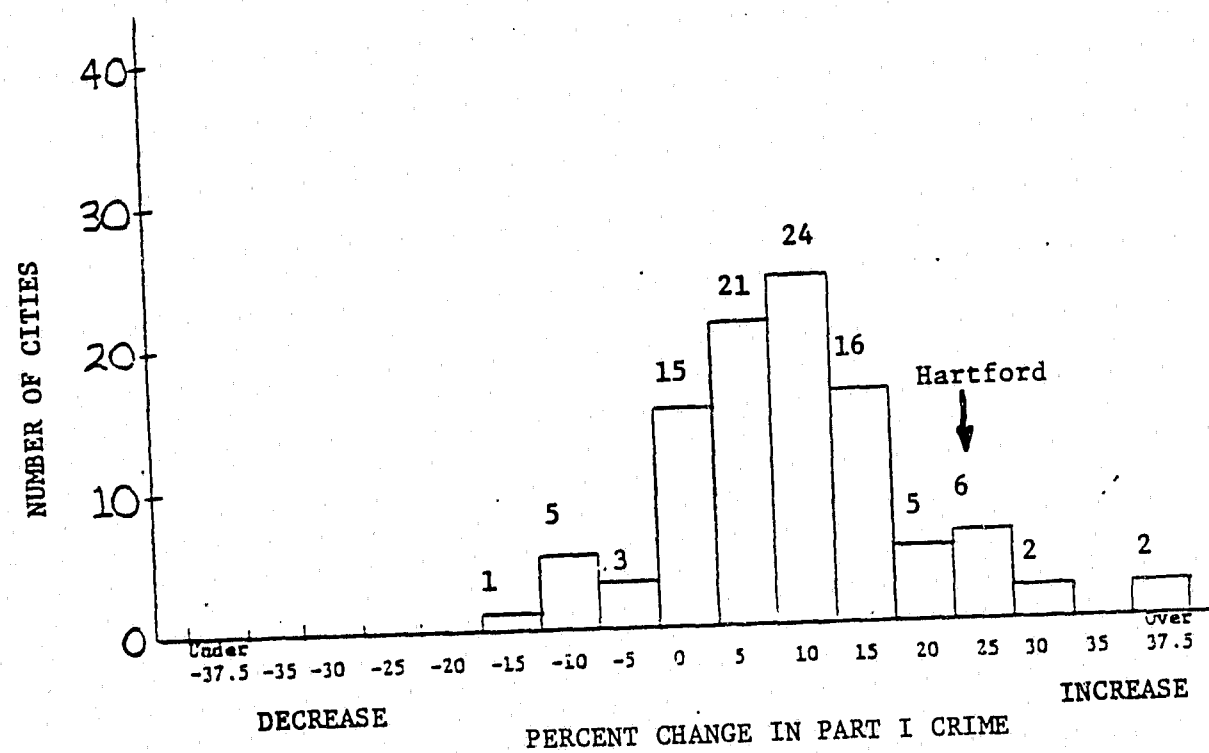


FIGURE 11: HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT COMPARED TO 100 OTHER CITIES WITH POPULATIONS OF 100,000 TO 250,000--PERCENT CHANGE IN PART I CRIME FOR 1974-1975

Source: "Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports," Federal Bureau of Investigation 1974 and 1975.

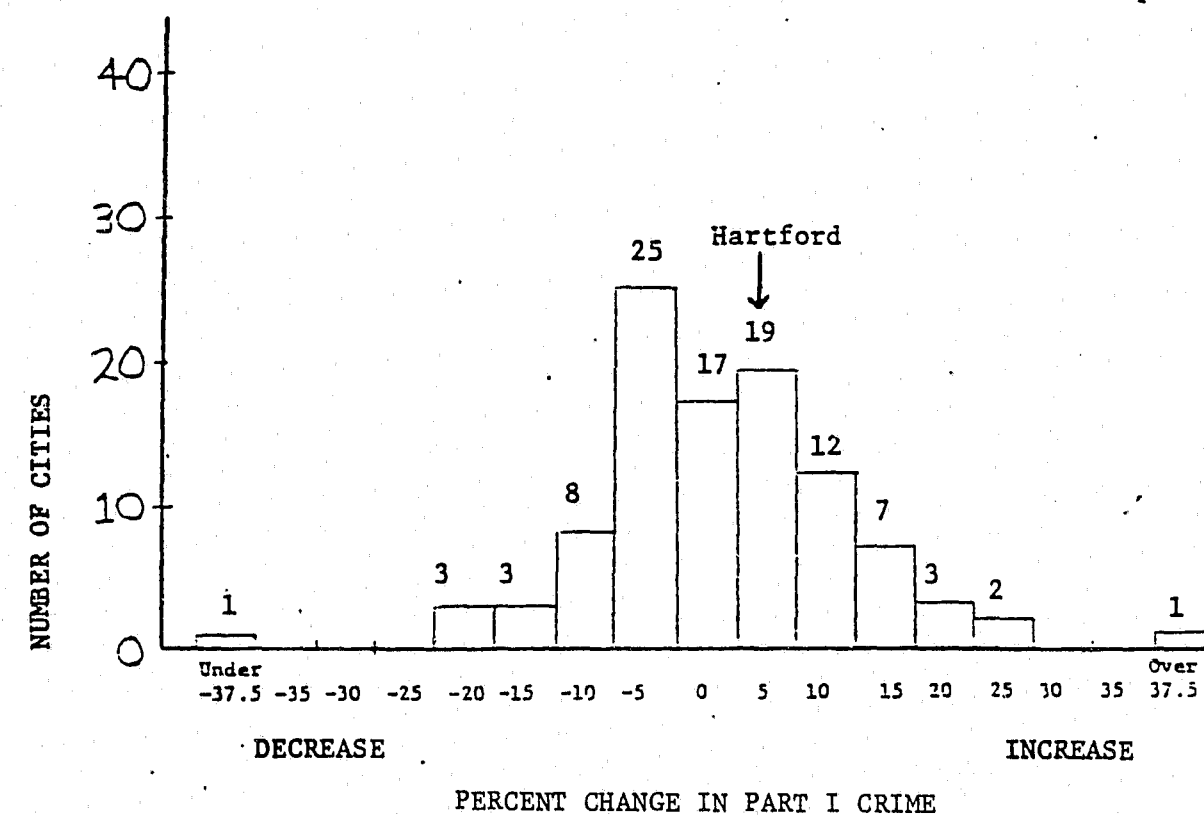


FIGURE 12: HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, COMPARED TO 100 OTHER CITIES WITH POPULATIONS OF 100,000 TO 250,000--PERCENT CHANGE IN PART I CRIME FOR 1975-1976 (covers first nine months of 1975-1976)

Source: "Crime in the United States, Uniform Crime Reports," Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1975 and Uniform Crime Reports Release (January-September, 1976) Issued by Clarence M. Kelley, Director, FBI, and dated December 21, 1976.

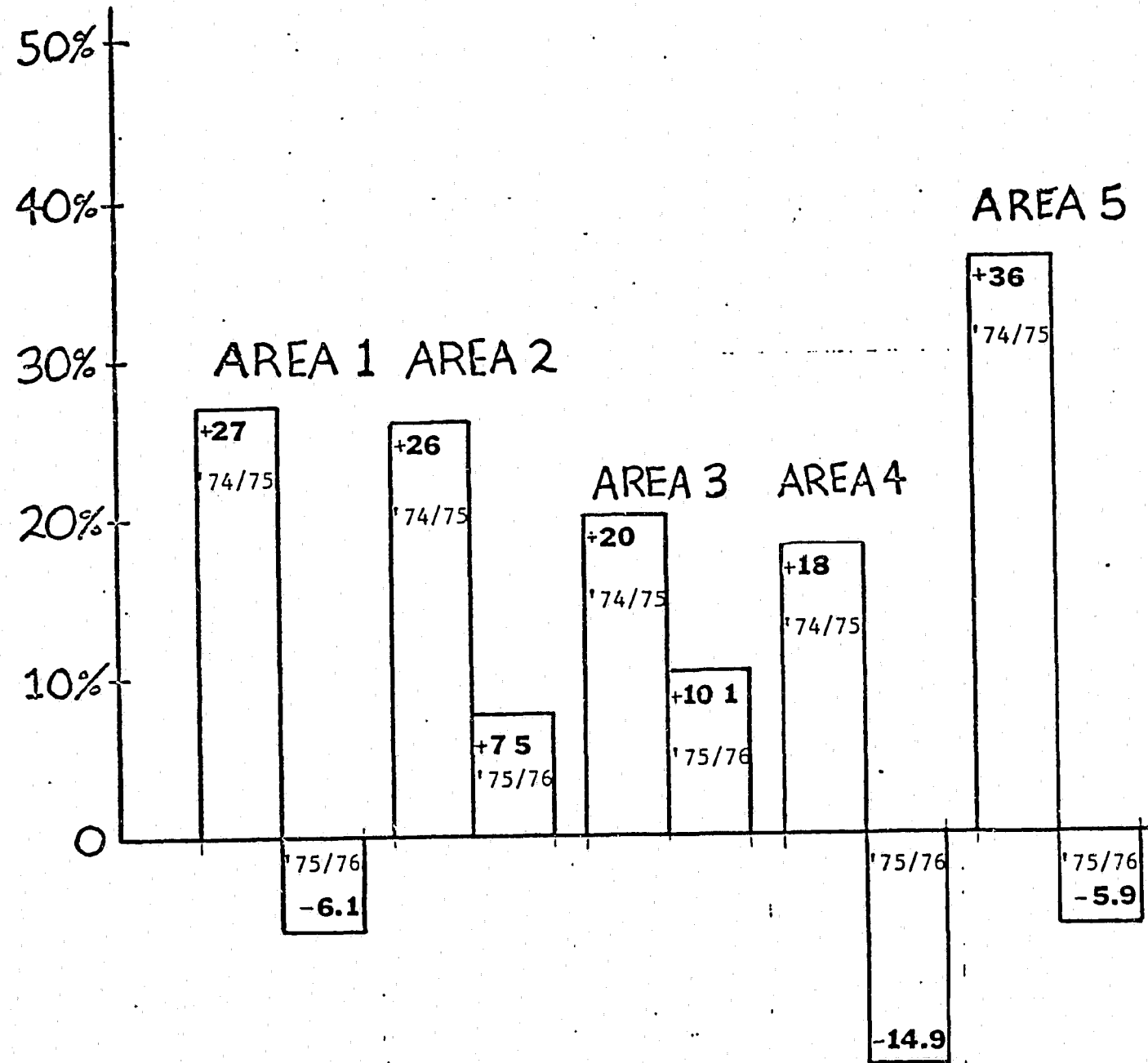


FIGURE 13: PERCENT CHANGE IN PART I CRIME BY AREA (DISTRICT), CITY OF HARTFORD, 1974-1975 and 1975-1976.

Source: Hartford Police Department Data Processing Section

TABLE 14: DEGREE OF SAFETY FELT WHEN ALONE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

	N	Very Safe		Reasonably Safe		Somewhat Safe		Very Unsafe	
		Day	Night	Day	Night	Day	Night	Day	Night
Asylum Hill		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1975	173	37.8	12.8	53.1	24.3	5.8	25.9	3.3	37.0
1976	139	33.0	10.0	44.0	22.9	15.9	24.6	7.1	42.5
Total City 1975	549	42.9	13.1	40.7	26.7	10.2	31.7	6.2	28.5

NOTE: All percentages are weighted to adjust for the number of eligible adults in each household. Percentages for Total City are also weighted to adjust for varying rates at which addresses were selected within each area. The N's are the actual number of interviews on which the data are based.

Source: Interviews conducted by Survey Research Program for the Hartford Institute of Criminal and Social Justice.

data show that between 1975 and 1976 the number of people who felt unsafe in that neighborhood increased for both day and night. One possible explanation of this is that increases in citizen fear are to be expected in the wake of an increase in Part I crime such as Hartford experienced in 1975. (Between 1974 and 1975, Part I offenses were up nearly 25 percent.) Another possible explanation is that citizens are reacting to the police labor dispute at which time they were under the impression they were not receiving adequate police protection.

END