PATROLLING THE NEIGHBORHOOD BEAT: RESIDENTS AND RESIDENTIAL SECURITY CASE STUDIES AND PROFILES

PREPARED UNDER A GRANT FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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In the face of rising crime rates and a reduced sense of public safety during the 1960s and early 1970s, urban residents initiated auxiliary patrol efforts to supplement or monitor local police services. The purpose of this study is to identify and assess the information available regarding such citizen patrols in residential areas and to design any further evaluative work needed. The materials from the study are presented in three volumes. The first, *Patrolling the Neighborhood Beat: Residents and Residential Security*, R-1912-DOJ, contains both a statement of the relevant policy issues and an assessment of available evidence. The research methods and field procedures that guided the study are also presented. A second volume, R-1912/1-DOJ, serves as the executive summary of the study. The present volume, *Case Studies and Profiles*, contains the products of our field work, including brief profiles of more than 100 patrols and detailed narratives that describe 32 of the patrols.

This study was funded under the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice's Phase I National Evaluation Program. Rand staff members working on the study include Robert Yin, Mary Vogel, Jan Chaiken, Deborah Both, Sandy Stevenson, Toby Radasky, Joel Weissman, Ellen Marks, and Linda Prusoff.
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1. BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

URBAN AREA
Located in Northeast Baltimore, the Belmont neighborhood displays a strong residential character. In fact, residents of this small neighborhood have actively opposed the development of commercial activity within the area. A mixture of small brick and frame rowhouses and one- and two-family detached dwellings gives this urban, middle-income community a suburban appearance.

Origin

The Belmont Radio Watch is an auto patrol operating in a middle-income, predominately white neighborhood in Baltimore. It has been in continuous operation since 1971 and is still operated by its original planners. According to Helen Wright, one of the original organizers and the current vice-president of the patrol, the radio watch was initiated largely for preventive purposes. "My husband and I had just moved to Belmont from a high-crime area," she related, "and above all, we wanted to keep our new neighborhood safe and crime-free." Mrs. Wright and her husband decided to solicit the help of about five neighbors, and together they conceived of the radio watch. No other crime prevention alternatives were seriously considered, said Mrs. Wright.

The entire planning process for the radio watch was closely supervised by Michael Kolshi, Public Information Officer for the Baltimore City Police Department. He worked with the group for eight months before the patrol made its first appearance.

Patrol Operations

The number of regular participants in the Belmont Radio Watch now totals four—three men and one woman, all of whom were among the original planners of the program in 1971. An embarrassing incident during the early days of the patrol in which a newly-recruited patrol member vacated his car to intervene in an incident and consequently manhandled a youngster
prompted the Belmont leadership to discontinue recruitment and to restrict patrol activity to the original volunteers and planners.

From its inception, the Belmont Radio Watch has been a purely volunteer effort. Each member drives his own car while on patrol and owns his own equipment, including a citizen band radio that is used to communicate with a base station.

When out on patrol, members are required to report on a regular basis to any of the three base stations which are located in the homes of members. If a criminal act is spotted or if a patrol person observes some suspicious activity in the neighborhood, he is to report his observation to one of the base stations. The base station, in turn, reports the information to a radio watch member who has been designated the "security officer" for the patrol. This person acts as the police liaison for the group, and it is his responsibility to contact the local police district if he feels that a reported incident warrants such action. Belmont community members who wish to summon the patrol do so by telephoning one of the base stations, which in turn relays messages to the car(s) on duty. "We may have a small membership," noted Mrs. Wright, "but our neighbors know we're out there."

While the Belmont Radio Watch has operated on a continuous basis since its founding in 1971, Mrs. Wright said the patrol has always been more active during the summer than during the remaining months of the year. Because the patrol consists of only four members, it is difficult to maintain a prescribed routine, but Mrs. Wright said that the aim this summer is to have at least one car on the street every Thursday through Sunday night from 8:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. An attempt has been made to delegate one particular night to each patrol member; some participants, however, go out one or two additional nights each week. During non-summer months, the hours and days of patrol activity vary. "Crime seems to go down after the summer," Mrs. Wright commented, "and the weather sometimes is so bad we just can't go out." She hastened to add that the patrol does not stop functioning completely; instead, the routine becomes less regular.
Patrol members perform their shifts alone, although Mrs. Wright said that they sometimes permit interested youths or neighbors in the community to ride with them. No weapons or armor are carried by patrol members. Aside from their citizen band radios, the only other equipment carried is a clipboard on which are logged the date and time of patrol activity, reports of incidents, and the number of times patrol members check in with a base station. According to Mrs. Wright, no one has ever been injured or assaulted--either on duty or off--because of his radio watch affiliation; nor do any of the members feel that they are in danger when cruising streets alone and unarmed at night. "I don't see why I should be more frightened when I'm out patrolling than when I'm just walking the street," asserted Sam Ross, an original planner of the patrol and the current secretary-treasurer of the group. "Crime is so rampant today, I'm probably safer when I'm out working against crime than when I'm just being an ordinary citizen."

Ross described as the most dangerous patrol encounters a series of incidents in 1971 in which members tried to discourage gangs of young people--many of whom were not neighborhood residents--from congregating in the streets. "Our most spectacular success, however, has been breaking up the drug dealing activity that was going on in Belmont," he said.

Organizational Structure and Activities

From Helen Wright's account, the Belmont Radio Watch has had few serious problems in its four years of existence. The most difficult year was the first, when the patrol encountered blatant opposition from community residents. "People accused us of creating an atmosphere of fear, of stirring up trouble when there wasn't any," explained Ross, "but after we proved our value to the neighborhood, everyone suddenly wanted to take credit for our success."

There was also the previously mentioned incident involving an over-zealous volunteer. That event induced patrol coordinators to close their ranks and to suspend all further recruitment drives. "We learned quickly the importance of having only level-headed people working with us," Mrs. Wright said, "and those people are hand-picked by us." The result of this policy has been to confine membership to the original
planners of the radio watch. There are, however, about six Belmont residents who serve as substitutes when regular patrol members are unavailable for duty. Radio watch members locate their own replacements when they are to be absent.

The survival of the radio watch has never been affected by problems of personnel turnover. Of its six active members in 1971, four are still affiliated with the patrol, the other two having either died or moved out of town. Mrs. Wright remarked that, since the death of her husband and because she finds the responsibilities of a one-parent family increasingly burdensome, she has begun to lessen her participation in the patrol. She indicated that the radio watch leaders may soon be looking for an additional volunteer to add to their ranks.

The Belmont Radio Watch has always been completely self-supporting. An annual fund raiser and personal contributions from individual members have continually provided financial support for the patrol. Because their membership is so small, radio watch volunteers are obviously obliged to make significant time and monetary contributions to patrol activities. Ross said that he does not feel his commitment to be a burden, despite his estimation that patrol routine consumes some 35 to 40 hours of his time each month; he estimated that his equipment and automobile expenditures for patrol activity average almost $100 yearly.

In 1972, the radio watch collaborated with members of the Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council in seeking a $1,800 grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. According to Mrs. Wright, the grant was approved but never disbursed to the group. "It got held up in City politics," she said, "and we never got the money." In the past, patrol members also sought to ease the financial burden of participation by requesting surplus radio equipment from the police department. Each request was met with a negative response. On July 19, 1975, however, Baltimore Mayor William Donald Schaeffer announced in a press release that nearly $50,000 worth of such equipment would be made available by the city to organized citizen's groups for use in approved "safe streets" projects and in civilian disaster control. While Mrs. Wright noted that the Belmont patrol by that time had already invested its own
money in the purchase of needed equipment, she feels that patrol planning and initial operations would have proceeded much more smoothly had the group's earlier requests been met with equipment.

Outcomes

The original goals of the Belmont Radio Watch were four-fold: (1) to act as a deterrent to crime in the neighborhood; (2) to make members of the community aware of their responsibilities regarding crime prevention; (3) to educate community residents about various crime-prevention techniques; and (4) to enable the members of the patrol to become better acquainted with their neighbors.

According to Mrs. Wright, the patrol is succeeding in all fronts. They have waged publicity campaigns to inform residents about various crime-prevention tactics, and members of the patrol themselves have been responsible for reducing crime in the neighborhood. Several burglaries in progress have been reported to the police, and a number of potential suspects have also been identified. Patrol members feel that a serious problem with drug dealing in a local park has subsided significantly since radio watch members began copying and transmitting to the police the license plate numbers of cars whose occupants appeared to be congregating in the park to engage in suspicious activity.

Patrol members also pride themselves on the rapport they have established with young people in the neighborhood. While antagonistic youths were once a major problem, explained Mrs. Wright, "we now find that young people are our most cooperative crime reporters." The patrol has also helped increase the safety of senior citizens in the community. In the past, many elderly residents who patronized a local shopping center had become the victims of taunting and teasing youth in the neighborhood. In response to the growing problem, patrol members convinced the local merchants association to engage police and parent help in curbing those juvenile antics.

Wright is enthusiastic in her appraisal of police cooperation with the patrol. Police response to calls is "fantastic" she said. Mrs. Wright also noted that two district policemen had been extremely valuable in providing guidance and advice concerning patrol activities. Mrs. Wright
feels that police protection in the Belmont area is adequate, and that any added attention given to the neighborhood may stem from the cooperation residents, and in particular radio watch members, have extended to the police.

Helen Wright is a firm believer in the radio watch concept. Not only has she seen her own patrol grow over the years, she has provided planning assistance to other local neighborhood groups that have begun radio watch activities. Ultimately, she said, she would like to work with the Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council to develop a city-wide radio watch program for every neighborhood in Baltimore.

Sam Ross is equally positive about his radio watch experience. "Because we are so small a group," he said, "we all have equal voice in decisionmaking activities. Our radio watch is a real democratic effort." Ross added that most of his expectations about the patrol have been realized. "In the beginning, I resented the complaints from residents that we weren't around enough or didn't respond quickly enough to calls, but now I understand that you can't ever expect total appreciation from everyone. In the meantime, however, I feel satisfied that the patrol is performing a valuable community service, and I am pleased to be a part of it."
A modern, high-rise public housing project for the elderly located near downtown Baltimore, Fenwick Lane was designed to accommodate the needs and concerns of senior citizens. In the initial stages of planning for the building, serious consideration was given to the problem of security and the Baltimore Housing Authority made the decision to promote a concept which had begun to emerge in 1972 in its projects for the elderly. By soliciting resident volunteers to act as lobby monitors and by hiring private security guards to patrol the complex, the Housing Authority hoped to foster a safe environment at Fenwick Lane. In addition, the building itself was designed to maximize security and minimize unauthorized entry. It has only one main entrance, which is locked every day at 4:30 p.m., and it has four video televisions, which are located in the lobby and are used to monitor the underground parking garage as well as the exit doors at two interior stairwells.

Origin

The first resident monitors at Fenwick Lane appeared for duty in 1973, shortly after the building opened for occupancy. According to Gerald Halprin, an official of the Baltimore Housing Authority, the purpose of the resident monitoring program is two-fold: to reduce security-related fears of residents and to provide an activity that helps occupy the time of senior citizens. To date, these goals remain largely unchanged.

Crime at Fenwick Lane appears to be practically non-existent, according to building manager Larry Brown, who said that there have been no criminal incidents within the building since it opened. The volunteer monitoring system continues, however, in order to provide preventive security measures for the residents. On the other hand, the neighborhood in which the building is situated is not crime-free. Purse snatching and burglaries were the most frequent crimes cited by Brown,
but he also mentioned that several bank robberies have occurred in the area.

At present, all eight of Baltimore's housing projects for the elderly use tenant volunteers as part of a lobby monitoring system, and Halprin said that the program is considered an integral part of the Housing Authority's policy for housing for the elderly. "Unless the time comes when we have funds for 24-hour private security guards, we will continue to encourage this approach," he said.

Patrol Operations

The resident volunteer force at Fenwick Lane presently totals 11 men and women, all of whom are senior citizens. Brown indicated that this is an average representation for any given time, although in the past participants have numbered as many as 18 or as few as seven. There is no official group leader among the volunteers; rather, they turn to Larry Brown for information, assistance, or solutions to problems. Brown estimated that he spends about five hours per week dealing with affairs pertinent to the monitoring program.

The monitors, themselves, make a considerable time investment in the project. They conduct a year-round operation which provides surveillance coverage from 8:30 a.m. until 4:30 p.m., Monday through Friday. Individual monitors usually work at least one two-hour shift every week, but Brown said that each volunteer generally handles two shifts per sitting and often mans the monitor desk two or more times a week.

Earl Thompson, a resident monitor of two months' experience, works at the front desk twice a week and usually undertakes two shifts each time. While he is dismayed by the fact that the volunteers receive no pay for their efforts, he says he is glad he joined the monitoring program. "It gives me something to do," he explained, "and it also lets me see different faces. I like what I'm doing."

The duties of the volunteers consist primarily of monitoring ingress to the building and regulating access to the underground parking garage. Both of these duties are executed from a main desk located in the front
of the lobby. During each shift, a monitor sits at the desk and "keeps his eye" on lobby activity. He is responsible for insuring that every visitor signs a log book, indicating his name, intended destination, and time of visit. Each monitor is instructed to challenge verbally any unauthorized person who does not sign the log or who tries to slip by the front desk.

Monitors supervise access to the underground parking facility by means of an intercom system and the aforementioned video televisions. When drivers approach the locked garage entrance, they must transmit their names and apartment numbers over the intercom. The resident monitor then presses a button, located on the wall behind the front desk, to release the garage door. As an added precaution, a video camera is focused on the parking entrance so that the monitors on duty not only hear drivers' names, but also view their cars on one of the lobby televisions.

Aside from the log book and the electronic devices at the desk, the resident monitors have no special equipment with which to carry out their charge; nor do they have special uniforms or other identifying apparel. There is a telephone located at the desk, but it is to be used only in cases of extreme emergency. When problems arise, monitors are instructed to contact the manager's office, which is open Monday through Friday from 8:30 a.m. until 5 p.m. If an incident occurs requiring the police or some other emergency service, the manager or his assistant makes the appropriate contacts. In that regard, volunteers also are instructed never to interfere in an incident, but to report all problems or suspicious activity to the manager. Similarly, residents in distress are told to telephone the manager's office directly or to use an emergency switch located in the bathroom and bedroom of each apartment. These switches are connected to a panel at the front desk and, when activated, signal the desk monitor that there is a problem in the respective apartment.

The Housing Authority contracts with a private security company to provide supplemental guard service on weekends, holidays, and week nights when monitors are not on duty. The guards work two eight-hour shifts and perform essentially the same duties as the resident monitors. The guards,
however, wear special uniforms and carry nightsticks. When they come on duty each afternoon at 4:30 p.m., the front doors of the building are locked, and the guards use a buzzer activated from the security panel at the desk to open the doors.

Organizational Structure and Activities

As previously mentioned, the original monitors were recruited by the management either at tenants' meetings or during leasing interviews. This mode of recruitment still predominates, but is now supplemented by a more direct outreach emanating from the manager's office. When the volunteer roster is low, the manager or one of his associates personally contacts individuals and encourages them to join the monitoring program. Generally speaking, however, there seems to be an almost continual recruitment effort on the part of management since there has never been a time when more volunteers could not have been used. The manager's office is also responsible for scheduling and for finding substitutes for absentees; staff from that office even fill in personally when a replacement cannot be found. Should any disciplinary problems arise, they, too, would be handled by Brown.

When actually selecting volunteers, Brown is most interested in having reliable, alert individuals sitting at the front desk. "We need people who can come regularly and who'll keep a good watch over things going on," he said. Training for new recruits is brief and is conducted by Brown. Essentially, new volunteers are informed about housing rules and their own expected behavior (a manual is permanently located at the desk) and are introduced to the electronic hardware at the security panel. Little technical instruction is involved since the monitors only have to maintain the log book and operate the parking garage access switch.

No participants in the program are paid; all activity is entirely voluntary. For that reason, manager Brown feels that it is difficult to maintain long-term commitments from many residents. He pointed out that, while some of the volunteers have been working since 1973 when the building originally opened, others have dropped out of the program after only two months. Funds for the purchase and maintenance of the security hardware and fees for the private guards come from the Housing Authority's capital
budget, but no stipends have ever been made available to the resident monitors. Occasional dinners and parties have been arranged for the volunteers, but to date no other remunerations have been awarded them. Total expenditures in 1975 for the resident monitors will probably amount to less than $100.

Brown does not feel, however, that an absence of salaries discourages tenant participation in the monitoring program. More serious, he feels, is the dearth of activity at the front desk. "Even though many of our residents join up because they are looking for something to do, they get bored quickly and then reduce their participation in the operation," he said.

Total membership in the monitoring program has fluctuated during its lifetime, but never has the system been in danger of folding. There has always been sufficient interest to maintain the desk duty on a regular schedule without interruption. Brown indicated that the shifts of the private guards could always be extended if no volunteers were available for lengthy periods of time.

According to Brown, police relations with the volunteer monitors are good, but there is no formal coordination of activities with police. Although local patrolmen visit the project daily, usually stopping to chat with the monitor on duty, Brown has expressed an interest in having one specific patrolman assigned to the building on a regular basis. One minor source of difficulty is a Housing Authority policy which requires all policemen to sign a log indicating the date and time of each visit to a housing project. Brown commented that the police who visit Fenwick Lane consistently refuse to sign the log book; he did not, however, feel that this was a serious problem. In fact, he even expressed an understanding of the reasons why a patrolman would not want to register his visits to the building.

Outcomes

Mr. Brown was enthusiastic in his assessment of the volunteer monitors. The most serious problem cited was that of maintaining volunteer commitment on a consistent basis. Boredom seemed to be the most frequent reason for abandoning desk duty. Since the building appears to be crime-free and since no monitors have ever experienced serious problems or
suffered recriminations while on or off duty, fear has never been expressed as a reason for not joining the patrol. According to Brown, no monitors have ever encountered any criminal activity while on duty, and even belligerent visitors have been few. "I've never had any problems," said volunteer monitor Earl Thompson, "but I hear that the night guards sometimes have trouble with drunks. Nothing ever happens during the day though," he added. "It's always quiet."

In that regard, Brown feels that the desk monitors are valuable deterrents against criminal activity and that crime could become a problem were the volunteers to be removed from their posts. Safety, he said, would probably become a serious issue if there were no routine surveillance at the front entrance.

Assessing the reputation of the monitoring program among project residents is not easy, but both Brown and Halprin assert that many Fenwick Lane occupants chose to live there because of the security provisions. There have been no complaints about the monitors either acting as if their word were law or overstepping their bounds. The residents just seem to "like having them there," Brown said.

It is difficult to determine the importance or the effectiveness of the monitors in isolation from the additional anti-crime features in the building (i.e., the hired guards, the locked entranceway doors, and the secured underground parking facilities). Perhaps the best endorsement of the program comes from the fact that the Baltimore Housing Authority has chosen to encourage this activity in all of its public housing projects for the elderly.
BROADMOOR TOWERS
Baltimore, Maryland

Broadmoor Towers is a high rise housing project for the elderly that serves some 300 Baltimore residents. It was opened for occupancy on May 29, 1974, and three months later "commissioned" its first resident volunteer monitor.

The resident monitor program at Broadmoor Towers is essentially the same as that which exists at all other elderly public housing projects in Baltimore (see Fenwick Lane). The primary difference between Broadmoor and Fenwick Lane is that Broadmoor's system does not operate in shifts. Instead, there is a single monitor who works from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., five days per week, Monday through Friday. This monitor is the original volunteer who assumed the post in August 1974; she has now completed her first year at the job.

As in the other projects, the volunteer-operated monitor service is supplemented by hired guards who take over security duties when the resident volunteer is not at work—weekends, nights, and holidays.

Dorothy Samuelson, the assistant manager, said security service has not suffered because of the total reliance upon one individual. "Mrs. Rigo has tended her post with dedication," said Samuelson, "and for those few times when she has been absent, she has always found her own substitute. She's really a marvelous person."

The responsibilities of the monitor include watching building ingress and egress and observing interior stairwells by means of a video television located in the lobby. The volunteer monitor sits at a desk near the entrance to the building and is responsible for insuring that every visitor signs a log book, indicating his name, intended destination, and time of visit.
THORNTON HEIGHTS RADIO WATCH
Baltimore, Maryland

Three racially integrated neighborhoods in Northeast Baltimore constitute the site of operations for the Thornton Heights Radio Watch. Most dwellings in this middle-income district are of the single-family rowhouse style and are built of either frame or brick. Little activity is evident in the quiet streets.

Origin

In fall of 1971, members of the Thornton Heights Neighborhood Association became concerned about rising crime rates throughout the city of Baltimore. Although they felt their particular neighborhood to be relatively free from crime, the residents were anxious to forestall the spread of criminal activity to the vicinity of their homes. In previous years the residents had responded to surges in crime by demanding increased police protection; however, special police coverage had always been short-lived and each time eventually had fallen back to a level believed by residents to be inadequate. The police exerted no lasting deterrent effect on the gangs of youths that congregated in the streets on weekend nights and constituted the main crime problem in the neighborhood.

Convinced that police protection was not the answer, Peter Rothwell, under the auspices of the Thornton Heights Neighborhood Association, contacted twelve community groups in Northeast Baltimore regarding the joint operation of a mobile radio patrol to be modeled after one already operating in the Belmont neighborhood. Two neighborhoods expressed interest in contributing to the Thornton Heights effort.

In addition, the Northeast Community Organization (NECO) indicated its support and pledged funds in the amount of $50 per month to support an administrative aide under the Placement for Local Services Program. This NECO support constituted the biggest single boost received by the patrol in its formative stages. By common consent of the members, Peter Rothwell, the original planner of the operation, was designated patrol leader and has retained that position to this day.
Soon after receiving indications of neighborhood support, Rothwell applied to the Mayor's Criminal Justice Coordinating Council (CJCC) for funds and the patrol began to recruit members by means of mailings, free television spots, the newspapers, and announcements at community meetings.

By 1972 the Thornton Heights Radio Watch had enrolled the largest membership it has had to date. This plethora of volunteers was, however, short-lived. Response from the Mayor's Office to Rothwell's application for funding was delayed several months, causing a number of volunteers to lose interest and drop out. Further problems arose from the fact that members, in order to use citizen band radios, were required to pass a test on FCC regulations; only 16 of the remaining volunteers were able to accomplish that task. By the time the group's funding request was approved at mid-year, all members but Rothwell had terminated. Not to be deterred, Rothwell recommended recruitment, and in the spring of 1974 the patrol began operations with six or seven active members.

**Patrol Operations**

The original goal of the Thornton Heights Radio Watch was to stem rising crime in the neighborhood through crime reporting and the deterrent effect of conspicuous patrol presence. Initially, the patrol operated seven nights each week and at special events on a year-round basis. Each night, two-man teams made their rounds in marked autos equipped with citizen band radios and flashlights. The magnetic car markings were largely discarded soon after the patrol got started, because they afforded gangs a signal that the patrol was approaching and apparently triggered some minor confrontations. Only a few members have continued to patrol in marked cars, claiming that it gives elderly residents a greater sense of security to see the clearly identified auto.

At first the patrol planned to operate one or two base stations located in the homes of members. This idea was superseded, however, when the city offered patrol members use of the emergency operations station at the fire department. Despite the procedural and logistical
problems involved, it was considered "not politic" to decline the offer, and so the base station was located in the firehouse.

Rothwell has instructed patrol members to report to the base station any suspicious activity they observe. The base operator in turn screens the calls and relays them to the police when appropriate. Rothwell emphasized that members are told never to intervene in any situation, and there is no evidence that any member has ever overstepped this guideline. Rothwell added that members are also encouraged not to bother the police with minor incidents. Apparently the radio watch constitutes the sole private security patrol in the area.

The major problem experienced by the patrol at the outset was the lack of volunteers. Active members were over-worked, and Rothwell himself patrolled every night of the week. In order to lessen the burden on patrol members, Rothwell soon cut the schedule back to five nights a week. However, in fall of 1974, a resident of the neighborhood was murdered, and an emergency meeting of the Neighborhood Association was called to discuss the need for continued patrol operations. About 50 residents turned out for the meeting and voted overwhelmingly to continue the patrol. As a result of the meeting, patrol membership jumped within a month to more than 30 persons, including both blacks and whites, men and women. To this day, efforts to recruit more volunteers have never ceased; sign-up sheets are posted at every community meeting.

Rothwell claimed that the Thornton Heights Radio Watch has always maintained good relations with the local police. Nightly, patrol members report to the police any suspicious activity that they observe. In addition, Rothwell contacts the community relations officer from time to time for information about the community's response to the patrol's activities and for help in obtaining counselling or other assistance for needy residents encountered by the patrols. In fact, the radio watch's grant from the CJCC posits improved police-community relations as a necessary patrol goal. The grant also requires the patrol to report unsanitary or hazardous conditions; this latter provision apparently has been ignored by the patrol to date.
At present, the patrol operates Saturday, Sunday, and sometimes Friday nights from 8 p.m. to midnight. In order to avoid predictable patrol patterns, routes are designed to be irregular and members are reassigned to new areas every half hour of their two-to-four hour shifts. If a resident wishes to summon the patrol, he may do so by calling the base station.

Organizational Structure and Activities

The patrol, which currently numbers about fifteen adults, is once again having problems maintaining sufficient membership. Peter Rothwell attributed the decline in interest to member's perceptions that crime has been reduced and to the apparent absence of suspicious activity when patrol members are in the field. He added that the CJCC grant funds have been depleted and that money for the patrol is tight. Finally, Erma Osgood, the administrative aide, has decided to leave her position with NECO and so will be available to the patrol only a few hours each week on a volunteer basis. Although Rothwell indicated his hope of obtaining additional financial support from NECO and the CJCC, the patrol's current lack of money and volunteers has raised serious doubts in the minds of outsiders and former members about the likelihood of continued patrol operations.

Rothwell estimated that patrol expenditures for the previous year had totalled approximately $1,300. The main costs incurred were equipment, gasoline, and Mrs. Osgood's salary. Since funding ran out, the group has been forced to rely for income on private contributions and special fund raising events; members currently provide their own gasoline.

Recruitment of members at present is mainly carried out through the Neighborhood Association. Applicants for patrol membership are required to pass a test on the use of citizen band radios and related FCC regulations. Upon successful completion of the test, a check for a criminal record is run on the prospective member. If no record is found, the applicant is asked to accompany an experienced volunteer on his rounds for a few nights. Based on that senior member's judgment of the novice's composure, behavior, and motives, a decision is
made whether the applicant should be accepted. The selection process is somewhat simplified by the fact that many applicants are long-time acquaintances of patrol members. Peter Rothwell has final responsibility for admission decisions.

At the outset, the group was comprised of black and white members in roughly equal proportions. At that time, Rothwell made an effort to assign one person of each race to every two-man patrol team in order to encourage good race relations. However, Rothwell mentioned that the patrol no longer numbers any black residents among its ranks; he was unclear about how or why this change came about.

Although the patrol does not have formally-defined lines of authority, Rothwell, as president, makes all policy decisions and follows up on all complaints. Responsibility for scheduling the patrols, keeping the records, and operating the base station has been delegated to Irma Osgood. While the group received city funds, members were, in theory, accountable to the Mayor’s Criminal Justice Coordinating Council; however, any obligation to that office apparently evaporated with the funding.

In a recent interview, former patrol member Lesley McGrath commented on his experience with the Thornton Heights Radio Watch. McGrath claimed that he left because he felt that the patrol was "no longer worthwhile." McGrath noted that upon arriving for duty he had often found the base operator to be late or absent. Because of insufficient patrol membership, he found himself being asked to patrol virtually every weekend, a task he had felt to be increasingly burdensome. Although at first McGrath gained a sense of community service from participating in the patrol effort, he felt that the work grew dull over time. The former patrolman suggested several other members had experienced similar boredom and argued that members' perceptions of minimal criminal activity in the neighborhood constituted a major factor in the recent diminution of patrol membership. McGrath said that he did not consider the patrol work dangerous as long as members observed the rules and stayed in their autos. He noted that some residents disapproved of the radio watch, claiming that members were harassing their children or that patrol members were just plain vigilantes.
Bertha Stillwater, on the other hand, had some positive comments to offer about the patrol. Stillwater stated that the patrol had been a valuable social experience for her; she particularly enjoyed meeting and working with other neighborhood residents. The only complaints by residents that she was aware of came from problem youths and gang members whose mischievous activity had been hampered by the patrol.

Neither member was very sure about the effectiveness of the patrol; both members observed that it had not been in continuous operation long enough to evaluate it fairly.

Outcomes

Although patrol members have never actively aided in the apprehension of a criminal to date, they generally call the police once or twice a month to report suspicious activity.

Apparently, response from the community has been both positive and negative, and many residents are still unaware of the patrol in spite of the publicity it has received. Some mothers have complained that their children are being persecuted, and Rothwell initially ran into some opposition from the local churches since city funding of the patrol meant a deemphasis on their Street Ministry program.

Peter Rothwell summed up his feelings about the Thornton Heights Radio Watch, saying that it has been and will continue to be a valuable crime preventive activity. He cited as evidence the recent lack of noticeable criminal activity during patrol hours and the findings of an evaluation by the Mayor's Council that reported a slight decrease in crime in Thornton Heights, facts which he felt were especially important in light of rising crime elsewhere. Rothwell would prefer, however, to expand his coverage to weekdays, especially to mornings and evenings when purse-snatching is at its peak.

Director Rothwell has constantly tried to recruit more members to relieve his beleaguered patrolmen, but feels that lack of funds and high gasoline prices have made a significant dent in his efforts. Former patrolman McGrath indicated his belief that, because of membership problems, the Thornton Heights Radio Watch would soon transmit its last waves.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Belair
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: February 1975

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; over 90 percent of the residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Gang activity, vandalism, and minor crimes.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrol the neighborhood in cars during weekend evenings of summer; citizen band radios are used to listen to police calls and to call police if necessary.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which has two members, is supported by a neighborhood association. Its use of radios is licensed by the Mayor's office. The patrol expends no substantial funds; members use their own equipment.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Breaking up a rowdy group of youths.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
There is a stable level of patrol coverage, with no apparent desire to increase membership.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Glen
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: August 1973

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; large Jewish population.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
General crime.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrol the neighborhood in cars during evenings, using citizen band radios to report suspicious activity to base stations. The group maintains informal contacts with police. The group follows up criminal disposition in the judicial process, giving testimony if necessary.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which has 200 members, is affiliated with a neighborhood association and is endorsed by the Mayor’s office. Application has been made for a $4,000 LEAA grant, but current expenditures are unknown.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Unknown.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol organization is still growing and appears to have revitalized the neighborhood association.
NEIGHBORHOOD: New Northwood, Woodbourne Heights, and Perringloch
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: 1972

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; 50 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism, gang activity, and minor crimes.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrol the neighborhood in cars during weekend
evenings and use citizen band radios to report to the base station. The
patrol has regular contact with police.

ORGANIZATION
The 10 to 15 active members of the patrol maintain no affiliation with
any community organization. The group is mainly supported by the city
government, but received an ILEA grant of $4,000 from 1974 to 1975.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Asking police to disband a large group of congregating youths.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
As part of its ILEA grant activity, the patrol reported unsanitary condi-
tions.

PRESENT STATUS
Declining interest among members and perceived failure to observe
criminal activity or to have an effect on it have resulted in diminished
membership.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Brooklyn Park
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: March 1975

CONTEXT
Low-income neighborhood; 85 percent of the residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Juvenile vandalism.

OPERATIONS
Paid residents patrol this multi-block area on foot from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. on weekdays. There is informal contact with the police who stop by the development at least once a day; other police contact occurs when police are called for assistance.

ORGANIZATION
Two women comprise the patrol and are paid by the Baltimore Housing Authority.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol came across some young people who were sniffing glue. They talked to the youths and got the manager's assistant's aid in speaking to the youths and their parents.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol tries to be of assistance in quelling domestic arguments.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is healthy and operational, and has undergone no changes since its inception.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing East  
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland  
START DATE: Spring 1975

CONTEXT  
Low-income area; over 80 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM  
Burglary.

OPERATIONS  
Hired residents patrol the project on foot during the business hours of the week. There has been no contact with the police as yet.

ORGANIZATION  
The patrol, which has three active members, is sponsored by the Baltimore Housing Authority. The source of the budget is unknown.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT  
Dealing with vandalism.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY  
Act as health monitors for elderly residents by calling each resident periodically.

PRESENT STATUS  
The patrol recently began operating.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Far East
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: June 1975

CONTEXT
Low-income area; most residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism and property destruction.

OPERATIONS
Four residents were hired to conduct a foot patrol of the project area five days per week during daytime business hours. Police contact was informal, although patrol people were instructed to report criminal incidents to police.

ORGANIZATION
The operation was coordinated and funded through the Baltimore Housing Authority. Patrol members were required to participate in a training program sponsored by a local college.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A patrol member was involved in an incident with a mentally ill woman who was finally calmed down and subsequently hospitalized.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
After four months of operation, the patrol was disbanded because of management conflicts between the Housing Authority and the manager's office over personnel problems.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Project for the Elderly
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: 1973

CONTEXT
Low-income area; more than one-third of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglaries and minor crimes such as purse snatching.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers monitor the building entrance during the business
hours of the week, watching the lobby and using a TV monitor to observe
the garage. The group has no contact with police.

ORGANIZATION
Eleven volunteers and two administrators staff this program, which is
sponsored by Baltimore Housing Authority. Virtually no monetary costs
have been incurred.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Chasing away intruders.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITIES
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
There is a stable level of patrol coverage; the building appears to be
crime free.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Project for the Elderly-II
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: August 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income area; more than one-third of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Purse snatching and vandalism.

OPERATIONS
A resident volunteer monitors the building lobby in person and uses a TV monitor to observe hallways during the business hours of the week. The patrol is visited frequently by police from a nearby police station.

ORGANIZATION
The program, which is staffed by one volunteer and two administrators, is sponsored by the Baltimore Housing Authority. Virtually no monetary costs are incurred.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Dealing with belligerent trespassers.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
There is a stable level of patrolling (one person full-time); the building appears to be crime free.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Project for Elderly-III
          CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
          START DATE: May 1975

CONTEXT
Low-income area; more than one-third of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
No major crime problems.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers monitor the building lobby during the business hours of the week. A police patrol passes by daily.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which has 11 active members, is one activity of the Resident's Council and is sponsored by the Baltimore Housing Authority. Virtually no monetary costs are incurred.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Unknown.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The future course is unknown since the project is new.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Project, North
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: August 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly white area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Purse snatching.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers monitor the building entrance during business hours.
The police check by the project daily.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which has five active members, is sponsored by the Balti-
more Housing Authority. Costs are almost nil.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
None.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
There is a stable level of patrolling.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Project, Northeast
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: 1970

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly white area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Narcotics dealing and use.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers monitor the accesses to the buildings and patrol the hallways and stairwells by foot, mostly during the business hours of the week. The police pass by every day and check for incidents.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which numbers 30 active members, is sponsored by the Baltimore Housing Authority and is related to the Resident Council. Its budget is undetermined, but is at least several thousand dollars.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol investigated a bomb threat that turned out to be a false alarm and located the culprit.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
There is a stable level of patrolling.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing West
CITY: Baltimore, Maryland
START DATE: September 1975 as part of a larger crime prevention program

CONTEXT
Low-income area; all of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
Residents are hired to conduct stationary surveillance of the building and entryways and also to control building ingress by operating the locked front door. Monitors are on duty seven nights per week, year-round. They receive police training and are instructed to call the police for assistance when the need arises.

ORGANIZATION
The program is coordinated by the Baltimore Housing Authority and is funded by a special grant from HUD. About 16 residents participate in the monitoring.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
None.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The larger crime prevention program also has a goal of helping welfare recipients become more economically self-sufficient.

PRESENT STATUS
The program currently is operating on a regular basis and hopes to expand both its membership and the scope of its activities.
II. BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

URBAN AREA
"Casa Vargas"--or Vargas House--is a housing project for the elderly and is located in Boston's St. Alban's section, a multi-ethnic neighborhood where community organization has steadily increased since 1967 when residents coalesced to oppose a proposed urban renewal project for the area.

The 18-story building opened in September 1974, and security guards have been on duty since that time. There was (and still is) a serious narcotics problem in the neighborhood. Street crimes, burglaries, and arson are also widespread. "There was a clear need for preventive security in this building," said manager Edgar Linson, "and security guards were viewed as a possible means to deter crime."

Origin

The St. Alban's area has a history of community activism. In 1967, Spanish-speaking residents formed a non-profit group entitled the Emergency Tenants Council (ETC). The purpose of the organization was to combat plans proposed for the area by the Boston Redevelopment Agency. To counteract the Agency's proposals, the ETC formulated its own neighborhood development program which focused primarily on expanding housing opportunities for the area's large low-income population. Included in the ETC plan was a proposal to assume Turnkey II management responsibilities for a couple of Boston Housing Authority sites in the area. Casa Vargas was one of those sites, and upon securing the management contract for the building, the ETC delegated the management responsibilities to one of its employees, Mr. Edgar Linson.

While ETC oversees and administers routine management operations, the Casa Vargas Tenants Association meets monthly to discuss issues affecting residents--issues which often focus on security-related matters, said Mr. Walter Vickers, vice-president of the Association.

Linson cited three major factors that contributed to the decision to hire security guards: first, the crime in the neighborhood clearly
mandated the need for some type of security in the building; second, the Boston Housing Authority makes available special appropriations for security services; and third, a neighborhood planning group (which included prospective tenants of Vargas House) recommended that security guards be hired when the building was ready for occupancy.

This planning group consisted of about 20 community people who were assembled to formulate plans for the high-rise before it was constructed. The group's membership represented area residents, people associated with the ETC, and various social service agencies. The planners labored for almost two years, deciding issues pertaining to spatial design, furnishings, social programs, and security. About seven participants of this planning effort now reside at Casa Vargas.

Under the mandate of this planning group, and with funds made available by the Boston Housing Authority, the ETC hired private security guards when it undertook the management of Casa Vargas in September, 1974. The planning group, however, did consider other security alternatives in the course of its deliberations. Locked doors, increased lighting, and special design plans to promote visibility on the ground floor were all debated. Also considered was the installation of such electronic hardware, as a buzzer and intercom network and a video system that would include individual television monitors in each apartment. Ultimately, the planning group endorsed all of the above security features in addition to the guards—and all were implemented in the building.

The original goals of the security force at Vargas House were to prevent unauthorized access to the building, maintain surveillance around the immediate grounds of the complex, and provide assistance in case of emergencies. These goals have not changed in the one year that guards have been on duty at Casa Vargas. The guards also perform some non-crime related activities, mostly calling taxicabs for tenants and displaying a willingness to talk with the residents.
Patrol Operations

The security shifts at Casa Vargas are staffed by single guards who work eight-hour shifts, Monday through Friday, from 5 p.m. until 8 a.m. Weekends are covered by 24-hour protection, divided into three shifts of eight hours each. The guards work year-round and are responsible for watching only the high-rise building and the lot upon which it is situated.

The main activities of the guards include monitoring the ingress of all visitors and having them sign in and out at the guard desk in the lobby; taking a walking tour of the building each hour in order to check hallways, the roof, and the outside plaza and parking lot; maintaining a log of all activities in each shift; and monitoring the emergency panel, an electronic console with lights connected to switches in each apartment and activated by residents who need assistance.

If a guard witnesses a crime, his instructions are to "directly get involved," to "apprehend the criminal, if possible," Linson said. If a weapon is visible, or if it is clearly unsafe for a guard to intervene, he should call the police immediately. Should tenants need to summon the guard on duty, they can do so either by calling him on the telephone or by pulling the emergency switch in their apartment. Guards at Casa Vargas are unarmed, although they do carry night sticks. They also wear uniforms and badges for identification and have access to a telephone located at their lobby desk. All equipment is provided by the security company.

Several months ago, Linson and a few members of the Tenants Association tried to initiate supplemental security service during daylight hours by encouraging residents to volunteer as lobby monitors. "The plan was discontinued after a few months," he said, "because it was difficult to get steady commitments without financial incentives. There were also language problems," he explained, "and the fact that some volunteers simply felt afraid."

Organizational Structure and Activities

About three or four regular guards constitute the security staff at Casa Vargas. Most of them are near 30 years of age, and all are male.
The process of recruiting, selecting, and training guards is handled by the security company, which also finds substitutes for guards who are absent. There are essentially three levels of authority and accountability: the security guard company, which is responsible to the housing project manager (Mr. Linson); the manager, who ultimately must account to the Tenants Association; and the Tenants Association itself, a body elected to represent the residents of the building. Technically, either Linson or the Tenants Association can call for the dismissal of any guard who is not considered to be performing competently.

During the one year that guards have been on duty, the management has not only asked five or six guards to leave, but has also switched to a completely different company in order to get better service. Explaining the reasons for dismissing the guards, Linson said that some of them could not get along with the tenants, others were found either sleeping or intoxicated while at work, and one was accused of stealing items from the building. "None of this, however, accounts for the times the guards were late for work or just didn't execute their duties properly," Linson said. He estimated that the average guard turnover rate was one guard every two months.

Mr. Vickers elaborated more on the decision last Spring to change security companies. At that time, he said, guard service was performed only between the hours of 5 p.m. and midnight. "After midnight," he explained, trespassers and derelicts would frequently enter the building and try to cause trouble." As a result of this situation, two events occurred: the change of security firms, along with expanded coverage (i.e., until 8 a.m.), and the convening of a group of tenants who were seriously concerned about security in the building. These tenants, according to Vickers, have been meeting steadily since last April and, under his leadership, have developed a new security program for Casa Vargas. The plan, which was recently endorsed at an open meeting of all tenants, calls for two major revisions in the security system: (1) new guards to man shifts from 5 p.m. to 8 a.m. and to be recruited from local, bilingual neighborhood residents who have had some experience in security guard work; and (2) a volunteer monitor system to be implemented by residents of Casa Vargas. It is hoped that some 40
residents will offer to serve as a "lobby welcoming person" at least once every 20 days. These revisions have not yet been made. Vickers and his security planning group also drafted an outline of rules, responsibilities, and behavioral guidelines for the new security personnel.

Financial support for the current guards comes from the Boston Housing Authority. Linson estimated that the $4.10 per hour paid to the security guard company should total about $27,000 for the past year. Under the new security plan, the funds will still be appropriated by the Boston Housing Authority. "Because there will be no middle-man, however," Linson said, "the individual guards should be making more money than the ones currently here."

Although there have been no official studies or evaluations conducted to assess the effectiveness of the guards, Linson feels that their performance has been unsatisfactory. "They are so irresponsible," he said. "We're lucky nothing has ever happened here that would have challenged their abilities."

As manager of the building, Linson is responsible for most of the administrative work pertaining to the security guards. He said that such activity consumes about two hours each week.

Outcomes

While there has been no change in the nature of guard activity in the past, as previously described, the current security service has been expanded to increase protection during the early morning hours. Because of continuing dissatisfaction with the guard service, however, Linson hopes that the newly-formulated security plan will be implemented by November. "We have already identified several potential employees," he said, "and because we have a week-to-week contract with our guard company, there should be no difficulty in terminating their services."

Currently, the guards at Casa Vargas have no coordinated activities with police, although they view themselves as supplementary police protection. Contact with the police only occurs when officers are specifically summoned to the project, and that has usually been for health-related emergencies. Linson acknowledged that police respond
rapidly to calls from Casa Vargas, despite what he called "deplorable police service" in other neighborhoods of St. Alban's. Vickers raised the issue of alleged harassment by St. Alban's police of individuals who are not native-speaking Americans. "Police treat our bilingual residents with contempt and disdain," he said, "despite the numerous complaints that have been lodged over the years. What a difference it could make if the police would only respond to our neighborhood's requests for foreign-speaking operators at the local police station."

The community relations officer at the St. Alban's police station said that he has never heard any disparaging remarks about the conduct of the guards at Casa Vargas. Nor has he been made aware of any incidents or mishaps in which the guards were accused of acting with poor judgment. He admitted, however, that there is no rapport or "steady line of communication" between the guards and the local police, so only major incidents involving the guards would be brought to the attention of the police. The officer added that the police and the guards have minimal personal contact in the field because the local patrolmen have no instructions to make regular stops at Casa Vargas. The community relations officer also pointed out, although he has not been made aware of any specific difficulties with the guards, such matters would be considered internal problems and probably would be handled by the project management and tenants. He cited the proposed plan to hire local residents for guard jobs as an indication that there might be problems with the current security staff.

Although comments from police may be rare, tenants are vocal about their opinions of security personnel. Expressing their criticism directly to the guards, members of the tenants council, or to Linson himself, tenants often charge the guards with sleeping on the job, not being at their posts, or acting discourteously to residents and guests.

Despite these accusations, the Casa Vargas building has been spared any serious criminal incidents. There has been petty vandalism outside the building and several attempts by troublemakers to get into the complex, but, so far, there has been no major criminal activity. The most serious incident handled by a guard that Linson could remember concerned a struggle between a guard and an intoxicated 77-year-old
resident of the building who was armed with a loaded gun. The police were called to the scene, the tenant was arrested and eventually sentenced to one year in prison under the mandate of the new Massachusetts gun control statute.

The guard involved in that struggle feels that the security protection at Casa Vargas has been successful in keeping trespassers and other troublemakers out of the building. "I've heard lots of stories about the derelicts and vandals who successfully got into the building when there was only one guard shift (5 p.m. to midnight) on duty here. A full nighttime watch has made a big difference in security," he said.

Although the guard said that he had no way of knowing what opinions local police hold about the security personnel at Casa Vargas, he feels that the tenants are satisfied with the protection they are getting from the replacement security company. "There have been no conflicts with residents," he said, "and many of them tell us how much better we are than the previous security company." The guard also commented that when he assumed his post at the elderly housing project he thought it was going to be "jumping with excitement because of the crime rate in the general neighborhood." "Instead," he said, "it's turned out to be a quiet job." The most fulfilling part of his work, he added, has been his exposure to people of ethnic origins he had never before encountered. "It's really broadened my perspectives about people," he said. "It's destroyed stereotypes I now know I never should have held."

Linson feels there is no sure way to discern how effective the guards have been in deterring crime, although he believes strongly that some form of protection is needed for residents of the building. "The uniform and the visibility of the guards may keep criminals away and help the tenants feel safer," he said, "but there is no way of really knowing." Vickers added that since the extension of guard service last spring there had been an almost total absence of trespassers entering the building late at night. Nevertheless, Linson commented that he will feel "much better" when the new security plan is put into operation.
The guard who maintains the 5 p.m. to midnight shift at Casa Vargas has worked in the building for about one month and was assigned there by his security company. He took a security job, he said, because the flexible hours permit him to arrange a work schedule compatible with his graduate school demands. Although he works 44-hours per week (176 hours per month), the guard does not find his workload burdensome. "The time arrangement was my own," he explained, adding that "if it becomes too much, I can cut back." In the past month, the guard has never been absent from his post. His instructions are to call the security company, which will send a substitute, if he cannot perform his shift.

Although he does not regard his job as dangerous, this guard quickly added that he would never take it upon himself to intervene in any potentially dangerous situation. "I have no weapons with which to protect myself," he said, "so my first course of action would always have to be to call the police." The guard added that he has never had any personal encounters with criminals.

While on duty, his principal obligation is to maintain a surveillance of the building entrance and lobby. Other activities include having visitors sign a log book, conducting periodic checks of hallways and upper floors that have access to the outside of the building, and occasionally taking a tour of the outdoor parking lot and plaza.

Because he is a paid employee, the guard has little or no voice in determining his job responsibilities. He feels, however, that any constructive suggestions he might make would certainly be reviewed by both his company and the housing project management.

When asked about the patrol's accomplishments, the community relations officer at the St. Alban's police station acknowledged that the guards had been successful in "syphoning out unauthorized visitors" and in deterring potential criminals. "As long as these guys act in good judgment and within the bounds of the law, they should be supported," the officer said. "The police need as many eyes and ears as they can get to help combat crime."

Regarding the allocation of police manpower, the officer said that the guards have had no effect on how the local St. Alban's police are
deployed. "We apportion men according to the level of the crime problem in an area," he said, "not according to the number of security guards working in a neighborhood."

The officer offered no definitive answer about the possibility of crime displacement as a result of guard activity. "There is no crime problem in that building," he said, "but a terrible crime problem persists in the surrounding area. How much of that would otherwise be aimed at the housing project, I have no idea. To some degree, though, I imagine that any thief with common sense would break into a place where no one is watching rather than into a place which has hired security."
The Harbor View Condominiums complex is situated near the Boston harbor in one of that city's famed ethnic neighborhoods. Despite the ethnicity of the area, however, the building is inhabited largely by upper-income, white tenants. Also, the first two floors of the building have been converted into spaces for commercial and office use.

Origin

When the complex was opened for occupancy in 1973, the condominium owners decided to retain the security guard staff that had been employed while the building was under construction. "There was no serious crime problem in the area," reported developer and trustee Lou Zimmerman, "but for preventive purposes, it was decided that the guards should be kept on." Certain anti-crime hardware features were also installed for added protection, including a buzzer and intercom system for residents and alarms on fire doors. Several condominium owners have installed burglary alarms in their apartments. Also, from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily, the elevator is locked above the second floor, thus permitting access only to key-holding condominium residents.

According to Mr. Aaron Weiss, one of three Harbor View trustees and a condominium owner, there was some initial deliberation as to whether residents should hire their own guards or contract with a private security service. "Ultimately, it boiled down to the fact that we really didn't want to be bothered with the problems of hiring and training security personnel, so we decided to contract out." The condominium owners renewed, with certain modifications, the security contract that had been in existence during the building's construction stages.

There were no particular crucial events in the history of the guard's start-up. The private security firm supplied the manpower, and the condominium owners supplied the capital to get the program underway quickly and efficiently. A financial boost was received, however, when the users of the commercial and office spaces decided to contribute to the cost of the guards in order to glean the benefits of additional security protection.

The original goals of the security guards and the hardware set-up were to monitor ingress and egress from the building, to keep unauthorized individuals from entering the residential floors, and to maintain a general surveillance
of both the commercial and office spaces and the areas immediately surrounding the building. To date, there have been no changes in these goals, although in the course of daily activity the guards frequently perform several non-crime related functions. According to Weiss, guards are often asked to hold packages for residents or to take messages from visitors when tenants are not at home.

Patrol Operations

The Harbor View complex maintains 24-hour security guard service on a daily basis throughout the year. Single guards staff shifts of eight-hours duration weekly, with another group of security guards working the weekend shifts.

Each Harbor View guard's equipment, a uniform and badge worn for identification, is provided by the security company. The guards carry no arms, nightsticks, or other such hardware. "My only real equipment," said night guard Phillip Stevens, "is my telephone and keys." The telephone is located at a desk in the lobby where the guards are stationed. The keys are mainly for the lobby entrance, which is locked each evening at 6 p.m., and the elevator, which is kept locked above the second floor every day during business hours.

The duties of the guards are "essentially twofold, that is, they perform surveillance activities and also act in a receptionist-type" capacity, Weiss said. During the day, when the shops and offices are open, the guard on duty mainly keeps his eye open for suspicious-looking people entering the lobby; however, he often helps people who have questions about directions or who need information about the building. The guard also unlocks the elevator for condominium residents who have forgotten or lost their keys. The guards are instructed to keep unauthorized visitors out of the building during the night, when the entrance door is locked, and to be aware of activities around the complex. In fact, night guards make hourly rounds, checking the outside of the building as well as the store and office doors. Written logs are kept of all routine patrol activities on a shift and of any special incidents that occur. Additional responsibilities for all guards include taking packages and messages for residents and assisting in emergencies.

There has been no crime in the Harbor View condominiums building. The most serious incident dealt with by a guard concerned an intoxicated person who
refused to leave the building lobby. Guards are instructed to telephone the dispatcher at the security company if they are suspicious of, or witness, a crime. The dispatcher calls the police if necessary. Guards are instructed to call the police immediately, however, if they think a situation warrants such action. Residents, on the other hand, always summon the guards directly when their assistance is required. Each condominium homeowner has the telephone number of the guards' lobby station and is instructed to call when help is needed.

There is no direct or formal coordination of the guards' activities with the local police. Guards summon the police only in emergencies and otherwise have little or no contact with them. Certain police, however, pass by the complex during their patrol beat.

Organizational Structure and Activities

The security firm usually sends to Harbor View the same guards for the same shift each week day, although Weiss said that the firm occasionally rotates personnel. In total, about six regular guards, who are in their middle 20's to early 30's, constitute the security staff. The night guards are all male, but a woman monitors the 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. shift Monday through Friday.

The security company recruits, selects, and trains the guards. The security firm also provides its guards with written behavioral guidelines, although the trustees of Harbor View, in conjunction with the security company, have drafted additional rules and regulations for this particular job. Absenteeism is also handled by the security firm. If a guard cannot attend his scheduled shift, he informs the company which is then responsible for finding a replacement.

Although the security guard company is responsible for operating the security program, Weiss, as representative of the condominium owners, has the authority to demand the company to remove a particular guard if his performance is unsatisfactory or to alter the guard duty routine. However, Weiss has rarely had to exercise this authority. "Security-related activities consume only a fraction of my time," he said. "It doesn't take much time to write out a check every month, and that's about all that I really have to do with security."
The guards at Harbor View are routinely assigned to the complex by the security company, although one guard who had worked at the Harbor View site when it was under construction was reassigned there by the security company because of "popular demand." Some of the guards at Harbor View stated that they took the job because they enjoy security work; others said that they find the hours to be convenient and need the extra income. All of the guards said that they had never had personal encounters with criminals and that their present job was not dangerous.

All the guards seem to feel that they would definitely intervene in minor incidents, such as chasing off teenagers or turning away trespassers, but would call the police if they witnessed any serious criminal activity. The regular guards work between 32 and 40 hours per week. There was divided opinion about the burdensomeness of the work, but those who felt strained under the workload usually had additional jobs. Nevertheless, all the guards have fairly good attendance records, with the day guard boasting that she has been absent only twice in the two years she has been at the waterfront site.

The guards disagree about their having a voice in the running of the security operations. Some said that Mr. Weiss was easy to speak with and willing to listen, but that they rarely had contact with their superior at the security agency and, as such, had little opportunity to give "the boss" suggestions.

Weiss estimated that the 1975 expenditure for the security guards will be between $30,000 and $34,000. Operating funds are obtained from a condominium fee paid by each household, of which about 10 percent is designated for security-related matters. The users of the commercial and office space also contribute to the costs of the security guards.

No LEAA money has ever supported the Harbor View security guards, nor have any evaluations or studies been conducted regarding their effectiveness. Weiss, however, is negative about the usefulness of the guards. "The only function they serve is a psychological one—to make the people inside the building feel more secure," he claimed. "Otherwise, they don't give any protection; they're just a front. Any person outside could get into that building very easily."

Weiss noted that at least one guard had been fired by the condominium owners because he constantly did school work rather than surveillance while
on the job. He added that personnel turnover averages about one guard every four months. "People leave either to take another job or return to school, or because they just get bored," he explained.

Outcomes

There have been no changes in either the nature or the level of patrol activity at Harbor View. Guard duties have stayed the same and the level of activity has remained constant. There have been no problems or crises to test the guards' effectiveness, although Weiss said that the trustees have discussed dismissing the security company. "No one wants to take the responsibility of making that decision, though," Weiss said, "so we keep them on. Many of us think they are useless, but we've found nothing any better."

For the guards, contact with police is minimal. While guards view themselves as providing supplementary police protection, they have rarely requested police assistance. Weiss said that the overall quality of police protection in the area is "superb." He feels that if police ever had to be called for a serious problem, they would respond immediately. However, in the past year, Weiss estimated, police have been called to the building only twice. The most frequent security problems in the complex involve would-be trespassers and taunting adolescents, and the security guards handle these situations adequately. Communication between the guards and the police usually occurs only when a patrolman stops at the complex and makes a point of talking to the guard on duty.

Residents, on the other hand, naturally have frequent contact with the guards. Residents' complaints or criticisms are registered in one of three ways: directly to the individual guards; to members of the Committee of Owners, which transmits the message to the trustees; or to the three trustees themselves. Most complaints, Weiss said, charge the guards with being lackadaisical, falling asleep on the job, or doing work other than surveillance work while at the lobby desk.

Most of the guards feel that their mere presence has succeeded in making the residents of Harbor View feel relaxed and secure and that they have been successful in deterring many potential troublemakers. Because of the relatively low crime rate in the area, however, none had expected the job to be any more difficult than it has revealed itself to be.

Because there is such little police contact, no guards would venture to say what their reputation might be in the eyes of the police. One guard
acknowledged that private security personnel, in general, were resented by many policemen, but he had no way of knowing what the neighborhood police officers thought of the Harbor View guards.

The security personnel generally feel that they have a "mixed reputation" among building residents. "Some tenants are very pleasant and say nice things," remarked one guard, "while others seem to go out of their way to criticize us for petty things, such as slouching in the chair or having our feet on the desk. I guess no one person can satisfy a building full of different people," he summarized.

Most of the guards feel that their work at Harbor View is "just a job," although they enjoy the contact with the people and the pleasant surroundings. "It can be a very nice place to work," was the consensus.

Weiss stated that it is difficult to know what effect, if any, the guards have had on deterring crime. The neighborhood appears to be safe, he said, and because guards have always been stationed in the building, no comparisons can be made with a time when there was no security protection. He acknowledged, however, that the guards are kept busy expelling loiterers and that, perhaps, without the guards, these people could bring a crime problem into the building.
The Rangefield Urban Citizens patrol operates in a two block area in the middle of Boston's multi-ethnic community. The area covered by the patrol, however, is largely a middle- to upper-income enclave of white homeowners who have invested considerable amounts of time and money into the renovation of old townhouses. This area, however, is confronted with the same crime problems faced by the adjacent neighborhoods: narcotics sales, muggings, burglaries, and car thefts all abound near the neighborhood.

Origin

J. B. Compton, an artist and graphic designer who has lived in the neighborhood for nine years and who is a patrol member, has had several personal experiences with crime since moving to the Rangefield area. He has been a victim of what he described as a "spectacular burglary" in which his house was "virtually cleaned out." In addition, his car has been vandalized several times and tools have been stolen from his backyard on three occasions. "Replacing all these things, along with paying high insurance rates, has probably made my cost of living double what it would be in another area," Compton said, "but I appreciate the other advantages of living in the inner city."

Compton's experiences are not unique in Rangefield. In the fall of 1973, there was a rash of housebreaks and muggings, and the residents in a two-block section of the Rangefield neighborhood met to discuss means of stemming the crime wave. It was already a highly organized area; neighbors had previously banded together around environmental and political issues affecting them and thus had already had experience working together as a local unit. "It's a neighborhood where everyone knows each other and a spirit of unity exists," said David High, recognized community leader.

High said that the community first decided to request additional police foot and mobile patrols in the neighborhood and then discussed measures by which individuals could increase their own "security consciousness." This resulted in many homeowners purchasing lights for the fronts and backs of their houses and installing burglar alarms inside. In response to the neighborhood's request, local police promised increased protection. "But we were not getting additional coverage, despite police assertions that we were, so several residents decided to go out on the street and keep a count of the patrolmen and cars covering our neighborhood," High said.
"When we saw that we were getting no response from the police, we decided to see if we could stop crime on the streets ourselves," High recalled. About four residents volunteered to plan the details of the Rangefield Urban Citizens Patrol. When the plan was proposed before an open neighborhood meeting, some 15 to 20 people immediately volunteered to participate. Recruitment at this time was by word of mouth. Soon, patrol volunteers numbered about 60. "It was not without some difficulty that we ultimately gained neighborhood support," said High. "Initially, we were charged with being vigilantes and racists, people who were out with guns trying to preserve a lily-white street. These charges are now completely gone, but in the beginning we had to be firm in our commitment to stay out on the street."

The original goal of the patrol was to make this two-block area safer for its residents, and that goal remains today. An independent organization, the patrol performs no non-crime related functions, although many of the patrol participants belong to the larger Rangefield Neighborhood Association which sponsors many social, political, and service-oriented activities.

**Patrol Operations**

Presently, the Rangefield Urban Citizens Patrol operates from 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. every night of the week but Friday. Each four-hour shift is manned by two volunteers from the neighborhood. Volunteers usually patrol once every two weeks with the same partner. When the patrol originally started, the shift ran from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m., but was soon changed to 8 p.m. until midnight. The current hours, High said, were inaugurated in the summer of 1975 and are still in effect.

The most important instruction to all Rangefield patrol participants is to remain visible. "Visibility," explained High, "makes residents feel secure and also deters potential criminals." In that light, the main activities of the patrol include walking and standing around the two-block area so that neighbors know the patrol is on duty; talking to or greeting residents as they approach their homes; escorting people into their homes or around the block, if requested; and periodically checking the back alleys of both blocks covered by the patrol.

Compton does not feel that his patrol activities are dangerous. "You have to be careful because you don't know if a passerby is armed or not," he said, "but a little common sense eliminates most of the danger in this work."
Compton added that he would not prefer to have hired guards patrol the neighborhood because he feels that their lack of commitment to and familiarity with the area would reduce their effectiveness.

If a patrol member witnesses a crime, his instructions are to call the police, blow his whistle, and, if at all possible, not to become involved in a confrontation. "We will confront a criminal if we have to," High said, "but we try not to. So far, we haven't had to do that because our whistle campaign has been so successful. Our neighborhood's show of force has successfully intervened in several incidents." The whistle campaign referred to by High is an integral part not only of the patrol but also of the neighborhood's total crime prevention effort. All residents, whether on patrol or not, carry tin whistles which they blow if they become involved in an incident. Upon hearing the sound of a whistle, all neighbors are instructed to call the police immediately and then go outside to lend assistance to the victim. If a resident is inside his home and needs assistance, he should telephone the police or any neighbor involved in the patrol. "We want our neighbors to know they can call on us at any time," High explained. According to High, at least five or six muggings and several auto thefts have been broken up by residents responding to the call of a whistle. "Response to whistle calls has been fantastic, even late at night," High said.

The inexpensive whistles are essentially the only equipment used by patrol personnel. The participants wear no special uniforms or badges and do not carry weapons. Money for the purchase of a walkie-talkie was collected communally among patrol members several months ago, but apparently the inferior quality of the radio has limited its effectiveness, and few participants now use it. High remarked, however, that he would like to see the patrol acquire a good walkie-talkie set and to have area residents purchase claxon horns, which are easier to use than whistles and emit louder sounds.

Organizational Structure and Activities

Current membership in the security operations hovers around 60, and all of the patrol volunteers are white, adult males. A woman, however, runs a base station from her home, and several other female residents of the neighborhood assist with distributing fliers or doing other administrative chores. The woman who heads the base station is responsible for shift scheduling, finding substitutes for absentees, keeping written records of patrol-related incidents, and calling occasional meetings for patrol members. As the base station
operator, she also monitors the walkie-talkie if a volunteer decides to use it on patrol, and she always remains near her telephone in order to receive any emergency calls. In addition, the base station operator is in close communication with the local police. She follows up on patrol requests to summon the police and, as a representative of the neighborhood, frequently presents local police with security-related requests and demands.

According to High, the patrol has no specific officers or leadership positions, except for the base station administrator. "Several of the more active volunteers have emerged, through their involvement, as patrol spokesmen," High explained, "but none has titles of any sort." As one of those "spokesmen," High estimated that he spends about 12 hours per month on patrol efforts. Decisions, he added, are usually made by the base station operator or are decided in meetings of the entire patrol. Compton emphatically asserted that all patrol volunteers can have a voice in running the operation. "There are no real patrol leaders," he said, "and we usually have mass meetings where people can criticize, make suggestions, or just talk out their problems."

During the past two years, recruitment for the patrol has been minimal. The membership total of 60 has apparently remained constant since the patrol's formation, so no extensive recruiting has been necessary. According to Compton, in order to join the patrol, all one must do is express an interest in getting involved. The only "dues" are the hours one pledges to patrol. Compton usually patrols twice each month for a total of approximately eight hours. "The patrol certainly can be a burden," he remarked, "but I try to work out my schedule accordingly." Each patrol member is expected to be "level-headed and willing to participate." Each novice is trained by a veteran volunteer who accompanies him on his first few patrol shifts. No written rules or behavioral guidelines exist. "The general tone for our patrol activities was set in our planning discussions," said High, "and we all have a sense of what we should or should not do. Foremost is an understanding of being careful for our personal self and of getting involved only in absolute emergencies." Since the patrol has been in existence, no members have been disciplined or discharged for acting with poor judgement.

Compton joined the Rangefield patrol a little over one year ago. He heard about the patrol through the neighborhood "grapevine," he said. Most patrol members have joined because they are committed to making the area a safe, enjoyable place to live, he said, although some residents have not participated
because they feel that the job is dangerous or because they are in poor health. "Others, particularly renters, just aren't interested," Compton observed. "There's a real gap in participation between those who own property and those who don't." When asked what members gain from participation in the patrol, Compton replied that more acquaintanceships are made with neighbors and a heightened sense of community spirit develops. "The greatest rewards, however, are negative ones," he replied, "such as everyone in my family simply being safe. When things are quiet, when nothing is happening, that's our best reward."

The Rangefield Urban Citizens Patrol is supported entirely by funds contributed by participants. Each member spends between $5 and $10 per year to purchase whistles, repair fences in the alleys, and buy administrative supplies for the base station operator.

Outcomes

While the nature of patrol activity has not changed since the patrol's inception, the level of activity has varied. As previously noted, the patrol operated seven nights per week until the summer of 1975, when it cut back to a six-night scheduling (every night but Friday). High said that the reduction in coverage was necessitated by the loss of some patrol volunteers, but, he hastily added, "the degree or regularity with which we patrol is much more important than our being out every night. As long as criminals see a lot of people out on the street most of the time, they stay away."

High admitted, however, that regular attendance is beginning to become a problem, and that the patrol's more active members are thinking of initiating a recruiting drive. They are also considering reducing patrol activity to 15 days a month instead of the full 30. "If this happens, we'll stagger the shifts so that criminals will not be able to tell when people will be out," High explained.

The Rangefield patrol sees itself as an organization that supplements the local police and that affords its neighborhood extra security protection. While there is no routine police contact, the base station administrator keeps police informed of all patrol activities. The police, in turn, try to provide the area with additional patrols on Friday nights. Also, individual community residents frequently call police to report incidents that they observe in and around their neighborhood. High rated the police as "fairly good" in responding to
patrol calls, and said that the quality of police protection has probably improved since the patrol began. "That may be, though, because our neighborhood has proven to be particularly vocal," High speculated. He added that overall police protection is still not adequate, "or we wouldn't have to be out there."

In contrast, Jon Lindh, the director of community relations at the Rangefield district police station, said that the patrol has had no effect on the deployment of police manpower in the area. Officers are allocated according to crime levels in a neighborhood or depending upon the police workload, he explained.

Despite incipient attendance problems, the patrol is still able to operate at a full level of activity. However, "people are getting bored because things are so quiet," High said. When the patrol first began, participants intervened in several muggings and attempted car robberies and turned away countless suspicious-looking loiterers. Now, people are beginning to lose interest because there is very little activity on the streets.

In general, the patrol seems to be widely supported by residents. "We get tons of feedback from neighbors who personally thank us for making the area safer," High said. Compton also feels that most residents have a positive opinion of the patrol, but, he added, "I have no idea" what the local police think about the group. "Because our direct contact is so minimal, I sometimes get the feeling that they don't care that we exist."

Officer Jon Lindh's views about the police's relationship with the patrol differ from Compton's. Lindh said that he has been in contact several times with members of the Rangefield Urban Citizens Patrol. "As far as citizen patrols go, they behave themselves pretty well," he said, adding that he is unaware of any police complaints regarding the patrol's behavior or activities. Contact between police and patrol members is minimal. Lindh said that beat patrolmen occasionally stop to chat briefly with a patrol member, but that is the exception rather than the rule. He did mention, however, that patrol members have come to the station several times to talk with the captain or "to present a list of grievances about things happening in their neighborhood."

In discussing the patrol's accomplishments, Lindh said that they have been primarily twofold: the patrol has fostered a sense of community awareness and concern and has also kept the police informed of neighborhood happenings. In general, however, he does not think the concept of citizen patrols should be
supported because "these people can't take the place of police. They usually
don't know what to look for or how to handle a serious problem." Basic crime
reporting, he added, "was a good thing. We encourage people to do that."
Police have also praised the patrol's efforts at various crime-prevention
seminars throughout the city of Boston and have used the group as an example
to other organizations interested in starting neighborhood patrols.

The success of the patrol has far exceeded his original expectations,
Compton said. There has been a visible reduction in the neighborhood's crime
rate, and increased community cohesion has accompanied the concern about
security. In discerning the effect the patrol has had on crime in the neigh-
borhood, High asserted that "boredom is success." "There have been no house-
breaks, muggings, or other criminal activity in the last eight or nine months," he
said, "and there is no telling how many potential criminals we have deterred."
Residents still are concerned about security in their neighborhood, however,
and have participated in other crime prevention programs, such as inscribing
their valuables with their social security number, attending demonstrations
about safety locks, and installing individual home and automobile alarm
systems. Regarding crime displacement, officer Lindh said that, although no
figures exist to verify his statement, he feels that because of the patrol's
activities, some criminals had avoided the two-block Rangefield area and had
victimized other neighborhoods instead.
Stapleton Place is on the main thoroughfare of a small residential neighborhood of approximately 500 families in Boston. Its single-family, detached homes are modest and closely spaced. The homes are either brick or frame, and the streets are open and sparsely vegetated. This middle-income neighborhood is set off fairly distinctly from the surrounding community because it is bordered on three sides by major highways, and on the fourth side by assorted dead end streets. The neighborhood is socially heterogeneous; blacks, whites, orientals, and persons of virtually every religious background live there. Although the streets are fairly busy during the day, they are quite empty at night. The park that abuts the Stapleton Place neighborhood is a hub of activity, especially in summer when people come to use the sports fields, tots' park, and victory garden plots. Unfortunately, the park also provides an easy getaway for criminals. Among the crimes of greatest concern to residents when the patrol began in January 1974 were purse snatching, the increasing numbers of assaults and robberies occurring on the street, and the spillover of disorderly activity from the park.

Origin

The Stapleton Place Civic League was first established in 1972. Since that time, the group has worked to obtain extra street lights and a firebox for the neighborhood, to have a mothers and tots section constructed in the park, and to start a local bowling league. Heidi Botkin, the current president, has coordinated the group's activities since December 1972. In the course of the League's history, its members have attempted several approaches to reducing crime and other hazards in their neighborhood. At one point, the League had a fence erected around much of the neighboring park; at another time, residents closed off a dead end street that had often been used as a shortcut by taxicabs.

According to an article in the Eastchester Tribune, Clem Bezard, a member of the local Citizens' Group, originally generated the idea of starting a patrol. Botkin, however, claims that it was she who under-
took the actual planning and recruitment that launched the patrol. She stated that during the start-up period she contacted all potential patrol members in the neighborhood personally and that she even prepared a tape recording that explained the goals and duties of the patrol. The main obstacle encountered in forming the patrol, according to Botkin, was the large amount of time it took to contact everyone in this manner. Early patrol efforts were bolstered by the Stapleton Place residents increased awareness of crime. This awareness, combined with the minimal time commitment the League required of its members, resulted in a widespread community willingness to join in the effort to protect the neighborhood. The main goals of the patrol have remained largely unchanged since its initiation: to maintain the neighborhood as a safe place to live, thus "protection the investment made by homeowners" in the community, and to "let neighbors, especially the women and the elderly, know that there is someone watching out for them and their homes in addition to the police." Botkin also sees the patrol effort as one element in her design to increase citizen participation in the neighborhood, a goal she has pursued so tenaciously that she admits that many people think "I'm a bit pushy." Since the patrol is only one component of the overarching Stapleton Place Civic League, any non-crime related activities tend to be performed by the parent organization. Patrol members may or may not take part in these other activities.

The Patrol has also enlisted the aid of both the young and the elderly in the neighborhood. For youths not yet in high school, Botkin has formed a junior patrol that operates irregularly. This junior patrol has policed the tots' park and searched wooded sections of the park for discarded stolen goods. Botkin noted that the youths had retrieved several stolen handbags. Botkin has also enlisted the aid of elderly residents of the community. The elderly spend 10 minutes each day during rush hours observing from their windows the bus stops in the vicinity of their homes. They look for suspicious persons who "hang around the stop even after several buses have come and gone."
Patrol Operations

Responsibility for coordinating and scheduling all three groups rests with Botkin, who spends between 20 and 40 hours each week on assorted neighborhood activities. By asking each male resident of the neighborhood to donate one hour of his time per week, Botkin claims to have created a volunteer street patrol force of 175 members, excluding the youth and the elderly. These members patrol in pairs in their cars or on foot virtually 24 hours a day, every day of the week. Patrol cars are equipped with a magnetically attachable identifying sign, and all patrol teams carry walkie-talkies. At their appointed hour, patrolmen meet and cruise the neighborhood streets, watching for suspicious events. They observe the field guidelines of "general common sense surveillance" by summoning the police by means of the base station in Botkin's home rather than intervening in a situation. Botkin noted that the police are called an average of four to five times each week.

Botkin admitted that occasionally a shift is left uncovered because of absenteeism. Although members are instructed to inform the coordinator of their absence, a specific accounting of the frequency of absenteeism was unavailable.

Botkin maintains daily contact with Police Chief Durstad, and either a police captain or a police community relations officer attends monthly patrol meetings to discuss patrol strategy and to plan surveillance assignments for the upcoming month. The police and the Stapleton Place community, though not the patrol, have also cooperated in running an Operation Identification program and in holding a lecture on locks and home security.

Conversations with several police officers indicated that Botkin is highly esteemed by most members of the department. The police officers spoken to found no faults with Botkin or her patrol group. The police literally were effusive in their praise of the Stapleton Place patrol and in their comments regarding its effectiveness.

Organizational Structure and Activities

The membership of the Stapleton Place patrol currently numbers be-
between 200 and 225 persons, including between 50 and 75 youths and elderly people. Recruitment is mainly accomplished through the Stapleton Place Civic League. Generally, when a resident applies for membership in the Civic League, he is invited to participate in the patrol. Membership is open to any local resident and there is no screening procedure. Turnover in the patrol's membership is purported to be minimal, occurring solely when residents move away from the Stapleton Place neighborhood.

All the patrol members that were interviewed had heard about the patrol through the neighborhood grapevine. The group is well publicized. Members have joined in order to protect their neighborhood and to maintain a high quality of living. One or two of the men reported having experienced attempted burglaries on their homes. Although the volunteers consider any patrolling of this sort to be potentially dangerous, none would prefer to see hired guards there because they would not have concern for the community.

The patrol is funded mainly by contributions from its members, although some of the walkie-talkies were purchased out of special contributions. Botkin estimated that the patrol's total expenses for 1975 would total approximately $5500 to $6000. Major expenditures are for purchasing gas and maintaining equipment. The patrol has never received financial support from any governmental group, and Botkin noted that she abhors dealing with government bureaucracies. Despite scarce resources, the patrol reportedly has operated full strength on a continuous basis since its start-up in 1974. The patrol has required only an occasional intensive recruiting drive by Botkin.

The only major change undergone by the patrol is in the amount of coverage the group supplies. Initially, the patrol operated weekdays from 4:30 to 6:30; after some months, it expanded its coverage to Saturday afternoons in order to protect elderly persons travelling to and from local shopping centers. Only since summer 1975 has the ambitious total coverage schedule been implemented. In any case, patrol members patrol anywhere from two to seven or more hours per week, usually during their leisure time. Vacations and other commitments as they arise increase the frequency of absenteeism. Thus, the goal of 24 hour coverage is not always achieved. The members, however, do not consider their
commitment to be burdensome.

To aid her in coordinating patrol efforts, Botkin has appointed 12 block captains who facilitate communication between the leadership and patrol members. The block captains are also responsible for composing "incident sheets" to be sent to the police station. Botkin is aware, however, that the block captains consider the reporting to be burdensome, and she therefore does not press for complete reporting. The only other written record is a confidential membership list.

Botkin herself provides the only training members receive. This instruction consists mainly of urging members to use "common sense" and to summon the police rather than handling incidents themselves. In addition, Botkin has recently begun sessions on the proper use of a citizen band radio.

Patrol members are mainly called upon to deal with incidents that they themselves observe. Residents rarely summon the patrol; instead, they call the police first. However, residents can call Botkin's house and she or her husband will relay a message to the patrol over the air. Botkin noted that in spite of her admonition to the contrary, "immediate citizen intervention in a crime is sometimes 'better than going through the police.'" She referred specifically to an instance when the patrol attempted to disperse youths from all over Boston who habitually congregated in the park adjacent to Stapleton Place to "have drug parties, sex orgies, and bear bashes." Botkin explained that "some of us are proficient in karate and, given the opportunity, we might spin them [the smart alecks] around, give them a quick shot, and send them on their way." In yet another incident, probably the most serious encounter by a member of the patrol, an unknown man ambling down one of the neighborhood streets recklessly firing a .22 caliber rifle in all directions was tackled and disarmed by a patrol member. After the man was held down by several patrol members, they called the police. Although there was no reprimand administered to the "heroic" patrolman, Botkin did urge him to be more careful of his safety and that of others in the future. "We're not out for blood," she emphasized. "We're not vigilante." No member of the Stapleton Place patrol has ever been asked to drop from the patrol.
Botkin has remained the titular leader of both the patrol and the Stapleton Place Civic League by popular acclaim, probably because of her willingness to devote time to the community. A further factor that may contribute to Botkin's popularity as a leader is the fact that she does not maintain strict control over the actions of her patrolmen in the field.

Outcome

Generally, both Botkin and the local police feel that the patrol is operating effectively and making an important contribution to the Stapleton Place community.

The only mishap in the patrol's history involved Botkin herself. One day while on patrol she spotted two suspicious looking females loitering in front of a house. She approached and questioned the two women and was pointedly told to mind her own business. When Botkin threatened to summon the police, the young women revealed that they were the daughters of one of the residents and were visiting their parents. Botkin was later called on the telephone by the resident involved. To her surprise, the resident apologized for the conduct of his daughters and mentioned to her that he had scolded them for "giving a hard time" to the patrolman who was there to protect his house. Botkin has never received any negative criticism from residents; she assumes that if dissatisfaction did exist people would not tell her.

Botkin is convinced that crime has been held to a lower level in the Stapleton Place Neighborhood than in any other surrounding area. She also feels that the quality of police protection has improved in the last five years.

Deputy Walker of police community relations, however, admits that fewer police have been deployed to Stapleton Place since the patrol has operated there. Furthermore, the police seem to enjoy excellent rapport with the patrol. Walker, Durstad, and several patrolmen all agreed that Botkin is a "super gal," that her group operates twenty-four hours a day, and that there have been no problems. They reiterated that "Heidi" is "just great" for the neighborhood. The police officers felt that
outside financial support could only strengthen the patrol since "you can't expect volunteers to go on like this forever." Deputy Walker credited the Stapleton Place volunteers with reducing crime in the neighborhood, probably by displacing it. The policemen noted that the only contact they have with patrol members in the field is when they are called on for assistance by the patrol.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Dorchester
CITY: Boston, Massachusetts
START DATE: January 1974

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; interracial with a number of distinct ethnic groups.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Purse snatchings, assaults, and robberies.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults patrol their neighborhood on foot or in autos equipped with citizen band radios and report suspicious activity to the police. Patrol members donate one hour per week to the group and patrol in teams of two. There usually is one team in the field at any given time. The patrol tries to maintain coverage 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Elderly residents also participate by occasionally observing bus stops during rush hours for incidents of purse snatching or for suspicious people. The patrol requests the police to investigate suspicious persons and to arrest suspects apprehended by the patrol. A police officer attends the monthly meetings of the patrol.

ORGANIZATION
There are approximately 175 patrol members. A neighborhood citizens' association coordinates all patrol activities. Although some monetary contributions are received by the patrol (and used for purchasing new equipment), patrol members supply their own gas and equipment, which is estimated to cost $5,000 per year.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A patrol member apprehended a man who had been walking down a street indiscriminately shooting a rifle. Police subsequently arrested the suspect.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
About 50 children participate in a youth patrol affiliated with this group. Every so often they search a local park for stolen or discarded goods.

PRESENT STATUS
Since its start-up, the patrol has greatly expanded its hours of operations. The patrol is purportedly functioning at full capacity almost 24 hours a day, with occasional absenteeism accounting for the times when there is no patrol operation.
NEIGHBORHOOD: North End
CITY: Boston, Massachusetts
START DATE: 1973

CONTEXT
Upper-income area; all residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglaries and some vandalism and minor crimes.

OPERATIONS
Hired guards man the security shifts at this residential and commercial complex 24 hours a day, every day of the week. The primary area of surveillance is the entranceway to the building, but periodic checks are made of the surrounding area.

ORGANIZATION
There is a total of six guards involved in this activity, with one guard on duty at a time. Condominium fees and contributions from the users of the commercial and office spaces pay for the security guard, which costs between $30,000 and $34,000 a year.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A guard had difficulty in persuading an intoxicated person to leave the building's lobby.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
This guard service is currently operating at a full level of activity.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Brighton
CITY: Boston, Massachusetts
START DATE: October 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income neighborhood; 80 percent of the residents are Jewish.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Automobile theft.

OPERATIONS
Elderly volunteers patrolled the building's parking lot on foot to deter automobile thieves. One or two patrol members would walk the area from 7 p.m. until about 1 a.m., seven days a week. The patrol had no police contact.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol of 12 members maintained no organizational affiliation and incurred no expenses.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol never observed or dealt with a criminal incident.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol ceased operations in November 1974 because of weather conditions. The patrol was not reinstated after the winter had passed because the auto theft problem, for which the patrol was formed, was no longer present.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing for the Elderly
CITY: Boston, Massachusetts
START DATE: September 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income area: 50 percent of the residents are white, and the remainder are black or belong to various ethnic groups.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Narcotics, street and personal crime, and arson are the primary crime problems. There is also some burglary and auto theft.

OPERATIONS
Paid guards watch an entryway to the building. Although primarily stationary, the guards also perform periodic checks of the building and its immediate surrounding area. The guards are on duty from 5 p.m. to 8 a.m. Monday through Friday, and 24 hours a day on Saturday and Sunday. Police contact occurs only when they are specifically summoned to the building.

ORGANIZATION
The guards are employed by a private security agency which has a contract with the housing project management. The Boston Housing Authority supplies the funds for the guard service, which amounts to approximately $27,000 per year.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
An intoxicated elderly resident, carrying a loaded gun, became involved in a struggle with a guard. Although no one was injured, the elderly man was arrested by local police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The nature of the guard activity has remained constant during the one year since the building has been open, but the hours of protection on week nights were expanded. The patrol is currently operating at a full level of activity, but the management and tenants are on the threshold of revising the guard system because of dissatisfaction with the guards.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Jamaica Plain
CITY: Boston, Massachusetts
START DATE: 1968

CONTEXT
Low-income area; predominantly black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Purse snatching and vandalism.

OPERATIONS
A combination of both residents and non-residents operates the patrol daily during business hours and through the earlier hours of the night. The paid guards communicate with a dispatcher by means of a walkie-talkie. Contact with the police includes sending monthly incident reports to the local police district and assisting municipal police with problems at the housing project.

ORGANIZATION
A series of LEAA grants has supported the patrol through the years. The latest 1975 grant for $195,000, however, was distributed to the project through the Tenants Management Council, which technically oversees the patrol's activities. Evaluations of the patrol have been conducted by the Mayor's Safe Streets Act Committee. About 17 people are involved in the patrol's activities.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Some patrolmen aided the Boston police in apprehending a criminal who was hiding in one of the buildings on the housing project grounds.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is now fully active, although its federal support was due to expire in December 1975 and alternative funding sources had not yet been arranged at the time of our interview.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Roxbury
CITY: Boston, Massachusetts
START DATE: January 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income, almost entirely black area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Shootings, assaults with dangerous weapons, gunfights.

OPERATIONS
The patrol personnel are all volunteers; there is a supervisor of the patrol who is salaried. The patrol operates seven days a week. No other information was available regarding patrol operations.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol is sponsored by the Boston Housing Authority. No other information was available regarding the patrol's organization.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
No mention.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
No mention.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing South
CITY: Boston, Massachusetts
START DATE: January 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income area; more than 50 percent of the residents are Irish.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and entering, vandalism, assaults.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers, mostly women, guarded building entryways to control ingress and occasionally checked the halls of the building for suspicious persons or activities. They worked from one to four hours an evening every night of the year, but had more people on duty and more hours of surveillance during the summer than in the winter. The police stopped by the building every night.

ORGANIZATION
Sponsored by the local community development organization, the patrol of more than 25 members had no expenses. However, the broad crime prevention program operated by the development organization received LEAA funds.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Patrol personnel observed and reported a breaking and entering in progress.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol operations ceased around December 1974 because tenants felt the extra protection was no longer necessary.
NEIGHBORHOOD:  Roxbury
CITY:  Boston, Massachusetts
START DATE:  1971

CONTEXT
Low-income, almost entirely black neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Assault.

OPERATIONS
Young adults were hired part-time to operate a mobile auto patrol five
days a week. The patrol had only very informal contact with the police.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol had six members, all of whom were employed full-time by a
community organization. Funding for the patrol came from LEAA through
the Mayor's Office to the community organization.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol chased some individuals who had attempted a burglary.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol was disbanded four months after its start-up due to mecha-
nical problems with the patrol vehicle and in order to free the patrollers
for more general community work.
NEIGHBORHOOD: South End
CITY: Boston, Massachusetts
START DATE: Fall 1973

CONTEXT
A middle- to upper-income area; predominantly white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary, street and personal crimes, and drug-related problems.

OPERATIONS
Residents volunteer to conduct a foot patrol six nights a week. They both report to a base station and blow whistles when they need assistance. The patrol coordinator often calls the local police station to keep the captain informed of criminal activity in the neighborhood.

ORGANIZATION
An independent operation, the 60 volunteers provide their own financing (which is minimal) and also receive minor contributions from other residents in the neighborhood.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol has successfully intervened in several muggings that could have been injurious to the victim.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is currently operating on a regular basis, although it is beginning to experience some problems with attendance.
III. BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

URBAN AREA
The Millbank Civic Association (MCA) patrol began operating in February 1974 under the sponsorship of the MCA. East Millbank is a subsection of the Flatbush area of Brooklyn. Dennis Yantz, founder of the patrol, said that the median income of the neighborhood was approximately $30,000 and that the population was about 90 percent Jewish. Residents include neurosurgeons, school principals, lawyers, professors, and the area's most famous resident, the late Gil Hodges of Brooklyn Dodgers fame. Brooklyn College is at the northern boundary of the area. The area is made up of one- and two-family homes reflecting the high-income level of the neighborhood. "M" Street, which is the lower boundary of the area covered by the patrol, is the local shopping area. Otherwise, the neighborhood is strictly residential.

Origin

The MCA was formed five years ago, three and one-half years before the patrol was formed. Formation of the patrol was precipitated by a flurry of purse snatchings and muggings in the neighborhood. Prior to the formation of the patrol, residents hired a private guard service to patrol the neighborhood. This guard service cost $125 per family per year for some minimum number of families. For the first month the guards were highly visible, but less so after two months. The situation deteriorated as time went on, and guards became difficult to find during the late hours. Everyone agreed not to renew the guard service's contract at the end of the year.

Five months of planning, from September 1973 to February 1974, preceded the actual start-up of the patrol. The two alternatives considered were foot and mobile patrols. The foot patrol was rejected without being tried for several reasons: (1) it was too dangerous, (2) many more people are needed for the patrol, and (3) the patrol schedule would be affected by things like weather. The planning unit consisted of seven men; and, although Yantz is given credit as the
founder, he claims that everyone worked equally hard and dedicatedly.

Yantz is a high school teacher. The other six members of the planning
committee were: a physicist who is vice president of a company, two
certified public accountants, a manufacturer's representative for a
drug company, an appliance business proprietor, and a man who works
with computers for the city.

The first several meetings were devoted to deciding upon the oper-
ation mode, what the responsibilities of the patrol would be, what
hours it would work, what the patrol would need (car, radio), what kind
of insurance to get on the car (so that 18-year-olds could drive it),
and how to recruit members.

Recruitment initially was by letter. Every home in the Millbank
section received a hand-delivered letter explaining that a patrol was
being formed in order to reduce the frequency of muggings and purse
snatchings that had recently been terrorizing the neighborhood and
especially the women. Volunteers were needed to act either as patrol-
men or as radio dispatchers. The planners had gotten a special rate
from the post office and enclosed stamped return postcards in the letter.
The postcard had boxes which could be checked by the people interested
in participating. The boxes asked what hours they preferred to work
and in what capacity. There was a space for the respondent's name and
phone number.

Seventy-five people out of the approximately 1,000 people in the
neighborhood responded to this mailing. These responses were followed
up by telephone calls.

Meetings were called at which the police gave orientation lessons
on block-watching techniques--what to look for, how to observe things
more precisely, how and who to call.

Patrol Operations

The patrol's goal is to have two-man teams patrolling the area
for four to five hours every night of the year. From February to July
1974, due to unanticipated, trivial kinds of problems, the patrol was
able to work only two or three nights a week. After about eight months,
all the bugs were worked out of the system and the patrol began operating
four to five nights a week. It has been difficult during summers and on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday nights to have the patrol operate at full capacity. The initial problems were things like forgetting to remind the patrolmen to fill up the car with gas and not knowing who to call if you were unable to make it. When the patrol began in February 1974, the gas crisis had just reached its peak. Luckily, one of the patrol members is the proprietor of a Shell Station, and he kept the patrol car supplied. (He continues to perform all the maintenance on the car at cost.) The first week the patrol started, a drunken driver careened into the patrol's car, which luckily was restored, and demolished it completely.

The main patrol activity is driving around the five-square-block area in a marked car which has a flashing light. If the patrol sees anything that looks like a crime taking place, it reports it to the radio dispatcher, who calls the police. If the patrol notices something suspicious looking, for example someone sitting in a car, it drives by normally. After the patrol drives by three or so times, the person usually drives off. The patrol persons are also asked to check for and note potholes in the pavement, malfunctioning street lights, and fallen trees. Under the new administration of Larry Satterwhite, the patrol has begun passing out leaflets asking residents to light their driveways. Michael Greer, a patrol member, said that he tends to ignore the houses of people who do not light their porches and driveways--"If they're so inconsiderate and irresponsible, why risk ourselves."

The patrol only observes and reports criminal or suspicious activities. The members are instructed that under no circumstances are they to leave the car. Patrolmen do not respond to police calls. Don Astorquia, a patrol member and co-founder, said that the only time he would consider interfering in a criminal incident would be when he was appalled at what he saw and felt a personal obligation to interfere. Patrol members are asked to keep an incident log, although two people claimed that it is not kept up very well. Only incidents which turn out to be real are recorded; burglar alarms that go off by accident, for example, are not recorded. Usually there is no more than one incident per night, although occasionally there are nights when two or three incidents are entered in the log.
The time that members commit to the patrol varies widely. Astorguia said that now he works only once every three months (he worked once a month at the beginning) because there are so many new members. Greer works one Sunday a month and Michael McClintick usually works every two weeks. McClintick sometimes works as often as once a week or as seldom as once a month, but on the average he works biweekly. The usual tour lasts five hours, but it varies. No one said that the time commitment is burdensome. "It can be annoying sometimes, but it's something you've got to do," said Greer.

Joining the patrol is a simple procedure. One has only to fill out a card with his name, phone number, and the hours he wants to patrol. Since the patrol is made up of resident volunteers and the hours of patrol are whenever the volunteers can do it, there is no real competition for slots. Also, there are no selection criteria. The patrol purchased the highest-risk auto insurance so that anyone from age 18 up can drive the car.

The training is verbal and is provided by the equipment coordinator; there is a set of instructions in the car. The equipment, all of which is provided by the patrol, consists of one car, flashlights, whistles, a floodlight, and the radio equipment. Waterproof cardboard signs, stapled back-to-back high up on lamp posts throughout the neighborhood, proclaim that "This neighborhood is guarded by the MCA patrol." Patrol members learn about the MCA patrol either through the flyers distributed to each neighborhood resident by MCA or by being recruited through friends on the patrol. People seem to join out of a sense of civic duty and an underlying concern for safety.

Organizational Structure and Activities

Before the actual patrol start-up, a system was established for certain people to act as coordinators to contact patrol members and set up schedules. Initially, Yantz was the only coordinator, but he later changed it so that there were two. (The new patrol administrator, Larry Satterwhite, has volunteered to help regardless of whether there are one or two coordinators.) The job of the coordinator has two parts, coordinating the patrol schedule and the use of the equipment.
The appointment coordinator has to set up the schedule of patrols for the following week. There is a 3 by 5 card file which contains a card for everyone involved in the patrol. That card contains the patrol member's name and phone number, the date and hours he has patrolled, how frequently he would like to be called upon for patrol, what type of service he would like to perform, and any other pertinent comments. The card file is sectioned by month; in October, for instance, the appointment coordinator takes out all the cards filed the previous month and begins calling people to fill the schedule for the next week. Also, as part of the on-going recruitment, the coordinator asks members if they know anyone whom they would like to have patrol with them or anyone who would like to patrol in the future. If so, they are added to the card file. If the patrol member is able to patrol the following week, the coordinator tells him that someone will call him on the day they are scheduled to patrol and tell him how and where to pick up the patrol car.

The equipment coordinator is given the current week's schedule and is in charge of contacting the patrolmen that day, giving them the car keys, and, if necessary, teaching them how to use the radio.

The patrol has grown from its initial recruitment of 75 to about 200 members, 100 of whom are reliable. There are approximately 150 men and 50 women, and on the average they are adults between the ages of 30 and 50. Though there are many women and retired people in the area, few of them, much to the planners' surprise, have volunteered. There are plans to try to appeal to them more directly and to start an afternoon patrol.

People who volunteer for patrol duty and then either do not show up or do not accept a patrol assignment two or three times in a row are never called again. This information is noted on the person's file card.

The leader of the patrol volunteered for the position. He is a retired person and has more time available than Yantz, who teaches and has three small children. Yantz estimated that he spends 15 to 20 hours a week on patrol matters, and Satherwhite claims that he spends 30.

The financial support for the first three months came from MCA, but now it comes from the residents who respond to annual fund- raising
letters. The first letter asked each household to donate $10, and the patrol received $5,200, enough money to buy the patrol car.

The large initial expenses were the car, and the signs ($200). (Some residents complained that the signs should be more elegant, but the signs they had in mind were between $4 and $5 each which would have made the bill $2,000 instead of $200.) The annual ongoing expenses are for insurance, car maintenance, gas, postage, telephone calls, and radio repair.

The patrol reimburses volunteers for their expenses. For instance, phone calls are reimbursed at 10c a call. "Many people refuse to take it, but we always make the offer," said Satterwhite. The 1974 expenditures were about $5,000. The yearly budget from now on should be from $2,500 to $3,000; it is hoped that the money will be raised by letters asking each household for $5. The patrol has never received money from an outside source other than its parent organization, MCA, and it has never been evaluated.

Probably the biggest problem in this patrol is the supply of volunteers. In the first place, Yantz said, "if someone asked me, I would tell them not to even bother starting a patrol unless they had six or seven people willing to work very hard at the planning. Then, unless you can get a core of 100 solid gold, stable volunteers, forget it." Although the MCA patrol has 200 patrol volunteers listed on its books, it has only about a 100 hard-core members. The patrol is always in danger of collapsing if the manpower supply dwindles.

In the beginning, another significant problem was purchasing a radio. The planners asked the police what kind of radios and antennae to buy. The patrol purchased the recommended equipment, but nothing worked right. The police, it turned out, did not know what radios and antennae were appropriate. Not only did the radios not work properly, but the patrol could not find anyone to fix them. Yantz said that the patrol thinks that it has finally located someone competent to take care of the radios; but, unfortunately, it takes a 40-minute drive to reach his shop. Someone has to be willing to give up a couple of hours of time just driving back and forth.

Basically, there is no coordination of activities between the patrol and the police. Once the police called to advise the patrol
that the police were staking out the house of a boy who, along with
two of his friends, was suspected of burglarizing some houses. The
police asked the patrol to keep their eyes out for the boys.

Outcomes

The patrol has been so well organized that no one has any inter-
est in changing it. According to members, it runs along very smoothly
under the new administration of Larry Satterwhite. The members feel
that the patrol has been an effective deterrent to crime in the neigh-
borhood. McClintick said, "Who really knows for sure without setting
up elaborate tests, but my sense is that there is less crime."
Astorquia said that the police told him that they had done a statis-
tical workup on neighborhood crime and that "the statistics show a
drastic reduction in street crime in the patrol's area" which the
police tie to the patrol. Greer said with confidence that "crime in
our neighborhood has gone down 30 percent while rising in adjacent
neighborhoods."

The most serious incident handled by the patrol was reporting a
burglary in progress. By and large, the patrol chases away suspicious
people or vehicles just by making the patrol's presence felt. The
patrol not only reduces crime, it binds the people in the neighborhood
socially and gives residents reassurance. "When residents see the
patrol driving down a street they smile and wave, especially the old
people. It gives them such reassurance," said Satterwhite.

The residents' opinions of the patrol are unknown. However, the
increase in volunteers and the substantial contributions they make
are indirect indicators of neighborhood approval.

The three patrol members who were interviewed all felt that the
police were very cooperative. McClintick said that sometimes the police
on the beat were rude, possibly because they feel that the patrol is
trying to usurp their function. All patrol members agreed, though,
that there is very little coverage in the neighborhood by the police.
In fact, this perception of inadequate police protection was one of
the reasons for starting the patrol. No one was willing to hazard an
opinion that police coverage has been reduced because of the patrol,
but they all agreed that the patrol usually sees only one policeman
during a five-hour tour of duty.

The police appear to be delighted with the patrol. Both the police-
men interviewed, Officers Drenker and Stadley, think that the MCA pa-
trol works very well and that it should be supported. Although the
police have no way of knowing for sure, they estimate that 20 to 30 per-
cent of all calls for service in the Millbank area come from the pa-
trol's observations and that it is "good stuff." The police feel that
the MCA patrol is valuable as extra eyes and ears of the police depart-
ment; they could use more patrols like that, one policeman said. "We
need all of the help we can get."

One officer remembered an incident very vividly. A woman patrol
member noticed a panel truck pull up at a certain street every Thursday
afternoon at the same time for about three weeks. The fourth time she
noticed the truck she called the police and promised to keep them in-
formed. The next time she noticed it, she notified the police, who
investigated and uncovered an untaxed cigarette operation.

Policemen have not complained, nor have they heard others complain,
of having any problems with the patrol. They further stated that the
patrol has had no effect on the deployment of police vehicles into the
patrolled area.

As for the displacement of crime, the crime prevention officer,
Detective Bahl said that patrols never stop crime, they only move it
around or change its hours. "But," he said, "it looks like the crime
in the patrolled area has at least stabilized and possibly gone down
during the hours of patrol, while rising everywhere else."

The nature of the patrol has remained relatively constant through-
out its one and one-half years of existence. It was formed to deter
criminal activity and to serve as extra "eyes and ears" for the police.
Lately, it has expanded its functions slightly to include distributing
to residents leaflets advising them to illuminate the areas around
their homes which are potential cul-de-sacs of trouble. The plan to
add an afternoon patrol and to encourage women and retired people to
participate in it reflects an extension of the hours of patrol but not
an alteration of the nature of the patrol.
The 54th Ward Patrol is a precinct-wide operation. The precinct itself is extremely varied both ethnically and economically, although it is predominantly a middle-income area. The northern section of the precinct houses a predominantly black and Haitian population; most other residents in that area are Jewish. The southern part of the precinct is a predominantly lower-income, black area, interspersed with pockets of middle-income civil servants and a few upper-income Jewish and Italian families. The central portion of the precinct is populated mainly by upper-income black families living in $65,000 to $75,000 homes. In addition, there are several commercial areas and public housing projects in the precinct.

Origin

The patrol, which exists under the auspices of the Community Council, began operating in November 1971 when the murder of a luncheonette proprietor was followed shortly by a second homicide. These murders occurred in the northern part of the precinct, a racially changing neighborhood whose residents are resistent to the transition. The crimes prompted 10 to 15 local citizen band radio operators to approach the police about starting up a radio patrol. Police Detective Dane directed them to the Community Council which called a meeting that was attended by the radio operators, other interested residents of the community, and Council members. As a result of that meeting, additional residents volunteered to participate in a patrol. The Council decided that the patrol should be operated as a Council committee and that all patrol members would be required to become members of the Council. The mobile auto radio patrol was the only crime prevention alternative considered.

In November 1971 the initial recruitment effort produced about 20 members. During the first six months of activity, membership increased to 98 persons. At the outset, the patrol was beset by start-up problems such as inadequate communication networks; members also
worked hard to gain acceptance by the police. During that time, patrol members also began to drop out of the patrol to join the auxiliary police. Auxiliary police membership increased from 35 to 130 persons during the early months of 1972, and two-thirds of that increase came from the ranks of the patrol. In January 1973 the gas crisis combined with membership problems to bring the patrol virtually to a standstill. Only five or six members continued to patrol. By March 1973, the membership had climbed back up to 20 persons, and in increments of two to three has gradually increased to its present level of 45. All members are men and approximately half are Orthodox Jews; their average age is about 32. Many of these are new members, since several of the original members dropped out of the patrol when the Community Council purchased radios without consulting them. Other of the initial recruits were college students, including some women, who have since graduated and left the precinct.

The biggest obstacle at the outset was gaining the acceptance of the police; this took six to eight months. The patrol reported so many incidents that a squad car was assigned just to respond to the patrol's reports. Patrol relations with the police have improved; recently, at the time of the police layoffs due to New York City's fiscal crisis, the patrol suspended its operations, partly in sympathy with the police and partly because they felt they would have generated a lot of resentment from the police if they had continued operating.

**Patrol Operations**

When the patrol started, members wanted to operate from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m., the hours of highest crime in the 54th Ward. However, the patrol could not recruit either enough volunteers to patrol or an auxiliary policeman to operate the base station radio at that hour. At present, the patrol operates from 8 p.m. to 11 p.m. daily. During the summer and on Jewish holidays, Saturdays, and Sundays, patrols are irregular. Each patrol car is manned by two members, and on the average there are three or four cars out five nights a week. In summer this coverage is cut back to two cars five nights a week. The patrol owns
the base radio and its accoutrements as well as about ten mobile radios. Members are planning to purchase two or three more mobile radios. Each night, a different member acts as coordinator, monitoring the radio continuously and making sure that the patrolmen return their radios to the station-house at the end of their tours. The volunteers use their own cars and pay for their own gas.

Patrol members view themselves as additional "eyes and ears for the police." Typical events handled by the patrol include assistance to stranded motorists and provision of escort services. If patrolmen spot a woman alone at night, they sometimes identify themselves to her and ask if she would like to be escorted home or to the subway. On occasion, the patrol has helped control crowds or traffic. Members have purchased a bull horn and have put amber lights on the tops of their cars to make it easier to perform these functions.

Normally, the patrol initiates its own activities. However, a local pharmacist who had been robbed at his store in the evening asked the patrol for assistance after being refused extra coverage by the police. The patrol now parks outside his store every night for the last half hour of the business day to ensure that everyone leaves safely.

When asked if there was ever any occasion when he would intervene in a criminal situation, patrol coordinator Tucker responded: "Only if I see something occurring which would stimulate me as a human being, not as a patrol member, to intervene—like seeing an elderly lady being assaulted. Any human being would attempt to rescue someone in a situation like that." The patrol’s policy, however, is to observe the neighborhood and to report any suspicious activities to the police.

The patrol maintains a base station in the 54th precinct station house. Almost the entire basement floor of the precinct is given over to use by the Community Council and the auxiliary police. There is an office, a large briefing room for meetings, and a big combination locker room and lounge area where the base radio is located.

This patrol works very closely with the police. Because the base station is in the police precinct headquarters, patrol members have frequent contact with policemen. Each night, the patrol teams sign in
at the precinct when they pick up their radios. The sign-up sheet is filled out in triplicate; one copy is kept in the patrol car, one at the base radio, and one at the police desk. The sheet identifies the patrol team by name, the make and model of the car used by the patrol, and the car's license plate number. If a policeman stops the patrol for some reason, he can radio the precinct and verify that it is a legitimate patrol. Also, each patrol member carries an identification card with his picture on it.

Since the base radio has always been located in the precinct station, patrol members have been briefed by the desk officer on what to search for and what to avoid before going out on patrol. Unbeknownst, the patrol interfered in at least two police stake-outs during the first months of its operation. Now the patrol is advised about the location of stake-outs so it can avoid those areas. Since January 1972, the patrol members have also been handed a daily condition sheet, just as the regular police are. This sheet gives such information as a list of stolen cars, the addresses of recent burglaries, and descriptions of suspects at large. The patrol keeps a daily incident log.

Organizational Structure and Activities

A continuing problem faced by the patrol is the loss of volunteers to the police auxiliaries. Initially, the patrol recruited approximately 20 people. The rolls grew to 98 at one time, but membership is currently stable at 45. The six-month suspension of patrol activities due to the gas crisis and the transfer of members to the police auxiliary are the reasons given for the decline in membership. Recently, the patrol ruled that no member could switch to the auxiliary until he had served a minimum of six months on the patrol.

Recruiting is accomplished by word-of-mouth, occasional ads in the Council Newsletter, and announcements at Council meetings. Each applicant's background is checked; applicants are not necessarily rejected because of a criminal record. However, if a particular type of crime shows up on a record, such as child molesting, the applicant is not asked to become a member. Only one person has been screened out by this procedure.
The training consists of having patrol members: (1) read the Blockwatcher's Training Manual and the patrol's rules and regulations and (2) ride with an experienced patrol member for two nights. The regulations clearly state that a volunteer may be suspended from the patrol if he is under the influence of alcohol while on duty, but that seems to be the single criterion for suspension. Absenteeism is not considered to be important. "After all, these people are volunteers, how can you fire them? You just field two cars instead of four," said Detective Dane. Sometimes, if the weather is inclement, the patrol members do not go out into the field; on such nights they socialize in the station house drinking coffee and talking.

Charles Brame, aged 18, the youngest member of the patrol, joined in 1973. During a blackout, he accompanied his brother, who is in the auxiliary police, to the station house where he learned about the patrol, which he later joined. Initially, the patrol's leaders were dubious because Brame was so young; he has gained acceptance through hard work and good conduct. He aspires to be a policeman and has begun attending the John Jay College of Criminal Justice. As a patrol member, he has aided in recovering stolen cars and handling disorderly youths, as well as directing traffic because a traffic light was not functioning and calling an ambulance for an accident victim. He said that the patrol members are becoming pros at identifying stolen cars: "You just get to know what one looks like." Brame draws great personal satisfaction from participating in the patrol. He feels as though he is being useful and a good citizen of his community. The residents that he knows seem pleased with the patrol, Brame reported. Also, with a few exceptions, the police are happy with what the patrol does. Brame patrols one or two nights a week.

Another patrol member, John DeSilvio, was introduced to the patrol when patrol coordinator Jim Tucker spoke at a HELP meeting. HELP is a group that provides remedial assistance to children with their school work or sports. DeSilvio was a member of that group. After hearing Tucker speak, DeSilvio said he decided to "take a crack at it. It's better than sitting around the house watching TV and drinking beer."
DeSilvio patrols once each week from 8 p.m. to 10:30 p.m. Some members work as many as three nights a week, but the average is probably two.

Tom Green belonged to the Community Council and was drawn into the patrol after hearing a recruitment speech given by Tucker at a Council meeting. Green notes, "I wasn't doing anything. It's good. I'm doing something for the community." Green works two hours a week.

Coordinator Jim Tucker estimated that he spends 15 to 20 hours a week working on the patrol.

Outcomes

In addition to deterring crime in the precinct, the patrol serves as a catalyst in bringing residents together from all over the precinct. Dane claimed that many potentially explosive situations have been defused when the potential protagonists suddenly recognized each other as fellow patrol members. Dane recounted one incident at a local high school PTA meeting when two men began to argue. When the two men recognized each other as patrol members, the conversation turned to patrol-related matters.

In general, the patrol has a good reputation with the police. Tucker told of two incidents involving the police that had quite different outcomes. In the first case, the patrol spotted a car driving up an alley behind a supermarket. The car stopped in back of the market and the driver turned off its lights. The patrol car circled around the block, saw that the parked car was still there, drove on to a good vantage point, switched off its lights, and called the base station. Two police cars arrived on the scene. The patrol was instructed to block one end of the alley way while one police car blocked the other end of the alley way and the second police car drove up to the parked car—which turned out to contain an amorous young couple. Some police officers recognized that the incident appeared an appropriate one to report and took the situation gracefully and with humor. Other officers scorned the patrol, saying that it was wasting everybody's time.

In Tucker's opinion, the most serious criminal incident the patrol has dealt with culminated in the arrest of some drug dealers.
One night, members of the patrol observed four people digging in an alley. They appeared to put something in the hole, covered it up again, and left. The patrol called the police who responded and removed from the hole a package of drugs. The patrol continued to observe the area and later that night noticed the four people return. A patrolman called the police, who came and arrested the four people. In another instance, patrolmen rescued a lady who was about to be raped by a gypsy cabdriver; members were instrumental in the capture and arrest of the driver. Patrolmen have also broken up a brewing gang confrontation of some 100 youths whose weapons included Molotov cocktails, chains, and arrows imbedded with razor blades.

"The police were very proud of us recently," said Tucker. There is a home in the community for retarded people; a boy who lives there, but who has an outside job, became ill at work and left early to return to the home. It was a windy and rainy day and the boy became lost. By the time he was discovered missing, he had been wandering for a couple of hours. The police looked for him for two or three hours. When the patrol came on duty at 8 p.m., the police enlisted its aid. The patrol located the boy in 12 minutes.

Two patrolmen who knew about the patrol were interviewed. Patrolman Cryder said that he did not have much contact with the patrol, but guessed that it performed satisfactorily. He knew of no mishaps or accomplishments related to the patrol. He did not have an opinion about whether the patrol should be supported or not. Apparently, however, he has had some contact with the auxiliary police because he said that possibly they were more worthy of support because of their accomplishments, especially in traffic direction.

Jim Gore, the other policeman, seemed more familiar with the patrol's operations. He said that its conduct was very professional. He felt that the patrol was most useful in "nipping things in the bud—breaking up gang fights, preventing things from happening just because it was there." He feels that the patrol ought to be supported because it is helpful: "They see things before we do sometimes." However, he does not feel that crime has gone down in the precinct as a result of the patrol's activity.
All three patrol members interviewed reported recovering stolen cars, controlling traffic, and reporting burglaries. They all feel that they can monitor the community better than the auxiliaries or the police because the auxiliaries are limited to patrolling on foot, wear uniforms, and are conspicuous. The city police, on the other hand, are often unable to respond to a citizen's call. These three patrolmen feel that the patrol has been instrumental in reducing crime in the community. None of them wants his neighbors, especially the youths in the neighborhood to know he is a patrol member, since they feel it may reveal the extent of the patrol's operations.
VOORSTED PARK PATROL
Brooklyn, New York

Voorsted Park is a lower-middle- to middle-income community with substantial numbers of Jewish, black, and Hispanic residents. Housing in Voorsted Park comprises high-rise apartment buildings and two-family homes. Several commercial streets cut through the neighborhood; there is a single park.

Origin
In 1964, Rabbi Manuel Klein and two other residents of Voorsted Park founded the Voorsted Park Patrol which operated more or less continuously until the patrol was replaced with hired guards in November 1975. Voorsted Park residents are predominantly Hassidic Jews and all the initial applicants and members were practicing Hassids. The three founders, who previously had been active in community affairs, felt that some citizen response to increasing crimes of violence in the neighborhood was necessary. Residents feared to walk the streets and thought that police protection was inadequate in the area. One or two organizational meetings were held in May of 1964. The three planners divided Voorsted Park into patrol sectors, determined the mode of patrol, and began to recruit volunteers. Before deciding on an auto patrol, the leaders considered a foot patrol but rejected that approach because it seemed to be too dangerous, too boring, less effective, and to require more patrol people to cover the same area as an auto patrol. In response to recruiting efforts, 200 residents applied for membership.

The biggest boost received by the patrol early in its history was the massive publicity—including newspaper and magazine stories, a television feature show, and one episode of a television serial—that it received during its first year of operation. In addition, during the first weeks of the patrol's operation, a schoolteacher was murdered in the neighborhood, resulting in more publicity, volunteers, and financial donations from all parts of the country.

The two biggest obstacles encountered by the patrol were (1) the stigma of racism which became associated with the Voorsted Park Patrol—many people saw it as a vigilante group of whites protecting themselves
against blacks—and (2) complaints from real estate brokers and home-
owners who feared that the publicity about crime in the area would
drive property values down. According to Rabbi Klein, the accusations
of racism were unanticipated and came as a big shock. The Rabbi had
to cope with these accusations constantly for several years. The ini-
tial patrol members were all Jewish residents of Voorsted Park who
knew each other and the Rabbi. When Klein became aware of the charges
of racism, he recruited blacks and Hispanics into the patrol with some
success.

The original goals of the Voorsted Park Patrol were to reduce crime
in the neighborhood and to protect the residents. Patrol members, who
were unarmed, viewed themselves as additional eyes and ears of the
police. However, the police looked askance at the patrol's operation,
and it was quite some time before cooperative efforts got underway.

**Patrol Operations**

The Voorsted Park Patrol was formed to reduce crime in the neigh-
brhood. Originally, members patrolled seven nights a week. In winter,
the patrol operated from 7 p.m. to 1 a.m.; in summer, the patrol hours
were from 8 p.m. to 1 a.m. Initially, there was no daytime patrol,
but there was always a member at headquarters monitoring police calls
round the clock. In recent years, the patrol operated every day of the
week except the Sabbath.

Despite many changes, the patrol remained a mobile auto radio pa-
trol operating out of the original base station. Two to five mem-
ers rode in each car; two cars operated during the day and five
or six cars at night. Patrol members cruised the neighborhood or
parked and surveilled well-travelled pedestrian routes. According to
patrol member Ronald Goldfarb, members spent most of their time pa-
trolling. However, members occasionally spent a night in the office
answering phones. On the Sabbath, some Jewish members made rounds
in groups of four or five on foot and shouted for help if they observed
untoward activity. Hasidism prohibits carrying or operating electrical
or mechanical devices on the Sabbath, so the Jewish members did not
use cars, walkie-talkies, or telephones on that day. On other days,
the auto patrol radioed the base when suspicious or criminal activity was observed, and the base operator notified the police. However, patrol members did not hesitate to intervene if they saw a person being mugged or harassed. Although unarmed, they often stopped their cars and intervened verbally or physically if necessary. Short of risking their own lives, Goldfarb said patrol members were expected to (and wanted to) help people in trouble: "If we saw someone being mugged and there were four or five of us in the car, we jumped out and tried to help." Throughout the period of its operations, the patrol handled any incident that occurred. Harassment was usual. The most serious incident handled by the patrol was rape; patrol members apprehended the rapist and held him until the police arrived.

The patrol's leaders and members viewed their relationship to the police as a helpful one--regardless of the police's response to their efforts. Members felt they were mainly the "eyes and ears" of the police department, although they were not mere passive observers. Patrol members monitored the police radio and responded to police calls in the neighborhood despite police requests to the contrary. Goldfarb explained: "We monitored the police--kept close tabs on their response times and kept a log which we would use to challenge their response-time claims. The police department brass 'got mad,' but eventually the response time got better. One of the most effective ways to reduce crime is to monitor the cops."

Generally, members were instructed to evaluate any criminal incident they observed and, if necessary, render assistance and try to apprehend the perpetrator. Otherwise, members were told to call the police. In the beginning, members were asked to channel their police contact through the base station. Even though the patrolmen were instructed by their leaders to call the base station first and to call the police only if there was no response at the base station, many calls were initially made to police headquarters rather than to the patrol base station. Except for a brief period during the Bedford-Stuyvesant and Brownsville riots, the patrol never had any special line of communication with the police; nor were its calls responded to any differently. As time passed, the patrol began to have regular contact with the police, and a roster of patrol members' names and license numbers were given to the local precinct daily.
Residents could summon the patrol through the base station. The telephone number of patrol headquarters was widely publicized in the newspapers, and flyers were distributed and posted throughout the neighborhood.

Gradually, the nature of the patrol's operations expanded. Members were asked to observe and report potholes and other hazards. According to the patrol's leaders, those activities were added mainly to prevent the volunteers from getting bored and quitting. Patrol members also began to perform escort services on request.

The equipment used by the patrol included cars and citizen-band radios. Some radios were borrowed; others were purchased. The members provided what equipment they could, and the patrol supplied the rest. Some members used their own cars and bought their own gas and radios; other members used equipment supplied by the patrol.

Organizational Structure and Activities

Initially, the patrol numbered 200 members. Six months after operations began, that number had increased to 500 where it remained through 1965. Thereafter, membership declined steadily, dropping from 500 to roughly 50 persons by 1967. It remained at that level until 1975. Members ranged in age from 18 to 40 and included both men and women. The original members were all Jewish; but, after the first month, blacks and a few Hispanics also joined.

The patrol was a tightly organized operation. Rabbi Klein noted that the patrol began with himself as "dictator." Eventually, a hierarchy of authority developed that included a director of field operations, an office manager, and a commanding officer in each car. Klein estimated that as director he spent from 50 to 60 hours a week on the patrol, working six nights a week at headquarters and taking patrol-related calls all day long. In 1967, Klein retired as director and the patrol's leadership was taken over by other community leaders among the membership.

All patrol members were volunteers and neighborhood residents until November 1975, when the voluntary patrol was replaced with hired guards. During the peak of the patrol's membership, eight to ten cars patrolled every night. However, when the membership roster declined
to 50, only three cars patrolled each night. Originally, each member was scheduled to work once every ten days, but this frequency grew to once every five days as the membership rolls diminished. There were always five members at headquarters to attend to administrative matters, operate the base radio, and answer telephones. The patrol kept written logs of patrol and base station activity. During peak membership, there were usually at least ten extra members staffing headquarters. Absenteeism was not a problem due to the large manpower reserves.

Residents were led to volunteer mainly by the publicity engendered by the patrol. Four criteria had to be met in order for an applicant to be accepted as a member:

(1) residence in the neighborhood;
(2) three letters of reference—from employers, clergyman, etc.;
(3) good health; and
(4) an interview with the patrol's membership committee.

Klein and other patrol officials noted that they were extremely cautious in accepting members: "We had plenty of books apply. People who showed up covered with buttons were gently sloughed off. One fellow even showed up in uniform."

Ronald Goldfarb learned about the patrol because he knew Klein. He joined, he said, to "fight crime, to stop people from robbing and picking on other people, and to monitor the cops." Although Goldfarb himself had never been the victim of crime, his mother and virtually all his neighbors had been mugged or robbed at some time. Goldfarb said that at first he spent about two hours every night participating in patrol activities, but that he lapsed into a schedule of 40 to 50 hours per month. In general, in spite of occasional boredom, he found patrolling to be enjoyable. He was never absent, and he thought that that was probably true of most members since everyone was very active and involved. If a member was absent, there was a large pool of reserves to draw on so that it never presented a problem. Goldfarb felt that all members had a voice in running the patrol if they wanted to.
But, he added, the patrol became so well organized and ran so smoothly that few members ever exercised that prerogative. The potentially dangerous aspects of the patrol simply never occurred to him. "It's like being a soldier in the army, you go out and do what you have to do; you don't think about it in advance."

Although the patrol has now been replaced with hired guards "with Doberman pinschers and shotguns," Goldfarb feels that hired guards would not be a good way to start a patrol. At the beginning, he said, "we weren't organized enough to know what we had to do, and the only way to learn was to get out and do it. Hiring guards should come after you know what the problems are and what has to be done to solve them."

Members were trained in a two-hour session held once a week on Sundays. All new members were required to attend, and older members often came with questions. The sessions covered the legal rights of citizens, the law relating to "citizens arrest," methods of radio communication, descriptions of dangerous areas in the neighborhood, and observation and reporting techniques.

Rarely did the leadership terminate anyone. If a member behaved inappropriately (e.g., showed up armed or stopped citizens for questioning), he was taken off the patrol roster. Patrol members were notified by postcard three days prior to their scheduled patrol night, and members in disfavor never received a postcard. Usually, those members resigned; if they did not voluntarily terminate, they were asked to leave.

Despite these precautions, problems occasionally arose. On one occasion a patrol member brandishing a gun boarded a train in a subway station, told the conductor that he was a member of the Voorsted Park Patrol, and admonished him to stop the train. The conductor did so, and the gunman, accompanied by two other members, went through the train searching for a suspect. These members were dropped from the patrol.

The main problem encountered by the patrol was maintaining its membership. When the initial publicity died down, applicants for membership also declined. Boredom, always a big problem with volunteer patrols, began to take its toll on the membership. In addition, Klein
said, "the closer we got to the police the more people dropped out of the patrol. It was as if they wanted to be adversaries of the police and when they saw our relations with the police improving, they were no longer interested."

Money was never a problem for the patrol. Klein estimated that donations totalled about $2,000 per year. This money was used to buy radios and reimburse some of the poorer patrol members for gas and other expenditures. The patrol also received contributions of goods and services. The rent and electricity at patrol headquarters were free. Many of the patrol's citizen-band radios were loaned or donated. A local department store contributed free use of rental cars, and other merchants supplied coffee and cake at headquarters.

Klein said that at one point he applied to LEAA for discretionary funds, but that LEAA was not interested in "doing anything to upset the applecart. They were willing to support things within the system, like the cops or legal aid, but not a grass roots community organization. They wanted no controversy."

Outcomes

The history of the Voorsted Park Patrol is a matter of controversy. Officially, the Voorsted Park Patrol ceased to exist in 1967, a fact that is corroborated by some of the local police. The major changes that occurred in 1967 were that Klein left and the patrol ceased operating under the name Voorsted Park Patrol. However, a patrol composed of many of the same members continued to operate with no break in activity and out of the same headquarters until November 1975, when it was replaced by hired security guards.

Officer Donnelli of the Voorsted Park Police was of the opinion that after the mid-1960s the Voorsted Park Patrol no longer operated. Donnelli described the patrol as "strictly Hassids protecting Hassids, not concerned about the rest of the community, and frowned on by the police." Donnelli said further that the patrol existed until the mid-1960s when it ceased abruptly for reasons unknown to him. When operating, the patrol had not been coordinated with the police in any way. Officer Donnelli was unaware of the civilian patrol that continued to operate until 1975.
According to Sgt. Perdone of the Voorsted Park Police, the police basically approved of the voluntary patrol. Although the police did not change its deployment of patrol cars in the areas patrolled by the Park police, the department felt free to redeploy scooters that otherwise would have been assigned to the area. Sergeant Perdone felt that the patrol helped, but that it was impossible to determine accurately whether it had reduced crime. At the time of our interview with him, Sgt. Perdone had been trying to recruit former patrol members into the Auxiliary Police. "This way they would carry a little more authority, have training which would be helpful, and as a result might generate better response from the police department." He has stipulated that former patrol members would continue work in their own area after joining the auxiliary. Two people have joined so far, and ten more have expressed interest.

Patrol member Goldfarb felt that the main thing that the patrol accomplished was to show others that forming a patrol was possible. Goldfarb said that he had had no expectations when he joined the patrol, but felt that it was a good thing. Goldfarb indicated that the most important thing he got out of the patrol was experience and knowledge about how organizations start, grow, and function. He also felt that it gave him a good background in community relations and was helpful politically.

The patrol's reputation among the residents varied, Goldfarb said, "depend[ing] on who you asked. The Jewish residents liked it, while black residents resented it at first and then learned to live with it. Most of the problems with blacks came from those who lived outside the area." Goldfarb felt that the police department's reaction to the patrol had been mixed. "When a citizen's group organizes a patrol, it's telling the cops that they are not doing a good job. Some cops care about that; some don't. Basically, I would say that the brass was the most upset by the patrol. The cops on the beat didn't care."

Klein felt that the most important thing the patrol did was to make the police department aware that the patrol was on top of things and could handle situations itself. After the first two months of patrolling, the patrol's relations with the police improved. Patrol leaders had almost daily contact with police at the administrative
level. The patrol gave the police department the roster of patrol people who worked each day, and there were periodic meetings to discuss conditions in the area. In contrast to Goldfarb, Klein felt that "the brass became very cooperative. The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association always hated us, though," said Klein, "even though we'd bring hot coffee to the cops in the streets on cold nights."

Police protection in Voorsted Park is excellent at the present time. Some former patrol members feel that the publicity that had been generated by the patrol's activities and the police's fear of being bettered by civilians may be the cause. During the first year the patrol operated, each patrol car was followed by two police cars. The patrol cars monitored and responded to the police radio calls; apparently, a rivalry developed to see who would respond quickest. Possibly because of these conflicts, operation of the patrol was accompanied by a reduction in police response time from seven and one-half to two and one-half minutes as opposed to fifteen or twenty minutes in surrounding areas. After the first year, when the publicity died down, the police response time increased, but it never rose much above five minutes. Now, Klein said, "with the new hired security patrol, the police are getting nervous again." Their response time, already good, has improved since the guards started. The implications of citizens hiring their own protection during these days of economic crises and disputes over police pensions and fringe benefits are not going unnoticed by the police.

Residents' responses to the original patrol were mostly positive. The patrol was hailed as a savior by many, and residents began to call the patrol before they called the police. Nevertheless, some residents, mainly property owners who feared that the publicity attendant to the patrol would adversely affect the value of their property, were critical of the patrol. Some black groups complained of harassment, although Klein claimed that these blacks were mainly potential offenders or lived outside the neighborhood. Klein said, "the better people in the area liked the patrol—it was the bad guys who claimed that they were being harassed by the patrol. It got to the point where the people who lived in the area were aware of the patrol and didn't want to mess with them. It was the bad guys from surrounding precincts who used to
come in and cause trouble."

There were several complaints, one from an off-duty policeman who asserted that he had been stopped, questioned, frisked, and assaulted by the Voorsted Park Patrol as he was getting into his car. That charge was never substantiated, according to Klein.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Canarsie
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: November 1971

CONTEXT
This neighborhood is quite diverse with pickets of different income levels and racial composition. There are upper-, middle-, and low-income areas inhabited predominantly by blacks; one area is a middle-income, mainly Jewish and Italian pocket; and one area is an upper-income site with mostly white tenants.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Automobile theft, burglary, and muggings.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults patrol the neighborhood in autos three hours a night, five days a week, and occasionally on weekend nights. Their cars are equipped with citizen band radios, which are used to communicate with a base station. The patrol is in very close contact with the police— their base station is located in police headquarters so all radio reports are instantly available to the police. The police also inform the patrol of where their stake-outs are located and provide the patrol with a daily list of stolen cars, addresses of recent burglaries, and descriptions of muggers.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which numbers 45 members, is sponsored by a local community council. The council provides a fund for the patrol's operational expenses, which run to about $350 per year; the fund is used for buying new and maintaining old radios.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed people digging a hole in an alley and depositing something in it. The police were contacted; when they arrived, they removed and opened the package which contained narcotics. The patrol maintained surveillance of the alley, and when the suspects returned, they notified the police who in turn arrested the suspects.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol assists with crowd control at fires and with traffic control at the scene of accidents and malfunctioning traffic signals.

PRESENT STATUS
Originally consisting of 20 volunteers, patrol membership reached a peak of almost 100 in March 1972. The gasoline crisis in late 1973 caused the patrol to cease operations for six to eight months, but in March 1973 the patrol was reinstated with 45 members. The patrol recently suspended its activities for three weeks out of sympathy for police layoffs due to New York City's financial difficulties. However, the patrol is now functioning and is fully operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Crown Heights
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: 1967

CONTEXT
Lower-middle- to middle-income community with substantial numbers of Jewish, black, and Hispanic residents.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Street and personal crime, burglary.

OPERATIONS
Adult volunteers comprised a mobile auto patrol; the cars were equipped with citizen band radios. The patrol originally operated seven nights a week from 7 p.m. until 1 a.m.; patrol surveillance hours were extended as the group grew. The patrol provided the police department with a list of members and their license plate numbers.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol was affiliated with a local Jewish community organization. Membership has varied between 50 and 500. Expenditures were estimated to be $2,000 annually; funds were obtained through contributions made by residents.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol apprehended a rapist and held him until the police arrived.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol reported objects that needed attention, such as potholes, nonfunctioning street lights, and fallen trees. Members provided an escort service to anyone who requested it.

PRESENT STATUS
After an increase in membership from 200 to 500, the number gradually declined to 50, purportedly for reasons of boredom. In 1975, operations changed markedly: The volunteers disbanded and were replaced by hired guards.
NEIGHBORHOOD: East Midwood
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: February 1974

CONTEXT
Upper-class neighborhood; 90 percent of the residents are Jewish.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Minor crime such as purse snatching.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrol the area in automobiles equipped with citizen band radios which are used to report suspicious activity to the police through the patrol's base station. The patrol operates four or five nights a week, usually Monday through Thursday, for about four hours each evening. Police contact is minimal and mainly occurs when the patrol reports suspicious activity.

ORGANIZATION
More than 200 middle-aged persons, both male and female, constitute the patrol. The patrol is affiliated with a local neighborhood association, which originally funded the patrol through its membership dues. Now, a fund-raising drive is held with local residents being asked to contribute. The budget for 1975 was $3,000.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed and reported a burglary in progress.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Since its start-up, the patrol has added extra duties to its original patrol function. Patrol personnel report broken street lights and pot-holes in the road. They also notify residents if, in the opinion of the patrol, better lighting in their driveways is necessary.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has had a steady increase in membership since its inception and has accordingly increased its nights of operation. Further expansion is planned. The patrol seems to be healthy and growing.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Flatbush
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: 1965

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; the population is largely made up of whites, although about 30 percent are Hispanic and black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary and muggings.

OPERATIONS
A hired guard conducted a mobile auto patrol from nightfall until the early morning hours. No formal coordination of activities with police existed, although the guard was instructed to call the police when he observed suspicious incidents.

ORGANIZATION
Residents in the neighborhood subscribed to the security guard company for services. The security staff was comprised of two guards.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
None known of by our contact.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol ceased operations in 1972 because there were not enough subscribers to sustain the service. Apparently, many residents felt that the patrol was not as effective as it should have been.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Fort Greene
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: 1972

CONTEXT
Middle-income, interracial neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Muggings and purse snatchings.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers man this co-op's lobbies to provide surveillance and to control ingress, and a hired guard patrols the area on foot. The volunteers work from 4 p.m. until 10 p.m. on weekdays; the guard patrols six days a week from 1 p.m. to 11 p.m. and from noon to midnight on Saturdays. Police are contacted by telephone if suspicious activity is noticed. The police also occasionally stop by to see if everything is all right.

ORGANIZATION
There are about 100 volunteers working during peak involvement times. The patrol is affiliated with the tenants' association. Annual funds of $18,500 come mainly from co-op maintenance fees, but some fund raisings for the patrol are also held by the tenants.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
An individual attacked the hired guard; the guard repulsed the assailter and chased him into a nearby park.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
Patrol membership dwindles during the summer and, at that time, coverage also declines; however, the patrol gears up again every fall. It appears healthy and operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Gravesend
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: November 1971

CONTEXT
Low-income, racially integrated area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Muggings.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers monitor seven building lobbies to control ingress. The hours and days the patrol operates varies depending on the number of people who sign up to work, but averages about five nights per week. The patrol has a salaried supervisor. There is no formal police contact, but the supervisor of this tenant patrol has become involved in other police-sponsored anti-crime activities.

ORGANIZATION
Approximately 80 volunteers are involved in the tenant patrol. Finances for the patrol come from the New York City Housing Authority and are estimated to be $5000 annually.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol has not observed nor dealt with any criminal incidents.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Two of the buildings are for senior citizens, and patrol members in these buildings deliver important mail to residents. Patrol personnel have painting and clean-up parties in addition to other social events.

PRESENT STATUS
Although patrol membership and the frequency of the patrol operations fluctuate, the tenant patrol appears healthy and operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: North Flatbush
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: 1963

CONTEXT
Upper-income, predominantly Jewish area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
One hired guard per evening patrols the 12-block area in an automobile. The patrol operates year-round from 6 p.m. until 2 a.m. The guard and the police have informal contact.

ORGANIZATION
A private guard company contracts for its services with residents of the community; the local neighborhood association recommends the company and its services. Between 100 and 110 families (all of whom are members of the neighborhood association) each pay an average of $175 per year for the guard service, which amounts to approximately $18,000 annually.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The guard observed a burglary in progress and reported it to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has undergone no changes since its inception and appears stable and fully operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Bensonhurst
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: 1970

CONTEXT
Low-income area, 30 percent of the residents are black, 10 percent are Puerto Rican, and the remainder are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Muggings.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults monitor building entrances and halls to keep unauthorized persons off the premises. The patrol operates from 7 p.m. until 11 p.m.; the days the patrol operates varies from four to seven per week, depending upon how many members can be found to work. The police stop by occasionally; other police contact occurs when the police are notified of the presence of a suspicious person.

ORGANIZATION
The supervisor of the 100-member patrol is salaried; the New York City Housing Authority sponsors the patrol and provides all funds.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
None known.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has undergone no changes since its inception. It appears stable and healthy.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Coney Island
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: Tenant patrol - Winter 1970
Security Aide Team (SAT) - June 1975

CONTEXT
Low-income area; 60 percent of the residents are black and 30 percent are Puerto Rican.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Muggings, robbery, vandalism.

OPERATIONS
The Tenant Patrol is made up of adult volunteers who monitor the entryways of the three buildings on the project's grounds. The Security Aide Team comprises youths who reside in the project and who are paid to conduct patrols of the buildings' interiors. The Tenant Patrol operates five nights per week, while the SAT is operative five times per week, beginning in the afternoon and extending through part of the night.

ORGANIZATION
The funds to support the two security programs are appropriated by the New York Housing Authority, which receives the money from HUD. Police contact is close. The SAT participants receive police training, and the project manager informs the police daily about the patrol's activities. About 50 people man the Tenant Patrol, and 16 people are involved in SAT.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A member of the Tenant Patrol intervened in a struggle involving an attempted knife-wielding of a resident.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Youth patrol members are required to attend classes which enable them to receive a high school diploma.

PRESENT STATUS
Although both programs are presently in operation, the Tenant Patrol has experienced membership decline because of apathy and a feeling of being inadequate as a crime deterrent. Membership problems with the SAT program have revolved around participants missing their classes and a tendency for some participants to "play policeman."
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Spring Creek
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: Fall 1972

CONTEXT
Low-income area; resident population is largely black and Puerto Rican.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglaries and muggings.

OPERATIONS
Some 65 elderly residents have volunteered to participate in this security program which monitors the entryway to the building. The stationary monitors are on duty six days per week, from mid-afternoon through night. Patrol members call police when they need assistance.

ORGANIZATION
The monitoring program is coordinated and funded by the New York City Housing Authority. All participants are volunteers, except for the supervisor, who is paid.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A patrol participant stopped unauthorized youths from entering the building.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The surveillance program is operating on a regular basis, although total membership fluctuates because of health problems suffered by participants.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Williamsburg
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: 1972

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly black and Puerto Rican neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Personal crimes of violence, narcotics.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer youths and adults monitor 13 building lobbies to control ingress from 9 a.m. until 10 p.m. Monday through Friday; they make a check of all stairways and halls once per evening. One supervisor of this tenant patrol is salaried. Police community relations officers attend monthly meetings of the patrol to assist in its operation.

ORGANIZATION
There are 400 members constituting the patrol, which is sponsored by the New York City Housing Authority. The Housing Authority provides funds for the supervisor's salary and telephones in each lobby. The patrol conducts fund raisers to furnish the areas where patrol members sit.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed a burglary and reported it to the authorities.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol personnel have social activities.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol was first operated in 1972, but folded after a year because the supervisor lost interest. A new supervisor reinstated the patrol in September of 1973. The patrol currently appears fully operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Spring Creek
CITY: Brooklyn, New York
START DATE: Winter 1973

CONTEXT
Middle-income area: about 65 percent of the population is black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Purse snatching.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers conduct a mobile automobile patrol seven nights per week. The patrol has regular contact with police.

ORGANIZATION
About 40 volunteers belong to the patrol which is affiliated with a neighborhood association. This association supplies the patrol with some of the operating capital.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Patrolmen observed a burglar breaking into a grocery store and reported the incident to the police who apprehended the criminal.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is currently operating, although financial burdens have caused a decline in membership. In particular, the cost of gasoline was cited as an economic hardship.
IV. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

URBAN AREA
The Avalon neighborhood is principally residential in character, although three or four business streets wend through the area. The housing stock in Avalon is a mixture of small apartment buildings, some one- and two-family dwellings, and several public housing projects. A number of dwellings are currently being demolished. Avalon is a predominantly white community, but there are also substantial minority groups. Many residents are unemployed or work only on a part-time basis, and the income of most residents is low.

**Origin**

The Avalon Neighborhood Patrol was formed in 1972 in response to a high crime rate in the area. Purse snatchings, assaults, robberies, and theft (particularly of social security checks) were regular occurrences. Residents complained that the area was so plagued by thieves that any object of value had to be guarded constantly. The patrol formed in an effort to reduce crime.

As a first step, Dan Jason and another resident of the neighborhood applied for membership in the American Civilian Teams in Our Neighborhoods (ACTION), which is a national citizen band radio club whose members monitor their radios, ready to assist motorists in distress or to lend help during community emergencies. The two men also applied for and obtained FCC licenses to operate citizen band radios. Their plan was to form an automobile radio patrol; no alternative approach to crime prevention was considered.

The Avalon patrol recruited five new members during the first five months that it was active; subsequently, the group recruited three or four members every two months until the current roster of 20 was achieved. Membership applications are now given as a matter of course to people the patrol contacts while surveilling the neighborhood.
Patrol Operations

In theory, all 20 members patrol on each scheduled night—with one or two men in each car. In fact, members frequently fail to arrive and the patrol often operates with only three or four cars. Each member patrols between an hour and an hour and one-half.

The patrol operates from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. on Thursday and Friday nights and occasionally on Tuesdays. On some days there is an early morning patrol, in which case the evening patrol may or may not operate, depending on the availability of volunteers. Criminal activity peaks on the days of each month when welfare and social security payments are received. On those nights, the patrol may report as many as four or five incidents to the police. This is in contrast with other nights when they may not see anything.

The patrol operated a base radio until October 1975 when it broke down. At present, members radio each other when they witness a crime and ask their fellow members to call the police from a public telephone. Dan Jason does not know when money will be available to repair or replace the base radio.

The patrol’s equipment includes emergency lights mounted on their cars, although they must purchase the lights themselves. The only other equipment consists of: jackets, ACTION placards, and Chicago Citizen Patrol identification cards. A placard and card are placed on the dashboard of each car so that they are visible through the windshield. Perhaps the biggest boost to the patrol was the issuance of these Chicago “city stickers” since it enabled the police to identify the patrol and members were no longer harassed.

The patrol drives through the neighborhood or parks and observes. If a member sees a criminal act occurring, he is instructed to call the police and never intervene. In fact, Jason said that the police department had requested that the patrol survey several alley ways in the area, but that he had refused the request on the grounds that to do so would be too dangerous.

Recruitment is accomplished by word of mouth and also by distributing ACTION membership forms to people who have been helped by the patrol. When a resident applies for membership, the form is processed
woman to a doctor in the emergency room, he returned to his car to be greeted by two hostile young policemen who proceeded to give him a ticket. They ignored his explanation, disdained his ACTION identification card, claiming they had never heard of such a group, were rude, and refused to believe his story. Jason took the matter to court. He had to get a note from the doctor in the emergency room, but he won the case.

Originally, the patrol sent monthly reports to ACTION headquarters, but they received no feedback from the organization. At present, the patrol simply fills out the Chicago Police Department's standard form for civilian patrols and submits it once a month. The original goals of the patrol have remained virtually unchanged, and the patrol has devoted itself exclusively to crime-related functions.

Organizational Structure and Activities

Currently, the patrol has 20 members, all of whom are male. The average age of members is 45. With the exception of donations amounting to less than $1,000, all the expenses of the patrol are paid for by its members.

Dan Jason has remained the leader of the patrol and spends about three or four half-days working on patrol matters. Apparently, however, there is little significance attached to the position since every member has an equal say in patrol matters. There appears to be no system of accountability and no disciplinary procedures.

Lyle Nelson, a patrol member, first learned about resident patrols through an ad for ACTION in Popular Mechanics magazine. He is a retired detective who now works as a maintenance man. After joining ACTION, he heard about the Avalon Neighborhood Patrol and joined its activities as well.

Nelson feels the patrol has provided him with a constructive and valuable outlet for his free time. Mainly, he performs patrol-related tasks for several hours during the day, since he works at night and on weekends. He spends about 35 hours a week working on patrol matters. He said he loves it because the work makes him feel productive and helpful.
As an ex-private detective, Nelson has had some experience with crime, but he does not think that patrolling is dangerous. His activities are preventive, not interceptive. He is very good at finding stolen cars, but most of his activities center around helping stranded motorists, escorting people home (from bus stations, for example), and taking elderly people to hospitals, churches, drugstores, and banks. He also escorts home inebriated customers of local taverns to prevent them from being assaulted or robbed. He feels the patrol has brought residents of the neighborhood closer together and reduced the burden of the police; he feels that the residents are very grateful.

Nelson thinks the patrol is not getting the cooperation from the police that it should. Members on patrol are still stopped and questioned despite some efforts to improve coordination. "The sticker from the police department that we put in the window was the best thing that's happened," he stated. Nelson feels that the older policemen support the patrol. "They like to see us there, and we get good response from the regulars. It is the younger ones who give us trouble."

Dan Jason feels that the patrol is burdensome to the members, both socially and economically. Socially, because there is a large turnover in the population of the neighborhood "so there is no sense of continuity and group effort among the residents." Economically, the problem of patrol costs is aggravated by the fact that Avalon is a low-income area and recently has been even further depressed by unemployment. Jason estimates the cost of gas for patrolling to be $20 per car per week which represents a substantial amount of money to someone who has a family to support and is only partially employed. The cost of maintaining a car and keeping it fueled is often too expensive for many patrol members.

Outcomes

According to Dan Jason, the neighborhood residents are generally apathetic; they participate in almost no community activities—not even PTA meetings. The residents are tired, want to "let somebody else do it," and are poor. The large turnover in population is also a negative factor. Even though the residents like the patrol, they direct their calls for help to the police, not the patrol.
The most serious criminal incident dealt with by the patrol was coming upon the scene of a robbery when the robber, having hit his victim over the head with a bat and taken his wallet, was running down the street. A patrol member radioed the police with a description of the assailant, but he was not apprehended.

Police feedback is channeled through monthly meetings. Although the patrol views itself as helping the police, the patrol sees the police as hostile and of no help in a crisis. The patrol feeling is that the officers downtown are nice but ineffectual and that the policemen on the beat may be indifferent to crime, and even try to avoid dangerous situations.

Jason says that he does not think the patrol has had any real effect on crime in the area.
CIVILIAN OBSERVATION PATROL
Chicago, Illinois

Chicago's Bennington district, located in the northeastern portion of the city, was in the midst of social transition when the Civilian Observation Patrol (C.O.P.) formed there in 1969. What was once a predominantly white, single-family neighborhood, dotted with apartment buildings and small businesses, was now becoming a residential area populated by blacks and Spanish-speaking residents. Accompanying the transition was a rise in crime, but at the time that was a phenomenon happening throughout Chicago neighborhoods, said Arnold Luckowich, a patrol leader.

Origin

In the Bennington district a group of concerned residents decided to help local police reduce the rising tide of crime and vandalism in the area. The Chicago Organization of Radio Operators (CORO), a 15-year-old neighborhood social organization of citizen band radio operators, attempted to organize groups of block security patrols, but were unsuccessful in recruiting members because many residents were afraid to participate.

Undaunted, Luckowich, then a member of the Organization, decided to write a letter to the district police commander, explaining the plight of the neighborhood and seeking support for the formation of a Civilian Observation Patrol that would cruise the Bennington district and would be manned by local CORO members. An announcement of the commander's approval was made at the Organization's next monthly meeting, and between 20 and 30 members immediately volunteered to join the Observation Patrol. By the year's end, patrol membership had expanded to about 40 full-time participants. There has never been any formal recruitment effort for the C.O.P.; there is competition for membership, and there is a waiting list.

The original goals of the mobile radio patrol were to watch for criminal and suspicious activities in the Bennington area, as well
as to call for aid in emergency situations or accidents. To date, this concept has remained unchanged.

**Patrol Operations**

The resident patrol operates year-round on Friday and Saturday nights, starting between 7 p.m. and 8 p.m. and ending when the base station closes, which is usually around 1 a.m. or 2 a.m. Sergeant Joe Heideman, the patrol's local police liaison officer, pointed out that the members occasionally put in additional hours when the patrol is asked by the police to supervise special neighborhood events, especially social gatherings of senior citizens.

On a regular patrol night, anywhere from five to nine cars are on duty. Two people patrol together in each car, and shifts average from four to seven hours. For example, Melvin Dixon, the patrol's treasurer and membership director, participates one night each week. "Like most members," he said, "I go out once each weekend, which usually adds up to about 20 or 25 hours each month in patrol activities." Luckowich, on the other hand, patrols both nights of each weekend and claims his monthly contribution to be about 55 hours. Absenteeism is reported to be extremely rare and usually happens only when a member is ill or on vacation. Members are expected to inform the leadership if they cannot attend a scheduled shift so that a substitute can be sought. Scheduling occurs on a weekly basis and is conducted by telephone calls to all members. According to Luckowich, "there is no trouble at all in getting a minimum of nine or ten patrollers out each night."

The patrollers, mostly married men in their late 20's or early 30's, generally are assigned to cover their own neighborhood, unless instructed otherwise by Luckowich or Sergeant Heideman. Equipped with a pencil, paper, flashlight, and a citizen band radio (no guns are allowed), patrol members cruise around their neighborhood and keep a lookout for any suspicious or criminal activity. Any incidents are to be reported to the C.O.P. base station which is located in the local American Legion Headquarters. If necessary, the base station reporter then calls the police. Members are instructed not
to intervene in an incident or to leave their cars except to help in medical or health-related emergencies. Members are instructed to call the police about crime-related problems.

An example of patrol intervention—one to which Luckowich referred with pride—occurred when a patrol member found a woman lying unconscious in the snow. "The fire and police department were immediately notified," he explained, "and the woman's life was saved. It turned out that she had been in a diabetic coma when she was discovered." In addition to helping this woman, patrol members have reported burglaries and robberies in progress, and they once succeeded in notifying the police of a violent gang fight in time to prevent anyone from being seriously injured. Patrol leaders estimated that one or two calls are placed to the police each night the patrol is out.

Dixon cited another incident in which the C.O.P. was able to assist local police efforts. "One time, police distributed the ID of a rapist operating in my neighborhood," he said. "Driving by on patrol one night, I spied a man who fit the description and immediately told the base to relay the message to the police." Dixon's part was over at that point, and while he admitted that he will never know for certain whether or not the man was the suspected rapist, a newspaper article Dixon later read revealed that the rapist was indeed apprehended on the very night he called in the suspicious-person report.

Organizational Structure and Activities

When the patrol was organized, Arnold Luckowich was elected president and, by popular acclaim, has remained in that position. He indicated, however, that he might be relinquishing his post sometime within the next few months. Policy decisions for the patrol are made by the board of elected officers, although Melvin Dixon, the treasurer and membership director, said that suggestions from non-officers are welcome and appreciated: "We encourage members to make suggestions and give due consideration to all serious recommendations." Although not elected, "squad leaders" are also important in patrol decision-making activities. Squad leaders are appointed, according to Luckowich, on the basis of "their maturity and field experience." These men are responsible for any
reports coming from their neighborhood and are authorized to check out
incidents before they are reported to the base station.

Dixon, who "grew up in a tough neighborhood in New York City and
experienced the usual harassment of petty larceny and street dis-
orderliness," heard about the C.O.P. through the Organization of Radio
Operators which he had joined because he was interested in citizen
band radios. After hearing about the C.O.P. "I decided to join it
and help the police out," he said, "because I know that they can't be
everywhere all the time." Also, "I get an inner satisfaction from
doing my part in the community, and making the neighborhood safe
for my wife." He noted that all the members of the patrol know each
other and that almost half of the group also belongs to the American
Legion. "This combination of social and service activities makes the
patrol more fulfilling than I had ever expected," he said. Dixon has
been a member of C.O.P. for about six years.

In order to join the C.O.P. a person must complete an application
and receive an FCC license to operate citizen band radios. Luckowich
said that he occasionally checks an applicant for a criminal record
if he does not know the applicant personally. Before an applicant
becomes a regular member, he accompanies experienced patrollers for
a few weeks in order to learn the radio codes and to recognize what
constitutes an event worthy of calling in the police. No other
training is provided. To date, only two people have ever been re-
jected for membership, and both instances involved situations in
which the patrol member left his car and harassed people on the
street. "All it takes is one such incident, and the person is dis-
missed from our patrol," Luckowich said emphatically. The decision
to dismiss a member is made by himself and the other elected officers.

Despite the ethnicity of the Bennington area, all members of the
patrol are white. Both Dixon and Heideman assert that membership is
not based on racial considerations. Dixon explained the situation
by stating that "only whites have applied for membership."

Dixon does not consider his job dangerous. He repeated that the
essence of his role is to act as the eyes and ears of the police and
stressed "the cardinal rule" of never intervening in an incident. "I
would never take the law into my own hands," Dixon said flatly.

Members of the patrol have encountered some harassment, usually
from teen gangs that, Sergeant Heideman said, have verbally threatened
some volunteers and have thrown rocks and bottles at the cars of others.
Dixon, however, mentioned only one incident, which happened on a Halloween
night and involved eggs that were thrown at some patrol members. Dixon
also mentioned that the patrol avoids what it considers to be the more
dangerous sections of the Bennington area, although Sergeant Heideman
said he was under the impression that the entire area was covered.

Outcomes

The patrol's reputation among the police and community residents
is "excellent," said Dixon, and is evidenced by "fantastic police
response" to C.O.P. call-ins and by "the lack of any complaints from
residents." Luckowich added that civic groups in the neighborhood
have occasionally complimented him on the activities of the C.O.P. and
that several neighbors have indicated that they feel more secure knowing
the patrol is in operation.

Constant dedication of patrol members has resulted in continuously
smooth operations for the C.O.P. As a result, the patrol has undergone
virtually no change in either the nature or level of its activity. It
collects no funds, and members are expected to provide their own gasoline
and citizen band radios. Regular monthly accounts of patrol activity
are forwarded to the police, as are incident reports which are sent as
incidents occur. A membership list is the only other record maintained
by the patrol. Additional interaction between the police and the patrol
occurs every few months when Sergeant Heideman meets with the C.O.P. to
show movies and discuss field tactics.

Heideman said that he believes the C.O.P. "is a good idea" and
claimed that it is one of the oldest and most successful citizens' radio-
watch patrols in the city. No other police officer has had any personal
contact with the group since the patrol's policy requires its members to
move a couple of blocks out of the way after a call for help is made.
Heideman reported that the patrol has never "degenerated into vigilante activity" and emphasized that "no one wants a C.O.P. member to play policeman."

Although Heideman had no statistics available, he believes that the patrol has had an effect on crime. "The criminal element knows they're there," he said; "The occasional threats or the bottles thrown at patrolling citizens proves that." Heideman added that he believes that the patrol's activities probably have displaced some crime out of the Bennington neighborhood and into others.

Heideman lauded patrol efforts in helping police make several arrests, but he said, "They are most helpful in monitoring senior citizens' social events—a service which decreases our police manpower pressures."

The C.O.P. is satisfied with police service in the Livingston district. "Given the shortage of policemen," said one member, "our protection is adequate." Supplemental crime prevention activities in the area include a whistle stop program that was implemented several years ago by a local neighborhood improvement council.

The C.O.P. formed to provide supplemental police protection and to assist the police in their surveillance of the Bennington area. From most reports of parties concerned, the patrol has been successful in fulfilling those goals. Luckowich believes that if the patrol's activities can contribute to saving just one life per year, as they did with the gang fight and the comatose woman, the entire effort can be considered productive.
NEIGHBORHOOD: East Side
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: 1968

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; all white neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrol the neighborhood in automobiles on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday nights from 8 p.m. to 3 a.m. all year round. They use citizen band radios. There are 11 cars on patrol each evening. There is one car per area. They rotate areas every hour. They maintain regular contact with the police. Every night they give the police a roster of who and what cars are on patrol. They also receive legal advice from the police.

ORGANIZATION
There are 28 active members of the patrol. The patrol is a state chartered organization. They raise their operating money by holding a fund drive once a year.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Apprehended a rapist.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is ongoing. The only members who have left the patrol are those who have moved out of the neighborhood.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Far South Side  
CITY: Chicago, Illinois  
START DATE: October 1966

CONTEXT  
Low-income area; 40 percent of the inhabitants are Spanish-Americans.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM  
Residential burglary and auto theft.

OPERATIONS  
Volunteer adults patrol a 160-block area in cars equipped with citizen band radios with which they inform the police of suspicious activity. The patrol operates with about six cars per night from 10 p.m. until 2 a.m. on Fridays and Saturdays. Police assist in training patrol members.

ORGANIZATION  
This patrol, with 18 members, maintains no organizational affiliation, but is an offshoot of the Betterment of Urban Social Housing Association. Annual expenses for the patrol run about $1,800; funds are solicited from area businessmen.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT  
Patrol members assisted the police in the apprehension of a burglar after spotting the automobile that had been reported at the scene of the crime. They followed the suspect's auto in leap-frog fashion until the police were able to take over the chase.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY  
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS  
Late in the second year of the patrol's existence there was a 30 percent drop in membership, seemingly because the novelty of the activity wore off for some of the members and they were no longer interested. Because of the decreased number of personnel, the patrol operations decreased from seven nights per week to two, at which level it has since remained. The patrol appears healthy and operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Fernwood
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: 1971

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; 80 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and entering, auto thefts, and muggings and armed robberies committed by juveniles.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers patrol the area 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, in automobiles equipped with citizen band radios. They report suspicious and criminal activity to other patrol members and the police through their base station. The patrol members also observe school yards around 3 p.m. to note the presence of unknown, loitering adults. An escort service is provided for nurses who return home at odd hours and for senior citizens on the days they receive their social security checks. The patrol has very effective channels for communicating with the police; however, the patrol has some difficulty in obtaining police assistance when requested.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol has 65 male, married members. There is a weak affiliation with a local community organization which occasionally provides funding. Members supply their own gasoline and equipment, and they sometimes contribute money to aid in the purchase of new radios or to help a member pay for gas.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed and broke up a fight between teenage gangs that were shooting at each other.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Patrol personnel assist in controlling crowds at fires and aid in traffic control.

PRESENT STATUS
Although there has been a decrease in membership, the patrol is fully operational and is maintaining its level of activity.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Greenview
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: October 1974

CONTEXT
Middle-income, almost entirely black neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Auto theft, breaking and entering.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers operate a mobile auto patrol on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday nights; there is one citizen band radio that the patrol uses in a member's car. If suspicious activity is spotted, a patrol member attempts to contact anyone with a citizen band radio who might be listening and asks that person to notify the police. If the member's call is unnoticed, he telephones the police as soon as possible. At one time the patrol also operated an escort service on a fee-for-service basis.

ORGANIZATION
At its peak, the patrol's six members were affiliated with the local block club that purchased the radio last year. Currently all expenses are paid for by the members themselves.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol has, more than once, assisted the police in breaking up gang fights.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The entire patrol activity has declined as members have become less interested. The patrol now is literally a one-man organization and appears to be barely operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Near Northwest
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: Spring 1971

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; 30 percent of the residents are black, and many ethnicities are represented.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism and narcotics dealing and use.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults operate an auto patrol about one night a month. The patrol cars are equipped with citizen band radios which are used to report suspicious activity to the police through the patrol's base station. The patrol regularly submits reports regarding its activities to the police. The police assisted in the training of members.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, with about 25 members, is affiliated with a local community organization. Expenditures per year are approximately $2,000--residents contribute the funds.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol spotted a gun fight in progress and relayed the information to the police. The patrol used its cars to block the alley where this fight was occurring until the police arrived.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
When the patrol first started, there were about 150 members. Membership dropped markedly in the fall of 1973 because of higher prices of gasoline which members paid for themselves. Patrol activity also decreased at that time from four nights a week to two. A further decrease in the level of activity has accompanied a further decline in membership; the latter is attributed to apathy, loss of community pride, and a feeling of discouragement because it is felt that residents are not concerned about getting involved in community matters. The patrol is therefore not operating on a regular basis, but does operate when enough members can be gathered to patrol.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Northeast Side
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: April 1972

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; approximately one-third of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Automobile theft and burglary.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults operate a mobile auto patrol on Friday and Saturday nights from 7 p.m. to 2 a.m. with two autos out on patrol at a time. The members' cars are equipped with citizen band radios which are used to communicate with the police. The patrol regularly informs the police of its activities, and the police assist in the training of patrol members.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, with 42 members, maintains no organizational affiliation. Annual costs for the patrol are about $425, which is obtained through membership dues and fund raisers.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol has observed a number of gang fights and has reported them to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol at one time also operated on Thursday nights, but this was perceived to be a slow night for criminal activity, so it was eliminated from the patrol's routine. The patrol has experienced a fluctuating membership over time as members who become disinterested resign, but they are soon replaced with new recruits. The patrol appears to be healthy and fully operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: August 1975

CONTEXT
Low-income area; 98 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
The crime problems range from purse-snatching to murder.

OPERATIONS
Young adult volunteers patrol seven nights a week in automobiles using citizen band radios to report suspicious activities to the police. The coordinator of the patrol maintains close relations with the police by working as a beat representative and a volunteer in the juvenile division. The police were of assistance in forming the patrol and continue to provide patrol members with lists of stolen automobiles and information regarding areas where criminal activity is likely to occur.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol which has about seven members, maintains no organizational affiliation. The members provide their own gasoline and equipment.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol reported a breaking and entering to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The number of patrol personnel has declined because some members had their automobiles repossessed. However, the patrol has operated at a steady level.
NEIGHBORHOOD:  Public Housing Near West Side
CITY:  Chicago, Illinois
START DATE:  July 1975

CONTEXT
Low-income, almost entirely black area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Residential and personal robbery.

OPERATIONS
Paid guards provide both a mobile foot and a mobile auto patrol 24-hours a day. The police are regularly informed of patrol activities through logs kept by the guards.

ORGANIZATION
There is a total of 20 guards involved in the patrol. The cost of this service is approximately $275,000 per annum, with funds provided by the Chicago Housing Authority.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
None known.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
Originally formed to protect the Chicago Housing Authority's property, the emphasis of the guard activity has now been shifted so that the residents' welfare is the primary concern. The patrol is fully operational and healthy.
NEIGHBORHOOD: South Shore
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: 1965

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; 75 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Purse snatchings.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers operated a mobile patrol in cars equipped with citizen band radios. About nine autos were out each Friday and Saturday night. The police gave members tips on how to patrol and responded to patrol calls for assistance.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol had no organizational affiliation. Operating expenses were obtained by donations from merchants and residents and from fund raising events.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed and reported a rape in progress. The police responded in time to apprehend the rapist.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
There was no mention of regular non-crime prevention activity, but during a heavy snowstorm the patrol personnel assisted motorists and brought groceries to residents.

PRESENT STATUS
The level of patrol activity remained high until 1971 when a decline in membership necessitated a decrease in patrol coverage. The membership drop was because people moved out of the area or became disinterested in the patrol. In 1973 all attempts at scheduling and organizing the patrol were abandoned.
NEIGHBORHOOD: South Side
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: April 1972

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; approximately 95 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Purse snatching, suspicious persons in the neighborhood, robberies.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrols a cooperative development in cars during the
day five days a week and in the evening two nights a week. They use
citizen band radios to report suspicious activity to the police. The
patrol has taken on the additional responsibility of observing vacant
buildings and reporting on them to the police. Monthly workshops, open
to all co-op residents and held with the police, are used to exchange
latest pertinent crime data.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which numbers 16 adult members, maintains no organizational
affiliation. Members provide their own equipment and gasoline which
runs about $5.00 per car per week. They receive contributions from
residents for such expenses as radio repair, which is estimated to
be $2,000.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol reported a robbery in progress to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
Although fully operational, there was a decline in membership after the
patrol reached its peak in 1973. This decline is attributed to three
factors: (1) the increasing cost of gasoline, (2) insufficient radio
equipment and a lack of funds to purchase more, and (3) apathy and
boredom of members because of a perceived absence of criminal activity.
As a result of the patrol, there have been some spin-off crime preven-
tion related activities, e.g., Operation Identification and a Block-
watchers program.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Trailer Court
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: 1970

CONTEXT
Middle-income, heterogeneous neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and enterings, auto theft, narcotics use.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers operate a mobile auto patrol from 8 p.m. until midnight seven days a week in cars equipped with citizen band radios, which are used to report suspicious activity to the police. The police regularly provide the patrol with lists of stolen automobiles, pertinent crime statistics, and suggestions on effective patrolling procedures.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol numbers 79 members and maintains no organizational affiliation. With money obtained from contributions and donations, the patrol purchased and maintains all radio equipment. Some gasoline is provided by the trailer court management, but patrol personnel are responsible for the bulk of this item. Operating costs of the patrol are about $1000 per annum.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed a breaking and entering and reported it to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol reports damaged or non-working street lights.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has experienced a decline in membership since its start-up; some personnel resign from the activity because of boredom or apathy. However, the patrol appears fully operative.
NEIGHBORHOOD: West Pullman
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: January 1975

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; about 80 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Handbag-snatchings and burglaries.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults operate a mobile auto patrol from 7:30 p.m. until midnight seven days a week. Their cars are equipped with citizen band radios. The patrol is part of a large radio patrol program coordinated with the police where the citizens act as additional "eyes and ears" for the police, and the police lend guidance, recognition, and some training to the patrols.

ORGANIZATION
There are 25 members in the patrol which is an auxiliary group of a neighborhood association. Members provide their own gasoline; a national insurance company donated $1500 for the initial purchase of radios.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A patrol member observed a burglary of a gasoline station in progress and reported it to the police, who subsequently apprehended the culprit.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol began operations with about 60 members, but as the novelty of the activity wore off, membership declined. However, the patrol appears fully active and at a stable level.
NEIGHBORHOOD: West Side
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: 1971

CONTEXT
Low-income neighborhood; about one-half of the residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and enterings, auto theft, and handbag snatchings.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults operate a mobile auto patrol on Thursday and Friday evenings; the patrol sometimes operates on Tuesday nights and during morning hours. A minimum of five cars, all of which are equipped with citizen band radios, are on patrol on a given evening. The patrol meets monthly with the police; the police provide information on criminal techniques and give tips on effective patrol measures.

ORGANIZATION
About 20 men are involved in the patrol. The patrol maintains no organizational affiliation. Members provide their own gasoline and equipment, and the patrol occasionally receives donations from people they have assisted.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A patrol member observed and reported a robbery and a description of the culprit to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol has aided in traffic control and has helped stranded motorists.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has grown in membership since its start-up and has subsequently expanded its hours of coverage to its present level of operations.
NEIGHBORHOOD: 17th District
   CITY: Chicago, Illinois
   START DATE: October 1974

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; most residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Youth gang crimes.

OPERATIONS
A volunteer mobile auto patrol operates every weekend from night until
the early morning hours. Police meet with the group on a quarterly
basis, but there is no other routine contact.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol is in close contact with the Chicago police, who officially
meet with them at least every three months. The 35 patrol members pro-
vide their own gas and equipment.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Patrol members observed an assault in progress and contacted the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol is also oriented toward a community service concept.

PRESENT STATUS
When lack of interest caused membership decline, the patrol merged with
a similar group in a nearby area. Since September 1975 it has been
operating in both neighborhoods.
NEIGHBORHOOD: 20th District
CITY: Chicago, Illinois
START DATE: 1969

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; 40 percent of the residents are black or Latins.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism and teen-age gangs.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers operate a mobile auto patrol on Fridays and Saturdays from about 7 p.m. to 1 a.m. Between five and nine cars are on duty every patrol night. Members' cars are equipped with citizen band radios which are used to communicate reports of suspicious activity to the police via a base station. A police liaison officer meets regularly with the patrol and lends guidance.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol was formed by members of a Chicago radio club, but now maintains no organizational affiliation. The 40 patrol members provide their own equipment and gasoline.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A patrol member observed a violent gang fight and reported it to the police; the police intervened and broke up the fight.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has undergone no changes since its inception, and currently has a full and active membership.
V. DALLAS, TEXAS

URBAN AREA
NEIGHBORHOOD: University Hills
CITY: Dallas, Texas
START DATE: February 1974

CONTEXT
Upper-income, entirely white area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
Hired security guards provide 24-hour protection every day of the week. This development is protected by a combination of mobile foot patrols, mobile auto patrols, stationary guards, and escort services. The area patrolled includes a multi-block residential area, future construction sites, and the entryways of several buildings. At the request of homeowners, the guards will provide "safety checks" of their homes, which includes instruction on how to make property less vulnerable to crime. While there is no specific coordination of activities between the guards and the police, the police usually stop by the development daily, and several of the guards are ex-policemen who retain their social contacts with their former co-workers.

ORGANIZATION
About 18 security personnel are employed. A homeowners association collects membership dues which are distributed for maintenance, social activities, and security. The guard service costs $182,883 annually.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Guards intervened in an attempted rape on the grounds of the development.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
As the development expanded and funds became more plentiful the patrol increased its manpower and its hours of coverage to the present level. The patrol is currently operating at a full level of activity.
VI. DETROIT, MICHIGAN

URBAN AREA
Caldwell Township is a modest, predominantly white, working class suburb of Detroit contiguous with the city limits. Although only two miles square in area, the town contains a fairly large number of commercial sections along its residential streets. Several highways pass through Caldwell Township, offering outsiders easy access to the community. Modest frame and aluminum sided homes built in the Cape Cod cottage style line the well-kept streets. Most residents hold factory or other blue collar jobs; many work at the local auto assembly plants. There are no major ethnic groups.

Origin

The Emergency Assistance Group (EAG) originated during the Detroit riots of 1967. At that time, explained Bill Edgerton, current EAG Director, members of a citizen band radio club approached Chief Abel of the Caldwell Township Police and volunteered to patrol the streets of their town in a preventive capacity. "You have to understand citizen band radio people," Edgerton said, "they just tend to be community oriented and to have very big hearts." Chief Abel accepted the group's offer, and within hours after the conference the first patrols cruised the streets. "In those days, this [Caldwell Township] was the most heavily patrolled area around Detroit," recalled Edgerton. "They had an awful amount of people—about 120 CB'er's every night." Because of the planners' interest in radios, no other alternatives to crime prevention were considered.

In its early days, the patrol received substantial coordination from the police; in fact, police officers often rode with the civilians as they made their rounds. Although Caldwell Township was never touched by the 1967 riots, the patrol was credited with greatly reducing residents' fears and with playing an important preventive role.

According to Edgerton, "after the riots were over the group was pretty much at loose ends." Members approached Chief Abel about whether to maintain the patrol. Abel approved of continuing the patrol, and police offered EAG an office at the police station.
Patrol Operations

Today EAG has 34 members and patrols from 7 p.m. to 11 p.m. two nights per week. Recognizing the need of members to have nights off, Edgerton schedules patrols Tuesday and Friday one week and Thursday and Saturday the following week. "That way," Edgerton explained, "people have at least one weekend night off every week." The schedule seems to work out well since Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday are Caldwell Township's high crime nights.

On an average night the patrol is staffed by nine to ten members, with no more than two people riding in each car. Patrol members are equipped with identification cards, special jackets, flares supplied by the police, and log sheets on which they record any incidents observed. Originally, the patrol cars were equipped with flashing lights; however, that was discontinued since it was "too expensive." Members are prohibited from carrying any weapons.

The primary goal of EAG is to act as "eyes and ears for the police." Director Edgerton has instructed members that when they observe any suspicious activity they are to report it to the base station. The base operator, Mrs. Edgerton, then screens the calls and relays important information to the police. Edgerton emphasized that the members are strictly told "not to make contact" with suspected criminals. "Our job is just to sit back and observe," he said. "We don't even like people to assume we're in the vicinity. We're afraid some day a victim may tell the perpetrator of a crime the 'police' are outside and endanger our members."

Although the group has never encountered an accident, Edgerton feels it would be "all right" for patrol members to use their cars to block off the area of an auto accident and to assist the victim.

Residents of Caldwell Township are concerned about robberies, street crime, and drunken driving. Edgerton noted that the usual crimes in Caldwell Township in the past have been auto and bicycle thefts, but that "now, crime has moved out [from Detroit] to the whole area and we can expect about anything."

Although the patrol operated in all areas of Caldwell Township during its early days, EAG has more recently concentrated its efforts in commercial areas of the community, particularly the two main commercial streets. Generally, the patrol members are required to sit in their parked cars and
watch for any suspicious activity. Members are rarely assigned to mobile patrol duty; Edgerton estimated that a car is assigned roving duty as infrequently as once per week. Members work approximately four-hour shifts, despite some members' feelings that they should be allowed to patrol more.

Bill Edgerton stated that as director of EAG he spends approximately 40 hours per week. "We've always been doers," said Mrs. Edgerton; "it used to be the PTA." Part of Edgerton's time is spent roving in his car to check on the performance of his patrol in the field. Citizens do not have a way of summoning the patrol.

According to Mr. and Mrs. Edgerton, the patrol has established an excellent working relationship with the police. In fact, the police department has assigned Sgt. Ike Barnett, coordinator of the police auxiliary, to act as police liaison for the patrol. The base station has always been located at police headquarters, and the police have provided the group with a base radio and antenna. Periodically, the patrol receives from the police a list of "suggested" areas for patrol—areas that are likely to be high crime spots. In keeping with EAG's general effort to maintain a low profile in the community, patrol members generally do not establish personal contact with police officers in the field. Patrol members do, however, have constant access to the police through their base station. According to Mrs. Edgerton, "police response to our calls has gotten so good that they've asked that we keep in constant communication with them after we report an incident; they want to know if the situation changes."

Officer Thaddeus Lankowski of the Caldwell Township Police also remarked that harmony and a spirit of cooperation characterizes EAG's relationship with the police. Lankowski noted that he had never actually had personal contact with a member since "they never break their cover." He noted that, although EAG members work closely with the police, they have their own officers and screening procedures. Lankowski added that the patrol is "very selective" and that, although the police occasionally "call a few things to the attention of the officers, most monitoring of the group is done by their own staff."

Organizational Structure and Activities

EAG currently numbers 34 members, many of whom are youthful friends
of the Edgertons’ daughter. Although EAG works closely with the Caldwell Township Police, the group maintains no formal organizational affiliations. In fact, Mrs. Edgerton noted, the "city manager wants it made very clear that EAG is a voluntary group and that the city has absolutely no liability."

In addition to its crime prevention activities, the patrol has undertaken a number of general community service ventures, including providing assistance at parades, first aid in medical emergencies, and assistance to stranded motorists. Several years ago the patrol bought a bus and equipped it as an office, communications center, and first aid station for use in emergency situations and at various local functions.

Aside from official patrol activities, members of EAG frequently socialize informally. After patrolling, members often go out and have coffee. Edgerton is sensitive to the role social activities play in organizational life. "You have to realize how group structure works," he said. "Coffee breaks and social functions are important to people. You have to maintain members' interest, and they have to have some sense of satisfaction."

According to Edgerton, maintaining adequate membership has been one of the most difficult problems faced by EAG. "Some members last for only a short while, until the novelty wears off," he said. "They drop out to become members of the police auxiliary, or because of family problems and competing demands on their time during holiday seasons, or boredom. Mainly, we try to maintain communication and prevent permanent attrition. Often they ask to come back and they're welcome."

Members of EAG are accountable primarily to Bill Edgerton, their elected president. Edgerton oversees selection, training, and disciplining of members. He is willing to terminate a member who breaches patrol rules and has done so on one occasion. Although Edgerton maintains control of the group, he is sensitive to any requests or observations made by the police and is eager to honor their wishes. Edgerton is assisted in his leadership of the patrol by two subordinate squad leaders whose duties consist mainly of reminding patrolmen of their upcoming patrol obligations. Should a member indicate that he will be unable to make his rounds, the squad leaders, assisted by Mrs. Edgerton, find a replacement. One interesting feature of EAG is that its members are required to keep EAG activities confidential, even from their families. Possibly, this is done to
prevent the patrol's activities from becoming common knowledge and to protect members from recriminations. However, we obtained no clear answer.

Recruitment of members is accomplished informally by word of mouth. Although occasional publicity given the patrol has facilitated the process somewhat, Mr. Edgerton noted that it is "hard to get members." The main requirement for patrol membership is that an applicant have neither a criminal record nor an outstanding warrant for his arrest. Mr. Edgerton noted that EAG's police liaison officer, Sgt. Barnett, has suggested that the patrol stabilize its size for a while and become "more selective" in its screening process. Mr. Edgerton indicated an interest to follow through on the suggestion.

Gayle Brancher and her husband, relatively new members of EAG, regard the unit as "an opportunity to do something for the community instead of just complaining." Mrs. Brancher remarked that she learned about EAG through an article about it in the newspaper. In order to join the patrol, she had to complete an application and obtain an FCC radio operator's license. Mrs. Brancher then received one and one-half hours of instruction from patrol leaders regarding the "dos and don'ts" of patrol operations. She received maps of Caldwell Township, and for the first two evenings she patrolled she was accompanied by an "old timer" who provided advice on field procedures. Mrs. Brancher feels that the patrol is versatile and flexible, saying that assignments can be switched if advance notice is given to the leadership. "Maybe once a month I go another night," Brancher said. Because of the flexibility, Brancher said, she does not regard her time commitment to the patrol to be a burden. Although she originally patrolled two nights a week, she has cut back to one because "babysitters are expensive."

Brancher does not feel her patrol activity to be dangerous because "we don't sit in obvious spots and you can always leave." She feels that all members have plenty of say in the workings of the patrol and commented that "now it's being run real well." Among the rewards Mrs. Brancher has gleaned from participating in the patrol are an awareness of spots to avoid at night, new acquaintances and friendships, and a "guaranteed night out each week without the kids" and opportunities to have "four hours alone in the car to talk" with her husband.

EAG is supported almost entirely by federal funds channelled to it
through Caldwell Township. The patrol receives from the township $500 each year for "operating expenses" and four gallons of gas each night for each car on patrol. Edgerton noted that the $500 grant is spent mainly to buy used equipment, including binoculars and citizen band radios and antennae. Logs kept by patrolmen and the base operator constitute the only written records of the patrol's activities. No evaluations have been conducted of EAG.

In the course of EAG's history, the nature and level of its activity as well as its membership have undergone major transitions. According to Edgerton, changes in the patrol began immediately after the 1967 riots subsided. While the group maintained its membership of 120 persons, coverage was cut back to two or three nights per week. On those nights, Edgerton said, "varied numbers" of persons patrolled--"whoever showed up." At that point, he noted, 25 to 30 persons comprised an average night's patrol. By 1968, "members began to lose interest, internal feuding began, and there was a lot of dissatisfaction with the leadership." Despite these problems, the patrol continued its uneven activity. In 1969, EAG developed a constitution that turned the patrol into a civil defense unit. Subsequently, EAG began to undertake more general types of community and emergency assistance. In 1971, EAG bought and outfitted a bus as a communication and first aid center. At about this time, Edgerton noted, some resentment began to develop among police officers who felt that their opportunities to earn overtime pay were being reduced by the patrol's activities. According to Edgerton, this friction reached a level in 1972 when the unit was asked not to come out at all. For several months no patrol operations were conducted. During this period more members lost interest and active membership dropped to nine. Edgerton feels that those members who remained were mostly interested in "turning the group into a social club." In 1973 the crime prevention aspect of the patrol was revived and EAG assisted in Operation Identification. "Members themselves went from house to house to mark items," Edgerton noted. Patrol operations also recommenced at a fairly low level.

In the summer of 1974 a child was lost in Caldwell Township and Vicki Edgerton, at that time not an EAG member, mobilized over 100 citizen band radio operators to search for the child. Upon hearing of her effort, members of EAG called Mrs. Edgerton and asked her to join.
"When I joined," observed Mrs. Edgerton, "the patrol was a mess. You'd go down to the base station and the squad leader wouldn't be there." Mrs. Edgerton involved her husband and they built their squad up to 20 members, including many of their daughter's friends. However, patrol operations apparently were still disorganized and highly sporadic. The situation came to a head one night in December of 1974 when a lax patrol leader decided at the last minute not to take his squad out—-that night a store his squad was supposed to be watching was robbed. According to Bill Edgerton, the proprietor of a neighboring store observed the robbery in progress but, thinking that the patrol was at its appointed watch station, didn't report the robbery until it was too late for police to apprehend the culprits. When police learned what had happened they were highly critical of EAG and demanded that they had to know with certainty whether patrol members would be in the field on a given night and where they would operate.

Police liaison officer Barnett directed the group to reorganize. "Feuds among the members began again," said Edgerton. "Some members really wanted a social club, while others, like my wife . . . and myself wanted to make a serious effort to aid the police." The issue was put to a vote in January 1975 when the patrol held elections and voted in Mr. Edgerton and his program of "serious systematic surveillance." Mrs. Edgerton remarked that ousting the old leadership "caused a lot of bitterness among some of the older members and some new problems for the patrol." Between January 1975 and June 1975, the Edgerons recruited new members and began their systematic crime prevention patrol.

Captain Roger Covington of the Caldwell Township Police provided further insight into the tumult of the patrol's earlier years. In his view, much of the problem rested with the patrol's leadership. According to Covington, there were three generations of leadership. The first director of EAG, Covington noted, was somewhat "overzealous" and was a "social friend of several police officers." Covington feels that the director spent an excessive amount of time at the police station, thereby creating suspicion among some police officers that members of EAG wanted to supplant police activity. Apparently, the resulting conflict led to the ouster of the first leader and to the succession of an equally troubled interim faction before Bill Edgerton was finally elected director in 1975.
Covington commented that during those early years he "thinks the patrol had some abnormal people." Covington noted one instance when the interim leader of the unit "overreacted" and chased and stopped a speeding car. Covington seconded Lankowski's view that some police officers fear that the patrol's activities may reduce the demand for police overtime work.

Outcomes

EAG currently appears to be a healthy and growing organization. Both its coordinators and the local police feel that EAG is making an important contribution to Caldwell Township.

The Edgertons feel that the patrol has played an important role in preventing crime in Caldwell Township. According to the Edgertons, the patrol contacts the police approximately ten times a week to report suspicious events. The couple feels that perhaps the most serious incident yet reported by the patrol was a case of a youth walking the streets carrying a gun. EAG has also observed and reported robberies, speeders, drunken drivers, car thefts, and assorted street crimes. At one time, the EAG sighted and reported a "towing truck" operated by a ring of car thieves that had frequented the streets of Caldwell Township, selecting choice cars and towing them from their parking spaces. The car thieves were apprehended by the police. On another occasion, patrol members at the behest of the police noted the license numbers on cars entering and exiting a street where a drug ring was suspected to be operating. Edgerton noted that he has never received any complaint about the patrol from either residents or the police and that the police have praised EAG's non-interventionist behavior. Mr. Edgerton feels that many Caldwell Township residents are unaware of EAG, but has no desire to change the situation because he fears potential recriminations against members. Apparently, the whole issue of publicity is controversial both within the patrol and between the patrol and the police. The police and some patrol members argue that the likelihood of retaliation against members is low and that added publicity would enhance the deterrent value of the patrol.

According to the Edgertons, patrol members have been involved in neither mishaps nor recriminations in recent years. On one occasion, however, a member was approached at a shopping center by an unsavory individual who antagonistically demanded to know whether the member "worked for the
police." Although the individual approached merely drove off safely, the incident instilled apprehensions in some members.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Edgerton feel that the Caldwell Township Police have shifted their deployment because of the patrol's activities. However, they feel there has been no reduction in the level of police service received by residents in the areas patrolled by EAG. In fact, they observed that "members' areas may get a little extra police service."

Patrol member Gayle Brancher also thinks that the patrol is performing an important crime preventive service, noting that in one case she knew of a robbery was actually prevented because of an EAG report. In the few months since she began patrolling, Brancher herself had not yet observed an incident. She observed, "I don't think residents know much about EAG, but those who do seem to think it's a good idea."

The police department's view of EAG's effectiveness also seems to be positive. Officer Lankowski believes that "EAG has reduced crime because criminals know they're out there." Lankowski said that he has never heard any complaints about the behavior of a patrol member. Overall, he thinks, "they do a fine job." Similarly, Captain Covington feels that EAG has curbed crime, although he notes reluctantly that you "can't really measure deterrence." Covington feels that "sufficient publicity is half of it." Chief Abel echoed the sentiments of his subordinates. Although Abel thinks that EAG has reduced crime, he admits that measurement is a problem and suggests that "one can only compare crime in Caldwell Township to that in neighboring communities and make an educated guess about the cause." Abel stated that EAG had even observed and reported holdups. He feels that this success is in large part due to the work of "good police liaisons." Abel denied that patrol presence has had any effect on his deployment of men, noting that assignments are responsive only to the crime rates in various areas.

Vicki Edgerton summed up her feelings regarding EAG, saying: "I feel that we're doing something important. I think everyone should have some time that they devote to the community. Besides, I think everybody has a little police in them; having the police respond to your call—it's great."
Origin

In 1965 several social service oriented members of the Michigan Radio Club formed a special sub-group to undertake public service duties in addition to the purely social activities of the club. These men used their radio equipment to receive information regarding emergencies; they then went to aid citizens in distress. About one year later, this group split from the club and formed the Citizens' Organized Radio Patrol Service (CORPS). The separation was friendly, and many persons retained membership in both organizations. No actual patrol functions were fulfilled, however, until the outbreak of the Detroit riots in 1967. During the riots, CORPS members, with the full support of the city, their biggest booster at the time, formed the nucleus of the "Community Radio Watch" program. They also helped organize and coordinate volunteer citizen band radio operators who gave "thousands of man-hours of civilian assistance to the City of Arden in a strictly 'observe and report' manner. At one time, CORPS was in direct radio control of 126 mobile units in and around Arden. Needless to say, the assistance was greatly appreciated by the authorities." (Excerpted from a pamphlet entitled "CORPS: A Short History of the Organization.") The goal at that time was simply to prevent rioters and looters from entering Arden.

As the crisis subsided, so did the activities of the radio watch program, with CORPS activities sinking right alongside. However, a core of activists remained in touch and about a year later re-formed CORPS much as it is known today. By 1969, CORPS had set up a weekend patrol whose objectives, which have remained unchanged, were "strictly to assist the police."

Patrol Operations

Patrol members are expected to act as the eyes and ears of the police. In the past, however, members helped during emergencies by directing traffic, setting up road blocks, helping with fire hoses, and so forth, until city officials, concerned about liability for the actions of CORPS members, stopped those activities. This was quite a setback to the group, but members continued their patrolling activities nonetheless, including helping stranded
motorists and reporting suspicious activities. In 1974 the Arden Police re-
recruited CORPS as auxiliary police for assistance during a few serious storms. 
A policy evolved that in future disasters CORPS members holding Civil Defense 
authorization could help the city, but only under the supervision of the 
police or fire department. Currently, CORPS's participation in fighting 
fires is limited to supplying the firemen with coffee and conversation, a 
service the members feel is greatly appreciated.

Patrol shifts are every Friday and Saturday night from 7 p.m. until whenever the last car decides to stop, usually around 3 or 4 a.m. Each team of 
two checks in with the base station before and after going out on patrol. 
The base station is the training facilities room at the Police Annex Building, 
donated by the Arden police for the patrol's use during off-hours. All re-
ports of suspicious activities are channeled through the base, logged, and, if necessary, relayed to the police. CORPS members who show up for patrol 
duty are assigned a quadrant of the city, but shift scheduling is otherwise non-
extistent and anywhere from one to twenty cars might participate on a given 
night. Equipment for each car includes a citizen band radio, a flashlight, a 
first-aid kit, a map, an identification card, pencil and paper, a fire ex-
tinguisher, and rope (the last two are optional). Although CORPS' rules call 
for six hours of duty per month per member, the amount actually performed 
varies.

Organizational Structure and Activities

During the late sixties CORPS was run by what one member described as a 
"semi-dictator." One self-appointed leader made all the decisions and had 
all the power. With the re-formation in 1968, the members drafted a constitu-
tion and by-laws, elected a Board of Directors, appointed a corps of officers 
in charge of field operations, and had the group officially chartered in the 
state of Michigan.

Oscar Bond, a member of CORPS for one year and also a member of the state-
wide Michigan Emergency Patrol, feels that he has little say in the organiza-
tion outside of the election of officers, but he has had no reason to complain 
about the system thus far. The Board of Directors, of which Thomas Arnold 
is the executive director, makes all decisions on selection of personnel, dis-
cipline, and policy towards the police. The Board of Directors is the final 
authority in all of the organization's affairs.
CORPS is little known, even in the city of Arden. It receives little publicity and makes no attempts to recruit members. Individuals hear about the group from friends or over a citizen band radio. Prospective volunteers must have an FCC citizen band radio license in order to join. Applicants must also complete a formal request for membership and sign an oath of allegiance to the group. There follows a 90-day probationary period, and then an evaluation and a decision by the Board of Directors. The Directors search for such qualities as proper use of the radio and cool-headed conduct in the field. As of two months ago, there were 25 to 30 active members, both men and women, in their early 20's and 30's.

Six months ago, CORPS had approximately $1200 in the bank for the purchase of a van. The money is also used for coffee and flares when required. All the money was obtained through contributions; there is no LEAA money. Bond recently purchased a van which he intends to use for CORPS activities, but he does not intend to donate it to the group. Members do not usually make large contributions to CORPS, perhaps because they feel that the time they donate and the money they spend on gasoline and radio equipment is sufficient.

Outcomes

CORPS' acceptance by the police has been ambivalent. Inspector Svecoski of the Arden Police Department was reluctant to talk about CORPS' activities, although he did mention that its members generally seem to be overzealous. Sergeant Adam Dennison, the police liaison with CORPS, suggested that we speak with Officer Darrol Heider, the president of the recently formed police patrolman's union in Arden. Heider thought that the patrol has great potential, but that the administration and supervision of its activities by both the police and the CORPS Board of Directors is inadequate. Due to a lack of any formal training, Heider said, CORPS members become overly suspicious and create superfluous work for the police. Otherwise, he said, CORPS activities do not affect the deployment of the police.

Both Heider and Arnold concurred that CORPS members had at times "blown a police cover" or erroneously reported cars parked on the side of the road as "suspicious" when they were merely in mechanical trouble. Heider told of one incident where several CORPS members trapped a traffic violator, thereby creating a serious disturbance over what normally would have merited only a simple ticket. In one particularly irresponsible incident, Heider said, some
CORPS members embarked on a high-speed auto chase after a man who turned out to be no more than a minor traffic violator who had become terrified at the unmarked car following him, possibly to "rip him off." Nevertheless, Heider insisted that CORPS has a brighter side as well. He cited cases when members have called in stolen cars or have given information that led to the apprehension of burglars and vandals. He would simply like to "slow them down a bit" and train them to recognize what is and is not a suspicious event. He would also like to see more police control, possibly extending to turning CORPS into an auxiliary police force. Although he recognized that a more efficient CORPS might encroach upon police overtime, he feels that it would not if the program were properly administered.

Police in the field are also ambivalent in their attitudes toward the patrol. Some feel that CORPS members are "playing policemen" and merely get in the way. Others appreciate the help. Heider does not believe that CORPS has served a crime preventive function yet, but suggests that this aspect could and should be emphasized by using marked cars and by publicizing the arrests made with the help of CORPS reporting efforts. CORPS members seem satisfied with their police relations, however, and Arnold feels that the Arden police have always performed their duties adequately.

CORPS makes no attempt to get responses about the patrol from residents, but Sergeant Dennison keeps the patrol informed on police sentiment.

CORPS ran smoothly until early in the summer of 1975 when an apparent embezzlement of money from the patrol's savings account caused a temporary shut-down of activities, discouraging members and creating doubt about the future of CORPS. Arnold learned from the bank that the CORPS account was overdrawn, and he suspects that the secretary had been forging his name and giving herself regular paychecks. He has suspended her from office but not from the group itself. She denies complicity, however (in spite of the contrary claims of two witnesses), and even continues to attend the patrol functions. Furthermore, the secretary's lawyers have advised her to withhold all the books and records which are in her possession. Although the case has already been filed, CORPS members have become impatient with the slow-moving litigation and are incensed when the former officer attends CORPS activities. The patrol's activities actually halted for about four weeks and only recently have been rebuilding to their former level. Meanwhile, the former treasurer has filed an official complaint citing harassment by members of CORPS.
Although no evaluation of CORPS has been conducted, both Bond and Arnold feel that each time a patroller aids a motorist or serves coffee to a fireman, he is performing a worthwhile service. They also believe that the group serves a slight crime preventive function.
A complete narrative on the Lincoln Park Patrol was developed. However, at the request of the patrol coordinator it has been withheld and will not be made public.
Livingston is a sprawling working-class community set in the gently rolling wooded hills and grasslands to the north of Detroit. The community is a mixture of quiet residential areas crossed by extended strips of low-density commercial activity. Many of the homes in Livingston are in the wood-frame style typical of the early to middle 1900s, but there are pockets of newer homes built since 1950. The upkeep of the homes varies widely in the different sections of the community. Many residents of this predominantly white, middle-income community work at the numerous manufacturing and assembly plants located in the greater Detroit area.

Origin

Ella Petit, formerly a resident of Detroit, had directed a fairly well-known radio patrol while living in the city. During the 1967 Detroit riots, Petit was incessantly harassed. Although it was somewhat unclear whether this harassment was due to her patrolling activities or to general racial tensions in the Detroit area, she finally decided to move to Livingston. However, upon arriving in Livingston, she saw many of the same problems that she had witnessed in Detroit—street crime, vandalism, breaking and entering, and helplessness during natural disasters. In the fall of 1974, Petit used her citizen band radio to query other radio operators about their interest in forming a voluntary civilian crime prevention patrol. After locating between 30 and 40 interested persons, she called the first organizational meetings in her home to establish the patrol. All patrol members are local residents and participate voluntarily. Operations began shortly thereafter, and Petit has remained the patrol director since then. Both Petit and several of the patrol members felt that citizen band radio operators are community-oriented and that this was one important reason why the initial recruitment was not difficult. No alternatives to the patrol were ever considered, and initial implementation met with no major obstacles. Patrol operations began in January 1975. In April 1975, the
group incorporated itself in the State of Michigan as a non-profit organization, citing its function as "to aid in any emergency where needed... and also to sponsor picnics and social events." Petit emphasized that the patrol members did not want to interfere in crime themselves. They wanted to "free up police" to do more difficult and important chores than surveilling neighborhood streets. Despite the relatively narrow and non-interventionist goals of the group, several of the police departments in neighboring jurisdictions have refused to condone their activities. On the other hand, a few neighboring police departments and the Livingston police department were alleged to have sought patrol assistance at various times in the past.

Patrol Operations

The Livingston Emergency Team, as its name implies, is involved in both crime prevention and assorted community service activities. The Team formally patrols approximately six days per month, although its members are "on call" to provide any needed assistance at virtually any time. The patrol's routine generally consists of members watching from within their parked cars, usually at night. Although the patrol sometimes operates in high-crime residential neighborhoods, it more often covers commercial areas expected to be the targets of criminals. Often, the police or local merchants ask the patrol to observe specific areas. The patrol maintains communications with the Livingston police department, which largely dictates the patrol's deployment patterns. Occasionally, when patrol members hear of a serious problem over the police radio frequency, they contact the police to offer assistance. Shift assignments vary in length, but each car operating must contain at least two persons. Currently, members are equipped with identification cards, team vests or jackets, and flares and flashing lights.

Members are instructed never to intervene in a crime. Both Petit and Emory Wilson, a veteran patrol member, emphasized that the patrol acts as "eyes and ears of the police" only. Members are permitted to become directly involved only in providing such services as assisting stranded motorists and the victims of floods or other emergencies.
Members are required to notify their base station operator of any suspicious activity that they observe. The base station operator screens the calls and telephones the police if he feels it is necessary.

In one incident, information about suspicious activity that the Team reported to the police led to the arrest of vandals who had also broken into several stores in a small local business district. The local Chamber of Commerce featured this incident in its newsletter. This feature was the first media coverage the Team has been given.

In the course of its brief history, the Team has provided emergency assistance in a number of instances. When an emergency arises, or when the police suggest an area where help may be needed, the patrol's six board members act as field coordinators and summon those members who can be reached on their citizen band radios. While in the field, patrol members maintain almost continual contact with the base station and Director Petit. The Team has searched for lost children, directed traffic at the scene of a suicide and during the aftermath of a severe storm, and searched for stolen property.

According to Petit, the highlight of the Team's short history occurred during the summer of 1975 when a tornado and severe storm hit the Detroit area. Police in Livingston and several neighboring locales asked the Team's help in blocking off flooded areas, setting up flares to demarcate areas dangerous to motorists, and directing traffic. The group received no publicity or other recognition for their efforts, however.

Petit feels that as a result of the patrol's efforts during the storm its rapport with the police has improved. She noted that some policemen previously viewed them as "just another radio group that might get in the way." Several members of the Team also expressed concern that some policemen believe that the Team is competing with the police and thereby restricting the amount of overtime duty available to policemen. Petit argues that the Team in no way competes with the police. She also insists that she will continue to direct the patrol effort whether or not she receives official support.

Since its inception, the Team's activities have expanded to include
trips to visit hospitals, special fund-raisers for disabled members, and community education about crime prevention. Members were eager to point out that they have begun to serve as witnesses in court regarding criminal activity they have observed. Emory Wilson noted that one member had spent 35 working days at court serving as a witness in the case stemming from the burglary reported by the patrol.

Organizational Structure and Activities

Currently, the Livingston Emergency Team numbers approximately 150 members. The membership has grown steadily since January 1975, when it had half a dozen members. The Team has suffered no significant attrition in membership.

Although not all members are consistently active, Petit believes that if she were to broadcast for help during a serious emergency she could have "50 cars here in 15 minutes." (Only she can legitimately make such a request.) Coverage is basically 24 hours a day. Several members of the group have citizen band radios in their homes. These people work different shifts and, thus, between them, they manage to monitor informally but continuously both police and citizen band radio frequencies. As of the summer of 1975, the Team had determined to hold its membership constant at 150 persons and to reassess its goals and activities. Members were unsure at that time whether further expansion was desirable.

Most recruitment was accomplished by word of mouth within the radio operators' community in the Livingston area. Membership decisions are made by director Petit and the six-member Governing Board of the patrol. Petit stated that in selecting membership the Board looks for persons who are over 21 years of age, are licensed radio operators, have no criminal record, are reliable, and can be counted on to conduct themselves properly. When a resident applies for membership, he undergoes training during a 30 day probation period in which he is accompanied on his watches by a seasoned patrol member who trains the applicant in radio use and field protocol. The members assess the applicant's capabilities and report to the Board at the close of the probation period.
In addition to the general instructions provided by the patrol itself, new members receive brief training from the Livingston Fire and Police Departments in first aid and the "do's and don't's" of patrol activity, respectively.

Patrol members are accountable to the Board for their behavior in the field; any disciplinary action needed is referred to the Board. The first time a member behaves unacceptably he is only asked to apologize, but the second time he is asked to resign. A few members have been terminated for such reasons as "overactivity" or "illegitimate use of the radio." Grievance proceedings by members take the same route as disciplinary actions, although none had ever been initiated at the time of this interview.

According to several of the members, the activities of the Team have surpassed all their expectations. Members expressed particular satisfaction with the opportunity for social activity provided by the Team. Gino Lervi, a relatively new patrol member, noted that often men have joined the Team and then convinced their wives to "kick the idiot box habit" and patrol with them. Two couples claimed that the time they have spent together on patrol has helped their marriages.

Members mentioned a variety of motives for joining the Team, including desires "to meet new people" and "to help out in the community." Members felt that among the most important rewards they receive from participating in the patrol are "a sense of community involvement," "new friends," "help received from other members," and "better police response." Wilson noted that no member had ever experienced any harassment or retribution because of his patrol activities. Members generally agreed that the emergency assistance they provide during storms constitutes the only dangerous aspect of participating in the patrol. No members felt the time commitment required by the patrol to be excessive since members participate largely "when available."

The patrol charges dues and its budget is limited. Funds are raised mainly through contributions from residents and "coffee klatches," a characteristic social event of this kind of radio team. Members of this group have no desire to obtain funding from any official source since
they feel that they would very likely have to "give up some control of the Team" in such a case. A secretary and a treasurer keep the only written records, a membership list and an accounting of funds, respectively.

Outcomes

Team members are proud of their efforts to assist the community and claim to have received frequent praise from residents on an individual basis. Similarly, members of the Team feel that they are providing an important community service and are making Livingston a better place to live. Petie asserted that the frequency of breaking and enterings in Livingston has been reduced since the Team began operations and attributed the reduction to the patrol's activities. Although occasional mishaps have been caused by overzealous members, those members have either corrected their behavior or been terminated. The Team has never received any complaint from either a resident or the police regarding the conduct of any patrol member.

Sergeant Abe Murrow of the Livingston Police Department responded positively when queried about the Livingston Emergency Team. Murrow claimed that the relationship between the Team and the police is one of friendly cooperation. Regarding the Team's assistance during the recent storm, he claimed that "we'd have been lost without them." Murrow was not aware, however, of any of the Team's crime prevention activities.

Ella Petie ended her interview by indicating that the future plans of the Team include a shift to more of a Civil Defense focus in order to increase the group's authority during emergencies. She also noted that she hopes to obtain greater recognition for the group "so that the public knows we're not just a bunch of grown-up kids out there trying to play policemen." Perhaps Petie best conveyed the spirit of the group when she said that "you can't help enjoying it... it gets in your blood."
NEIGHBORHOOD: Canton Township and its environs
CITY: Suburb of Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: September 1969

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; approximately 10 percent of the population is black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrol the township and its environs in cars weekend evenings year round and use citizen band radios to report suspicious activity to the police via their base station. Volunteers may leave their cars to assist victims or to direct traffic at the scene of an incident. The patrol maintains informal contact with the sheriff's office on an "as needed" basis.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, a fully incorporated non-profit group in its own right, maintains no formal organizational affiliation. Annual expenditures for the 30 member group are estimated at $1200 plus gasoline which is partially donated by patrol members. Patrol income consists of a $1000 per month stipend from Canton Township, which is supplemented by an occasional fund-raising activity at 4-H fairs.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol assisted the sheriff's department in the apprehension of some narcotics dealers by blocking off several streets.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Assistance in emergency situations and natural disasters.

PRESENT STATUS
This active patrol maintains a fairly constant membership and level of activity. Support and occasional requests for assistance by the sheriff's department have helped to sustain the enthusiasm of members. In recent years, the group has become increasingly involved in assistance at emergency situations and in traffic direction there and at the scenes of crimes.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Colonial Hills  
CITY: Suburb of Detroit, Michigan  
START DATE: August 1975

CONTEXT  
Middle-income, largely white neighborhood with a black population of about 20 percent.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM  
Breaking and entering and rape.

OPERATIONS  
Adults in the neighborhood conduct a mobile automobile patrol six nights per week. The local township police department has provided cars and citizen band radios in order to help implement the programs. Police also conduct orientation sessions for new members. In turn, patrol members inform the police nightly of their activities and locations.

ORGANIZATION  
The patrol is affiliated with the local neighborhood improvement association and the township's police department. The police provide equipment as well as operating funds for the 50-member patrol.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT  
Patrol members assisted a police officer struggling with a person he was trying to apprehend.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY  
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS  
The patrol's membership has steadily expanded since the patrol's inception and it is continuing to grow.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Grosse Pointe, St. Clair Shores, and Harper Woods
CITY: Suburbs of Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: 1940

CONTEXT
Upper-income area; all residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary, vandalism, and very occasionally, street crime.

OPERATIONS
Paid guards, all residents of the area, patrol client neighborhoods in cars. The guards alight from their cars to check the doors and windows of client houses as well as the grounds for signs of suspicious activity. Upon witnessing a crime, the guards often use their citizen band radios to request police assistance via their base station before intervening.

ORGANIZATION
The six man staff of the security patrol has been retained at various times by several homeowners associations. All income comes from client fees for service.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Attempted breaking and entering.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITIES
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is fully operative and has grown from a staff of two in 1960 to a staff of six or seven men at present, with a transitory peak in activity during the 1967 Detroit riots when the security guards were retained by some neighborhoods to patrol with riot guns.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Hazel Park
CITY: Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: Summer 1968

CONTEXT
Middle-income, predominantly white neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
During the early days of the patrol, residents' concern was on the spread of riot activity. The main crime problems today are burglary and auto theft and occasional street crime against individuals.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers operate an auto patrol in cars equipped with citizen band radios. Most are posted as stationary watches; a few are assigned on a roving basis. Hours of surveillance are from 7 p.m. until 11 p.m. two nights per week, alternating from Tuesday and Friday one week to Thursday and Saturday the next week. The patrol operates out of a police station and works closely with the police. The police suggest areas for the group to patrol.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol has 35 members, both youths and adults, and maintains no organizational affiliation. The city government provides $500 each year for operating expenses (used to purchase equipment) and four gallons of gas each night for each car on patrol.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed a suspicious character with a concealed weapon and reported him to the police; they have also observed and reported robberies.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol has undertaken a number of community service ventures, including providing assistance at parades, first aid in medical emergencies, and assistance to stranded motorists. Patrol members socialize after hours.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has become more constant in its activities by switching from a largely social patrol to one that performs serious systematic surveillance. Even though the patrol has had various fluctuations in its membership, it now appears to be stabilizing and at a full level of activity.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Hubert
CITY: Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: August 1971

CONTEXT
Middle-income, almost entirely white area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism and breaking and enterings.

OPERATIONS
Adults patrol a two-square mile area in cars equipped with citizen band radios with which they report suspicious activity to the police via a base station (which is staffed by a blind man). The patrol operates with four cars on duty for four hours each night, every night of the week except Monday. Both the patrol and the local police have liaison officers who communicate on a regular basis. The police provide the patrol with information regarding high crime areas.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol has around 200 members and maintains no organizational affiliation. The city government provides some funds which are used to partially reimburse the members for gasoline costs. Patrol personnel provide their own equipment and supplement the city's allowance. Annual operating expenses are estimated at $4000.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed and stopped a breaking and entering.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol assists the police in directing traffic when necessary, and helps to control crowds at fires. The patrol has about three parties a year.

PRESENT STATUS
Beginning as a small group of strangers, the patrol has developed into a larger organization of friends and neighbors. The patrol is healthy and operational, and hopes to expand its activities.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Jefferson Avenue area
CITY: Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: 1967

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly black neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and enterings, robberies.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers operate a mobile auto patrol on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights in cars equipped with citizen band radios. Between four and six cars are on patrol each night. Close contact exists between the police and the patrol: the police assist in determining the best hours for the patrol to operate, and also notifies the patrol to be on the alert for missing persons.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, with 50 members, maintains no organizational affiliation. The city government provides some funding for the patrol; other funds are received from donations. Annual expenses for the patrol are estimated to be $1800.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed and reported a breaking and entering to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol looks for missing children, assists at the scene of fires, directs traffic, aids motorists who have car trouble, reports street lights that are not working, and reports broken water mains.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has added many of its non-crime prevention activities since its inception. Operating at virtually the same level since its start-up, the patrol has had occasional brief setbacks because of members resigning. However, these members are replaced by new recruits. The patrol appears healthy and fully operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Jefferson-Chalmers
CITY: Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: 1969

CONTEXT
Middle-income, racially mixed area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and entering and armed robberies.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers operate a mobile auto patrol Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights; using citizen band radios, they report suspicious activity to the police. The patrol also watches the parking lot and entryway of a Masonic temple in the neighborhood when meetings are being held. The police provide the patrol with crime data and information regarding areas where criminal victimization is likely to occur.

ORGANIZATION
100 members, mainly adults, belong to the patrol. The patrol is not affiliated with any organization. Expenditure for 1975 is approximately $3,000; the funds, which come from the city government and from donations by local merchants, are used to pay for equipment, gasoline, and maintenance.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed, reported, and thwarted a breaking and entry in progress.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol assisted the police during a flood by sandbagging and by locating people who were to be removed from the area. On request, the patrol helps with traffic control at the scene of an accident and at fires.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has a decrease in members' participation during the summer, presumably attributable to vacation times. During the gasoline crisis, there were fewer autos on patrol, but there were more people per car. On the whole, the patrol appears healthy and fully operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Pontiac
CITY: Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: September 1972

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; 30 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and enterings.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers patrol a suburban area in cars equipped with citizen band radios used to communicate suspicious activity to the police via a base station. They operate on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday nights. The patrol regularly informs the police as to who is running the base station.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol of 250 members is affiliated with a conglomerate of block clubs. Funds for the annual operating budget come from the local Human Resources Department and amount to approximately $30,000. The money is used mainly to reimburse members for their gasoline expenditures.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed and reported a breaking and entering into a supermarket. The police apprehended the culprits.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol's fluctuating number of members is attributed to boredom with the patrol and difficulties with the police. As regards the latter, there is some resentment from the police towards the patrol; the police often stop patrol cars on the grounds of suspicious activity or speeding, after which the accused members usually resign from the patrol. However, the patrol appears to be operating at a near-capacity level.
NEIGHBORHOOD: River Rouge
CITY: Suburb of Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: October 31, 1971

CONTEXT
Low-income neighborhood; approximately 50 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Larceny and purse snatching; occasional robberies and burglaries.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrolled River Rouge in cars and on foot, and used citizen band radios to report suspicious activity to the police via their base station at police headquarters. During much of the patrol’s history, it was actually directed and deployed by a police liaison officer, although for one brief period direction was turned over to a civilian.

ORGANIZATION
This currently inactive organization has no formal membership at present. About six former members have indicated their interest in participating if the patrol recommences operations. Although clearly not an auxiliary, the patrol is affiliated with the River Rouge Police Department, which founded the patrol. Annual expenditures are difficult to estimate since office space, the time of the liaison officer, and the gasoline were donated "in-kind" by the police department.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol reported thieves in the process of stripping cars. Patrol members also identified the locations of several drug-dealing operations.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Members assisted the police in dealing with emergency situations and natural disasters (e.g., ice storms, floods, etc.) by directing traffic and assuming other service responsibilities.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has not operated since mid-summer 1974, although plans to start up again by October 1975 are underway and applications have been received. In 1974 the police liaison officer became unable to spend evenings supervising the patrol and turned it over to a civilian. The new leader apparently could not make a go of the operation and membership declined rapidly. While it operated, the patrol maintained a fairly constant schedule and level of membership; morale was supported by occasional newspaper publicity.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Several municipalities in Macomb County, including St. Clair Shores, Roseville, Clinton, and Mt. Clemens

CITY: Suburbs of Detroit, Michigan

START DATE: January 1975

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; all residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism; some burglary and street crime.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers maintain both stationary watches from parked cars and roving auto patrols. Although periods of operation vary according to requests received by the patrol, it usually operates after dark on the average of several days each month. The patrol maintains sporadic contact with the police as it receives requests for or offers assistance.

ORGANIZATION
Patrol membership currently numbers 150 persons, of whom about 50 are active members. Except for the informal citizen band radio communication network through which some members had been linked prior to the formation of the patrol, the group is not affiliated with any organization. The group spends an estimated $300 per year, with additional resources such as gas being donated by members. All patrol income derives from fund raising events.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A burglary in progress was reported to the police, resulting in the apprehension of the culprit.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Almost immediately after being formed, the patrol began to shift its emphasis away from crime prevention and toward assistance in emergency situations and natural disasters. The group has also become increasingly involved in such social activities as "coffee breaks," picnics, and parades.

PRESENT STATUS
Membership and level of activity have steadily increased since patrol inception, reaching a peak in the summer of 1975 during a tornado emergency during which the patrol assisted. The group has recently determined to limit its growth in order to assess its activities to date and to plan future activities.
NEIGHBORHOOD: South End
   CITY: Detroit, Michigan
   START DATE: Winter 1971

CONTEXT
Low-income area; 95 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and entering, some street crime.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers operate a mobile radio patrol in the morning and evening hours Monday through Friday and occasionally on Saturday. Reports of criminal activity are relayed through the patrol's base station to the police. They also look out for abandoned cars and watch parking lots of schools and churches when they are having major functions. The police monthly supply the patrol with a list of crimes in the neighborhood by type, time of day, and location. The police also respond immediately to the patrol's calls for assistance.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol has more than 200 adult members; men participate in the actual patrol and women operate the base station. The patrol at one time received funds from the membership dues of a local block club. The money was used to buy citizen band radios. There does not appear to be any such affiliation at the present time. The patrol now receives money from the city council (about $2,500 per year). The money is used to pay rent for the base station and to reimburse the patrol personnel 10¢ per mile driven; however, this reimbursement does not cover all expenses incurred—the individual members pay for the rest of their needs.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol has observed and reported to the police a couple of breaking and enterings in progress. The police apprehended the criminals.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
Patrol membership has climbed to its present peak from the initiation of the patrol when there were 20 members. The patrol's membership fluctuates when members resign because of a perceived decrease in crime, but this drop is offset by new members joining the patrol.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Southfield
CITY: Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: June 1973

CONTEXT
Upper-income, predominantly white area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Automobile theft.

OPERATIONS
A hired guard patrolled this neighborhood of condominiums in an auto from 8 p.m. until 5 a.m., seven days a week. The guard informed the police when suspicious activity was noticed.

ORGANIZATION
The guard activity cost $12,000 annually; funds were obtained through homeowners' maintenance fees. The condominium complex's executive board administered this crime prevention activity.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
None known.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol ceased operations June 1975 because the homeowners felt the guard service was not serving as an effective deterrent to criminal activity. However, the reinstatement of the guard protection is currently under consideration.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Warren
CITY: Suburb of Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: 1967

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; less than 30 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary, vandalism, and traffic violations.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrol the town in automobiles during weekend evenings and use citizen band radios to report suspicious activity to the police via their base station. On an administrative level, the patrol maintains irregular contact with a police liaison officer.

ORGANIZATION
C.A.R.E.S. has an active membership of between 10 and 20 persons. The group maintains no affiliation with any larger organization, although the Warren police have donated their training quarters to the patrol on an informal basis. Expenditures for the patrol are estimated at roughly $500 per year; members donate gasoline and the use of their radios. Patrol income is raised mainly through the sale of refreshments at "coffee breaks."

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
An auto larceny in progress was reported, resulting in apprehension of the criminal.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Patrol members report and assist in emergency situations and natural disasters. Group members also engage in a fair amount of social activity, including "coffee breaks," occasional dances, and informal gatherings.

PRESENT STATUS
Operating since 1967 when the group was organized for riot control, C.A.R.E.S.' history has been marked by substantial fluctuation in both membership and level of activity. The unit, which is now focused on crime prevention and emergency assistance, has been completely reorganized since its inception and at two points has suspended operations entirely. The most recent shutdown stemmed from the embezzlement of patrol funds by the Secretary-Treasurer and subsequent internal conflict. At present the patrol has once again assumed operations on a limited and somewhat tentative basis.
NEIGHBORHOOD: 15th Precinct
CITY: Detroit, Michigan
START DATE: 1969

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; 40 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and enterings, muggings, robberies.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers conduct a mobile auto patrol in cars equipped with citizen band radios which are used to report suspicious activity to the police. The patrol operates four nights per week (Wednesday through Saturday) for around five hours each night. Between five and 15 cars are out on a given evening. The police provide the patrol with information on stolen autos and other pertinent crime data; the patrol has a police scanner at its base station so that members can keep abreast of suspicious and criminal activity.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol numbers 150 members and maintains no organizational affiliation. The city government funds a portion of the patrol's expenses, and the members make up the remainder.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A newspaper delivery boy was struck and killed by a hit-and-run driver. The patrol located the auto and driver and reported this information to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol has assisted the authorities at the time of civil disasters, such as fires and windstorms.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has experienced a steady growth in membership since its inception. It appears to be healthy and operating at a stable level of activity.
VII. HOUSTON, TEXAS

URBAN AREA
The private police force at Houston's prestigious residential development at Forest Hills has been in existence since the late 1920s or early 1930s. While there has never been a serious crime problem in the area, Arnold Wallace, current president of the Forest Hills Homeowners Association, Inc., said that the most frequent type of crime has always been burglary. Located in the southwest area of Houston, this posh subdivision is spread out on a two and one-half square mile area. It contains 1,540 residential units housing some 6,000 people. Most residents are white, and all are wealthy.

Origin

This Houston subdivision was founded, developed, and marketed in 1925 by a group of private developers who had formed the Forest Hills Corporation. Originally, the Corporation provided various services, including private security protection, for which each household was assessed a fee. According to Wallace, the developer decided to provide security guard service as an inducement to heighten the sale of lots in the development. Several years later, the Corporation was dissolved and all of its functions were turned over to the newly formed non-profit group, the Forest Hills Homeowners Association, Inc. The new association simply maintained the security service that had been operating, Wallace said.

The original goals of the patrol were to provide protection for Forest Hills residents and also to serve as a deterrent to potential criminal activity in this exclusive enclave. To date, these goals remain unchanged.

Houston police officer Jesse Le Blanc added that full-time security protection has long been a necessity at Forest Hills because of the high-income characteristics of the development. "Once it developed its reputation as a wealthy, elite subdivision, professional burglars from all over the county came to Forest Hills to try their luck. The residents there had to have good 24-hour protection, and the city police department just didn't have the manpower to accommodate that need," Le Blanc explained. "A tough private security force was the only alternative."

Patrol Operations

The Forest Hills Police operate year-round on a daily basis. The
24-hour coverage is divided into shifts of eight hours each, manned by single patrol members. The 7 p.m. to 3 a.m. shift, however, is conducted by the two patrolmen who cruise together as a team. Each patrolman works an average of 40 hours per week.

The security staff is composed of 12 people, including one captain, who serves as director of the police force, four sergeants, and seven patrolmen. One "relief man" is also available to replace patrolmen who are ill, on vacation, or otherwise unable to fill their shifts. All members of the police force are hired by the captain, and none are Forest Hills residents.

The principal activity of the security staff is to maintain continual surveillance of the residential sites in Forest Hills. This is done by cruising the streets of Forest Hills in cars loaned by the Houston Police Department and marked with its official insignia. In addition, patrolmen respond to specific requests made by residents and perform daily house-checks on the homes of occupants who are out of town. If a patrolman witnesses a crime, his instructions are to intervene and apprehend the criminal, if possible. "He should act as if he were a policeman," Wallace said. "That's his job." Wallace added that under Texas statutes, any individual is authorized to make an arrest if he observes a felony in progress.

In addition to the patrol cars, security personnel are outfitted with handcuffs, identification badges, sidearms, and official Houston police uniforms. The night guards carry .35-caliber carbines and sawed-off shotguns, as well. The patrol cars are equipped with three-way radios which enable the guards to communicate with the Houston Police Department's dispatch office, as well as with the Forest Hills Police base station. According to the Forest Hills Captain Billie Agee, patrolmen receive calls during the hours of 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. from their own security office; but at night, they monitor the police band in order to keep abreast of any criminal activity reported in the Forest Hills area.

Similarly, residents in distress call their own security guards' base station during daylight hours. At night, they call the Houston Police Department, ask for a dispatcher, and identify themselves as a Forest Hills resident. In general, the Forest Hills Police Force is in close communication with the municipal police. Capt. Agee maintains constant contact
with the district police and Houston's Chief of Police in order to stay abreast of local law enforcement activities. Agee also mentioned that the district police stop at the Forest Hills office about once a day "to see what's going on and to share local crime news." Many of the Forest Hills security staff also socialize, when off-duty, with members of the Houston Police Department.

In explaining the arrangement whereby municipal police cars and uniforms are loaned to the Forest Hill guards, Agee said that the equipment is given as "turnabout" for the assistance they provide to the local police. "We do their work, but we receive salaries from a private source. In turn, they help us out by providing automobiles and uniforms." Wallace said that the Forest Hills guards have been driving Houston police vehicles since the 1940s when the City Council first authorized the arrangement.

In addition to patrolling the Forest Hills area, the guards also provide service to an adjacent suburb named Cypress Grove. Wallace said that the Forest Hills Homeowner's Association leases their security service to the neighboring development. The administrative structure for this arrangement has been in effect for a number of years, Wallace added.

Organizational Structure and Activities

The Forest Hills Police fall under the jurisdiction of the development's Homeowner's Association. The Association's Board of Directors hires the force's captain, who in turn is given the responsibility of hiring, disciplining, and firing all patrol personnel. The guards, then, are accountable to the captain, who in turn answers to the Homeowner's Association. As leader of the police force, the captain works a minimum of 40 hours per week on patrol related matters.

Captain Agee asserts that there is very little changeover in security personnel (he, for instance, has been there for 26 years). When a vacancy occurs, his preference is to fill it with a retired or former member of the Houston Police Department. Agee actively seeks out those kinds of individuals when he has an opening, although he said that recruiting, in general, is minimal. "Over 90 percent of the applicants on our waiting list approach us first because we have a reputation of high salaries and a good working environment," he said. Upon reviewing an applicant's credentials, Agee said that he looks first for an indication
of job stability and second for "substantial" police work experience. Third, he reviews such personal characteristics as height, weight, and education. Regarding training, Agee described all his men as "seasoned people" who have had professional training—either with the Houston Police Department or at special courses given at local community colleges—prior to joining the Forest Hills Police. "Any additional training someone might need will be provided by me," Agee said. He emphasized that prior police experience is almost essential because the Forest Hills guards follow the written rules and regulations established for the municipal police force. "Every aspect of our operation, from behavior to length of hair to what day we change from our summer to our winter uniforms, comes from the Houston police handbook," he explained.

Patrol personnel range between the ages of 25 and 62 years, although most of the men are around 35 to 45 years old.

Sergeant Ellis Boudreau has been a member of the Forest Hills Police for 34 years, but is planning to retire in a few months. He worked two years for the Houston Police Department before a friend persuaded him to take the Forest Hills job.

Boudreau does not view his work as dangerous, "although it can get pretty exciting at times," he said. Because he believes that his job is to provide police protection for Forest Hills residents, he always intervenes in any criminal incident he observes.

As a sergeant, Boudreau performs certain administrative duties in addition to patrolling. He works 40 hours per week and, he said, the time commitment has become increasingly burdensome as he has gotten older. His attendance record, however, has not suffered. "Until last year, I was hardly ever absent. Now I've got some health problems, but since I'm retiring, it won't interfere with my attendance," he said.

Although Boudreau noted that "to a great extent I am told what to do," he said that the sergeants meet annually with the Board of Directors of the Homeowners Association to review patrol problems and discuss possible solutions.

When asked what members get out of the patrol, Boudreau replied: "an excellent working environment among nice, friendly people—and that includes both security staff and residents." He also mentioned that "salaries are good," probably well above the rates earned by other private security guards.
in Houston. Captain Agee seconded Boudreau's feelings about the "friendly" residents. He remarked that one resident very generously flew him to his [the resident's] ranch in Colorado so he could go on a hunting expedition.

Financial support for the security service is provided by property owners, who are assessed certain fees levied according to lot footage. Funds are also derived from the payments made by the Cypress Grove subdivision. Wallace has budgeted the 1975 expenditures to total $168,938, which will cover salary, equipment, and maintenance costs.

While no formal evaluations or studies have ever assessed the performance of the Forest Hills Police, Wallace said that the board members of the Homeowners Association are advised by the captain on a monthly basis about any problems or difficulties experienced by the patrol.

To the best of his knowledge, Wallace said, there have been few changes in the nature of the patrol's activity. "It has always been a roving, surveillance-type of activity," he said, "although I am not acquainted with specific details of the patrol's operation in its earliest history." He added, however, that the size of the patrol steadily expanded until it reached its present level of activity. Agee remarked that in 1958, although Forest Hills received 24-hour security protection, that service was provided by only six guards, all of whom manned individual shifts. "Today, our patrol has doubled, and we have been able to beef-up our security service during the peak crime hours," he said.

Wallace also mentioned that several years ago the patrol had contracted to provide guard service for a nearby country club and a few commercial establishments in an attempt to "pick up some money in order to keep property owners' assessments lower." Those contracts, however, were soon discontinued.

Neither Agee nor Wallace could recall any serious crises or mishaps related to the Forest Hills Police. Wallace cited one case in which a guard fell asleep at the wheel of his patrol car, ran into a street curb, damaged the car, and then falsely reported the incident. Agee said that he knows of no patrolmen who have been injured while on the job, except for minor scrapes resulting from "wrestling matches that often occur" when burglars are apprehended.

The Forest Hills Police clearly view themselves as a supplementary body to local authorities and have established a close working relationship
with them. Forest Hills guards make numerous calls to the local police which result in arrests for activities ranging from traffic violations to malicious mischief to robbery and burglary. The patrol keeps detailed written logs of incidents that occur and calls that are received during a shift. It also maintains written records of all administrative matters. Agee said that no guards have ever been fired because of misconduct or lack of professionalism. "With four supervisors who keep on top of these men, there's not much of a chance to get out of hand," he replied.

No other formally organized crime prevention programs exist at Forest Hills. Agee mentioned, however, that some individual residents have engraved valuable objects with special identification markings, and almost all the homes have burglar alarm systems.

Outcomes

The Forest Hills Police is currently operating at a full level of activity. The kinds of incidents usually handled by patrolmen include prowler and burglary calls and reports concerning stray dogs, stolen bicycles, and malicious mischief. Wallace said that in recent years the most serious incident handled by a patrolman involved a burglary in progress in which the criminal leaped through a window when he was surprised by a guard.

Boudreau said he believes that the patrol has a good reputation among both Houston police and Forest Hills residents. "The police often thank us and praise us for the work we do here," Boudreau elaborated, "and even think enough of us to occasionally ask for our assistance in problems they have near the area." Residents, he added, "take the time to praise, as well as criticize, us. We've even gotten letters and thank-you gifts from some of them," he said.

Lieutenant Jesse Le Blanc of the Central Police Station's burglary division had only praise and approval for the Forest Hills Police. It is "the kind of coverage every neighborhood should have," he said. He has been with the Central Station for 27 years, and in that time he has never heard any disparaging remarks about the conduct or activity of the Forest Hills Police. Neither could he recall any incidents or mishaps involving patrol members. He noted that there is a strong degree of cooperation and coordination between the police and the patrol, with Captain Agee maintaining
constant contact with police officials. In addition, patrol members frequently call the police to alert them of suspicious or criminal activity in the Forest Hills area. Le Blanc said that the patrol has successfully deterred crime from a highly susceptible area and that the reports it has made have resulted in numerous arrests. Le Blanc also stated that, in regard to the allocation of police manpower, "knowing that the patrol is there eases the pressure off us." Whether the patrol has displaced crime to surrounding neighborhoods is difficult to determine, Le Blanc remarked, "but any time you deter crime from one area, chances are it goes somewhere else."

Wallace said that Forest Hills residents receive good police service when it is requested. The Houston Police have no regular patrols in the development, but respond immediately whenever summoned, he stated. "In turn, our patrolmen sometimes respond to outside police calls when their help is specifically requested," he added.

Police response, Wallace noted, is channeled through Captain Agee. "I deal directly with local police and the Chief of Police, and to my knowledge, they think very highly of us," Agee said. "I do not recall anything we've done that would allow the city police to point a finger at us," he added. "Our relationship, rather, is one of mutual dependence."

Responses from the residents are also directed to the captain. "He knows everybody in the development," Wallace explained, "and people do not hesitate to call him up and chew on his ear when they have complaints."

The most frequent criticisms levied at the guards concern ineffectiveness in curbing stray dogs and slow responses to calls from residents.

In general, Forest Hills residents have few complaints about security, Wallace said. Although many homes have burglar alarms and other anti-crime hardware, the Forest Hills neighborhood "is just not a dangerous area," he noted. "I don't think there was a serious crime problem when the police force was formed, and there certainly isn't one now," he said. Wallace added that he has been able to judge the patrol's effect on crime by comparing Forest Hills crime statistics with those of comparable neighborhoods in the city. "We just don't have anywhere near the problems other areas seem to have," he said. "A bad month for us is two burglaries."
NEIGHBORHOOD: Southwest
CITY: Houston, Texas
START DATE: Late 1920s

CONTEXT
Upper-income, predominantly white neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
Hired guards patrol this development in cars loaned by the Houston Police Department. The cars are equipped with three-way radios which link the guards to the city police department and the development's police base station. The patrol operates 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Close communication is maintained between the guards and the city police, and every aspect of the guards' operations is derived from the Houston police handback. The guards and police are mutually dependent: there are no regular police patrols in this neighborhood, but there is immediate response when summoned, and the development guards respond to outside police calls when their help is specifically requested. The guards also patrol a neighboring subdivision on a lease contract from the Property Owners Association.

ORGANIZATION
Twelve guards are involved in the patrol, which includes one captain, four sergeants, and seven patrolmen. The guards fall under the jurisdiction of the development's Property Owners Association who appoint the force's captain. He, in turn, is responsible for hiring, disciplining, and firing patrol personnel. Property owners are levied fees according to lot footage; the approximate cost for this service for 1975 is $168,938. Fees are also paid by residents of the neighboring subdivision that receives patrol coverage.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A guard apprehended a burglar.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None.

PRESENT STATUS
At one time the patrol had contracted to serve a nearby country club and a few commercial establishments in order to get additional income and keep property assessments low, but this was soon discontinued. The patrol has steadily expanded to its present level of crime-prevention activity; it is fully operational.
VIII. LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

URBAN AREA
Bluevale is a low-income, black suburb of Los Angeles with 79,000 residents. The area is studded with small homes on 50-foot lots. Although some homes are newly painted and have neatly trimmed lawns, the predominant picture is one of poverty. Boarded-up or dilapidated homes are commonplace. In midafternoon, clusters of men frequent the streets, drinking wine and gambling at dominos. Public officials claim that the unemployment rate, 10 percent in 1970, is now close to 20 percent. Over a dozen youth gangs have staked out territory in Bluevale, which has one of the highest crime rates in the country.

Origin

In 1965, looting and rioting came dangerously close to Bluevale. Only luck and some spontaneous citizen leadership prevented violence and destruction from spreading to Bluevale; blockades were erected and the rioters were ordered away.

In 1966, violence nearly erupted again when a black man, while speeding his pregnant wife to the hospital, was overtaken and fatally shot by a white policeman. Although the officer involved testified that his pistol discharged accidentally and the jury exonerated him, community reaction to the incident was strong and tension mounted in the black communities of south central Los Angeles. In an attempt to forestall violence and channel anger, a Bluevale Emergency Assistance Team (BEAT) was formed by members of groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and individuals interested in black nationalism. An all-black patrol unit of BEAT, called the Neighborhood Safety Team (NST), was formed to observe police behavior and modulate any explosive situations. Three factions formed within NST: a foot patrol of 100 men (later the Citizens for Safety); BEAT leadership; and a group of Bluevale citizens led by those who "saved" Bluevale from riots the previous year. Quarrels arose among the factions over the allocation of responsibility and finances, particularly gasoline money.
After several uneasy months of partnership among the factions, the Bluevale group was particularly angered by a BEAT leadership decision to suspend patrol activities and open negotiations "in good faith" with the Police Commission. In 1967, when BEAT suspended one of the Bluevale men for having his picture taken with Stokley Carmichael, the Bluevale group formed its own patrol, the California Neighborhood Safety Team (C-NST).

**Patrol Operations**

During the early days of NST operations, members cruised the streets of south central Los Angeles with white handkerchiefs flying from the antennae of their radio-equipped cars. There were newspaper announcements that the patrol would operate nightly from 7 p.m. to 2 a.m. "until the time comes when we feel we no longer have any reason to check up on police treatment of Negroes and other minority group civilians in the Los Angeles area."

Each volunteer patrol member was required to sign an agreement to stay at least five feet away from police officers, not to interfere with policemen, and to pledge nonviolence and obedience to all laws. Instead of weapons, patrolling members carried cameras and tape recorders to record police activity. NST had ten patrol cars equipped with citizen band radios; six were always on patrol and four were in reserve. Communications between the cars and base operations were handled by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Police radio calls were monitored and NST cars were dispatched when it was thought necessary.

Initially, the community gave substantial support to any group, including NST, that could maintain order and prevent the recurrence of riots. But the police viewed NST as an antagonistic and belligerent group and responded negatively to NST's efforts. On several occasions, the police arrested NST members for illegally carrying guns or interfering with a police officer. The public image of police-patrol relations during this period range from the occurrence of isolated incidents to a state of undeclared war.
In August 1966, NST received national attention when a motorized force of 20 radio units and about 100 ghetto youth served as the security force for the Bluevale Summer Festival parade, in which Sargeant Shriver participated. Shriver, then director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, was so impressed with the idea of a citizen patrol that his office made some preliminary explorations into the feasibility of funding community patrols in many cities. One member of Shriver's staff reportedly gave $1,700 of private money to the Bluevale contingent of NST for equipment shortly after the festival.

Thus encouraged, NST applied for federal funds. Letters of endorsement accompanying its proposal came from several black state officials. Strong objections to the grant were registered by the Los Angeles Chief of Police and the Police Commission. After HEW granted NST $238,000 for a year-long program, the fight against the grant was taken up by such conservative California politicians as Mayor Yorty and Republican Senators Kuchel and Murphy.

A local newspaper headline reported: "U.S. Bars Grant for 'Vigilantes.'" Except for $58,000 that had already been allotted for planning purposes, HEW Secretary John Gardner announced that the remainder of the grant would be withheld because the Los Angeles Police Department had raised "serious objections."

This major public defeat, coupled with internal dissension, led to the dissolution of NST. Only the Bluevale splinter group, C-NST, was left. Unlike NST, C-NST centered its activities on Bluevale and allowed nonblack residents to join. In February 1967, C-NST was incorporated as a nonprofit institution with the intent of obtaining federal funds. The new C-NST adopted a program of "safe streets and crime control." Its slogan became, "we are our brother's keeper." At this time, C-NST initiated a 24-hour patrol of Bluevale streets and a Search and Rescue Squad, since missing children were becoming a significant problem in the community.

At this time, there were struggles for power within the new C-NST,
with Asa White emerging as Commander-in-Chief. The actions of White, a man with a flamboyant and abrasive personality, became intrinsically linked with the reputation of C-NST. White's association with such militant political groups as the Revolutionary Action Movement (Maoists), the Progressive Labor Party, the Black Panther Party, and the U.S. Marxist-Leninist Party meant that C-NST was arbitrarily linked to them.

About 1970, C-NST attempted to improve its ties with the police department by volunteering to assist them wherever possible. C-NST's reasons for offering this aid did not clearly emerge from our interviews; however, several possible events, more than likely highly interrelated, could have motivated this move. For instance, hostility between the police and C-NST was crippling the effectiveness of the C-NST patrol. Partially because of police opposition, C-NST had been unable to obtain any federal, state, or city funds and consequently was losing momentum. In addition, the organization felt that it needed a new, positive image in order to shore up its community support. Finally, White's leadership of C-NST was being challenged by moderates in the group, many of whom desired to work with the police.

Until 1973, C-NST efforts to assist the police were rebuffed. Specific reservations about C-NST aside, the local police chief was "not community-minded"; he strongly felt that police and citizen functions should remain separate. In 1973, however, the chief retired and his successor, hired from a northern California department, favored citizen involvement in police affairs. The new chief had been stationed in Los Angeles during the 1965 riots and had been impressed with the way Bluevale citizens (who later formed NST) had protected their community. When the Bluevale police received an LEAA grant that provided for the training of community service aides to work with the police robbery detail, the chief specified that these aides were to be hired from C-NST rather than the community at large. In addition, under his patronage, C-NST began to handle special watches for the police and to have responsibility for traffic control during large holiday events. The patrol has also been used to cordon streets during situations in which the police wished to keep a low profile (e.g., a recent teachers' strike).
Organizational Structure and Activities

C-NST's organization is patterned after a military model, with a commander-in-chief, inspector generals, and a base commander for each of the communities in which it is active. The Bluevale base commander, Alice Herndon, described her position as similar to that of chief of police. The commander-in-chief appoints the base commander, who, in turn, fills all positions within her command, promoting and demoting people when necessary.

The Bluevale C-NST currently claims 150 active members who take turns patrolling Bluevale in three eight-hour shifts per day. At the time of the interview, Herndon reported that five cars were on patrol. Patrol members, who are volunteers, provide their own gasoline, cars, two-way radios, and uniforms. The uniform consists of black pants, a gold shirt, and orange jacket, a police-type badge, and assorted patches, medals, and stars, depending on rank. Some patrol cars have large C-NST decals on their sides. As a group, C-NST currently owns ten walkie-talkies and a few police monitors.

The job of the patrol is to observe and report. Upon witnessing a crime, members are to call a C-NST dispatcher, who then calls the police. Patrol members are instructed not to carry weapons unless they are deputized and not to touch anyone or enter homes or trespass on other private property. In addition to patrol activities, C-NST has an active search and rescue unit. Patrol members also provide special surveillance of property or community events when requested by either private citizens or the police.

Since 1970, the group has actively sought training as paraprofessional police (in crime control, in handling routine paperwork for police, and in assisting at scenes of accidents). Patrol members have never received any training, however, both because the police do not want to train them and because none of C-NST's proposals written to secure training have been funded.

There is no formal recruitment process; members learned about C-NST through word of mouth or the newspaper. Anyone who volunteers automatically becomes a member; children ostensibly become members of a Junior Patrol. No member is ever expelled from the group, and if a
member breaks the law, he is given a lifetime membership and placed on
the inactive rolls. According to Herndon, this has only happened twice:
Once because a member was impersonating a police officer and once for
drug abuse.

For the past two years, the Police Department has donated office
space for the C-NST. Apart from automobile operating costs, the largest
expense for the group has been telephone costs, which have run as high
as $40 to $50 a month. Recently, the telephone company agreed not to
bill C-NST for calls to the highway patrol or the sheriff's department.
The four Bluevale newspapers give the C-NST free space to advertise its
hot-line number. Despite applications to LEAA, the California Council
on Criminal Justice, and Bluevale's Model City program, C-NST has never
been awarded any funds; the group has maintained itself on donations
from the community (which have been minimal) and on contributions from
its members.

Outcomes

Although C-NST's activities have changed over the past ten years,
the attitudes of policemen toward it have not. In some cases, bad feel-
ings from the early days have not diminished. There is still alienation
stemming from tense encounters between C-NST members and individual po-
lice, resentment at public charges of police brutality, and anger at
promised federal financial support, which policemen feel implies doubts
about the department's ability to impartially enforce the law. Some
policemen remember Asa White with distaste, calling him "crazy" because
he drove "a car with eight or ten antennas, trying to look like an
official." For others, the C-NST members are not "their kind of people"
because some have police records and long histories of unemployment.
One officer stated that "the people available to organize the patrol are
the thugs. The right kind of people have to work 12 to 15 hours a day
in order to keep their houses up, and do not have time for this sort
of thing." Still others have seen the patrol as threatening to replace
police services rather than as helping the police.

It remains to be seen whether the current chief of police can
change attitudes within his department (or whether he will keep his
job long enough to do so.\footnote{1} His first attempt to do so was a failure. The head of the robbery unit, who had been directed to use funds from an LEAA grant to hire C-NST members, reacted with disgust to the chief's directive but did not blame the chief since he "came from another city and didn't know the kind of people he's dealing with." The robbery squad director claims to have arrested several of the 30 to 50 C-NST applicants after running the requisite background checks for hiring. Of the five slots to fill, the director claims to have found only three C-NST members suitable to hire. And these three were not hired; the robbery unit "just wrote 'em off." Although training of the community service aides was stipulated in the grant, training was not provided since "it would've been a waste of time." The community service aide part of the grant ran for 27 weeks, and at the end of this time the robbery unit was "happy to get rid of" the aides.

Currently, C-NST takes care of the special-watch requests that come to the police department. This collaboration apparently has been worked out with the police chief without the knowledge of most of his department. In interviews with several of the chief's top officers, we repeatedly were told that the police have no relationship with the C-NST other than providing rent-free office space to it and other community service groups. The police chief appears to be the strongest supporter of C-NST. He stated that "I have a lot of faith in them and I believe in what they're doing." He feels that many of its problems stem from not being selective in its membership.

Community support for C-NST, once quite high, seems to have diminished as fear of riots has abated. Although C-NST once claimed 2000 card-carrying members in Bluevale, some residents now view C-NST as merely a search and rescue unit, as totally disbanded, or as "strange" because of its uniforms and titles.

Conversely, some C-NST members feel that they are being "used" by the community, which calls on them for some services (e.g., providing security at a community dance, escort services, etc.), but refuses to

\footnote{1}{When he was recently fired, he successfully sued the city to rehire him. C-NST apparently mobilized sit-ins on his behalf.}
give them financial support. Some members believe that the patrol's failure to obtain police support is caused by envy, "since the patrol can call out more cars than they [the police] can." Other members think that most police do not support them because "they don't want crime to cease in Bluevale."

It is difficult to verify whether the patrol portion of the Bluevale C-NST is currently active. Several people in the community reported not seeing patrol members around; the Police Intelligence unit reports them "up in '74 but now in limbo." Yet the C-NST base commander claims that there is uncurtailed patrol activity and that there are monthly meetings with 75 to 100 members in attendance. What can be said with certainty is that C-NST provides some valuable services to the community, e.g., finding lost children. Since it generally lacks the support of the police and the community, whether or not it is realizing its goal as an all-Bluevale citizen patrol is highly problematic.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Compton
CITY: Los Angeles, California
START DATE: 1966

CONTEXT
Low-income neighborhood; more than 30 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary, robbery, and vandalism.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults patrol an entire suburb of Los Angeles in autos equipped with citizen band radios. The patrol purportedly operates 24 hours a day, seven days a week. During its first two years of existence, the patrol monitored the police; now there is minimal contact with the police.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol is reported to have 150 active members and 3,700 inactive members. It is a chapter of a national organization of people with an interest in citizen band radios. Donations from the community supplement the patrol members' individual contributions for gasoline and telephone expenses.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
No incidents have been reported to the patrol's leaders.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol tries to locate missing children.

PRESENT STATUS
Originally part of a larger patrol formed to serve as a buffer between residents and police and to stem civil unrest, this patrol has undergone a major shift in its orientation. In the late 1960s, patrol monitoring of the police came to be viewed with disfavor by many community residents. Because of this, and a perceived change in the nature of police-community relations, this patrol split off from its parent organization around 1968 and began solely to observe and report suspicious activity. Due to lack of funds, membership has dwindled.
IX. NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

URBAN AREA
TRIQUONIC CITIZENS PATROL

Newark, New Jersey

The old Triquonic section of Newark is the site of operations for the Triquonic Citizens Patrol. Triquonic is primarily a residential area that also contains some business zones and several public housing projects. The northern part of this lower- to middle-income neighborhood is predominantly Italian, although numerous black and Puerto Rican families also reside there. The southern section of Triquonic is principally black and Puerto Rican. There are a few public housing projects in this area.

Origin

In 1967 the Triquonic area was rife with fear and unrest. Drugs were being sold openly in the streets. Residents claimed that the police either did not respond to calls or dealt ineffectively with the situation. Lead by Rocco Sabatino, the Italian citizens of Triquonic decided to form a patrol. Three people initially planned the patrol: Rocco (at that time a patio builder and the proprietor of a karate school), his wife, and Jim Girard, a printer. The first patrol members were the 40 students in Sabatino’s karate school. When the riots in Newark began, this group walked into a local housing project against sniper fire and confronted the alleged rioters.

Within one month after the beginning of the riots, the patrol’s membership had risen from 40 to 300. The recruitment was accomplished by word-of-mouth and by distributing printed flyers and posters. At the first meeting held at Sabatino’s house, there were three people. At the second meeting (held at Sabatino’s karate school), there were 100 attendees. The third meeting was held at a local restaurant and drew 500 people. By the third month, 1700 people attended a meeting at a local high school.

According to Sabatino, the biggest boost to the patrol’s formation at the beginning was the successful confrontation with the rioters. "We stood up and said it just the way it was. We told them anyone we
caught looting or burning in our neighborhood would be in danger." The only areas of the city which were not damaged in the riots were the north, east, and west sections where resident patrols operated. The biggest obstacle, Sabatino said, was "overcoming white politicians who were willing to give away everything to keep peace."

**Patrol Operations**

Initially, the patrol was a foot patrol with guard dogs, but the patrol members were harassed by taunts and bricks and garbage thrown at them. Consequently, a mobile auto radio patrol was formed. All patrol members buy their own radios (which range in price from $80 to $175), use their own cars, and buy their own gas. In addition, most patrol cars are equipped with crash kits, blankets, and portable stretchers and oxygen units, all of which are supplied by the members. The foot patrol still operates under some circumstances (e.g., St. Gerard's parade).

In 1967 there were so many people injured in muggings that patrol members began to carry first aid kits. Then Sabatino noticed that an ambulance company was going out of business; he bought it, and the Triquonic Ambulance Corps was born. Most patrol members are also ambulance squad members. Eighty percent of the patrol members have an EMT (Emergency Medical Technician) rating. Most have taken advanced courses from the Red Cross, and some are paramedics. Patrol members also take a collision driving course as well as courses in self-defense and radio use.

The patrol operates from 8 p.m. to 4 a.m. every day of the year. There are at least two men in each patrol car, and between four and five cars per night on weekdays and between 12 and 15 on weekends are fielded. Individual shifts last four to six hours. Currently, the patrol and ambulance squads have about 60 members who range in age from 17 to 50, but who, on the average, are in their middle 20s. On slow nights, there may be as many as 20 people at the patrol's headquarters, most of whom could be mobilized if necessary.

The patrol has many activities, including apprehending criminals. The patrol sends out teams to lower Broadway during Christmas to watch
for pickpockets and purse snatchers among the crowds of shoppers. The patrol also covers all bingo games in the Triquonic area. It has set up drug arrests. It provides escort service on request; if a woman calls for an escort, a woman patrol member is sent. There is a blind family that calls regularly for escort service when they cannot get a taxicab. Sabatino goes over himself and picks the family up in his limousine. Whenever a patrol car gives someone a ride, the driver calls into the base station and reports his starting and ending mileage. The patrol gives out stickers with telephone numbers of police, fire, and ambulance companies. The ambulance squad belongs to MEDCON group hospitals, and each ambulance is equipped with a special telephone which is linked to MEDCON.

In addition to operating the patrol and the ambulance squad, the Triquonic Citizens Patrol operates other projects, one of which is an organization named TAN (Teenagers Against Narcotics), which reports suspected narcotics pushers and addicts to the police. This group is certified as a referral service for addicts. The patrol also gives classes to prepare people for service exams, such as those given by the Police Department and Fire Department. Policemen, firemen, corrections officers, and other specialists teach the classes. Many of the original patrol members from 1967 are now members of the Newark Police Department and the New Jersey Department of Corrections.

Mr. Sabatino also publishes a bulletin in which he lists available government assistance and supplements, such as rent subsidies. "White areas are the last ones to find out anything like that," he said.

In addition to all of these activities, the patrol members drive through the neighborhood looking for suspicious events. They feel they act as the "eyes and ears of the police department." Many of the members of the patrol are police officers, corrections officers, and detectives (Sabatino is a state detective) and are licensed to carry arms. If the patrol spots what appears to be a crime in progress, they take action, depending upon how they assess the danger and whether they have an armed patrolman in the car. Patrol members can make a citizen's arrest and then call the police. If the situation appears to
be dangerous, patrol members may simply maintain surveillance, get a
description of the person and vehicles involved, and inform the police.

Citizens often call the patrol instead of the police because it can
be contacted more easily and responds more quickly. These citizens hear
of the patrol through their friends and neighbors. Many people in the
Triquonic area associate protection with Rocco Sabatino. "When in
danger, call Rocco" is the way Tony Germano, a patrol member, described
the sentiments of Triquonic residents.

Every patrol car keeps a log. When members go out on patrol they
report to headquarters. The base dispatcher then telephones the roster
to the police department. The mileage of each patrol car is taken be-
fore and after the tour of duty as well as before and after escorting
a resident. Every incident is recorded on both the patrol car's log
and the log kept by the base dispatcher at headquarters. Most incidents
that are logged are of a noncriminal nature.

Applicants to the patrol must fill out forms that are processed by
the police department. Applicants are denied membership in the patrol
for "moral turpitude." If the applicant is found to use narcotics, the
person is referred to the TAN program for rehabilitation. If the person
refuses to go into TAN, he is denied membership in the patrol. No one
has ever been fired from the patrol. Absenteeism is not a serious prob-
lem. There are 133 people on the waiting list for the patrol at the
moment. "We take a long, long look at people before we let them join," Sabatino said. "We want to make sure that they are cool, levelheaded,
and responsible. We scrutinize them very carefully for would-be police-
men. We search their cars for illegal weapons."

Members claim they join the patrol because they get a sense of
accomplishment since they are doing something for their community that
needs to be done. They learn about the patrol from family and friends.

Harry Morgan, who fixes the patrol vehicles, and Tom Harmon, who
teaches karate, are both older than the average patrolman. They serve
as Sabatino's bodyguards, and they like to be around him. They drive
for him, pick up his children, and run errands.
The patrol's headquarters also serve as a clubhouse. The clubroom has a pool table, pinball machine, comfortable couches and chairs, and a bar. The clubhouse is open to the public to join: "For $5 a month, a guy can come in, bring his girlfriend, play pool, drink, and have a good time," Sabatino said. The patrol is in the process of adding a kitchen. Now, rather frequently, feasts are held in the clubroom.

**Organizational Structure and Activities**

The power hierarchy of the patrol is as follows. Rocco Sabatino is the founder, organizer, and a patrolman of the Triquonic Citizens Patrol. He has a base radio at home and in his car, and he patrols most nights. He is always armed when he goes on patrol, and he spends at least 30 hours a week on the patrol.

The operation's captain, Tony Germano, is second in command. He also has a base radio at home and in his car. He schedules activities and teaches people how to fill out reports, and he is on call in case of a crisis. He patrols regularly every Friday night. He is also vice-president of the ambulance squad and serves ambulance duty on Saturday nights. He often patrols one or two more times a week. He learned about the patrol through his father, felt that it was providing a "good thing for the neighborhood," and joined; he likes the feeling of helping people. Germano spends at least 40 hours a week on the patrol.

Each night a lieutenant takes charge of the patrol. He has a base radio and is in command unless an extreme emergency causes him to call either the operation's captain or Sabatino. Each night one sergeant is assigned to each of four sectors, who supervises the patrolmen in the field.

The leaders are elected once per year. Though popularity is a factor, the officers are elected because "they have the most experience and know what they're doing," Sabatino said.

The ambulance squad is self-supporting (it grosses about $24,000 annually), and this income subsidizes the patrol. Some expenses incurred by patrol members that are partially reimbursed by the ambulance squad funds include the replacement of items in the crash kits,
batteries, and some gas money. There is no insurance for patrol members, but, according to Sabatino, "we can take care of our own. If a guy gets hurt, we pass the hat, pay his salary if he can't work, and pay his doctor bills." The patrol gets its money mainly by borrowing from the ambulance squad. These funds may amount to $4,000 a year. The bulk of the cost of operating the patrol is borne by its members and amounts to a maximum of $24,000 a year. There are many loyal patrol members who donate their time and provide services to the patrol which, if the patrol had to pay for them, would be very costly. Morgan, a mechanic who makes $400 a week at Beame Motors, fixes all the patrol-owned vehicles without charge. Another man repairs all of the radios as well as instructing new patrol members on how to operate them.

The crime prevention activities of the patrol have allegedly been successful, and now the patrol is devoting time to other activities. They have been successful in recovering stolen property. For example, when a church was robbed of stereos, televisions, typewriters, and other equipment, the patrol retrieved everything within a couple of days. Sometimes patrol members respond to police calls if they hear something over the police channel if they feel they can be of assistance.

Outcomes

Patrol members felt that the patrol was experiencing no major operational problems. Because of the substantial waiting list of applicants, the reduced number of active members (relative to membership in the late 1960s) does not imply that the patrol will be less able to respond to such crises as the riot that caused the patrol's formation. In 1972, Leroy Jones, now called Amami Amiri Baraka, attempted to erect the Kawaida Towers in Triquonc. Sabatino spearheaded local resistance to the construction of the housing project. This event was seen as a great rallying point for the patrol.

The patrol has been accused by some police officers and residents of being a vigilante group. It has been widely viewed as being anti-black, but Sabatino claims that it is only the politicians and the clergy who feel that way. There are no black members on the patrol.
now, but there have been on occasion. They drop out because they are harassed by their neighbors, Sabatino reported.

The residents of the neighborhood are pleased that the patrol is present. They seem to view Sabatino almost as a saint. Sabatino confided, "You know, I'm sort of like a Godfather around here." At parades and other public events his patrolmen take off work in order to participate. They appear devoted to him as a person and as a leader. Some residents have expressed similar admiration and affection by approaching to clasp his hand or kiss his cheek.

Sabatino reports that the most serious criminal incident handled by the patrol was when he personally disarmed and apprehended two Puerto Rican youths who had shot and killed a 15-year-old boy. The prevalent crime in the area is breaking and entering; daytime holdups and stolen cars are the next most frequent crimes.

Most complaints about the patrol come from black groups and the upper echelons of the police department. The patrol feels that police protection was better from 1967 through 1969. It has deteriorated now, but "for political reasons, not because of the patrol." Basically, the patrol has very good relations with the police on the street and precinct level. "Some of the brass may not like us, though," Sabatino said. Some of the upper-level police staff who were interviewed were unaware that the patrol was still in operation and dubbed it a vigilante group.

Captain Levinson, the commanding officer in the local police precinct, disclaimed any personal knowledge of patrols in the Triumonic area on grounds that he had been assigned there only a little less than two months. As far as relations with the police on the beat are concerned, however, Sabatino claims that policemen and patrolmen get along together. Some of the policemen on the beat spoke very favorably about the patrol.

Sergeant Wilson, who is familiar with the area and works two nights a week in the Triumonic district, was not sure that the patrol existed: "I haven't seen them around for a long time." He claims that the patrol never gets involved in incidents. The patrol mostly performs
escort services from bingo games. If patrolmen do encounter a criminal incident, they call the police department. He stated that the existence of the patrol, "if it exists," has no effect on police deployment. He does not feel that crime has been displaced to areas bordering the patrol's territory. In fact, he feels that the patrol has had no effect on crime at all. However, Wilson thinks that the escort, ambulance, and community services that the patrol performs are good. "They should not get involved in police business. The police can handle all that themselves. Besides, they have auxiliary police to help." The sergeant stated that he felt most of the patrol members are too young, not well-trained, and too rash. He did not feel they should be given any financial support. He went on to say that a negative element of civilian patrols is that they are unidentified. He does not think that they should wear uniforms either, because then the public blames the police department for patrol members' misconduct.
NEIGHBORHOOD: North Ward
CITY: Newark, New Jersey
START DATE: 1967

CONTEXT
Middle-income area with various ethnicities represented.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
During the early days of the patrol, the residents' concern was on the spread of riot activity. Currently the main crime problem is breaking and entering, robberies, and auto theft.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults operate a mobile auto patrol and escort services from 8 p.m. until 4 a.m. seven days a week. The members' cars are equipped with citizen band radios used to report suspicious or criminal activity to the police; a total of eight cars patrol each evening. A number of policemen are members of the patrol.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol is affiliated with a local community organization. Patrol membership numbers 60. The patrol siphons some funds from one of its non-crime prevention activities which provide the money for the bulk of its expenses. Other funds are obtained through contributions and a fund raiser. The money is used for the patrol's operating expenses.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A patrol member apprehended and disarmed two gunmen after they shot a youth.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol operates a volunteer ambulance service; users of this service are not charged, but usually donate some funds. The patrol also has a free blood bank and a food depository for senior citizens. A group of teenagers who are against narcotics use is affiliated with the patrol. Once a year the patrol assists in a religious celebration by carrying a statue through the streets.

PRESENT STATUS
The nature of the patrol's activities have undergone a shift since its inception. At the onset, there were 100 armed patrol members with between 20 and 30 cars on duty each evening. Patrol membership began declining after the riots that had precipitated the patrol's existence were quelled. The patrol now appears to be fully operational and at a stable level of activity.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Vailsburg  
CITY: Newark, New Jersey  
START DATE: 1968

CONTEXT  
Middle-income, predominantly white area, with several European ethnicities represented.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM  
Breaking and enterings, muggings, auto theft.

OPERATIONS  
Male volunteers operated a mobile auto patrol using cars equipped with citizen band radios. The patrol surveilled the neighborhood from 9 p.m. until 1 a.m. (and sometimes more hours, ranging from 6 p.m. to 4 a.m.) every night of the week. Between two and five autos were fielded each night. Patrol members received their training from the police, and the police came by patrol headquarters nightly.

ORGANIZATION  
The 40-member patrol was sponsored by a local community organization, which purchased some equipment for the patrol. Members provided their own gasoline, and some bought their own radios.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT  
Many serious incidents were handled by the patrol: the patrol apprehended muggers and rapists, foiled a gas station robbery, assisted the police in subduing a breaking and entering suspect, and chased and effected the capture of a hit-and-run driver.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY  
The patrol reported autos blocking access areas to the police, and also reported manhole covers that were missing.

PRESENT STATUS  
From 1968 to 1972 the patrol declined in membership and the frequency of patrol coverage. The patrol ceased its regularly scheduled activities in 1972 because of a perceived decrease in criminal activity and a resultant loss of interest on the part of members, and also because the coordinator of the patrol resigned for personal reasons and no one else would take the job. A foot patrol occasionally operates now, but this is an entirely sporadic activity.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Weequahic
CITY: Newark, New Jersey
START DATE: 1968

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; residents represent various ethnicities.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and enterings, assaults and robberies of elderly residents.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer teen-agers and adults operated a mobile foot and auto patrol from 7 p.m. until 10 p.m. seven days a week. They were equipped with walkie-talkies. Police would attend the meetings of the patrol's sponsoring organization and provide them with information regarding effective patrol procedures. The patrol personnel notified the police whenever they spotted suspicious or criminal activity.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol was sponsored by a block association. Patrol membership numbered approximately 75. A local gasoline station owner provided gasoline for patrol autos; he had experienced many robberies and was grateful for the patrol's presence. Block association dues were used to purchase equipment.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Some patrol members observed an individual following a mailman; the person would go through the contents of mailboxes, apparently looking for checks, and would tear up certain pieces of mail. As the man was making an unauthorized entry into a house, the patrol intervened and disarmed him (he was carrying a knife). The patrol then called the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol disbanded in 1974 after the coordinator of the patrol (who was also the president of the block association) resigned because of political conflict within the block association.
X. NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

URBAN AREA
ALLIANCE FOR SAFETY
New Orleans, Louisiana

In May of 1965 the Alliance for Safety was formed in a small industrial town not far from New Orleans as black residents of that community actively entered the nation-wide struggle for civil rights and equal opportunity. The primary purpose of the Alliance was to protect and defend both black residents and transient civil rights workers against Ku Klux Klan members, white marauders, and local police. As part of that effort, the Alliance instituted an armed, mobile radio patrol.

Origin

Although the local black community had been loosely organized since about 1960, it was not until the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed that residents were impelled to unified action. In 1964 black residents established a Voting Rights Committee to help implement various provisions of the civil rights legislation. Primarily geared to enforcing the sections concerning voter registration and desegregation of public accommodations, the Voting Rights Committee also directed some of its efforts toward improving the quality of life for black residents of the town.

With assistance from national members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the Committee began to plan voter registration drives; the group also organized black youths to enter segregated restaurants and demand seating and service. Shortly after the young blacks first appeared at the local eateries, a gathering of white restauranteurs notified the president of the Voting Rights Committee that the desegregation tactics should be brought to a halt. While the Committee president made no promises, he reportedly became so unnerved by the pressure the entrepreneurs effected that he decided to relinquish his position. At that time the former vice-president of the Committee succeeded to the presidency; however, tension had been mounting and his first night in
office was marked by violence. The new president suddenly found his home the target of armed snipers, and while no one was injured in the attack, he too decided to abdicate the presidency. After two resignations, the Voting Rights Committee was hard pressed to find a volunteer willing to assume the top position.

In spring 1965, the position was accepted by 42-year-old Isaiah Tripp, an employee at Bingham & Hodge Company, the largest plant in town. Tripp had previously emerged as a community leader when he was elected to represent the black labor union at the company. (White employees belonged to a separate union chapter.) An enterprising individual, Tripp also owned a small fleet of taxicabs which serviced the black neighborhoods of the community.

When Tripp accepted the presidency of the Voting Rights Committee, he publicly declared to "carry the fight" until the end. "I had no intention of being coerced from my position," Tripp said in a recent interview; "I made that perfectly clear to all the white people in town." Tripp said that upon assuming office he was immediately offered several bribes to back down from his position, but he held steadfast. "One white commissioner ushered me into a room that was stuffed with loose money, more money than I've ever seen in my whole life," he recounted, "but I didn't take a dollar."

When bribes failed to move him, a different tactic was attempted. Suddenly, many of Tripp's creditors began demanding immediate payment on all outstanding debts, threatening confiscation of goods if his accounts could not be cleared. Simultaneously, the insurance policy for his taxicabs was cancelled; without it, Tripp could not legally operate the vehicles. In one fell swoop, his business was completely wiped out.

Angered though he was by these tactics, his temper mounted when he arrived home one night to find that a group of white vandals had ruined his Cadillac by pouring acid over it and slashing apart the tires. The following day, he called a meeting of several black leaders in town. About twelve people assembled for the conference where discussion centered on two main topics: the failure of local, state, and federal
officials to uphold the provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the lack of protection and due process being accorded black residents who were involved in civil rights efforts.

At that meeting, the black leaders decided to create the Alliance for Safety. The initial goals of the Alliance, said Tripp, were twofold: to provide protection and defense for black residents "who were scared to death" of violent whites, including the police, and also to provide special bodyguard service for vocal black leaders who were frequent targets of harassment and attack.

The planners of the black defenders group decided to institute a mobile car patrol because it was the most effective method of covering wide areas, and also because Tripp managed to salvage several citizen band radios from his taxicabs before they had been seized as collateral by his creditors. The radios could afford patrol members immediate communication with each other and, although illegal, could also be used to monitor calls on the special police band. All patrol members would also carry guns, the planners decided, which were to rest visibly on the seats of each car. "The local police and the U.S. Department of Justice knew what we were doing and knew that we were armed," remarked Tripp, "but it had to be done. I always said though, that when citizens of this town began to work with their black residents, then we would hang up our guns."

Patrol Operations

For administrative purposes, the Alliance for Safety set up a board of directors separate from that of the Voting Rights Committee, although the two groups operated hand-in-glove. Leroy Stevens was designated the director of the Alliance and was charged with supervising its activities.

Initially, the Alliance's patrol was to operate from sunset to sunrise in the north and south sides of town, the two areas where blacks resided. Membership guidelines required all patrol volunteers to be at least 21 years old, possess good judgment, and be able to remain calm under tense circumstances. Most members were army veterans, said Tripp,
and had therefore been previously trained in the use of weapons and other patrol equipment. Unseasoned volunteers received instruction from experienced members of the patrol.

The homes of several black community leaders were used as base stations, and patrol members kept in frequent contact with at least one of them when cruising about the streets. When a resident wished to contact the patrol, he was instructed to telephone a base station which would then relay the message to the appropriate patrol members. Tripp estimated that between 1965 and 1966, when the Alliance was most active, the patrol received about ten calls a night, most of which were reports about suspicious activity. Regular patrol members, he said, numbered about 35 and drove together in teams of two or four.

While the Alliance's patrol routine was mainly designed to cover the black neighborhoods in town, much of its activity was focused on protecting Tripp himself. As a visible, vocal leader of the civil rights movement, Tripp indicated he was the target of constant harassment and assault. "The KKK and other violent racists were after me because I was the president of the Voting Rights Committee," Tripp explained. "They felt if they could kill the head, the body would die, so I was in constant need of protection."

Tripp then described an incident in which he narrowly escaped harm at the hands of some irrational whites. One night when he was returning to his home under the protection of four patrol members, he found that the street in front of his house had been blocked off and surrounded by a group of gun-toting, grenade-carrying white males, all of whom were Tripp's co-workers at Bingham & Hodge Company. Tripp and his bodyguards verbally harassed the would-be attackers and frightened them away. "We could have pulled out our guns and caused a bloody mess," Tripp said, "but we tried to refrain from violence."

In that regard, Tripp said, no Alliance members were ever seriously injured while on patrol, nor were any jailed for illegal patrol activity. The community's current Police Chief, Russell LaRue, who was a member of the force in the mid-60's, affirms Tripp's statement. "There was plenty
of trouble back then," recalled LaRue in a telephone interview, "but there were never any physical confrontations between the police and the Alliance. A lot of hollering back and forth," he said, "but from what I can remember, Alliance members never shot anyone as part of their nightly patrol."

As civil rights efforts gained momentum in the area, the duties of the Alliance expanded. The Voting Rights Committee broadened its activities to include demonstrations, marches, and pickets, and the Alliance became the official protection agency for participants in those events. Many Alliance members, however, also joined in those activities and frequently were injured or arrested as a result of their participation. "Many of our men were injured when they joined mass demonstrations or pickets," said Tripp, "but they weren't serving as Alliance members when that happened."

The Alliance for Safety also provided protection for the civil rights workers--many of whom were white--who had come to the community. While the Voting Rights Committee provided food, and often shelter, for these individuals, the Alliance offered them protection, for they were just as subject to police and Ku Klux Klan harassment as the local people they were trying to assist.

Organizational Structure and Activities

At its height, the Alliance patrol numbered between 80 and 90 volunteers. "We chose mostly grass roots, laborer types," Tripp explained, "people we thought could handle violence and not be easily frightened." Turnover was low, he added, except that the Alliance's ranks waxed and waned with the number of patrol members under arrest for their participation in organized civil rights projects.

As the Alliance for Safety's reputation spread, members began to receive requests for assistance from black groups in the neighboring towns. In addition, they led a statewide march to the state capitol in Baton Rouge. Members of the Alliance also traveled to the Mississippi town where NAACP leader Medgar Evers had been shot to quiet racial disturbances there.
The Alliance for Safety was apparently a costly group to maintain. Tripp estimated that their peak year's expenditures ranged between $20,000 and $25,000. The funds were used to meet myriad expenses: the purchase of arms and equipment for patrol members, automobile maintenance, foodstuffs for civil rights workers, and bail bonds for jailed activists. Major expenses included car repairs and tire replacements because the Alliance automobiles were obvious targets for sabotage and vandalism.

Bail bonds also proved to be a large drain on the Alliance's capital. While the group relied heavily on voluntary contributions, Tripp himself took to the national speechmaking circuit to help raise the large amounts of money needed by both the Voting Rights Committee and the Alliance for Safety. According to Tripp, these efforts were sometimes thwarted by local law enforcement officials who began to stage mass arrests shortly after major fund raising drives, forcing the Alliance to spend much of its new capital on bail bonds. Tripp cited one incident, which he has named "bloody Wednesday," that occurred soon after his return from an out-of-state speaking engagement. That afternoon, the local police drove a large yellow school bus into a black neighborhood and parked it on the corner of a busy commercial avenue. The police then proceeded down the street, beating blacks, loading them onto the bus, and jailing them on charges of "failing to move on." Some 65 people were arrested that afternoon, said Tripp, and most of the money he had raised on the trip was spent posting bond for the arrest victims.

Relations between the police and the Alliance were usually tense, said Tripp, although he claims the Alliance never intentionally acted outside the bounds of the law. "To a large extent, the Alliance helped protect black citizens from police harassment," he said. "But in order to remain cooperative, we always tried to inform local police about marches and demonstrations, registering formal appeals for assistance."

When asked about police relations with the black community, Chief LaRue first replied that they have improved substantially since the mid-60's, but expressed disagreement with Tripp's view that the Alliance was needed to protect black residents from the police. "A few idiots
[in the police force] might have slipped through and shot at some people or into some houses," he said "but for the most part, all those people involved in civil rights things were given good protection by the police." LaRue added that a host of state troopers and sheriff's deputies had been dispatched to the town "to keep things down," and they also aided local police in giving members of the black community "adequate protection."

Tripp feels differently about the presence of the state and parish (county) law enforcement agents. "They gave us as much trouble as the local police," he said.

Alliance activity proved to be burdensome for both its own members and the police. Alliance members not only patrolled at night but also provided security at daytime civil rights protests. "As the leader of the group, Leroy Stevens probably worked 24-hours a day," LaRue commented. LaRue, himself, said he was working a 20-hour day when activities were at their peak. He recalled an evening when he was assigned to sit outside Tripp's house, guarding it from vandals while Tripp was inside meeting with a federal official who had arrived from Washington. "It was late at night, and there I was, slapping away at mosquitoes while the two of them were inside drinking."

It was also an expensive proposition for the police. "It cost us a fortune to keep the peace here," LaRue said. "Our men were constantly on call. We couldn't afford to let those stupid white radicals and blacks get together."

**Outcomes**

By 1968 the Alliance terminated its daily patrol of the black community. "White people had gotten our message by then," Tripp explained, "and our services were no longer so necessary." The civil rights movement was also turning away from the streets to the courts, hoping that the judicial system would provide more permanent solutions to the problems of racial injustice. Members of the Alliance and the Voting Rights Committee were involved in several law suits that were filed in the mid-60's. One charge they pressed resulted in a federal court injunction restraining the municipal police department from infringing in any
way upon the rights of black residents. To date, this injunction has not been lifted. Numerous other suits were filed against local "Jim Crow" laws, one of which was argued successfully before the United States Supreme Court. The results of that case forced the merging, and ultimate desegregation, of the two labor unions at the Bingham & Hodge Company.

Isaiah Tripp is quick to laud the achievements of the Alliance. It enabled members of the black community to pursue their struggle for civil rights in the face of mauling Klansmen, racist police, and other white rowdies. It provided a valuable service to black citizens—and civil rights workers of all races—who were being abused, rather than protected, under the law enforcement system. And finally, he argued, it instilled within local blacks a heightened sense of confidence and self-respect.

Police Chief LaRue, on the other hand, feels that the patrol was "unnecessary" and accomplished very little during its life span. "It probably made some older blacks feel more secure," he said, "but in no way did it impress the police."

Assessing the Alliance's long-term effectiveness, Tripp said that it has been several years since local blacks have suffered at the hands of violent whites, even though the patrol is no longer in operation. At a superficial glance, race relations in the community may appear to have improved, said Tripp, but the town still has a long way to go. There is only minimal residential integration, he noted, and civil service jobs are still predominantly filled by whites. More blacks are being hired now, conceded Tripp, but usually as a result of court orders or federal directives.

Tripp described police service in the black neighborhoods as "not what it should be, but better than before." Three police chiefs have resigned from the force since the mid-1960's, but current Chief LaRue seems to have learned some lessons from earlier racial disruptions. "I think this is a police chief I can deal with," Tripp said cautiously.

There has also been a substantial drop in Ku Klux Klan harassment, but it is difficult to determine how much is attributable solely to
Alliance activities. Perhaps Tripp summed it up succinctly in this statement: "When the Alliance was active, it gave the Klan a run for their money. It wasn't afraid to match wits with the Klan, whereas before, blacks often allowed themselves to become victims of Klan harassment."

In a broader sense, the entire town has been affected by the civil rights movement. Always having been a one-industry town, the community has constantly struggled to fight off economic stagnation and population migration. In recent years, new industry has chosen to stay away from the town rather than face pressures to engage in non-discriminatory employment policies. "Hiring blacks is still a touchy subject in this community," Tripp commented, "so industrial companies would stay away rather than become embroiled in racial politics."

The violence and unrest of the mid-60's also prompted many young families to join the stream of high school graduates emigrating to more cosmopolitan areas. Over the course of the last ten years, said Tripp, the population of the community has dropped from almost 22,000 to about 16,000 residents.

While the Alliance no longer patrols the streets on a routine basis, many of its former members occasionally cruise around in their own cars, looking out for any racial improprieties. "Many black residents still feel they may be singled out by harassing whites," explained Tripp, "so they keep their guns to protect themselves and their families."

While there is no official patrol today, he continued, the black community could put one together quickly if the need arose. Apparently, local black leaders attempted a test run of a patrol mobilization several years ago and from Tripp's account, were pleased with the resources and manpower they were able to muster. Perhaps that is the best indication of the Alliance's long-term effect—it was able to organize the local black community, and the social ties it forged ten years ago are still intact today.
BELLE ISLE PATROL
New Orleans, Louisiana

Located in the old Beaufort neighborhood, Belle Isle is a "turn-key" housing project developed and supervised by the New Orleans Housing Authority. Since opening the Belle Isle development, Housing Authority management has screened all prospective purchasers of the $18-20,000 homes. Residents of Belle Isle deal with the Housing Authority through the Belle Isle Homeowners Commission, headed by a board of 12 elected representatives who meet once each month. In addition to acting as liaison between residents and the Housing Authority, the Homeowners Commission oversees maintenance of common areas and the recreation center. Belle Isle homes are subsidized, and income restrictions are applied so that residence in this community is limited to people who earn relatively low incomes. Most of its residents are black. Depending on family size and the particular home being purchased, household income may range from $3,000 to $9,000 per year. For many residents, purchase of a home in Belle Isle is an intermediate step to an even nicer residence later on.

Origin
Since residents did not begin moving into Belle Isle until 1970, the homes are fairly new. Today tidy dwellings still dot orderly and well-kept grounds, largely because of the conscientious efforts of early Belle Isle residents. The Homeowners Commission realized almost from the outset that all the vacant homes would not be purchased at once and that many of those vacant homes might fall prey to vandalism. Initial occupants of the development also noticed that their cars parked on the street overnight were particularly vulnerable to stripping and battery theft. As a result, the Homeowners Commission asked the Housing Authority for security guards soon after the project opened. The Housing Authority declined the request, pleading lack of funds.

As vandalism mounted in Belle Isle, Eddie Burk, the grounds-keeper and rental supervisor, began to make occasional rounds in his car through
the neighborhood to check for suspicious activity. It was during this
time that Lorraine Gibbs, formerly a homemaking instructor for the
Housing Authority, was promoted to resident manager. At almost that same
time in September 1974, a local guard service called Security, Inc., was
formed and began to advertise for its first clients. It happened that
the field captain for the security company was a personal friend of
Daria Fuller (president of the Belle Isle Homeowners Commission) and
through her learned of Belle Isle's plight. Subsequently, Security, Inc.
contacted the Homeowners Commission which contracted with the firm to
provide inexpensive security services. According to the current field
captain, Clem Dickenson, "it is mostly a favor since we're making
practically nothing on the job."

The idea was to hire a man who could keep intruders out of the
neighborhood at night and who could also gain the respect and confidence
of the younger residents and children, since within the 221 member homes
there are approximately 800 people under the age of 21. The service
charge is currently $3.10 per hour, and service is provided eight hours
a night, seven nights a week. Each month, $8 is taken from residents'
mortgage payments to support the Homeowners Commission. Four of these
dollars go towards the security patrol.

**Patrol Operations**

The guard, hired and deployed by Security, Inc., checks in each
night at the Belle Isle Recreation Center, which serves as a base
station. Each night he must obtain the key to the center from either
Gibbs or Burk. Initially, the guard arrived at 8 or 9 p.m. and left
eight hours later, but the Commission decided that he was needed earlier
to deal with children after school and his hours were revised to commence
at 6 p.m. Eddie Burk provides supplemental coverage on an informal
basis during the day in order to reduce security expenditures. Each
Security, Inc. guard is equipped with a uniform, a badge, a pistol, and
a nightstick. The current guard, Leo Kelly, is a commissioned peace
officer, which appears to be his sole qualification for his employment.
Gibbs mentioned that Kelly also carries a beeping mechanism which can be
activated by Daria Fuller or by the roving Security, Inc. supervisor when he is in the neighborhood. Kelly, however, said that he does not have a beeper, despite Gibbs' claim that he does. Gibbs said that Kelly has been instructed to call his supervisor from the nearest pay phone when he receives the signal. In contrast, Kelly said that, although he did not know what had gone on before he began work in May of 1975, he had not been given a beeper; he added that he would like to carry one.

Kelly spends some time at the center in between rounds, which he makes on foot. Residents can summon him by telephoning him at the center or by calling Daria Fuller. Kelly said that he turns on extra lights at the center when he is there so that people know he can be reached; residents who cannot see the center from their homes must keep trying the number until he answers. Telephone numbers for the center and for Mrs. Fuller have been distributed to residents in a newsletter describing the patrol service.

While walking through the project on his rounds, Kelly is expected to check autos, to walk up the driveway to each house, and to inspect vacant homes for signs of suspicious activity. During inclement weather, Kelly is permitted to patrol in his car, but he has to purchase his own gas. This practice serves to illustrate the low-budget nature of the patrol. When residents become suspicious of Kelly's slowly moving unidentified auto, Gibbs made a cardboard sign for him to tape onto his car while he patrolled.

At the center, Kelly keeps a log of significant events. Gibbs' first duty of the day is to review the log and to follow up on any complaints or problems. Aside from answering occasional calls during the night, reviewing the log represents the only commitment to the patrol required of any neighborhood leader.

*Organizational Structure and Activities*

Guards are selected and hired by Security, Inc., but must be approved of by Daria Fuller. Fuller has received some complaints about the guard service since it was started. At first, some residents complained that they never saw the guard patrolling. Others have expressed annoyance
at his asking them to turn down their radio or television. Since the
ward service was initiated eleven months ago, four men have successively
filled the position. The first was well received by the residents but
became ill and decided to quit. The second patrolman failed to make his
regular rounds, and when complaints were channeled back to Security,
Inc. headquarters, he was transferred. The third prospect was a resident
of the area and had numerous visitors who prevented him from performing
his tasks adequately; he also was transferred. (Captain Dickenson
admits saving his better men for more challenging and less tedious beats.)
The present guard, Leo Kelly, has been on the job for about three months.
Kelly works five nights a week; Security, Inc. provides substitutes on
weekends and in case of absenteeism. No complaints or mishaps involving
Kelly have been reported to date.

Leo Kelly joined Security, Inc. in May 1975 after working for other
security guard companies for ten years. In order to join the ranks of
Security, Inc., Kelly had to be bonded, commissioned to carry a gun, and
free of any criminal record. The job at Belle Isle constitutes a second
job for him. Although he finds the extra 40 hours per week to be somewhat
burdensome, he does it because he has "five kids and a wife. It's the
only way to get by." In a recent interview, Kelly noted that the job
can be dangerous because one never knows what will happen. However,
Kelly added, he likes "kids" and enjoys answering their questions. He
said that he tries to teach youths the difference between policemen and
security guards. Gibbs and Fuller claim that Kelly has worked out well,
and note that he is occasionally hired specifically to patrol "record
hops."

Kelly's closest brush with crime thus far was an incident where
he gave chase to a potential bicycle thief; although he was unable to
apprehend the culprit, Kelly did retrieve the bike.

Outcomes

According to Daria Fuller, regular although informal contact is
maintained between the guard and the New Orleans Police. However,
Sgt. Alphonse Carpell, who has patrolled in Beaufort since Belle Isle
opened, claimed to have seen the guard only once or twice in the eleven months the patrol has operated. This is consistent with Kelly's statement that he had had no contact with police thus far. Although it appears that the relation could be a cooperative one, there is no evidence as yet that it actually is.

Gibbs and Fuller appeared quite pleased with the patrol. They cited the drastic decrease in stolen batteries and the increased cleanliness of the housing project (the guard may ask a resident not to throw garbage into the lots) as evidence of the patrol's value. Sgt. Carpell claimed, however, that the police still received "numerous complaints" of theft and vandalism from Belle Isle residents. Carpell did not feel that crime had been displaced. Kelly, on the other hand, felt that his rounds acted as a deterrent and that crime had decreased, but only slightly.

In the absence of significant problems with the service, the patrol has remained largely unchanged since its inception.
Private security guards were hired by the Bloomfield Neighborhood Association in 1965 to stem the tide of rising crime in that neighborhood. Burglary, vandalism, rape, and murder were becoming serious crime problems when residents of this wealthy, architecturally-distinct New Orleans neighborhood decided to hire private security guards.

The Bloomfield neighborhood is a well-delineated eight-by-ten block area composed of many historic antebellum homes. One of the oldest neighborhoods in the city of New Orleans, it has managed to preserve its stability and grace despite the toll time has taken on surrounding neighborhoods. Located just a few miles from the downtown business corridor, Bloomfield was described by one of its residents as "a high-level income island in the middle of a major metropolitan area."

Origin

In 1965, local residents, alarmed by the volume and seriousness of criminal activity in their neighborhood, turned to their longstanding community organization (it had been formed in the 1930s) for help. On behalf of the concerned residents, Mr. Oliver Grenet, a leader of the Bloomfield Neighborhood Association, and two other gentlemen from the group personally visited the assistant superintendent of police to discuss the area's crime situation.

According to Grenet, the police were sympathetic to the problems, but were unable to assure any solutions. Pleading manpower shortages in general, the assistant superintendent said he could not afford to permanently assign more men to the Bloomfield beat, but suggested that the residents hire off-duty policemen to supplement service in the area. That was an unacceptable option, explained Grenet in a recent interview, because there was no guarantee that the same men would be available on a routine basis throughout the year. "It was clear that our only realistic alternative would be to hire private patrol people, which is what we did, and, basically, this has solved our problem."
Original subscribers to the private patrol numbered 80, and these families paid $10 per month for daily service, eight hours per day. Initial members were recruited by word-of-mouth, either at Grenet's urging or at the encouragement of one of several neighbors who supported the patrol concept.

The original goals of the Bloomfield patrol remain largely unchanged. The private security force was initially hired to deter rising crime in the area, and also to help create a buffer between the Bloomfield section and its surrounding high-crime neighborhoods. From all accounts, the patrol quickly proved its merit, and community leaders saw no reason to alter the focus of the patrol. It is, and has always been, a strictly anti-crime-oriented activity, and it has never waivered from that function.

**Patrol Operations**

The Bloomfield patrol operates on a year-round basis, seven days per week, from 10 a.m. to 6 a.m., except Wednesdays, when the patrol begins at 3 p.m. According to Grenet, the free time on Wednesdays traditionally has been reserved to tend to any automotive repairs or equipment problems that might need attention.

Basically, the 20-hour daily shift is divided among three guards who are specifically assigned to the Bloomfield neighborhood. There is no particular patrol leader among the three, although two of the guards are considered full-time and work an average of 50 hours per week, while the third serves part-time and contributes about 30 hours per week. All of the guards are in the employment of a private company that contracts directly with the Bloomfield Neighborhood Association; none of the guards resides in the community. The Bloomfield patrolmen all seem to have good attendance records, but when they are absent, the security company is responsible for finding a substitute in order to preserve uninterrupted patrol service.

All patrol members are trained by their company in the use and maintenance of their equipment and are informed of the legal issues involved in search, detention, and arrest. One Bloomfield patrolman attended the New Orleans Police Academy where he received professional law enforcement training.
The principal charge of each patrolman is to maintain regular surveillance over the neighborhood. Each guard is expected to cruise the eight-by-ten block area continually, keeping an eye out for criminal activity or any suspicious event. Additional activities include meeting residents who are entering their homes late at night, checking the doors and windows of subscribers' homes at least once a day, and keeping a watchful eye on houses left vacant by travellers.

In order to help them execute their duties, a wide array of equipment is made available to the Bloomfield patrolmen. Each guard wears a clearly identifiable uniform and carries a set of handcuffs, a nightstick, and a .38 caliber pistol. The unmarked car which is driven by patrolmen is equipped with a spotlight, a citizen band radio, a police-call monitor, and a radio-telephone whereby subscribers can contact the patrol directly when its assistance is needed. The original patrol in 1965 was not so extensively outfitted, but, according to Grenet, Bloomfield Neighborhood Association officials have closely followed patrol activities and through the years have responded to growing needs by making more equipment available.

All three patrol members are specially commissioned police officers, endowed with the power of arrest. They are instructed to intervene in any suspicious activity, and have not hesitated to do so. "I'm a crime fighter," said Roger Cadieux, a patrolman in Bloomfield for eight consecutive years, "and when I see something going on, I'm going to break it up." He estimated that during his Bloomfield tenure he has appeared as the arresting officer in about 100 criminal court cases and in almost 200 municipal court hearings. "Sure I think it's dangerous," Cadieux said, "but it's my business and I like it. I'll probably do this kind of work the rest of my life."

As part of their routine, the guards keep a daily log of all telephone calls received, the number of contacts made with the security company's base station, and the incidents in which they have intervened. The condition of all equipment, including the automobile, and the number of miles traveled on each shift are also recorded. Copies of the daily logs are kept by both the security company and the Bloomfield Neighborhood Association in care of Mr. Grenet.
Organizational Structure and Activities

The three patrolmen range from 35 to 45 years of age. Patrolman Cadieux's eight consecutive years of service in Bloomfield make him the veteran of the group, while the two other individuals have patrolled in the neighborhood for about three to four years.

The security guard company for which they work is ultimately responsible for selecting, hiring, and disciplining the guards, although Grenet, who is now the Association's security committee chairman, has worked closely with the company in regard to these matters. "We're very selective about the kind of guards we want," said Grenet, "and have made our preferences clearly known to the security company. There have been several times when we've dismissed patrolmen who we felt were below our expectations."

In that regard, Grenet makes most major policy decisions in conjunction with the two other members of the security committee. "Any decisions involving changes in coverage, hiring and firing, or the expenditure of sums over $200 or $300 must first be cleared by the Committee as a whole," said Grenet. "The minor decisions I usually make myself."

Patrolman Cadieux added that he and the other guards are often consulted for their opinions about matters involving the patrol routine and daily operations. "Our opinions are respected by Mr. Grenet, the residents, and our company," said Cadieux.

The 20-hour patrol maintained in Bloomfield is expensive. A $40,000 yearly fee is levied by the security company to cover all expenses and a service charge. That fee is paid by some 700 households that subscribe for patrol service through the Bloomfield Neighborhood Association. "With so many subscribers," explained Grenet, "the patrol service can be offered at a reasonable cost." Single family homes are charged $7.00 per month for coverage, while apartment units are only charged $3.50 per month. Households are billed twice yearly, and the funds are used to pay for equipment, maintenance costs, and salaries.

The Bloomfield Neighborhood Association has never received any public funding or foundation grants to help defray costs. From its inception, it has been entirely financed by local residents.

In the history of the patrol there have been no serious setbacks
concerning the level of activity; rather, it has grown steadily through the years. Starting out with 80 subscribers paying $10 per month for a daily eight-hour patrol, there were enough households by the third year of operation to sustain a 20-hour per day patrol. "Our original subscribers were paying $1.25 per hour for patrol service," Grenet calculated, "but today, the volume of subscribers has reduced that total to $0.30 per hour for single family homes and $0.15 for apartment dwellers." The Association has also hired a part-time secretary (at $600 per month) to take care of all patrol billing matters and clerical work.

Grenet has steadily increased patrol subscriptions by conducting semi-annual recruitment drives, the first of which was formally organized in 1967. The part-time secretary is also responsible for this solicitation effort which involves a mass mailing to the 2,000 residents of Bloomfield. Letters are sent to both subscribers and non-subscribers alike, either thanking them for their participation or encouraging them to support the patrol. Grenet claims that some 80 percent of the single family households in the area currently subscribe to patrol service and that apartment complexes are also substantially represented. His aim, says Grenet, is to enlist about 200 more members, "and we'll get them," he confidently asserts.

Outcomes

The Bloomfield Patrol, now in its tenth year, appears to be healthy and fully operational. While crime has significantly decreased in the area, the potential for a serious problem remains, and residents therefore feel a full-scale patrol is still in order. For example, in the fall of 1974 a persistent "cat burglar" stalked the neighborhood and extra guards had to be called in to help trap the culprit. The following spring there was an armed robbery and murder in the neighborhood. According to Grenet, the combined effect of these incidents was to remind residents of the vulnerability of their neighborhood. He added, however, that the incidents marked the only two such serious threats in the area since the security patrol went into operation.

There have been no major changes in the nature of the patrol's
activity since its start-up, except that as the guards increasingly displayed their courage and skill, they were supplied with more sophisticated equipment in order to carry out their duties.

From all accounts, the members of the Bloomfield patrol are all aggressive, fearless individuals who do not shy away from responsibility. Lesser men might have been frightened off by some of the incidents in which the guards have been involved, but from patrolman Cadieux's point of view, the riskier the work, the more interesting it becomes. While guards have intervened in burglaries in progress, apprehended countless suspicious persons on trespassing charges, and have thwarted numerous vandals, no one has ever been seriously injured on patrol.

Cadieux, himself, once needed stitches for cuts he received when falling down in pursuit of a burglar, but no guards have ever been wounded by a gun or have even had to use their own revolvers while on the job.

The Bloomfield patrolmen maintain regular contact with the local police and view themselves as providing supplementary police protection. New Orleans policemen in the sixth district headquarters know the guards on a first name basis and regularly stop to chat with them or exchange crime information when they are out on patrol. In fact, the Bloomfield security guards assist in official "police officer in distress calls" almost once a week. In turn, Sgt. Jerry Yancey in the sixth district headquarters estimates that the security guards register about eight or nine calls per month with police for assistance in incidents usually involving burglars, drunks, or speeders. The guards contact the police by the radio-telephone in their car.

In general, response to the patrol has been positive from both residents and police. Neighborhood complaints are usually voiced directly to the individual guard or to Grenet and have mainly concerned lack of visibility or slow response. "We've had no serious complaints," explained Grenet, "because if a patrolman looks as if he isn't going to work out, we dismiss him before any crisis occurs." He cited two incidents in which patrolmen were fired for either sleeping on the job or coming to work apparently intoxicated.

As previously mentioned, police have an excellent rapport with the Bloomfield guards and praise them for both their conduct and their
performance. Several policemen feel that the guards are directly re-
sponsible for reducing crime in the neighborhood and attribute their
success to "good judgment, fearless action, and complete familiarity
with the neighborhood."

Sgt. Yancey feels it is difficult to assess the probability of the
patrol having displaced crime to surrounding areas because of the high
volume of criminal activity already existing there. "Crime has always
been in those neighborhoods," said Sgt. Yancey, "but I don't know how
much of it is perpetrated by would-be Bloomfield criminals."

It seems that the quality of police protection has not dropped sig-
ificantly in the Bloomfield neighborhood, although Grenet and Sgt. Yancey
both admit the private patrol has allowed the police to relax some of its
service in Bloomfield. "But that's with our permission," said Grenet,
"because our guards give us excellent service, and it's probably to our
advantage to have police concentrating on the surrounding neighborhoods."

From all indications, the Bloomfield patrol is successfully pre-
venting crime in the area. Although no formal evaluations of the patrol
have been conducted, local police credit the guards with deterrence, and
Grenet says he thinks that criminal activity in Bloomfield has been cut
by some 80 percent. Perhaps it is patrolman Cadieux, however, who offers
the best indication of the patrol's success. When he first came on the
job, he says, purse snatching incidents were rampant, and each night he
would receive a total of 10 or 12 calls pertaining to auto thievery or
suspected burglaries. "Now," he claims, "I get one stolen car call
every two months, and three burglary calls every six months."

Grenet added that, while the security patrol is the major crime
prevention activity going on in the neighborhood, the Bloomfield Neigh-
borhood Association brought engravers into the community several years
ago to participate in the police-sponsored "Operation ID" program.
Several residents are also involved in a project entitled "Women Against
Crime," which is essentially a security awareness and crime reporting
activity. Grenet estimated that some 50 homes in the neighborhood are
wired with individual electronic alarm systems, but, to his knowledge,
none of these residences has ever been burglarized.
Burbank Mews is a private road lined by large, gracious homes and cool shaded gardens. Residents of this exclusive enclave include former presidents of nearby Tulane University, an oil heiress, and a major real estate developer. Considering its population, it is not surprising that the average income in this small community of 26 families is well over $20,000 per year. The luxurious mansions, built mainly in the late 1800s, are enclosed by fencing; the sole point of vehicular access is an auto entrance at one end of the compound. Children play on a grassy median that extends the full length of the quiet road.

Origin

Heloise Birdsall, vice-president of the Burbank Mews Homeowners Association, was unsure of the precise date when the guard service was first retained, but estimated its establishment to have taken place in the early 1900s. She emphasized that the guard is viewed simply as a "doorman," employed to staff the gatehouse to the private road and to keep unwelcome visitors out of Burbank Mews. The Burbank Mews Homeowners Association, which administers the patrol, was also founded in the early years of the twentieth century. In addition to its patrol responsibilities, the Association at present also oversees the maintenance of common areas in the Mews and monitors the quality of community services purchased privately by the enclave. Each resident pays $800 per year for this package of residential services; a few individuals make additional donations to projects of special interest to them. The Association holds bimonthly meetings attended mainly by designated proxies dispatched by the wealthy homeowners. As vice-president of the group, Ms. Birdsall is primarily responsible for the workings of the patrol.
The Burbank Mews Patrol appears to serve primarily a preventive function since Birdsall specified very infrequent burglary attempts as the main crime problem in the neighborhood. Sgt. Peter Wilkes of the New Orleans Police Department reaffirmed the rarity of criminal activity in the Mews.

At the time the guard service was initially being established, residents did not consider any alternative approach to crime prevention, although in the intervening years two families on the street have hired their own personal guards and the Association itself has added two extra employees. One of the personally retained guards is stationed at the end of the lane most distant from the gatehouse to Burbank Mews where the Association's patrol is stationed. The fellow is highly respected in the neighborhood and has often been summoned by nearby residents when they observe a potential problem; he is also considered to be responsible for preventing the entry of troublemakers into the compound at the extreme border of the Mews.

Patrol Operations

The guard at the gatehouse has one simple duty -- to stop unrecognized cars and ask about their business. Except for guests of residents, only tourists are permitted to pass beyond the gatehouse, and then only for a short while to view the mansions. There are two additional walk-in entrances at remote points in the Mews that are unguarded, however. Occasionally, Birdsall prevails on the guards to perform special duties such as dispersing youths congregating near the gate.

According to Meloise Birdsall, there has always been a "little old man" at the gate of Burbank Mews as long as even the eldest residents can remember. In 1960 the current senior guard, Mr. Wiley Randolph, "inherited" the job from his father; neither father nor son is a resident of the Mews. Subsequently, Randolph referred his own two sons to the Homeowners Association for jobs. On the basis of their father's recommendation and a brief interview, the two young men were hired.
Working for minimum wages, Randolph and his two sons each staff the gatehouse for one of the three eight-hour shifts that combine to provide the Mews with twenty-four-hour security coverage. Neither 60-year-old Wiley Randolph nor his youthful sons, J. P. and Luke, received any special training for the position. In fact, the duties required of the guards are so basic that a relative of the Randolphs is able to step in as a substitute when one of the Randolphs is sick or on vacation. Despite the availability of this substitute, the gatehouse is reportedly left vacant on some occasions.

In a recent interview, Luke Randolph noted that he took the security guard job after his grandfather retired simply because it was "available." He did not consider the work dangerous, nor did he feel the weekly time commitment of approximately 50 hours to be burdensome. Young Randolph indicated that his relationship with the police and with residents is informal; he made a point of saying that part of the job is "getting to know the residents." He felt that a substitute was always available when he was absent and that the patrol generally does a good job of keeping unwelcome vehicular traffic out of the Mews.

The Homeowners Association provides and maintains the small furnished guard house which is complete with television to entertain the guard and a telephone on which the guard can be contacted by residents. The Randolphs provide their own uniforms, and one is suspected to arm himself with a gun and a stick. Luke Randolph claimed that firearms have not been carried by any member of the patrol since the Homeowners Association voted some time ago to prohibit their use by the guards.

Should a guard observe any suspicious activity in the area of the Mews, he is instructed to call the police. The extent to which the guards themselves are expected to intervene, however, is somewhat ambiguously defined. Although unarmed, the guards are not restricted from interposing themselves in suspicious situations; however, effective intervention and apprehension of suspects does not really seem to be expected either. The guard is, however, clearly responsible for summoning the police and may also summon a guard from one of the private homes
on the street to assist him should he decide to intervene. Apparently, suspicious persons or events in the News are few and far between. Sgt. Wilkes noted that, although the police are summoned to investigate a few times each month, they have not been called to deal with any serious trouble in more than three years. Most often, requests for assistance from the News Patrol involve illegally parked autos, Wilkes observed. Wilkes went on to explain that the police patrol car checks in with the guard once every night, but enters the private lane only on request.

Organizational Structure and Activities

Although the guards report mainly to Heloise Birdsall, they are ultimately responsible to Arthur Pendleton, President of the Burbank News Homeowners Association. The small amount of administrative work associated with the security patrol is handled by Pendleton's personal secretary. Administration is simplified by the fact that no records or activity logs are maintained.

Birdsall mentioned only one criminal incident in which the News Patrol had intervened. On that occasion Wiley Randolph was summoned by a guard at one of the private homes on the street to help apprehend a burglar. By the time Randolph arrived, however, the situation had been brought under control. The most threatening event recounted by Luke Randolph was when he was called upon to escort an unauthorized solicitor out of the News.

From Heloise Birdsall's point of view, the organization and activities of the security patrol as well as resident support for the group have remained essentially unchanged since the patrol's inception. For a brief period in the late 1930s an additional man was hired to patrol the News on foot. However, the cost of such a service proved to be prohibitive and the practice was discontinued.

Outcomes

Heloise Birdsall indicated that she would like to see a highly professional, well-paid guard at the gate, one capable of handling emergencies effectively and able to keep unwelcome visitors out. She felt the present guard to be nothing more than a "scarecrow" who deter
only the most amateurish of criminals. She also felt the guards to be personally incompetent, citing as an example of their laxness in admitting cars through the gates an incident when a careless of "hippies" parked illegally on the street for an extended period of time, much to the chagrin of residents. Birdsall claimed that Wiley Randolph is too old and that one of his sons is a "complete moron." She also charged that Luke Randolph talks too much on the telephone to friends, thereby making the line inaccessible to residents. She observed that most residents felt the guards to be less than totally competent, but claimed that the residents are too apathetic to make a change. Her own views, however, sometimes sounded a bit extreme. Birdsall mentioned at several points the need to "exterminate" all criminals and also conceded that she considered all security guards to be somewhat "psycho."

In contrast, Sgt. Wilkes argued that the guard does serve as a deterrent by lending the Mews an aura of isolation. However, he too felt that Wiley Randolph would be helpless in an emergency, judging by his assistance in police investigations of suspicious activities in the Mews. Wilkes contested the notion that any crime had been displaced by the patrol. Because of the low crime rate in the area, Wilkes felt it was difficult to gauge the effectiveness of the security service.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Audubon
CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
START DATE: Late 1960s

CONTEXT
Upper middle-income; all white area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard from a security service agency patrols in a car from 3 p.m. to 6 a.m. every day all year. He also monitors houses when the owner is away and escorts people into their homes at night. There are two shifts of guards. This can be augmented, if necessary, by other agency guards on duty in adjacent neighborhoods. There is no regular contact with the police.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol is sponsored by the non-profit zoning association and is supported by subscribers who pay $10 a month plus dues to the zoning association. Membership in the zoning association is required before one can become a subscriber.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Burglary.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol service is ongoing. The zoning association is trying to get more homeowners to become subscribers to the service. They have recently increased the hours of coverage.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Bogalusa area
CITY: Bogalusa, Louisiana
START DATE: 1965-1968

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly black area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Racial hostilities and crime.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrolled the neighborhood in cars and on foot during daylight hours every day. The group operated independently of the police and, in fact, monitored police activity in black neighborhoods.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol was supported by a group of local residents. Expenses, amounting to $25,000 during the patrol's peak year, were met mainly with income from contributions.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Racial confrontations involving weapons.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Protection and care for civil rights workers.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol ceased operating as civil rights confrontations and activism declined.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Canal Street area
      CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
      START DATE: 1965

CONTEXT
Middle-income, predominantly white neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Purse snatching and burglary.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard both patrols the neighborhood by car every night until
early morning and provides escort service. He has no regular contact
with police.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol was originally sponsored by the homeowners association, but
now a new security company has been retained that bills residents directly.
Cost of the service in 1975 was about $20,000.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The apprehension of the culprit in a burglary and rape incident.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
Interest in and support for the patrol on the part of homeowners is
declining; however, there has been no change in the amount of coverage
purchased by the group.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Desire
CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
START DATE: September 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly black neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism in empty houses and property stolen from inside cars.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard patrols the neighborhood on foot every night of the week. The guard has no regular contact with police.

ORGANIZATION
Over 200 families contribute to the homeowners association, which contracts with a security company for patrol services. In 1975 roughly $10,000 was spent for the guard service.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The guard intervened to prevent a bicycle theft.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
Although patrol hours have been adjusted slightly, there have been no major changes in this stably operated patrol since its inception.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Garden District
CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
START DATE: 1965

CONTEXT
Upper-income, predominantly white neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary; the Garden District is near a high crime area.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard patrols the neighborhood in a car almost all hours of the day. The guard has frequent contact with police in the field.

ORGANIZATION
About 700 families contribute to the homeowners association which hires guards from a security service. In 1975 the association budgeted about $40,000 for the guard service.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The guard apprehended several burglars and assisted the police in apprehending a person carrying a concealed weapon.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is stably operated; patrol hours have increased over the years. This stably operated patrol has undergone only minor changes over the years. At the request of the homeowners association, the patrol has increased the hours during which surveillance is performed and has increased the assistance rendered to police when police officers' "distress calls" are received on the radio.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Near Tulane University
CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
START DATE: Early 1900s

CONTEXT
Upper-income neighborhood; all residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard is stationed at the entry gate 24 hours a day. There is little police contact.

ORGANIZATION
Three guards work for the homeowners association that pays about $20,000 per year from membership dues for the service.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The watchman assisted a guard from a nearby area in the apprehension of a burglar.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None.

PRESENT STATUS
The security guard service is stably organized and operated.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Tall Timbers
CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
START DATE: About 1970

CONTEXT
Mid-upper income area; the majority of residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Some burglaries and minor neighborhood nuisances.

OPERATIONS
Paid off-duty policemen patrol the subdivision in cars. One policeman in a car is on duty each shift. There is daily 16 hour coverage, 7 days a week throughout the year. A member of the Police Department dispatches the off-duty policemen to the patrol and meets regularly with the sponsoring homeowners association.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol is sponsored and financially supported by the homeowners association. Each homeowner must pay certain fees to the homeowners association for security services. This requirement is part of the restrictive covenant of each property.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Burglary.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None.

PRESENT STATUS
Due to the increased costs of maintaining this protection, brought about by a court ruling which required that the off-duty policemen be paid time and a half, the Association is considering fewer hours of daily protection.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Touro
CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
START DATE: October 1975

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly white area with many elderly residents.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Purse snatching and burglary.

OPERATIONS
A hired guard patrols the area in a marked automobile during the night, seven days per week. In the short period since the patrol began there has been no occasion to contact police for assistance, although such cooperation is planned for when necessary.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol has a weak affiliation with the local civic association which initially designed the patrol's duties and provided the main channel for recruitment of subscribers. The guard service directly bills the 80 residents who subscribe to the service, and the estimated expense per annum is $12,000.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
None.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
This recently initiated patrol appears to be fully operational and has undergone no major changes in type or level of activity.
NEIGHBORHOOD: University area
CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
START DATE: 1972

CONTEXT
Upper-income, predominantly white neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard patrols the neighborhood in a car almost all night and often all day. He has no regular contact with police.

ORGANIZATION
The homeowners association retains the guard, who is hired from a private security service. No budget figures were given.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
None.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is stably operated.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Uptown (university section)
CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
START DATE: 1963

CONTEXT
Middle-income, predominantly white area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard patrols the neighborhood in a car during the evening and late night hours every day of the week and provides escort service. The guard maintains no regular contact with police.

ORGANIZATION
The neighborhood homeowners association, which contracts with the security company, paid approximately $20,000 for this service in 1975.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The guard dispersed groups of people who "did not belong" in the neighborhood.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is stably operated; patrol hours have increased since outset.
NEIGHBORHOOD: West Bank
CITY: New Orleans, Louisiana
START DATE: Summer 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly black neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism and burglary.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard patrols the neighborhood on foot during the evening and night hours every day of the week. The guard has no regular contact with police.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol is sponsored by the New Orleans Housing Authority and the local homeowners association. The total cost of the guard service is about $10,000.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The guard intervened in a conflict among several youths in the course of which one rowdy drew a gun.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is stably operated.
XI. NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

URBAN AREA
AZALEA HILLS PATROL
Norfolk, Virginia

The Azalea Hills Patrol is the security patrol for a development of 600 single family detached homes in the Little Creek area of the eastern section of Norfolk, Virginia. Access to this development is unrestricted, and the community has very little anti-crime hardware. All the inhabitants of Azalea Hills are white (except for one black family) and of middle-income status. The homes are currently valued at $20,000 to $30,000.

Origin

In 1958, J. J. Hayden, who was anticipating retirement from the U.S. Navy, purchased his first home in Azalea Hills. "I liked the community," he said in a recent interview, and "I wanted to make it the best in the city." Although he had several plans, Hayden's major interest was to establish a security force for the area.

During the early 1960s when Hayden began planning his concept of a security patrol, the major problem in his new community was speeding automobiles that endangered children who played in the streets. With the aid of two neighbors, Hayden began flagging down the speeders who occasionally came through their neighborhood. This activity, however, was not enough. Although the community was virtually free of crime, Hayden continued to press for the establishment of a security patrol. "I strongly believe in the old ounce of prevention adage," he explained. In 1964, Hayden became President of the Azalea Hills Civic Association and used this forum to further his ideas about the formation of a security patrol. He even wrote guidelines which would govern the behavior of a security patrol. Finally, the impetus for the formation of a neighborhood security patrol came in 1966, when the City Recreation Department began to sponsor teenage dances in a school located in the neighborhood. "Undesirable people and a low class element came to the dances and began to disrupt the neighborhood," Hayden said. "Kids drank, sniffed glue, and had sex." Hayden said that people did not believe him until one night he took several members of the Azalea Hills Civic Association on patrol with him to witness the actions of the teenagers who were
supposedly attending the dance. According to Hayden, the Association members were all shocked and at that time agreed to form the Azalea Hills Patrol to act as the neighborhood citizens' patrol. No alternative means of crime prevention were considered.

Hayden was the chief planner of the Azalea Hills Patrol and personally selected its members from members of the Civic Association. "I tried to select people who were rational and knew and understood the law," he said. Anyone who met these criteria and was known and vouched for by Hayden and other patrol members could become a member of the patrol. The initial group which numbered 10 to 20 men, quickly grew to 40 or 50 men, mostly retired naval personnel, ex-policemen, and government workers. All members were male and predominantly middle age. A few teenagers also served on the patrol with their fathers or buddied with the other men. One such teenager is now a member of the Norfolk Police Department.

Joining and training consisted of attending a meeting led by Hayden who discussed the purpose of the patrol and the strict guidelines which had to be followed. The police also attended the training meeting to lend credence to the patrol's primary objective of being "an extra set of eyes for the Norfolk police."

Lieutenant Charlie Tweed, an early member of the Azalea Hills Patrol, said that he learned about the patrol through the Azalea Hills Civic Association. He joined, as did others, because he felt there was a definite need for patrols in the area. Another basic reason for joining, added Tweed, is peoples' desire to wield authority: "You can't minimize the fact that people like to play cops and robbers." According to Tweed, a few of the members initially wanted to exert some authority over citizens by using clubs or other such equipment; however, the overriding consensus was that the patrol should not take this direction. Rather, as Tweed stated, "We had to prove that we were only doing what an ordinary citizen would do. We were not vigilantes. We were only the eyes and ears of the police. It took a few months but we finally convinced the community and the press." One of the ways the group did this was by knocking on people's doors and introducing themselves to the residents.
Patrol Operations

The original goal, to which the Azalea Hills Patrol still subscribes, is to "prevent crime and assist women and children who are being harassed," said Hayden, who is still recognized as the dominant force in the patrol. The patrol has never undertaken any non-crime related activities, although Hayden published a community newsletter detailing the crime problems of the community.

From 1966 through 1972, the 40 to 50 men who constituted the patrol regularly patrolled the streets from 8 p.m. through midnight on Friday and Saturday nights and on nights of special events such as Halloween. The patrol operated year round. Each shift consisted of three or four men, two of whom rode around the community in an unmarked car equipped with a citizen band radio while the others remained in a home near a telephone. During special events such as Halloween, the men patrolled by foot; but on regular evenings, they patrolled only by automobile. All patrol members were regularly assigned to a specific night and shift, and their only equipment consisted of the citizen band radio and a flashlight. All participants were on duty once every few months, and, according to Hayden, there was never a problem of absenteeism. "People always gave three or four days notice when they couldn't make their shift," he said. He added that the duty sergeant of the Norfolk Police was always kept informed of patrol activities.

The primary patrol activity was cruising around the streets of the community to prevent crime. The patrols' activities involved picking up teenagers who were drinking beer, enforcing the youth curfew, preventing "peeping-tom" teenagers from operating, and not allowing verbal harassment of women and children in the supermarket area. The work was never dangerous, said Hayden. The patrol members were strictly instructed not to intervene in a problem, unless it was an emergency, such as someone being beaten. They were told to witness the crime and immediately to call the police. Patrol members could then act as witnesses if the offender was prosecuted.

The most serious incident ever encountered by the patrol was when the supervisor of the Department of Recreation was being beaten up on the street and the patrol intervened and called the police. For a
short time after bussing began in the neighborhood, the group also patrolled the grounds of the local school before and after classes. There were no incidents.

The patrol members follow these written behavioral guidelines:

1. Investigate the problem and be an observer.
2. Call the man on phone duty by means of your walkie-talkie or citizen band radio. He, in turn, will notify the Police Department.
3. Be a witness if necessary in order to prosecute the offender.
4. If an offender is caught in the act of breaking the law and tries to escape, the patrol member may hold the violator under citizen's arrest until the Police Department arrives. He should try his very best to recognize and identify the offender should prosecution take place.
5. In the event of rape or mugging, assist the victim (this any red-blooded American citizen should do).
6. The patrois in NO WAY shall verbally, mentally or physically molest the offender.

Organizational Structure and Activities

Due to lack of criminal activity in Azalea Hills, the patrol stopped operating on a regular basis in 1972. However, the patrol is still organized and run by Hayden and can be summoned into full activity by a series of phone calls. There have been no mishaps, crises, or reinforcing events since 1972. There simply has not been enough activity to warrant a regular patrol. In the six years of routine patrol, the police were actually called to assist the patrol approximately two times. Otherwise, youths who were found drinking beer, harassing adults, or creating a disturbance were simply turned over to their parents.
During its existence, the Azalea Hills Patrol had no source of income. There was no budget or group expenditures, and the citizen band radio was purchased personally by Hayden. The group received no money from the city, state, or federal government. According to Hayden and Tweed, there were no distinct levels of authority. All patrol members were accountable only to Hayden, who alone has authority to select and hire patrol members. Hayden estimated that he spent about 20 hours per week on patrol-related affairs. He added that no member was ever terminated, and there were never any discipline problems. No written records, however, were maintained by the patrol.

According to Hayden and the police, relationships between the patrol and the police were and are currently outstanding. Many nights when the patrol was active the police would visit the people on patrol. The police assured them that they were around if the patrol needed them. "The quality of police protection has remained good," Hayden said. There has been no change in the level of police deployment to the area since the patrol disbanded.

Outcomes

In 1969, Hayden was awarded the Outstanding Citizen's Award by the Fraternal Order of the Police. He is also part of the police department's community project called "Operation Interact" in which he introduces the local police to community organizations. Mr. Hayden was also recently appointed to the State Crime Commission. He has always kept in regular contact with the Police Department and thereby has received police response on a regular basis.

The principal complaints about the patrol apparently came from kids, who dubbed it "J. J.'s Rat Patrol." Hayden said that on a few occasions parents complained to the police, who in turn called Hayden. Hayden said that when he denied the accusation of harassment the police dropped the matter. Other criticism came from the press, which labeled the patrol a vigilante group when it was originally formed. Hayden refuted the charge, but it seems that his organization's being associated with vigilantism apparently had some negative effects. That is, Hayden lobbied hard in the late 60s, but could
never get his patrol guidelines officially recognized by either the police department or the Federation of Civic Leagues. Both organizations considered the document, but never adopted it officially.

According to Hayden, he still receives numerous calls each week from people in the neighborhood who want help. If asked by a neighbor, he or a patrol member will take care of the problems, which might range from teenage "peeping toms" to loud teenage parties. In general, however, residents have few complaints about their personal security in the neighborhood. Apparently, residents feel that they live in a safe community which is well taken care of by J. J. Hayden and his Azalea Hills Patrol. Also, according to patrol member Tweed, patrol participants, themselves, enjoyed their activities because friendships developed among members and they all shared a spirit of identity from belonging to a good cause.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Little Creek
CITY: Norfolk, Virginia
START DATE: 1966

CONTEXT
Middle-income neighborhood; almost all of the residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Minor street crime and vandalism.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults patrolled a multi-block area in automobiles equipped with citizen band radios from 8 p.m. to midnight on Friday and Saturday nights. For certain events (e.g., Halloween or dances) a foot patrol was mobilized. The patrol had contact with the police only when reporting a suspicious incident.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol had a membership of approximately 50 men and was affiliated with a local civic organization. Patrol members supplied their own gasoline and equipment.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol intervened when an individual assaulted an officer of the civic organization. The individual was subsequently arrested by the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
Due to a perceived lack of criminal activity in the neighborhood, the patrol went into a reserve status in 1972. However, the patrol can become operational at any time in response to a particular request.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Norvell Heights  
CITY: Norfolk, Virginia  
START DATE: Summer 1974

CONTEXT  
Low-income area; most residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM  
Youth disturbances.

OPERATIONS  
Adult residents volunteer to conduct a mobile automobile patrol year-round on weekend nights. Patrol members regularly inform police of their activities and call police for assistance if they observe a suspicious event.

ORGANIZATION  
The patrol has about 20 active members and is affiliated with a neighborhood civic group that contributes operating funds for the patrol.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT  
A patrol member reported to police the license number of a vehicle that was blocking the patrol car.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY  
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS  
The patrol is operating on a regular basis.
XII. SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

URBAN AREA
SANTA ROSA CONDOMINIUMS SECURITY GUARDS
San Diego, California

The Santa Rosa Condominiums border San Diego's famous Balboa Park. An upper-income high rise that opened in May 1973, the complex contains 66 units, of which 45 are presently occupied. According to the manager, Mr. Brian Hessey, some 40 percent of the current 90 residents are widows, widowers, and retirees. "Our policy," he said, "is to sell only to settled adults. Children, pets, and other impediments are unwelcome."

Origin

Security guards at Santa Rosa were originally deployed in July 1973, only two months after the building opened. No specific crime problem precipitated the hiring of the guards. For preventive purposes, the Santa Rosa Board of Governors, with the support of manager Hessey, voted in July 1973 to retain the security force which had been employed to guard the building while it was under construction.

According to Leonard T. Bissell, vice-chairman of the Board of Governors, no other alternatives were seriously considered because the guards were also to serve as doormen in the lobby, and doormen were regarded as an essential part of the security service in the total package of condominium amenities. The building is equipped, however, with elaborate electronic security equipment in order to tighten the building's security.

The original goals of the security guard arrangement were to provide monitoring of building ingress and egress and to offer doorman services. According to both Bissell and Hessey, it was not long before the guards proved deficient, and the Board of Governors was forced to terminate the security contract in October 1974. Hessey cited laziness, unreliability, and "combative behavior" as the principal reasons residents became dissatisfied with the guards. Hessey said that after one of the guards admitted that his walkie-talkie had been stolen, and after a second guard became suspected of stealing an elevator repairman's tool kit, it was no longer possible to work effectively with the guards. These two incidents, he said, finally
prompted the Board of Governors to oust the old security force and to formulate a new plan to insure safety in the condominium complex. After a series of meetings, the board decided that the best approach would be to hire its own independent staff of security agents, people whom they felt could perform competently in the dual role of doorman and security guard.

**Patrol Operations**

Hessey and Bissell were both enthusiastic about the way in which the new direct-hiring program has worked out. Currently, four guards maintain individual shifts of eight hours each, affording condominium residents 24-hour protection on a daily basis. Hessey said that he was planning to hire a fifth "utility man" to work weekends and swing shifts and to serve as a substitute for the other guards. Hessey said that he hopes to hire a retired military man for the job.

When the guards are on duty, their "beat" consists of the single building comprising the condominium complex. Their principal duties are those of a doorman; that is, greeting residents and their guests as they go to and from the building, summoning the elevator, and helping with packages or bundles if the situation so warrants. Beyond these courtesy services extended to residents and guests, the doormen are expected to prevent unauthorized or unwelcome individuals from entering the building. An elaborate intercom system and a closed-circuit television that is focused on the entranceway that can be controlled by the guard from his desk in the lobby enable him to discern the legitimacy of visitors seeking entry. Additional activities include periodic inspections of stairwells and hallways throughout the 18-story building and occasional checks of the elevators, the lights in common areas, and the electronically-secured parking facility.

While a guard may help locked-out residents obtain access to their apartments, no other individual-unit security is offered. As part of his "doorman" function, however, the guard drops off newspapers at the front doors of apartments since the local delivery person is denied entrance into the building.
Hessey provides the training for new personnel, training which consists largely of an orientation to the building and instructions on the use of the lobby intercom, video equipment, and log book which is maintained by all guards on duty. Verbal instructions emphasize behavior and deportment, stressing that courteousness and responsiveness to residents are of prime importance. Guards are also instructed about the proper course of action to take if they witness a crime or suspect some illegal activity: During the day, they are to call both Brian Hessey and the local San Diego police; at night they are to call the police immediately. A telephone is located at the guard's desk in the lobby for use in summoning outside help. Condominium residents can also contact the guard by calling him on this telephone.

In addition to the telephone, guards are equipped with flashlights and keys and wear a special jacket for identification purposes. They are all unarmed, and Hessey mentioned that one of his strongest objections to the private guards originally hired was that they sometimes carried guns without permission. All equipment is provided by the Santa Rosa Homeowners Association.

There have been few changes in the nature of the guard activity since its start-up. The emphasis has always been on lobby surveillance and the execution of doorman-type services, and those characteristics prevail today. The level of guard activity, however, has expanded somewhat from its original volume. The initial private security force operated each weekday for 16 hours and around-the-clock on weekends. Because of the savings incurred under the new guard employment system, security service was expanded to 24-hours on a daily basis.

Aside from the problems encountered with the original guards, there have been no mishaps or crises involving security at Santa Rosa. According to Leonard Bissell, the Board of Governors and the tenantry generally are pleased with the current services and are eager to lend their support—both financially and otherwise—to maintain the present order. While there have been no particular incidents that have challenged the guards' skills and abilities, Bissell cites the tranquility of the complex and the harmonious relations between guards and tenants as evidence of their success.
The patrol views itself as acting in a supplementary capacity to local police efforts. There has never been, however, any formal coordination of activities with police, nor do Santa Rosa guards have routine police contact. In fact, local police admit that they rarely have personal contact with the guards. When they do, it is usually to inform the guards of a recent crime problem in the area or to ask them for information about a particular crime that has occurred in the neighborhood. Hessey mentioned, though, that he had recently been in contact with San Diego police officials and that arrangements were being made to have an area patrolman talk to the Santa Rosa guards about various crime prevention techniques.

**Organizational Structure and Activities**

Under the revised security arrangement, the Board of Governors gave the building manager the authority to interview, screen, and ultimately hire prospective applicants for security positions. As manager of the entire complex, Hessey's duties are numerous, but he estimates that at least one-third of his time is devoted to his responsibilities as supervisor of the security staff. It is to Hessey that the guards are ultimately accountable.

The types of individuals the board felt would perform best were college graduate students and retired men. Hessey said that it was felt that these two groups would prove to be "conscientious and well-motivated" and would not demand substantial salaries; rather, they would merely be seeking a supplement to their income.

While there does not appear to be any intense competition for the doorman/guard position, Hessey asserts that he has never had difficulty hiring new men to fill vacancies. He places advertisements in local newspapers and file notices with college job-placement offices when he needs personnel. Hessey said that when he interviews applicants he is most concerned with the age and personality traits of prospective applicants and that he will consider seriously only those candidates who appear to be affable, courteous, and level-headed people.

Martin Jamieson, a retired Air Force Colonel who recently returned to college to obtain a degree in marine biology, has been a security.
guard at Santa Rosa since April 1, 1975. He responded to an advertisement for the position, he said, because it afforded ideal working conditions for his situation, i.e., it provided an income supplement that did not jeopardize his retirement benefits, it allowed him free time for morning classes, and the pace of the work was such that it permitted him to study while on the job. Jamieson has no previous experience in the field of security, nor has he ever been the victim of criminal activity. He does not consider his job dangerous, and he could cite only one disconcerting incident that had occurred since he assumed his post. Jamieson does not believe that he should attempt to take the law into his own hands if he ever witnesses a criminal event, no matter how serious it might be. "That's the job of the police," he said resolutely.

Martin Jamieson works a 48-hour week; he mans an eight-hour shift (2 p.m. to 10 p.m.) Monday through Saturday, and admits to finding the work local burdensome. "I would like to have Saturday off," he said, "but I need the income, so I work." Jamieson could not estimate the number of absences he has accumulated, but said that it has not been large. "It's my duty to show up on the job," he said. Jamieson expressed enthusiasm about his having a voice in the operations of the security system and about the responsiveness of Mr. Hessey to his suggestions. Jamieson said that he talks with the manager regarding security-related issues about twice a week and that he also makes comments in the log book when he notices things that can be improved.

Turnover of guard personnel has not been a particular problem, according to Mr. Hessey. The average tenure, he said, is eight months. When guards leave, it is usually for financial or personal reasons—not because the job is dangerous or because they have suffered reprisals as a result of their work. Hessey admitted, though, that he has had to discharge at least two guards because of poor performance. One, he said, was rude and unresponsive to residents, while the other displayed bad judgment in permitting or denying entrance to visitors.

Financial support for the security guards is derived from a monthly condominium fee paid by residents. About 30 percent of the monthly tax is used for security purposes, and of that sum, most is
spent on guard salaries. Mr. Bissell estimated that salaries and equipment will total between $19,000 and $20,000 during 1975. Hessey added that the condominium owners will net about a $5,000 savings with the new, independent security guard system. At the same time, he emphasized, they are also receiving greater hourly security coverage.

Outcomes

The Santa Rosa guards currently are fully active and are experiencing few problems. The Santa Rosa condominiums have never been the scene of any serious criminal activity, and even minor crimes have been few. In their security capacity, the guards' most frequently encountered incidents concern screening for the legitimacy of prospective visitors; the most serious crime ever handled was the reporting to the police of a car stolen from a street outside of the building. There is no way to measure variation in police service since the building has always had its own security system, although it seems police involvement has always been minimal. Whatever contact occurs between police and guards usually takes place personally during patrolmen's occasional visits at Santa Rosa.

The residents' responses, on the other hand, are much more frequent and direct. Residents see the guards daily and have ample opportunity to praise or reprimand them personally, although some occupants do bring their complaints directly to Mr. Hessey or members of the Board of Governors. Hessey, however, said that he has no grievances with the present security operations and that he feels that the complaints voiced by tenants are not particularly crucial. Most comments, he said, concern slow responses to opening the lobby door or not offering to help with packages.

Speaking on behalf of the Board of Governors and the residents, Bissell said that there is a consensus that the doormen/guards are performing admirably. He measures their success by citing the fact that Santa Rosa residents live in a crime-free building despite the nearness of the park and the proximity of a high-crime, black neighborhood some 10 or 15 blocks away. "Rapes, murders, drug transfers, they all happen in the park," Bissell said. "It is a haven for criminal activity, and
the homeowners here are very vulnerable. Our security system must be effective if we can live here so tranquilly," he concluded.

Jamieson feels that the low incidence of criminal activity in the Santa Rosa complex is a testimonial to the guards' accomplishments, and said that most of his expectations about the job have been realized. "The residents are friendly, the manager is cooperative, and the job has worked out well for me," he asserted. Jamieson said that he thinks most of the residents are satisfied with the guards' performances, but adds that he has no idea what their reputation might be among local police. "They come by so irregularly," he complained, "and since most of us guards hardly ever have to call them, we rarely have any interchange."

San Diego police officer Rupert Hillman is a beat patrolman in the area in which Santa Rosa is located. Hillman was very reserved in his comments on the Santa Rosa security guards since he had never had personal contact with any of them. He assumed they were an "orderly, cooperative group" since he had not heard any "bad stories" about them. Hillman affirmed the absence of coordination between the guards and the police, and added that he knew nothing about a proposed plan for a local patrolman to meet with the guards to discuss crime prevention.

Hillman knew of no incidents or mishaps in which Santa Rosa security guards were involved, but could cite no accomplishments either. "It's a quiet building in a quiet neighborhood," Hillman explained, "so they shouldn't have too much trouble." Hillman noted that it was difficult to assess the effect the guards have had on the allocation of police manpower in the area. "If things were quiet there without the guards, we probably wouldn't give it much more attention," he said, "but if things were bad even with the guards, then we'd certainly increase our patrol in the area." Hillman said that he had no way of knowing whether the presence of security personnel at the Santa Rosa complex had displaced crime to other neighborhoods, but, in general, he feels that the security force should be supported. "They make the residents feel safe, and that by itself is pretty important."
NEIGHBORHOOD: Balboa Park
CITY: San Diego, California
START DATE: July 1973

CONTEXT
Upper-income, predominantly white residents.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Located near a high-crime area, the area is susceptible to burglaries.

OPERATIONS
Hired private security guards provide round-the-clock surveillance of ingress to a condominium lobby. There is minimal police contact; a patrolman usually only stops by to inform the guards if a serious crime has occurred in the neighborhood or to ask them for specific information.

ORGANIZATION
A portion of the monthly condominium fee paid by homeowners supplies the funds for the security activity which costs about $20,000 per year. The guards are accountable to the management and to the building's Board of Governors.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The guards reported to the police that an automobile parked outside the complex had been stolen.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The guards perform doorman-type services.

PRESENT STATUS
Previously, another guard service had been hired for security; but, due to dissatisfaction, a change was made. Because of savings made possible by the newer service, surveillance hours were increased to the present level. The guard activity appears fully operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: La Jolla
CITY: San Diego, California
START DATE: 1965

CONTEXT
Upper-income, all white neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
No crime problem.

OPERATIONS
Private guards are hired by and responsible to the homeowners association. They patrol on foot and also use a T.V. monitor. They are on duty 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, year round. There is no formal relationship or contact with the police.

ORGANIZATION
The size of the patrol was classified. It is supported by the homeowners association.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
No serious crime.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is ongoing.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Ottay-Mason
CITY: San Diego, California
START DATE: 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income area; predominantly minority population.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism and, at one time, burglary.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard patrols the building interiors and exterior areas on foot.
He is on duty all year from 6 p.m. to 12 a.m. on weekdays and from 2 p.m. to
12 a.m. on Saturdays and Sundays. The guard does not have any regular
contact with the police.

ORGANIZATION
One-half of all of the units in the complex are leased by the Housing
Authority. The management pays the guard's salary. He patrols the
entire complex.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Family disagreement.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None.

PRESENT STATUS
The current guard, who has a degree in social work, is emphasizing pre-
ventive action rather than reaction to a crime. There is regular guard
service.
XIII. SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA

URBAN AREA
NEIGHBORHOOD: Woodland
   CITY: San Jose, California
   START DATE: January 1974

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; about 30 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
Both paid guards and resident volunteers patrolled a multi-block condominium neighborhood. Operations were conducted by patrolmen on foot and in cars from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. seven days a week. Contact with police was minimal.

ORGANIZATION
At its peak, the patrol had 43 members. The patrol was affiliated with the homeowners association. Expenditures were less than $250; money was obtained through a fund raising event.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
No mention.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
At the start of the patrol operations there was at least one burglary per day. By June 1975, this rate had dropped to less than three per month; members lost interest in patrolling and the group ceased functioning. At present, the burglary rate is increasing, and there is some talk of reinstating the patrol.
XIV. ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

URBAN AREA
Boonton, a small community in the third police district of St. Louis, is the locale surveilled by the Boonton Crime Patrol. With a median annual income slightly under $10,000, the neighborhood is considered one of the poorest in St. Louis. Most residents of this predominantly white community are of German heritage. The remainder of the population is black. Many of the homes are two- and three-family dwellings. Frank Merkelbach, the chairman of the crime patrol, described this community as "very ordinary and a good place to live."

Origin

Dick Kloss, a patrol member and one of the two original organizers of the patrol, stated that the patrol began operations in 1970 or 1971 in response to a rash of burglaries and to juvenile gang activity and glue sniffing in the area. The idea for the patrol evolved from a meeting held by residents with several police community relations officers. The Crime Patrol was modeled after a successful patrol operating in the Tower Grove East section of St. Louis. The original goal of the Boonton Crime Patrol was simply to cruise the streets and note any suspicious activity. The original 20 members, recruited by word of mouth and some door-to-door canvassing, patrolled irregularly at hours that were convenient to them. In its early days the patrol received its biggest boost from the fact that friends of the initial members were eager to participate in the program. The good reputation of an extant block-watcher group in Boonton also made recruitment easier than it might have been. Money was the major stumbling block since all volunteers bore the cost of their own gas, an expense that sometimes ran over a dollar a night per auto.

The patrol's goal of reducing crime has not changed since the group's inception. The group has never expanded its efforts into any non-crime-related activities, except for very occasionally reporting an abandoned automobile.

Patrol Operations

The Boonton Crime Patrol currently numbers 15 active members. Members patrol the Boonton neighborhood by auto in two-man teams. Most
members participate once each week, although the patrol as a unit operates from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. every night of the week, year-round.

Patrol members are instructed to watch for suspicious activity, especially gang activity and evidence of would-be burglars. When the patrol receives information that a family is out of town, patrol members leave their cars when they approach the family's home and inspect the grounds surrounding the unoccupied house. Patrol members are told to use the nearest police call box, to which all members allegedly have keys, to summon the police if they observe untoward events. Patrol members carry no weapons and are told never to intervene. Kloss seemed quite responsible and eager to avoid involvement in any dangerous situation. Kloss noted that he and the other members get a sense of community participation from joining; he indicated they would not consider hiring a guard. The only official equipment carried by patrol members are identification cards. Merkelbach has a citizen band radio that he uses to monitor police calls.

In the future, Merkelbach would like to recruit more volunteers to ease the burden on current members and to expand the patrol's coverage. Merkelbach views membership as a major obstacle to patrol operations. Accountability and disciplinary procedures within the patrol are unclear. Apparently "the guys" act as a whole in determining policy and in convincing overzealous members to moderate their field conduct. Kloss, for instance, said that he feels he has as much voice in patrol leadership decisions as anyone else in the group. Members of the patrol once exerted their influence on a member who "overreacted" to youths riding bicycles at night without nightlights. No member has ever been terminated.

The police are generally reported to be friendly and to "wave the O.K." to patrol members in the field. However, the group does not seem to be well known at the local police station, where the Captain's aide, Lt. Oberdorf, had heard of the patrol's existence but professed not to know exactly where the group operated. Likewise, Officer Stevens in Central Police Community Relations had never heard of the group, although he indicated that his office cooperates closely with other similar patrols throughout the city.
Organizational Structure and Activities

The Boonton Crime Patrol has been a relatively stable organization during the years since its inception. According to the patrol's leadership, the group has undergone no major fluctuations in the level or nature of its activity and has encountered no crises to speak of. There are, however, occasional slack periods when members go on vacations. Over the years, patrol membership has dropped from the original 20 members to 15 persons.

Recruitment continues to be an informal word-of-mouth effort. Apparently, all of the patrol members learned of the patrol in the course of conversations with their neighbors. The new patrolmen are introduced to the activities and policies of the group by experienced members who accompany them on their first rounds and instruct them in field procedure.

As chairman of the Boonton Crime Patrol, Frank Merkelback merely takes care of scheduling patrol assignments. Merkelback, appointed to his position by the chairman of the Boonton Central Neighborhood Association in 1974, assumes that every member will take a turn at coordinating activities for the Boonton Crime Patrol. Merkelback and Kloss also have informal responsibility for finding substitutes when a member notifies them that he will be absent. Merkelback and Kloss each spend between eight and 32 hours respectively per month on patrol activities. Kloss does not consider the time he spends on patrol activities to be a burden. He even claimed that one of his motivations for joining the patrol was to have an excuse to "get out of the house."

It is interesting to note that the Boonton Crime Patrol numbers no black members. In fact, Merkelback mentioned that nearly anyone except blacks were invited to join the patrol because "blacks wouldn't be a good thing with most of the guys."

The only costs incurred by the patrol are for gasoline and for radio batteries. All costs are borne by members on an individual basis. The citizens have never received any funding and low-income members frequently find gas and battery costs a financial burden.

A membership list and a log of events constitute the only written records kept by the patrol.
Outcomes

Most of the incidents reported by patrol members to the police involve abandoned automobiles, the activities of rowdy youths, or loiterers. The most serious incident dealt with by the patrol occurred when a member observed a man running down the street bleeding from the wrists and subsequently summoned the police to the man's aid. Members heard nothing further of the incident. In fact, they have yet to receive information from the police regarding any incidents the patrol has reported. To date, all comments have been positive; the patrol has never received a complaint. Patrol members feel that the young people appear to recognize their car and "cool it" while the patrolmen are in the vicinity.

Kloss generally feels that his expectations regarding the patrol have been realized. Kloss claims that in recent months there have not been any major complaints from neighborhood residents about security; however, a few have expressed annoyance with disorderly juveniles in the area. The patrol apparently is not widely known in the community and has not fostered any strong image in the minds of residents. The patrol has relied on the ongoing interest of its active members for continuity.

Similarly, Lt. Oberdorf had heard of no problems, mishaps, or misconduct on the part of the group, although he felt that it should be under stricter police control if the police are to support it. He indicated that he was "appreciative" of the group's efforts, but said he did not really think the patrol had prevented or deterred any crime (although he half-jokingly said that he felt the police to be inadequate for these functions also). Oberdorf flatly denied that the patrol had had any effect on police deployment.
ST. LOUIS HOUSING AUTHORITY SECURITY PROGRAM OFFICERS TEAM
St. Louis, Missouri

The Security Program Officers Team operates in seven of the St. Louis Housing Authority's high-rise public housing developments: Lavon, Elston, Aberdeen, Kenmore, Jefferson, Haiston, and Dupree. These complexes are located in the central and northern sections of St. Louis. Over 95 percent of the residents in these complexes are black, and the average annual income is about $3,000. The patrol does not operate in the mid-rise or scattered site housing developments operated by the Housing Authority.

Origin

In 1970, the crime and racial problems in the St. Louis public housing projects were reaching such serious proportions that Mayor Cervantes considered activating the National Guard. Regular police refused to respond to calls from several projects because of a high incidence of snipers' and other assailants' attacking police. In response to these problems, staff from the Teamsters and United Auto Workers Unions came together to form the St. Louis Civic Alliance for Housing for the purposes of studying and improving the untenable situation. This organization called Arthur Sheldon of the University of Missouri to conduct an analysis of the problems. An initial evaluation performed by Sheldon and some colleagues immediately revealed that the majority of the problems plaguing the projects were in some way directly related to security.

As a result of this and further investigation, Sheldon and his staff designed the Security Program Officers Team (S.P.O.T.) program which was approved by the Housing Authority and put into effect in 1970. Because regular police had been ineffective in controlling crime in the public housing projects, the basic concept of the S.P.O.T. program was to train residents in policing and keeping order in their own projects. This was the main goal and function of S.P.O.T.

Approximately 50 officers originally comprised the program. All these initial security officers, recruited from the residents of the
projects, were selected by a tenant review committee and then were trained by Sheldon. The security officers neither carried weapons nor had the power of arrest. The sources of funding S.P.O.T. were the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Labor-Manpower Division. The latter contributed funds because S.P.O.T. was considered a manpower project as well as a means of providing security in the housing developments.

**Patrol Operations**

In early 1973, Arthur Sheldon ended his association with the program, and the St. Louis Housing Authority assumed complete charge of it. Also at this time, the Authority received substantial support for the continuation of its security program from an LEAA Impact Grant. Within a few months, the character of the program began to change. First, training responsibility for the security patrol guards was turned over to the St. Louis Police Academy. It was then agreed that the guards would be licensed by the city to carry .38 caliber service revolvers. According to Mr. Lester Hamilton, the Housing Authority's Director of Security, there were two reasons for this latter decision. "The guards would receive more respect and feel more confident with a weapon," he explained, and added that since guards could now make arrests on public housing property, they would need weapons in order to carry out that function. In addition, the guards were given uniforms, badges, and identification cards issued by the metropolitan police.

In order to be eligible to participate in the training program and to be licensed to carry a firearm, all guard applicants must have clear police records and pass the regular police investigation given to all applicants by the regular police force. This is not what Mr. Sheldon envisioned when he designed the original S.P.O.T. program. "I thought it was important that residents with police records also be given the opportunity to become part of the patrol," he said in a recent interview. Also, he specifically did not sanction the carrying of firearms by the security patrol, although under the program as he organized it the guards did receive training in self defense.

In August 1974, five automobiles were purchased for the purpose of creating a mobile patrol to cruise among the projects. In addition, a
central radio dispatching system was inaugurated so that residents could call in to a dispatcher and guards could be deployed immediately to the scene. The dispatcher also has a direct telephone line to the police.

Although the original goal of reducing crime in the public housing projects has remained the same, the nature and level of activity of the security patrol has changed in the past three years from the original concept developed by Sheldon.

Organizational Structure and Activities

The St. Louis Housing Officers Team consists of 100 male and female guards, of whom 47 percent are currently public housing residents. The average age of patrol members is 26 to 30 years. Each of the seven high-rise housing projects is patrolled year around for 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Guard duty is divided into three eight-hour shifts, each staffed by three to four persons. The guards patrol the entire buildings as well as the areas around the buildings. The mobile patrol consists of the five cars, marked "St. Louis Housing Authority," each cruising between two housing projects. Although all of the guards have regular assignments, they are in constant contact with the central dispatch office by means of walkie-talkie and may be deployed to special areas if needed. The guards perform no non-crime related activities; their single function is patrolling to prevent crime.

The most frequent crimes occurring in the housing projects are burglary, vandalism, and family arguments which disturb the public. With less frequency, murders, narcotics problems, and other felonies have also occurred.

No formal recruitment program exists because there is a steady stream of applicants for the security guard positions. Once monthly, the Screening Committee, which is composed of Mr. Hamilton and three police consultants, meets to screen applicants. The names of the applicants who look promising are forwarded to the police for a clearance check which takes approximately eight weeks. If they pass the check and positions are open, applicants are accepted for training.

As mentioned above, all patrol guards are trained by the St. Louis Police Academy. The training consists of a 12-week program of which ten weeks are spent in academic training and the final two weeks are devoted
to firearm training. Classes are attended for four hours each day. The other four hours are spent at on the job training. Guards attend the regular classes for police trainees. They receive a total of 240 hours of training. They must pass all the required tests before they are licensed by the city to carry a revolver and allowed to assume regular security patrol duties. They have the same behavioral guidelines as the regular police.

Staff turnover is very low. Absenteeism, although a problem in the past, appears to be lessening since everyone who calls in sick is now called at home to ascertain if he is really ill. In the past three years, approximately 10 guards have been terminated due to certain of their actions which were considered "unbecoming to a security officer."

A security committee decides on the action to be taken.

Ms. Mae Alport joined the patrol in 1974 because she needed a job. She had no previous security experience. According to her, this is the first job she has ever really liked. She does not consider it too dangerous. "The only real danger," she said, "is when you let down your guard."

The security patrol is headed by a full-time director of security who is responsible for the 100 patrol guards and reports directly to the Executive Director of the Housing Authority. With the approval of the Screening Committee, the director makes all hiring, selection, and disciplinary decisions. Each shift per project is headed by a sergeant selected from the regular guards because of his ability and good performance. Directly responsible to the director, the sergeants make assignments, do all the paperwork, and generally manage the shifts. They also sometimes participate in patrolling.

The major sources of funding for the security patrol are LEAA grants, Housing Authority cash, and in-kind contributions. As of June 1975, LEAA had contributed $976,109.40 and the Housing Authority had contributed $345,723.10. Approximate expenditures for 1975 will total $283,781.92, which is used primarily for salaries and overhead. The public housing security guards are the highest paid private guards in St. Louis. They receive $3.15 per hour. The LEAA grant expired on December 31, 1975. The Director of Security hopes to receive Target Project Program money from HUD to help cover the loss of LEAA funding.
Overall, there appears to be a good working relationship between the guards and police. Three policemen, acting as consultants, spend 20 hours each week in the projects where they advise the patrol on such problems as selecting and training patrolmen.

**Outcomes**

The director of security feels that the quality of police protection has improved in recent years. Metropolitan police are called in by the security guards only on more serious matters, such as murder or narcotic problems. In less serious matters the guards are instructed to handle the matter themselves. They can arrest people on public housing grounds; afterwards, the metropolitan police come and take charge of the arrested person. Both the security patrol and the police keep records of incidents and arrests. The security patrol's records are now kept on IBM tape at the University of Missouri.

Public housing tenants are instructed to call their own security office before they contact the police. The central dispatch system monitors police, fire, and ambulance calls. It also has a direct line to the police. Hamilton said that, if residents call the police first, officers are instructed to check in with the security office to see what has been done, who is involved, and so forth. Hamilton indicated, however, that this process is not maintained.

By and large, the police and the security patrols mentioned that they feel they are working together. Police officer Donaldson asserts that there has been no change in the level of deployment of metropolitan police to the project's areas; he added that, although there has been no formal evaluation of patrol activities, police statistics indicate there has been an 18 percent decline in the projects' areas over the past year. Officer Helbert, one of the three police consultants, feels that the patrol is most effective and should certainly be continued.

Resident response is somewhat more mixed. Some residents want more activity from the guards, such as an escort service. Others say that they do not fully trust the guards. Hamilton said, however, that there has never been any charge of security patrol brutality or serious misconduct. According to Ms. Alport, there appears to be a growing trust in the patrol
as is evidenced by the fact that they are often warned by residents about potential problems.

Using as a measure the police statistic of an 18 percent decline in the crime rate within the projects' areas, the Public Housing Authority Officers Team has been successful in attaining its goal of reducing crime. Currently, the patrol is operating at a full level of activity, and, during any given week, security guards handle various crimes ranging from family arguments to vandalism. The most serious incident ever dealt with by a guard was a murder. To date, no patrol members have ever shot anyone. Nor have any been injured in the line of duty. The police department, through its three consultants, regularly communicates with and gives advice to patrol participants. It also refers to the patrol as the "public housing police," which could indicate its assessment of their working relationship. Residents' responses are more difficult to assess. There appears to be some positive response to the patrols, however, considering that the Housing Authority now has a backlog of resident applicants and that some residents confide in the guards.

Assessments of the activities and the level of effectiveness for this patrol organization has been undertaken by the University of St. Louis, Washington University, University of Missouri, and various officials from other public housing authorities.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Carondolet
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: Fall 1972

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; approximately 95 percent of the residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism and car thefts.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrol the neighborhood in one or two cars six nights a week and use citizen band radios to report suspicious events to the police. One patrol member, designated as liaison for the group, meets with police staff at least once each week to inform police of planned patrol activities and to receive suggestions regarding areas of heightened crime for the patrol to cover more heavily than usual. Patrol members are also permitted to use police call boxes to report crimes.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which currently numbers 60 adults among its members, maintains a weak affiliation with a local community improvement association; the relationship mainly serves a recruitment function. The patrol's 1975 expenditures will total roughly $500, an amount accumulated mostly from fund raising events; members donate their own gasoline.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Patrol members called police to intervene in an auto theft in progress.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is fully operational and appears to have expanded its coverage in recent years from two nights per week to its current six nights. In addition to its overall growth, the level of patrol activity fluctuates somewhat on a short term basis as the police suggest particular areas in need of patrol coverage.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Central West End
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: Before 1975

CONTEXT
Upper-income, white neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary.

OPERATIONS
A hired guard patrols in an automobile from sundown to sun-up, seven nights a week. There is no coordination of activities with the police.

ORGANIZATION
A neighborhood association contracts for the private security protection. Residents, in turn, pay the association a fee for the service. The patrol comprises only one guard.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The guard discovered stolen dynamite behind a house and turned it over to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol currently is operating on a regular basis.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Central West End Historical District
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: 1950

CONTEXT
Upper-income area; most residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Petty theft.

OPERATIONS
A paid guard patrols on foot and in a car each night of the week from the evening to the early morning hours. There is no coordination of activities with police.

ORGANIZATION
The single guard is hired by the trustees of the historical district. His salary comes from membership dues paid by area residents.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The guard has confronted and removed trespassers from the area.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The guard is currently operating on a regular basis.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Jefferson Place
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: 1903

CONTEXT
Upper-income neighborhood; approximately 95 percent of the residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
None.

OPERATIONS
A hired guard is stationed at the gatehouse to this private road during varied hours seven days a week. At periodic intervals the guard leaves his post to patrol the neighborhood either by car or on foot. Contact with the police is limited to instances when the guard summons them for assistance.

ORGANIZATION
The single security guard is retained by the Jefferson Place trustees association, which pays the guard's $4,370 annual salary from fees for service that it collects from the homeowners.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The uniformed guard approached two cars in which occupants appeared to be transacting a drug deal; the guard's appearance frightened the culprits off.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
This stably operated patrol has operated at a consistent level of coverage since inception.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Northwest
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: Summer 1974

CONTEXT
Middle-income area; 80 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and enterings.

OPERATIONS
Residential youths conducted a mobile foot patrol and escort service for a 20-square block area from 8 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., Monday through Friday during the summer. The members were paid for this activity. Police were consulted at the onset of the program regarding effective procedures and were kept informed of the patrol's activities.

ORGANIZATION
Twelve youths constituted the patrol which was sponsored by a local church and community organization and the city government. Expenses for the patrol were $5000.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol neither observed nor dealt with any criminal incidents.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol was initiated to provide meaningful summer work for youths interested in and concerned about crime prevention, and it operated under the auspices of the city government's summer youth programs. The patrol did not fall within the guidelines for this year's summer youth programs, and thus did not receive funding, so it was not reinstated.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Pontiac
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: 1970

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly white neighborhood. Many residents have a German background.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Minor street crime, some burglary.

OPERATIONS
Male volunteers patrol in cars for two hours every night of the week, year-round. The patrol members are provided with a radio that can monitor police calls and with keys to police call boxes. The police assisted in establishing the patrol; the only contact between the two groups now is when the patrol contacts the police for assistance.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, with 15 members, is affiliated with a neighborhood association. Each patrol member pays for his own expenses.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A patrol member saw a man running down a street bleeding from his wrists and reported it to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The patrol occasionally notes and reports abandoned automobiles.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol has occasional slack periods when members are on vacation. Even though membership has had a decline since the patrol's inception, the patrol appears to be fully operational.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Seven Public Housing Projects
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: 1970

CONTEXT
Low-income area; almost 95 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary, vandalism, family disputes.

OPERATIONS
Hired guards, half of whom are residents, carry out both a foot patrol that covers building interiors and adjacent grounds and a supplementary automobile patrol that watches grounds and nearby streets. The patrols, which operate 24 hours a day, seven days a week, receive a 12-week training course at the St. Louis Police Academy. Patrol members are armed and have power of arrest on Housing Authority property. Aside from training classes, the main contact between police and the security guards occurs in the field when the two groups cooperate to handle an incident. The guards also monitor the police radio frequency.

ORGANIZATION
The guard service, which currently employs 99 members, is sponsored by the Security Division of the St. Louis Housing Authority. Expenditures on the guard service for all seven housing projects in 1975 are estimated at $283,000 and are paid out of an LEAA grant and the operating funds of the St. Louis Housing Authority.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Murders.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
After an early history of constant change, the security guard program is now fully operative and stably administered. In recent years the trend of the program has been toward greater professionalism. Initially, all officers were required to be residents of the projects and were selected by a tenant review committee. Since the officers were unarmed and had no special powers of arrest, even residents with criminal records were eligible to participate. In 1973 the program was taken over completely by the St. Louis Housing Authority. Today only half the guards are residents, and no effort is made to assign a guard to the project in which he lives. Officers are licensed to carry weapons and have power of arrest. Training has been delegated to the St. Louis Police Department.
NEIGHBORHOOD:  Shaw
CITY:  St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE:  1969

CONTEXT
Low-income neighborhood; 80 to 95 percent of the residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism by youths.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrolled the neighborhood in cars every night of the week and used citizen band radios to report crime and suspicious activity to the police. From 1969 until 1974, patrol members informed the police each night when their cars went out on the streets; in 1974 a new leader discontinued the practice.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which numbered 50 adult members when it last operated, was affiliated with the Shaw Neighborhood Improvement Association. No estimation of the group's annual expenditures was available since all costs were borne by individual members of the patrol.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol summoned the police to halt the exchange of gunfire between residents on one street in the neighborhood.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol, which operated until March 1975, is currently in the process of being reactivated by a member of the Shaw Neighborhood Improvement Association. While the group was active, patrol coverage expanded from three to seven nights a week as membership grew. However, by January 1975, patrol members' perceptions that crime in the area had been reduced led to a decline in interest. After the original leader resigned, no replacement could be found for the position. The designee who finally accepted the job proved ineffectual and membership fell off rapidly until the patrol finally ceased operations entirely. Many former members, however, have expressed a desire to be reinstated when the patrol recommences activity under new leadership.
NEIGHBORHOOD: South St. Louis
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: Fall 1972

CONTEXT
Middle-income, predominantly white area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary and car thefts.

OPERATIONS
A volunteer mobile automobile patrol operates six nights a week. Patrol members contact a base station upon observing suspicious incidents. At one time, the group had a police officer as a liaison, but currently there is no coordination of activities with the police.

ORGANIZATION
Some 109 residents participate in the patrol which is independently operated. Fund raisers have been the main source of operating capital.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Informed the police about suspected narcotics dealing going on in a home in the neighborhood.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
A recent increase in membership has led to an additional evening of surveillance and to the extension of patrol hours.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Twenty-third Ward  
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri  
START DATE: Spring 1975

CONTEXT  
A low-income area; most residents are white.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM  
Burglary and misconduct by teenagers.

OPERATIONS  
Neighborhood residents conduct a volunteer automobile patrol which operates every night of the week. When incidents are observed, police are summoned from pay telephone booths. There is frequent contact with police regarding the patrol's administration and operation.

ORGANIZATION  
The patrol activity is independent of any community organization. Participants pay for their own gas and, in the past, the coordinator assumed all administrative costs himself. Approximately 42 volunteers participate in the patrol.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT  
A group of youths had turned some street signs around. By observing and reporting this mischief, the patrol was responsible for avoiding possible traffic hazards.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY  
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS  
The patrol was recently reactivated following a two-month dormant period. It had stopped its operations because of negative community response and because the patrol's coordinator could no longer commit so much of his time to the effort.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Veronica Park
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: March 1971

CONTEXT
Middle-income community; more than 30 percent of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Crimes against persons and commercial burglary.

OPERATIONS
Resident volunteers patrol the neighborhood in cars seven nights a week and use citizen band radios to report suspicious activity to the police. Members have contact with the police mainly when summoning assistance. Members of this patrol are permitted to intervene in some instances and have received instruction from police officers in the handling of situations they are likely to encounter.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which numbers roughly 100 adult members, is an independent corporation. However, the group uses the meeting facilities of a Lutheran church in the neighborhood. The patrol's expenditures for 1975 are estimated at $250, raised mostly from contributions by residents.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol observed a store robbery and accompanied a police car on a chase after the culprits. The fleeing thieves opened fire on their pursuers, wounding one patrol member and causing the civilian car to abandon the chase.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
Although fully operative, the patrol has experienced a diminution in membership over recent years. The current chairman attributes the decline to factors such as the aging and death of several if its members and the dulling of the "initial excitement" of participating in the patrol.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Walnut Park
CITY: St. Louis, Missouri
START DATE: March 1972

CONTEXT
Middle-income, predominantly black area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Handbag-snatchings, breaking and enterings.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults patrolled their neighborhood in automobiles from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m. seven days a week. Police contact occurred only when the patrol observed something suspicious and reported it or when the patrol called the police for assistance.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol, which numbered 86 at its peak, had a weak affiliation with a local church and community organization. Members provided their own gasoline and equipment.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol spotted a handbag-snatching and chased the culprit.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol ceased operations in August 1974 because of a decline in membership as patrol members moved out of the neighborhood.
BAY YOUTH COURTESY PATROL
Washington, D.C.

The Bay neighborhood is a low income, predominantly black community in the inner northwest quadrant of Washington, D.C. Once one of the most dilapidated neighborhoods in the center city core, Bay was among the first areas in the District designated for urban renewal. Although rehabilitation of the area is still far from complete, today, pockets of attractive, well-kept brick row houses on tree-lined streets silently testify to the community's efforts in the 1950s and 1960s.

Origin

The original Bay Youth Courtesy Patrol was established late in 1967 by James Adler, a Bay resident and veteran of 22 years of juvenile probation and community work. In those days, Adler recalls, the biggest problems in the area were vandalism, muggings, and purse snatching. Eight years later, Adler still directs the patrol as well as the Bay Community Center out of which it operates.

The earliest version of the Bay Youth Courtesy Patrol consisted of five youths who met with Adler in the basement of his home. After partial disruption during the 1968 riots, the group expanded and was rehoused in the basement of the nearby church of Reverend (now Representative) Walter E. Fauntroy. The group became known as the Associated Neighborhood Youth.

At about this time a critical event in the life of the patrol organization occurred. A woman from the Bay neighborhood was mugged by a major local gang. She turned out to be the mother of the gang's leader. Recognizing the harm the youths had been doing, the leader convinced his entire following to join the Courtesy Patrol; this lent the patrol considerable credibility in the eyes of the community.

Patrol Operations

The Bay Youth Courtesy Patrol currently operates out of the Bay Community Center on a year-round basis. However, the scale of the program is substantially greater in summer than in winter due to greater availability of funding for that period. In winter, patrol members number approximately 35 youths. They patrol neighborhood streets in teams of two or three from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. In summer, membership escalates to 65, and the patrol
functions from 8 a.m. to 11 p.m. Shifts last five hours. Since 1967, between 300 and 400 youths between the ages of 14 and 18 have participated in the program.

According to Adler, the primary goal of the patrol is crime prevention through surveillance of the neighborhood and diversion of potential delinquents into constructive (crime prevention) activity. To this end, patrol members walk the routes assigned to them each day. They wear orange jackets and carry walkie-talkies which they use to communicate with their base station. Patrol members are instructed to report suspicious activity to the base station which screens the calls and, when appropriate, notifies the police. In addition to their surveillance rounds, the youths patrol bus stops, provide escorts (frequently to the elderly), and monitor neighborhood concerts and movies at the community center; they also assist at some city-wide functions.

The objectives of the Bay Youth Courtesy Patrol are carefully designed to be concrete and attainable. Adler points to the reinforcement value of successful goal attainment and cites clear realistic objectives as a must for any successful youth program. These objectives are clearly spelled out along with the rules within which the patrol members must operate. Despite the narrowly defined goal of crime prevention, discussions with the group suggest that youthful offenders are quite frequently apprehended by the patrol. Generally, such youths are turned in to Adler who contacts parents and attempts to begin rehabilitation work with the youth. In more serious situations involving guns or adult offenses, patrol members occasionally follow a criminal and then inform police as to the fugitive's whereabouts.

As with all D.C. courtesy patrols, Bay patrol members are paid for their efforts at the minimum wage. Job slots are limited, and there is always a waiting list to fill any opening. Members are required to take their jobs seriously and must call in any day they do not appear. Absenteeism without good reason is viewed very critically.

Patrol members are accountable to a jury made up of their peers. The director, acting as judge, imposes sentences. Apparently, members are rarely terminated from the program, but suspension and other sentences are meted out.
Training for the patrol includes some initial instruction by Adler about the goals and rules of the patrol and training in techniques of self defense, and first aid classes given by the Red Cross. Adler supervises members on the job throughout their patrol careers.

There are three primary requirements for membership: (1) members must be attending school, (2) members must get no grade in school below a "C" (tutoring is offered), and (3) members may not use drugs. In addition, Adler forbids the carrying of guns while on patrol and restricts members from carrying guns when they are in the community center.

Youths appear to join the courtesy patrol and remain involved for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is their own recognition that it keeps them "out of trouble" and their records "clean." Socializing with friends at the center is also readily mentioned as a positive aspect of participation. Allen Bremerton and Larry Brown, members of the patrol, described the center as "a place where you can relax," "where there are people to be with," and the patrol as being "just like a family." The patrol apparently sponsors numerous social events for its cohesive band of members.

The dangers and other disadvantages to participation are regarded by the members and the director alike as negligible. Physical danger does not seem to be perceived as a significant problem. Members of the patrol who were interviewed did not regard their jobs as being dangerous. There have been no injuries or other recriminations to members since 1969. In the early days of the patrol, however, a member was attacked by a local gang (seemingly in retaliation for the patrol's crime-reporting activity). More recently, an unsuccessful attempt was made to kidnap one member.

Turnover on the patrol is minimal. Most members leave the patrol only when they finish high school—a fact much touted by the program. Many members go on to college, technical school, or careers in law enforcement.
Organizational Structure and Activities

Funds for the program are provided mainly through Youth Opportunities Services in the Office of the Mayor. Those funds pay for the equipment and for the salaries of the director and a specified number of patrol members. The Bay Youth Courtesy Patrol has also attracted some Comprehensive Equipment Training Act (CETA) money as well as special funds from the Redevelopment Land Agency to pay the salaries of a few additional members. Apparently, the community center has enough slack in its financial resources to provide support facilities free of charge. Adler mentioned that the center owns not only the buildings in which it is located, but the entire block. Patrol leaders candidly admit that Adler's local political ties as well as his skill as a lobbyist have been of substantial help in maintaining steady income for the center.

At least three different types of membership status in the Bay Youth Courtesy Patrol are available: (1) paid member, (2) volunteer, and (3) junior courtesy patrol member (teenage volunteers too young to be eligible for slots). Adler also mentioned that a number of former patrol members now in college act as volunteers at the center each summer.

Patrol members represent a wide array of backgrounds. All members are community residents. Perhaps most interesting is the fact that members, to a large extent, consist of former delinquents, gang leaders, vandals, and other problem youths. Although the patrol is not limited to such types, the thrust of the Bay program seems to be to "take the 'baddest' kids on the block and turn them around," according to Adler.

Consistent with the organization's conceptual approach, recruitment for the patrol occurs to some extent through walk-ins, but relies more heavily on outreach work at the juvenile courts and on informal referrals by police and court personnel. In some cases, membership in the Bay group is offered to a young criminal as a pretrial alternative to detention. Parents are another source of referral, though usually not until a youth has committed his first offense.
Outcomes

The basic relation of the patrol to the police seems to be fairly good. According to Adler, police presence in the area increased after patrol activity began. Adler sees this as the police department's response to evidence of the community's desire to improve its situation. Police seem to respond to screened base station calls quickly. However, at the request of director Adler, police officers do not stop to contact youth patrols in the field. Apparently, Adler feels that such contact would point to the patrols as the group responsible for arrests subsequently made by the police. One senses some latent apprehension of possible recriminations against members. Alternatively, since the attitude of the community toward the police is unknown, Adler may merely be trying to avoid public association with a group already unpopular in the area.

Sergeant Green of the Police Department does not know if the patrol has had any effect on the amount of crime in the area since he does not have the relevant statistics. However, he stated, "I would say that the patrol is an aid to us because it makes the citizens feel more self-assured. It probably does help limit crime in a three to four block radius." Sergeant Green could not recall any incidents involving the patrol. The police do not have any regular relationship or contact with the patrol. According to Green, police deployment to the area has not changed as a result of the patrol.

At present, the patrol is operating and appears fully incorporated into the activities of the community. Community support for the Center and the patrol seems strong. In this case, it is impossible to separate support for Adler as a community leader, as a church mainstay, as a politician, and as a grantmaker from support for the program.

Members have a sense of having reduced crime, increased the community's sense of security, and having kept themselves out of trouble. Members that were interviewed felt that their peers respected their job and that those peers avoided committing crimes when patrol members are around and on the job. Members noted that when the patrol first commenced activities cries of "snitcher patrol" were frequent.
They seemed to feel that most of this harassment had waned by 1970. Today, the patrol reports virtually no community opposition. The single community resident interviewed knew of the group, recollected that it had helped her mother on some occasions, and generally favored the patrol's continuation in the community.
 Brigadoon Manors, located in a suburban area of Washington, D.C., is a small community for upper-middle-income persons 50 years of age or older. The development is presently composed of several hundred units and is scheduled to begin new construction activity next month. Once construction is completed, residents will buy the units under a cooperative or condominium arrangement.

Origin

The whole concept of Brigadoon Manors is geared toward the needs and concerns of accommodating senior citizens, not the least of which is a concern about safety and well-being. Toward that end, the Brigadoon Manors development combines the use of both residents and professional security people in efforts to maintain a safer environment. In addition, the physical design of the development is intended to maximize security and minimize unauthorized entry. There is only one entrance for the entire community, and it is manned by a 24-hour guard. Fences, heavy foliage, and trees form barriers around the perimeter of the complex. The entrance guard and the physical security measures have been in effect since the opening of the development in the early 1960s. Residents of Brigadoon Manors pay for these security services through their cooperative and condominium fees.

Patrol Operations

There are two main components to Brigadoon Manors' security system: the above mentioned guard at the main gate and a foot patrol that surveys the grounds of the community. The guard post at the gate is staffed by paid residents who work on a part-time basis. Two men participate in each of three eight-hour shifts and are equipped with two-way radios.
that allow communication with the security director, Mr. Gerald Matthews, during the day and the patrols during the later afternoon. A phone is also located at the gate in order to permit contact with the police if necessary. Entrance guards are provided uniforms and badges which identify their roles on the security staff. In total, about 25 residents are employed to staff the front gate guard shifts.

The entrance guards' primary function is to assess whether visitors have a valid purpose for entering the compound. Residents are given special identification stickers for their automobiles and also carry Brigadoon Manors identification cards. The guards are instructed to stop unfamiliar vehicles to determine their right of entry; this includes unrecognized visitors, delivery trucks, and the like. Matthews compared the guard duty to security systems used at military posts.

In case of difficulty, guards are instructed to contact either the foot patrolman or Mr. Matthews and, if necessary, the police. According to two guards who were interviewed, a forceful verbal exchange is usually sufficient to deter any troublemakers or unauthorized visitors. When police calls are necessary, the guards keep a log describing police response and the nature of the incident which necessitated the call. Apparently, no guards have suffered injuries or physical abuse while on the job, and they do not feel the need to carry arms for protection. As Mr. Baird, one of the guards who was interviewed, declared, "If there was that kind of danger involved, I don't think we'd be doing this."

In all, the guards seem to enjoy their positions and job turnover is low. Another guard, eight-year-veteran Randall Sevy, explained that openings become available only when "people die or move away." Absenteeism is usually taken care of by the guards themselves. When someone cannot attend his scheduled duty, efforts are made to rearrange schedules with another guard so that the spot will be properly covered. Two main incentives to participate in guard duty surfaced: the opportunity for retired, elderly individuals to "have something to do," and the increased contact that is afforded with other residents of the community. Neither of the guards who were interviewed mentioned the financial benefits accompanying the job.
Organizational Structure and Activities

In contrast to the resident guards, the foot patrol members are hired professional security agents, most of whom apparently have some sort of police background. While applicants are screened by Matthews, they are ultimately hired by the Community Council. Mr. Leaf, a member of the Community Council, indicated that the people the Council is most interested in hiring for these positions are youthful, endowed with pleasant personalities and good judgment, and inclined to using only minimal amounts of force. The patrolmen are commissioned peace officers with powers of arrest, are outfitted in special uniforms, and carry revolvers. Their activities are confined to security-related endeavors, in contrast to the entranceway guards who may also be called upon to perform such tasks as helping shoppers with packages or opening apartments from which people have been locked out. The foot patrol technically operates on a 24-hour basis, composed of one-man shifts of eight hours each. Between 8 a.m. and 4 p.m., however, Mr. Matthews acts as the "patrolman," even though he is also involved in administrative activities during those hours. Any problems incurred at the gate are to be relayed to him or the police.

The foot patrol at Brigadoon Manors was initiated only one year ago, at the encouragement of the security director and members of the Security and Transportation Committee. The gate guards, however, have been stationed at the entrance since the development opened in the early 1960s. According to Matthews and Baird, the patrol was not established in response to rising crime activity at the development, but rather as a symbol of concern and preventive action on the part of the management and the residents. Matthews cited specific reasons for instituting the foot patrol: (1) the age of the men manning the gate and (2) the potential for problems arising as the area surrounding Brigadoon Manors becomes more densely populated. Baird, in contrast, said that he feels that the guard duty has been, and still is, "100 percent effective" for securing Brigadoon Manors. He could not think of any precipitating incidents which would have mandated the increased surveillance activity.
Outcomes

Whether it is the success of the guards and the patrols or the naturally isolated setting of Brigadoon Manors that is responsible for its low crime rate is difficult to determine, but, from all accounts, it seems to be a safe place to live. The major problems appear to be burglaries and larcenies, and no robberies or acts of violence have been reported in the history of the development.

In addition to its residential units, Brigadoon Manors also houses commercial and non-residential support activities within its confines. From all accounts, it is these facilities, rather than the individual homes, that are most often targets of crime. Particular concern was expressed about the warehouses on the compound, despite the fact that they are equipped with electronic security devices. Other facilities—such as the bank, restaurant, and a "pro shop"—are also frequently burglarized, although they are secured with "hardware items" and alarm systems which are linked to the Montgomery County Police Department.

Actual contact between Brigadoon Manors security people and Montgomery County police appears to be minimal. Police do not make regular visits to the site, but apparently respond with haste when specifically summoned. Baird mentioned that the previous security director had arranged to have the county police make daily stops at the development. However, such visits have recently diminished. According to the police, they patrol the area on a regular basis several times a week as part of their regular beat. They interact with the guards, but not on any regular basis. Lieutenant Pond stated that the police have very few problems in that section.

Mr. Baird said, "We're friendly to the police when they come, but I don't think they're all that necessary." "We've got things under control here," he added.

Aside from the residents who man the front gate, citizen participation in security matters is channeled through the Security and

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1Matthews assumed his post as security director in May 1975. He was previously affiliated with the Montgomery County government.
Transportation Committee, a 10-member body that acts in an advisory capacity to the Brigadoon Manors Community Council. Dwight Perkins, the current chairman of the committee, described it as a policy drafting board that makes recommendations. "We also handle security-related problems as they arise," Perkins said. "We hope that eventually people will come to us with their complaints rather than going to Gerald Matthews."
BURWICK SECURITY ASSOCIATION
Washington, D.C.

Burwick is a small, rather isolated community in Bethesda, Maryland. It has 250 homes, of which 240 are inhabited on the average. The community is composed largely of white, upper-middle-class families living in single family detached homes. Lots are large in Burwick, and homes are in the upper price bracket. The community was described as a "stable, mature development."

Origin

The Burwick Security Association (BSA) was formed in the early 1960s in response to a rash of vandalism in the area and residents' fear of crime. The goals and structure of the organization have remained essentially the same since it was initially formed. The board of directors of the broad-based Burwick Citizen's Association (BCA) also serve as the board of directors for the BSA. Although the BSA is a separate corporation from the BCA, in reality it appears as a committee of the BCA. The meetings of the BSA immediately follow the meetings of the Burwick Citizen Association.

The hiring of a security guard for the area was the only crime prevention strategy considered by the BSA. Founders of the organization shopped around for a security agency that would provide a mobile patrol of the community. BSA felt that a mobile unit was the only type of guard that could effectively cover a residential area like Burwick. The security association contracted with Safe Security Services International, Inc., which it has retained to the present time. BSA's contract with Safe Security is complex. The first part of it is a standard agreement for guard services. The second part makes special provision for a leased automobile and mobile telephone. The Burwick guard is the only "rolling" patrol provided by Safe Security anywhere in the country.

Initial membership in BSA numbered about 100-120 homes. More residents have joined over the years, resulting in an average subscribership of 190 to 220 homes. In 1968, subscription cost $75
per year per home. Since then, rates have gone up to $90 per year. Due to the nature of the service and the area, the existence of "free riders" is possible, although periodic drives are conducted by the board of directors of BSA to enlist those families in the program. Turnover of members in the organization is small and occurs mainly when families move from the area or when the home of a member is burglarized and he concludes that the patrol would be worthwhile.

**Patrol Operations**

During his patrol rounds, the security guard rides in a small, white "Safe Security" car with a blue beacon on top. The patrolman has a uniform, badge identification, and two mobile telephones (one for communications with BSA members or with the police, the other for contacting his dispatcher). The guard carries no weapons. The subject of weapons was described as a "sore point." Apparently, the patrolmen have often requested to carry guns.

While on duty, the patrolman must check vacant residences and keep a log. As he patrols the area, he is expected to report any suspicious activity to the police. He may intervene personally in minor incidents (e.g., loud parties). The guard may not collect mail or perform other errands for residents. He generally does not provide escort services.¹

The Safe Security patrolman is not an authorized peace officer. He does not have special powers of arrest and can not search or confiscate property. He may make a citizen's arrest under the usual restrictive procedures, but only if he sees a felony in progress.

An excerpt from a recent president's message to the BSA states:

> For many years we have maintained a security patrol in Burwick operated by Safe Security Services International, Inc. This service is primarily designed to provide a responsive local deterrent to vandalism, housebreaking or burglary. It is not a substitute for the Montgomery County Police Department. The County Police are solely responsible for arrests and subsequent investigations.

¹Information on the routine operation and on equipment is confidential.
Residents of Burwick are instructed to call the Safe Security patrol in situations where it is not clear whether the county police are required. In these instances, the security patrol will investigate and, if necessary, call the county police. In cases where a crime is being committed or has been committed, residents are told to call the Montgomery County Police first. In cases where it is more convenient either to call or contact the security patrol, the security guard will call the police. If this occurs, the resident is told to follow up with a subsequent call to the police. In all cases, residents are requested to inform Mr. Hagerty, chairman of the security committee, about the incident within a few days of the occurrence. They are asked to do this in order that he can assess the total security situation and make necessary changes in the security patrol schedule and/or request additional service from the county police.

Organizational Structure and Activities

The Burwick guard is directly supervised by Safe Security and is inspected on duty at least every three days. Guards are hired on the basis of standards set by Safe Security. These standards include a preference for people with experience in the Military Police. Safe Security provides additional training. The regular security patrolman assigned to an area works a six-day, 48-hour week. On the guard's day off, Safe Security provides a substitute. Guards are accountable both to Safe Security and their clients. They may be removed from a case on the basis of any client's charge of improper conduct. In fact, one Burwick guard was dismissed when he was discovered sleeping in his parked car while on duty. Mr. Hagerty is the sole liaison between the BSA and Safe Security. He also serves as the contact for grievances.

Outcomes

Hagerty reports that regular police coverage "seems less" during private patrol hours, but he "can't blame them" for reassigning the police officers. Contact between police and the guard arises mainly over the mobile phone and occasionally at the scene of a crime.
Professional interrelationships depend on the individual police officers and patrolmen. Some police look down on private guards, while others work well with them, according to Hagerty.

Lieutenant Johnson of the County Police is aware of the guard service. However, he did not have any positive or negative reaction to it. Police deployment remains the same regardless of the presence of the security guard, according to Johnson. The police do not have any formal interaction with the security patrol.

Despite their Safe Security guard, Burwick was struck in September 1974 by a rash of vandalisms and burglaries. The community requested extra help from the Montgomery County Police Department, which then assigned an extra unmarked patrol car to the area for about one month until the problem subsided.

The president's report to BSA summarizes, "[We] continually assess the benefits and the performance of the Security Patrol. Because we continue to experience a much lower rate of burglaries and vandalism than any comparable community in Montgomery County, we have recently concluded that it is a very desirable service."
MAYBERRY GLEN SECURITY PATROL
Washington, D.C.

Mayberry Glen is a low-income housing project run by the county housing commission. The project consists of 76 town houses inhabited by about 400 residents, of which 300 are 21 years old or younger, according to Mr. Jaspers, the resident manager. The residents are predominantly black, and many have female heads of household. All residents are members of the Tenants' Association, which is run by a president and an executive board. The Association holds meetings once a month; additional meetings are held in exigent circumstances.

Origin

The increasing frequency and the serious extent of vandalism, fights, and reckless automobile driving led to the point where residents of the community became "just plain fed up," Jaspers said. The Tenants' Association, which had just formed late in the spring of 1974, held a meeting to discuss the problem. The Association had already tried to divert the youths by means of recreational activities and field trips and by extending the hours of the Community Center, but it seemed as if the problem only worsened. It was also known that Housing Commission members were thinking of hiring outside guards. Since this possibility was disfavored, it became an added impetus to develop a self-help solution. As a "last resort," the Security Patrol was formed. It consisted of twelve interested members of the Tenants' Association who were present at the Association's August 1974 meeting.

Patrol Operations

The Security Patrol was formed to curb the crime and disorder of the housing project and to improve relations with the police. The Security Patrol consists of about 15 men, women, and teenagers. There is no equipment, no budget, and no special identification. Mr. Jaspers feels that the latter is unnecessary in a small housing
project. Weapons were not mentioned. Turnover is rare; members stay involved out of a sense of community service.

The members patrol throughout the housing project every night from 11 p.m. (when a community-called curfew for 16 year olds begins) until 3 a.m. They will also answer occasional calls from a nearby trailer court. They are available at any time if called by a resident.

If a problem occurs, the Security Patrol member first tries to moderate the situation. If matters get out of hand, the member warns the participants that the authorities will be summoned and then proceeds to do so. The patrol member waits until the police arrive and then explains the situation. The patrol member then must submit a written report of the incident to Jaspers within 24 hours. Jaspers arranges a conference with the affected family, himself, and the Security Patrol member within the following 24-hour period. Subsequent action may lead to a Housing Commission Hearing.

Organizational Structure and Activities

Mr. Jaspers and the president of the Tenants' Association are responsible for running the patrol and scheduling the shifts. However, the Association has taken increasing responsibility over the past year. A list of the names and telephone numbers of the members of the Security Patrol has been sent to the residents of the complex and to the neighboring trailer court that has shared some of Mayberry Glen's crime problems.

The Security Patrol is supported by and accountable to the County Housing Commission. No disciplinary problems have arisen to date.

Outcomes

The main benefit Jaspers sees in the Security Patrol and the Tenants' Association is that they provide an outlet for concerned residents to participate in neighborhood policy-setting. As far as preventing and calming family disputes, he claims that the Security Patrol has been extremely successful. Earl Loseman, a member of the Housing Opportunities Commission, reported that complaints from neighboring communities have dropped drastically.

Local opposition has emanated almost exclusively from the youths of the neighborhood. It appears that many feel that the Security Patrol is
a vigilante group "out to get them." In response, Jaspers has organized meetings with some of the more outspoken ones. Consequently, a few have joined the patrol. He points out that there have been no "unfortunate incidents" or violence involving the patrol, so he feels that these charges of vigilantism are unwarranted.

Jaspers feels that the police welcome the existence of the patrol. When it is necessary to intervene, the policemen know that there is some resident whom they can contact first and who will accompany them to the scene, thereby lessening the antagonism caused by a group of police on the grounds. Mr. Jaspers speculates that police protection is now better in that their presence is now less inciting and their surveillance has become more frequent and routine.

Lieutenant Brooks, a member of the county police department, was a patrolman in the Mayberry Glen area at the time that the Security Patrol was implemented. He attributes its success to the leadership of Mr. Jaspers and notes that crime in the neighborhood is now lower than in other public housing projects in the county and that tenant cooperation with police is greater than elsewhere.
NEIGHBORHOOD:  Bethesda
   CITY:  Washington, D.C.
   START DATE:  Early 1960s

CONTEXT
Upper-income, predominantly white area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism and burglary.

OPERATIONS
In an auto equipped with a citizen band radio, a hired guard patrols
an area consisting of 250 single-family homes. The guard patrols eight
hours a day every day of the week; the hours are unspecified. Contact
with the police is made only when the guard requests assistance through
his base station.

ORGANIZATION
There is one primary guard who has this patrol duty, but his security
service provides substitutes for weekends and for when he is unable to
work. Sponsored by a citizens' association, subscription cost is $90
per year per home. About 200 homes subscribe, paying a total of approxi-
mately $18,000 annually for this protection.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
A guard reported to the police a suspicious person who seemed to be
attempting a break-in.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
None mentioned.

PRESENT STATUS
The guard program is fully operational and has not undergone any changes
since its inception.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Columbia Road
CITY: Washington, D.C.
START DATE: 1970 or 1971

CONTEXT
Low-income area; most of the residents are Latin.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Breaking and enterings, hold-ups.

OPERATIONS
A combination of hired and volunteer residents patrol the neighborhood on foot. During the summer 32 young residents patrol Monday through Friday from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m. During the remainder of the year, the patrol is on duty Monday through Friday from 4 p.m. until 8 p.m. They respond to specific requests for escort, referral, observance, and assistance services. There is no regular coordination of patrol activities with the police.

ORGANIZATION
The youth patrol is an activity of the local community center. Manpower funds are directed through the community center to fund the patrol. There are no teams or leaders; the members are all on the street at once as individuals.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
No comment.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
The members of the patrol participate in a variety of activities sponsored by the community center, which include a consumer education course, a food buying service, a basketball team, a softball team, and other activities.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol is currently in operation.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Northeast
CITY: Washington, D.C.
START DATE: 1969

CONTEXT
Low-income neighborhood; over one-third of the residents are black.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
General crime, including vandalism and rowdy youths.

OPERATIONS
Youths patrol apartment grounds and buildings on foot, and occasionally provide an escort service. More than three-fourths of the patrol members receive pay; the remainder are volunteers. The patrol operates four hours a day, five days a week during the school year. Patrol members may work more hours during the summer depending on their age. The neighborhood police officer and the community relations police officer have met with the patrol personnel.

ORGANIZATION
The 32-member patrol receives its funds from the Office of Youth Opportunity Services in the Mayor's Office. Other than this, the patrol maintains no organizational affiliation.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol at one time operated in a "detective" capacity to learn the identities of automobile thieves.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Patrol members remove litter from the grounds, replace light bulbs, and generally assist residents by running errands, hailing taxis, and carrying packages. Patrol members have numerous social functions.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol originally began as an all-volunteer effort, but now receives funding as explained above. As a spin-off from the patrol, an organization of younger children was formed whose members have the goal of joining the patrol when they are old enough. The patrol appears to be operational and healthy.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Northwest
CITY: Washington, D.C.
START DATE: Winter 1967

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly black area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism, muggings, and handbag snatchings.

OPERATIONS
Hired and volunteer youths operate a mobile foot patrol and an escort service. The members carry walkie-talkies while on patrol. The patrol operates from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. during the school year and from 8 a.m. to 11 p.m. during the summer. The patrol also monitors neighborhood concerts and movies for signs of suspicious activity. Police contact occurs only when patrol calls for assistance are relayed to the police. The police have been specifically requested not to contact patrol members in the field; administrators of the patrol feel such contact could make the patrol personnel too noticeable.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol is affiliated with a local community center. Membership numbers about 35 during the school year and 65 during the summer. Both federal and city agencies provide funding for the patrol.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
Patrol members followed adult offenders and reported their whereabouts to the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
After a partial disruption of activities during the 1968 riots the patrol has stabilized and maintained a constant level of activity.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Anacostia  
CITY: Washington, D.C.  
START DATE: June 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income, almost entirely black neighborhood.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Assaults, rapes, and burglaries.

OPERATIONS
Volunteers and hired residents and guards provided 24-hour coverage every day of the week. Patrol members covered a multi-block area on foot, with instructions to report suspicious activity. Police contact occurred only when they were called by the patrol for assistance.

ORGANIZATION
Seven hired individuals and seven volunteers, all male adults, constituted the patrol. All operations were under the supervision of the National Capitol Housing Authority, which also provided the necessary funds.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The guards were once involved in an incident where residents were throwing rocks at the police.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
Some of the guards, who were community-oriented residents, began to expand their goals and assumed responsibility for social work and youth outreach.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol ceased operations four months after it began. The coordinator of the patrol activity, who was the resident manager, felt that the group lacked clear aims, did not have clear lines of authority, and had too many resident-members (who could be susceptible to retaliations), so he had the patrol activity stopped.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Public Housing Montgomery County
CITY: Washington, D.C.
START DATE: August 1974

CONTEXT
Low-income, predominantly black area.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Vandalism, fights, reckless auto driving.

OPERATIONS
Volunteer adults conducted a mobile foot patrol that covered a multi-block area. They operated from 11 p.m. until 3 a.m. seven days a week. There was no coordination of patrol activities with the police.

ORGANIZATION
The patrol of 15 members was affiliated with a tenants' association and the Montgomery County Housing Commission. The patrol incurred no expenses.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
The patrol broke up a fight.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The patrol ceased operations after four months of activity primarily because not enough volunteers could be found to patrol; those who did patrol gradually lost interest.
NEIGHBORHOOD: Silver Spring
CITY: Washington, D.C.
START DATE: Early 1960s

CONTEXT
Middle-income, predominantly white neighborhood; many of the residents are elderly.

MAIN CRIME PROBLEM
Burglary and larceny of non-residential establishments.

OPERATIONS
Hired residents man entryways to control ingress 24 hours a day; hired guards operate a mobile foot patrol covering the grounds of the development 24-hours a day. At one time the police stopped by the area daily, but this practice has recently diminished. Other police contact occurs when the residents or the guards call the police for assistance.

ORGANIZATION
Funds to pay for the guards and residents (the latter number 25) are obtained through homeowners' maintenance fees. No estimate of the cost of these services was available. The homeowners' association administers the security activity.

MOST SERIOUS INCIDENT
No mention.

NON-CRIME PREVENTION ACTIVITY
No mention.

PRESENT STATUS
The foot patrol was initiated in 1974 as a symbol of concern and preventive action. Both patrols appear fully operational.