



## **Community Policing and Domestic Violence: Five Promising Practices**

**Jane Sadusky**

October 2003

The Battered Women's Justice Project  
1801 Nicollet Ave S. Suite 102 Minneapolis, MN 55403  
[technicalassistance@bwjp.org](mailto:technicalassistance@bwjp.org)  
800-903-0111, prompt 1

*This project was supported by Grant No. 1997-WT-VX-K006 awarded by the Office on Violence Against Women, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.*

## Acknowledgements

BWJP acknowledges the contributions of the many individuals in the four partner communities who contributed to this project. They participated in community forums, focus groups, summit meetings, town hall meetings, policy writing sessions, training events, marches, vigils, and public education campaigns. They shared their time during the project site visits, videoconferences, and telephone interviews. In each community – Chicago, Duluth, Marin County, and London (KY) – the project organizers worked with law enforcement officers, advocates, and community members to test their ideas and shape the promising practices described in this monograph.

In particular, our thanks to the following individuals who were most directly involved with the project: Sgt. Judith Martin, Lt. Deborah Kirby, and Leslie Landis (Chicago); Sgt. Peg Johnson, Ty Schroyer, Cathryn Curley, Ellen Pence, and Mitzi Naucler (Duluth); Deputy Julie Sobaszkiewicz, Donna Garske, Bill Eichhorn, Alanna Donahoe, and Blessilda Canlas (Marin County); and, Sgt. Kenneth Jones and Travis Fritsch (London).

And, thank you to Lore Roethke for her keen eye and editorial skills.

# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	2
Table of Contents .....	3
Background and Methodology.....	4
A Short History of Community Policing .....	5
“Dynamic” Definition.....	5
Questioning Police Functions and Relationships.....	5
Attention to Domestic Violence.....	7
Community Policing ? Safety, and Other Cautionary Notes.....	9
Promising Practices.....	12
#1: Police and Community Partnerships .....	12
#2: Neighborhood-Based Organizing and Problem Solving .....	16
#3: Community Policing Action Team.....	18
#4: Access and Collaboration .....	21
#5: The Safety and Accountability Audit as a Community Problem-Solving Tool .....	22
The Failure and Promise of Community.....	24
Appendix A: Defining Core Principles of Community Engagement and Problem Solving .....	27
Appendix B: Development of Domestic Violence Organizing and Community Policing	29
Appendix C: Chicago Case Study.....	30
Appendix D: Duluth Case Study.....	58
Appendix E: Marin County Case Study.....	78
Appendix F: London, Kentucky Case Study .....	104
Notes .....	119

## **Background and Methodology**

In 1999, the Battered Women's Justice Project Criminal Justice Center (BWJP) began working with four communities to examine how domestic violence intervention could move beyond the limits of the criminal justice system and develop the capacity of diverse communities to engage in active problem solving. The intent was to explore the application of community policing, with its emphasis on community engagement and problem solving, to domestic violence. BWJP and its partners set out to analyze and articulate how community policing principles might intersect with the core principles of domestic violence organizing: victim safety, offender accountability, and community change.

The communities ranged in size from Chicago, with over 17,000 officers and 500-plus domestic abuse-related calls per day to London, KY, with 30 officers and 200 calls per year. Three of the partners had substantial experience in building coordinated community response: Chicago, IL; Marin County, CA; and, Duluth, MN. London is a small, rural jurisdiction that was just beginning to develop inter-agency cooperation and a broader community response. With the exception of London, each location included partnerships between a community-based domestic violence intervention program and one or more local law enforcement agencies. The project partners were:

1. Chicago: Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence and the Chicago Police Department
2. Marin County: Marin County Abused Women's Services and the Marin County Sheriff's Office (primary partner) and the 15 other law enforcement agencies in the county
3. Duluth: Domestic Abuse Intervention Project and the Duluth Police Department
4. London, KY: Eastern Kentucky University Justice & Safety Center and the London Police Department

During the course of the project, which continued into 2002, BWJP conducted site visits in each community, interviewed project participants, reviewed materials produced by each partner, organized and hosted four videoconferences with the partner communities, and convened a meeting between the partners and representatives from the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office) and the Violence Against Women Act Office (VAWAO). BWJP prepared a detailed case study of each partner's participation in the community policing project.<sup>1</sup> The experiences of Chicago, Marin County, Duluth, and London provide the raw material for this inquiry into the application of community policing to domestic violence.<sup>2</sup> The following pages highlight a few of those experiences. A more detailed account and further examples from each community will be found in the individual case studies (Appendices C-F).

## **A Short History of Community Policing**

### **“Dynamic” Definition**

The definition of community policing has been characterized by a marked fluidity, some say fuzziness, since the term began appearing with increasing frequency in the 1980s. One survey of police chiefs and sheriffs found that they overwhelmingly endorsed the concept of community policing, as self-defined, but almost half were unclear about the practical meaning of applying community policing.<sup>3</sup> Community policing has been variously described as a *philosophy*, an *organizational strategy*, a *concept*, and a *management approach*, with ten principles or four dimensions, depending upon the source.<sup>4</sup> Over the course of this project, the number of definitions found in different publications grew to fifteen. Even the definition on the COPS Office home page has changed during the course of this project.<sup>5</sup>

Some commentators find this fluid definition troubling: “the popularity of the term has resulted in its being used to encompass practically all innovations in policing, from the most ambitious to the most mundane, from the most carefully thought through to the most casual.”<sup>6</sup> According to another observer, however, “community policing *should* look different from city to city and within a city, from neighborhood to neighborhood, as police respond to local needs and desires.”<sup>7</sup>

Common across all definitions, however, are three key features: community engagement, problem solving, and organizational change. These features anchor the definition used by the BWJP project: *Community policing is a framework for the structure and delivery of police services, characterized by: 1) community engagement and partnership; 2) problem solving and prevention; and, 3) organizational change.*

### **Questioning Police Functions and Relationships**

The discussions that coalesced under the label of community policing began some forty years ago, sparked by frustration over crime rates and police practices in the areas of civil rights demonstrations, racial conflict, and political protest. What is now referred to as “traditional” policing was then characterized by distance from the community, instituted as an anti-corruption measure; crime control, with its emphasis on arresting law breakers; and, maintaining order via street patrols and a rapid response. Segments of police leadership began to question this way of doing business, supported by an expansion of research on policing, with its study and analysis of police function, accountability, and relationship to the community.<sup>8</sup>

Police leaders and critics began to question the distance between police and the wider community, along with the fire-brigade approach of responding to call after call with no change in the crime rate or in the public’s fear of crime. They were supported by research demonstrating that driving around in cars and rapid response to 911 calls had little effect on crime, levels of fear, and community satisfaction with police.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard convened a series of meetings among police chiefs, mayors, academics, and others to explore a new emphasis on police involving and engaging the community in the “co-production of safety.” The work that emerged from the Executive Session on Policing was influential in shaping what we now call community policing.<sup>9</sup>

The concept of problem-oriented policing, developed and articulated by Herman Goldstein, emerged during this same time period and became intertwined with community policing. It “calls for the police to improve their understanding of the underlying conditions that give rise to community problems and to respond to these problems through a much wider range of methods than they have conventionally used.”<sup>10</sup> Problem-oriented policing emphasizes “the power of thoughtfulness and analysis when applied across the whole spectrum of police activity.”<sup>11</sup> An emphasis on problem solving has become a key, and some would say essential, feature of community policing. “All of the elements of community policing are important, but a department cannot claim to be doing community policing without the problem-solving component.”<sup>12</sup>

Community policing emerged as a distinct approach to police business, with an emphasis on partnership with the community, problem solving, and a re-examination of organizational structure and patrol functions. Under community policing, the scope of police actions broadens; no longer are officers focused solely on their immediate responses to isolated calls for service. They assume wider problem solving and prevention responsibilities. Community policing alters the mechanics of police work by valuing the local or neighborhood beat officer and an array of skills not traditionally associated with patrol work: interviewing and interpersonal communication, mobilizing and building self-respect among communities, and analytical and problem-solving skills.<sup>13</sup>

With the 1994 Crime Bill, the Clinton Administration promised to put “100,000 new cops on the beat,” with an orientation toward community partnerships and problem solving, and an emphasis on crime prevention. The Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS Office) was established within the Department of Justice to administer the hiring grants and related programs, including over 300 domestic violence grants to support local partnerships among police, victim advocates, and other community organizations.

While not every police agency has adopted a community problem-solving approach to its work, the ideas have become increasingly widespread, influencing police structure and service delivery. The impact and degree of change have been mixed, however. As noted in the Urban Institute’s evaluation of the first four years of the COPS program, “adoption of community policing has very different meanings in different jurisdictions.”<sup>14</sup> Another commentator has observed that police leaders and their agencies have different motivations in claiming the community-policing label. Some have sincerely embraced it as the best means of maintaining community safety. They have committed resources beyond COPS funding, taken risks to explore new ways of doing things, and made organizational changes to support them. Other agencies have

experimented with community policing without any full commitment or immersion in the ideas. They are driven by small groups of enthusiastic individuals, but suffer from organizational conflict and inconsistency about what it means. Yet another group of agencies has adopted community policing in name, but not in spirit, to obtain a share of available federal dollars.<sup>15</sup>

It has been more common for police agencies to add positions or designate special teams or units of community policing officers than to pursue significant organizational change, such as decentralizing decision-making authority, flattening the organizational structure, or evaluating performance on collaborative problem-solving efforts rather than the number of arrests and citations. Internal resistance in many organizations has been strong, with an old guard/new guard dichotomy, or “real cops vs. community cops” dynamic setting in. Particularly where officers carrying the community label are few in number or isolated in a single unit, they can be isolated from the larger work force and characterized by such terms as the *pooper scooper patrol*, *hug a thug*, *lollicops*, *milk & cookies cops*, or the *love police*.

Community beat officers may be commonplace among law enforcement agencies, but mobile response patrols, large criminal investigation departments, and traffic regulation officers still form the bulk of much of modern operational policing, as they did before community policing became the new orthodoxy . . . Community policing may have brought about distinct shifts in practice and attitude, but the police culture and the organization of police resources would be largely recognizable to anyone who served in law enforcement 30 years ago.<sup>16</sup>

## **Attention to Domestic Violence**

*Do we need community policing or better police work: better interviews, investigations, reports, and understanding of the law? – An advocate*

The early community policing literature had relatively little to say about domestic violence. Discussions were typically infrequent, brief, or absent. Herman Goldstein, Robert Trojanowicz, and Bonnie Bucqueroux stood out among their colleagues, paying some attention to domestic violence in their work and suggesting that community policing strategies could be applied. For example, Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux offered examples of the ways “a creative Community Policing effort could be devised to target murders stemming from this problem,”<sup>17</sup> including community policing officers making follow-up home visits and urging “troubled couples into appropriate and affordable counseling.” Goldstein favored mediation as an alternative to arrest, while acknowledging that it could be seen as downgrading the seriousness of the problem.<sup>18</sup> That such efforts might be problematic from the standpoint of victim safety is addressed later in this monograph.

Beginning in the mid-1990s, community policing literature began to pay more attention to domestic violence, with the influx of COPS funding to domestic violence projects and the publication of related evaluation reports and other studies. One of the

first such studies, for example, was the work of Annette Jolin and Charles Moose in examining Portland, Oregon’s experience in applying community policing values to the formation and operation of a domestic violence reduction unit.<sup>19</sup> Still, domestic violence is not among the 19 problems addressed in the *Problem Oriented Guides for Police Series*.<sup>20</sup> This reflects, in part, the difficulty in framing domestic violence as a police problem in the same way that location-specific and public-view crimes are approached. In scope and complexity, domestic violence is a more daunting problem than false burglar alarms, loud car stereos, graffiti, and panhandling.

There are parallels in the emergence of community policing and the contemporary battered women’s movement. As illustrated in the timeline in Appendix B, both are anchored in a period of social movements and public protest that challenged existing institutional structures and practices.

Organizing against domestic violence was characterized by three principles that supported the work of battered women and their allies as they established shelters, crisis lines, and advocacy services, and organized for legislative and policy changes: victim safety, offender accountability, and cultural and institutional (community) change.<sup>21</sup> These principles drove the critique of police practice in response to domestic violence. They continue as the framework for action and analysis and provide a lens through which to examine community policing.

There is potential for change in integrating domestic violence organizing principles with community policing principles, in structuring the response to domestic violence, as illustrated here.

<b>DV Organizing Principles</b>	<b>Action</b>	<b>COP Principles</b>
Maximize safety for battered women	Build and strengthen community supports: i.e., coordinated community response	Community engagement/partnership
Hold batterers accountable for their violence	Determine what combination of arrest, court sanctions, education, and community sanctions will make a difference	Problem solving
Challenge the cultural underpinnings of battering	Change broad public acceptance of violence toward women and girls	Organizational change

Perhaps the most significant impact of community policing ideas on domestic violence has been the increased willingness of police to explore partnerships and incorporate the expertise of battered women’s advocates into their response to domestic violence. This is a characteristic shared by the four BWJP partner communities. Police organizations that have embraced community policing, at least to the level of experimentation, if not full commitment, have been more receptive to working with

advocates and other community-based organizations. Partnerships and collaborations have been reinforced and required under COPS grants, as well as Violence Against Women Act grants. In a growing number of communities, the response to domestic violence has become more proactive and reflective of community engagement, problem solving, and prevention. Increased consultation and partnership with battered women's programs has been one of the most common community policing practices, as reported by Roth and Ryan in the evaluation of the COPS Program.<sup>22</sup>

## **Community Policing ? Safety, and Other Cautionary Notes**

These partnerships have varying degrees of depth, however. Some have been more grant-driven than organic. The Urban Institute's findings about police-community partnerships also apply to those between police and battered women's advocates: "all too often, partnerships were in name only or simply standard, temporary working arrangements."<sup>23</sup> Detective Howard Black from the Colorado Springs Domestic Violence Enhanced Response Team acknowledges the difficulties in building equal partnerships: "the hardest part of my job is trying to [create an environment] where the advocate has the same power as the cop or the prosecutor."<sup>24</sup>

While community policing clearly has *potential* for improved partnerships with advocates and new strategies for improving victim safety and offender accountability – as the experience of the partner sites demonstrates – it does not in itself guarantee that the context and dynamics of domestic violence are well understood, or that victims will have a voice and role in the "co-production of safety." Over the course of this project, in the literature review and in observations of several national training events conducted by the Regional Community Policing Institutes, there were frequent examples of practices that suggest a weak understanding of the complexities of battered women's lives and the various risks they face from batterers, life circumstances, and the unintended consequences of intervention.

- Police seek restraining orders against both parties in some instances, "forcing a separation for the parties' benefit."<sup>25</sup>
- Both the victim and the batterer are required to undergo counseling on the first offense.<sup>26</sup>
- Recommendations for mandatory mediation counseling for domestic disputes on the first call.<sup>27</sup>
- On domestic violence victims calling the police: "Don't call me unless you want help. It may not be the help you want, but it will be help."<sup>28</sup>
- Offered as an example of positive community intervention by a participant at an RCPI conference: A judge orders a woman to go to a domestic abuse

support group, as part of the batterer's sentence, and orders the offender to take her there as a condition of his probation.<sup>29</sup>

Each of these examples raises questions about the understanding of safety, and illustrates that it is not automatically at the center of the community policing response. A persistent idea is reflected in these approaches, one that impedes victim-centered safety planning. It is the belief that domestic violence victims do not readily seek help and do not know what kind of help is best for them; therefore, someone else – officer, advocate, judge – must make those decisions. As another observer of community policing notes, it often seems that “battered women [are] one-dimensional recipients of the largesse of an upgraded criminal justice system . . . frequently depicted as people upon whom the system acted, not people with whom the police [or others] problem-solved or collaborated.”<sup>30</sup>

Mediation or some type of required counseling for victims and offenders remains a popular idea, particularly with the community policing emphasis on problem solving and non-arrest solutions to problems. It reflects the belief that victims do not readily seek help, that they have control over the batterer, and that changing their behavior will change the offender's. It also reflects a persistent and dangerous assumption that a first call is less serious and less indicative of serious risk. Herman Goldstein describes the consequences in an early experiment in mediation when officers failed to determine which threatening, abusive, or violence behavior was “less serious.”

But in applying the techniques, [NYPD] apparently failed to distinguish sufficiently those cases in which wives were repeatedly subject[ed] to physical abuse. The aggravated nature of the latter cases resulted in a suit against the department in which the plaintiffs argued that the police are mandated to enforce the law when any violation comes to their attention.<sup>31</sup>

The consent decree that settled *Bruno v. Codd* required that officers arrest in all felonies and Order for Protection violations. For Goldstein, this unfortunately dampened support “for the use of alternatives to arrest in less serious cases, even though alternatives still appear to represent the more intelligent response.”

Another caution relates to the ways in which problems are identified and prioritized under a community policing approach. If problem identification is based primarily on residents' problems and concerns, domestic violence may never come up. If police rely on community surveys to prioritize what they do, then speeding cars, barking dogs, and noisy parties are likely to receive more attention than domestic violence. This has been Chicago's experience, for example, with its neighborhood beat meetings, which are a forum for the community and the police to identify, analyze, and prioritize crime problems. On its own, domestic violence does not emerge as a problem for police attention. It requires seeding by the domestic violence liaison officers or community organizers, by providing figures on calls and arrests and offering it as a problem worthy of attention. It is a challenge to build community understanding and participation when victim-blaming remains pervasive, along with the notion that ‘she should just leave.’

Once domestic violence becomes a focus for neighborhood attention, what should that response be? The vigilante response – ‘we’ll go over and knock him around, and see how he likes it’ - is problematic. Sharing any details about specific domestic violence crimes immediately raises concerns about confidentiality and individual victim safety. Neighbors may have good intentions in wanting to know who on the block has an order for protection, but that approach can further minimize a battered women’s voice. These have been situations that Chicago has begun to face as it has emphasized a neighborhood-based, almost block-by-block response.

There also remains a continuing need for improvement in basic police response when someone does call 911. “Resolving cases through criminal and civil court processes deters future violence if the response is speedy, clear, consistent, and linked to strong community-based services for offenders and victims.”<sup>32</sup> The nature and quality of the initial police response has a great deal to do with the degree to which victims feel protected, believed and supported. The quality of police intervention “sets the foundation for almost every subsequent action by the courts and community-based agencies.”<sup>33</sup>

## Promising Practices

Each of the four BWJP partner sites had its own approach to applying one or more community policing principles to domestic violence. Their experiences do not fit into tidy categories. There was a lot of community engagement, a little problem solving, and a touch of organizational change. Their experiences are described in detail in the case studies included as Appendices C-F. The promising practices reported here are those that will be of most interest to other communities in developing their capacities for problem solving and partnership in the application of community policing strategies to domestic violence.

### #1: Police and Community Partnerships

*The Chicago Police Department seeks to reduce the incidence and severity of domestic violence in our communities through coordinated partnerships involving law enforcement, domestic violence service providers, prosecutors, and the community. – General Order 99-07*

Chicago is the third largest city in the United States, with a population of nearly three million. Since early 1993, beginning with a small number of experimental districts, the Chicago Police Department (CPD) has been attempting to recast itself along community policing principles. Known as the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy, or CAPS, it expanded to the entire patrol division in 1995.

The CPD's application of CAPS to domestic violence is articulated in its general orders and via designated Domestic Violence Liaison Officers, now assigned in each of the twenty-five police districts. Their role is "to facilitate police/community domestic violence partnerships and problem solving at the district level."<sup>34</sup> They are appointed by the District Commanders and trained by the Domestic Violence Operations Coordinator.<sup>i</sup>

The DVLOs, as they are known, are a connecting point between neighborhood-based "beat" officers, community residents, and domestic abuse services. The expectation is that the DVLOs will be "actively engaged in the community" and "serve as a district-based resource for field officers and the community." They are the "key to a coordinated police/community response to domestic violence."<sup>35</sup>

A typical workweek for a Domestic Violence Liaison Officer might include the following kinds of activities:

- Review incident case reports in the district for patterns and severity.

---

<sup>i</sup> The Domestic Violence Operations Coordinator provides "a single point of contact for the development of policy and operational response for domestic violence" within CPD. With the supervisory rank of sergeant and located in the Superintendent's office, the DVOC works with city, criminal justice, and community organizations to develop Chicago's intervention strategies. The DVOC also troubleshoots district-level problems related to police response, collaborates in development and delivery of training, and keeps officers informed about issues related to domestic violence and police response.

- Flag repeat offenders and victim safety concerns for district sergeants, detectives, and beat officers.
- Contact victims to check on their well-being and offer court accompaniment.
- Link victims and beat officers with domestic violence advocacy and support services.
- Conduct roll call training.
- Attend and co-facilitate the Domestic Violence Subcommittee meeting.
- Present information about domestic violence and Chicago's response to community organizations and schools.

Overall, the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy has placed great emphasis on community partnerships and problem solving. The DVLOs are the most front-line, neighborhood-level manifestation of this effort in Chicago's response to domestic violence. They are expected to represent the department and be actively involved in the Domestic Violence Subcommittees (DV Subcommittees), which are the main avenue for community involvement: "The Domestic Violence Subcommittee provides the foundation by which the police/community partnership can come together and begin targeted problem solving on the issue of domestic violence, as it exists with the district."<sup>36</sup>

Building this partnership around the DV Subcommittees has been challenging, and the 25 subcommittees display varying degrees of cohesiveness and activity. They typically have a small core membership of five to seven individuals, including the DVLO. Members acknowledge the difficulty in generating wider community interest in domestic violence. These observations are typical: "The subject matter is the [biggest challenge]. It's not something people like to talk about." "I'm not sure how interested they are in hearing about domestic violence." In addition, most DVLOs have other assignments, beyond domestic violence, and have varying degrees of support from their district commanders, so the time and energy they can devote to building a strong subcommittee varies. Evaluation of the overall CAPS implementation process has noted that subcommittees have not always had easy access to resources and assistance from the CAPS Implementation Office.<sup>37</sup>

Nevertheless, the DV Subcommittees have survived and expanded. They have defined a primary role for themselves in raising community awareness via public education activities. This includes organizing and participating in health fairs, vigils and marches, and leafleting neighborhood blocks, grocery stores, and other public gathering points. They have received increasing support and encouragement from the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence (MODV). In 2002, MODV conducted training on facilitation skills and problem solving for all 25 DV subcommittees and DVLOs. It also convened a citywide Domestic Violence Assembly involving over 1,500 participants that included presentations by each of the subcommittees.

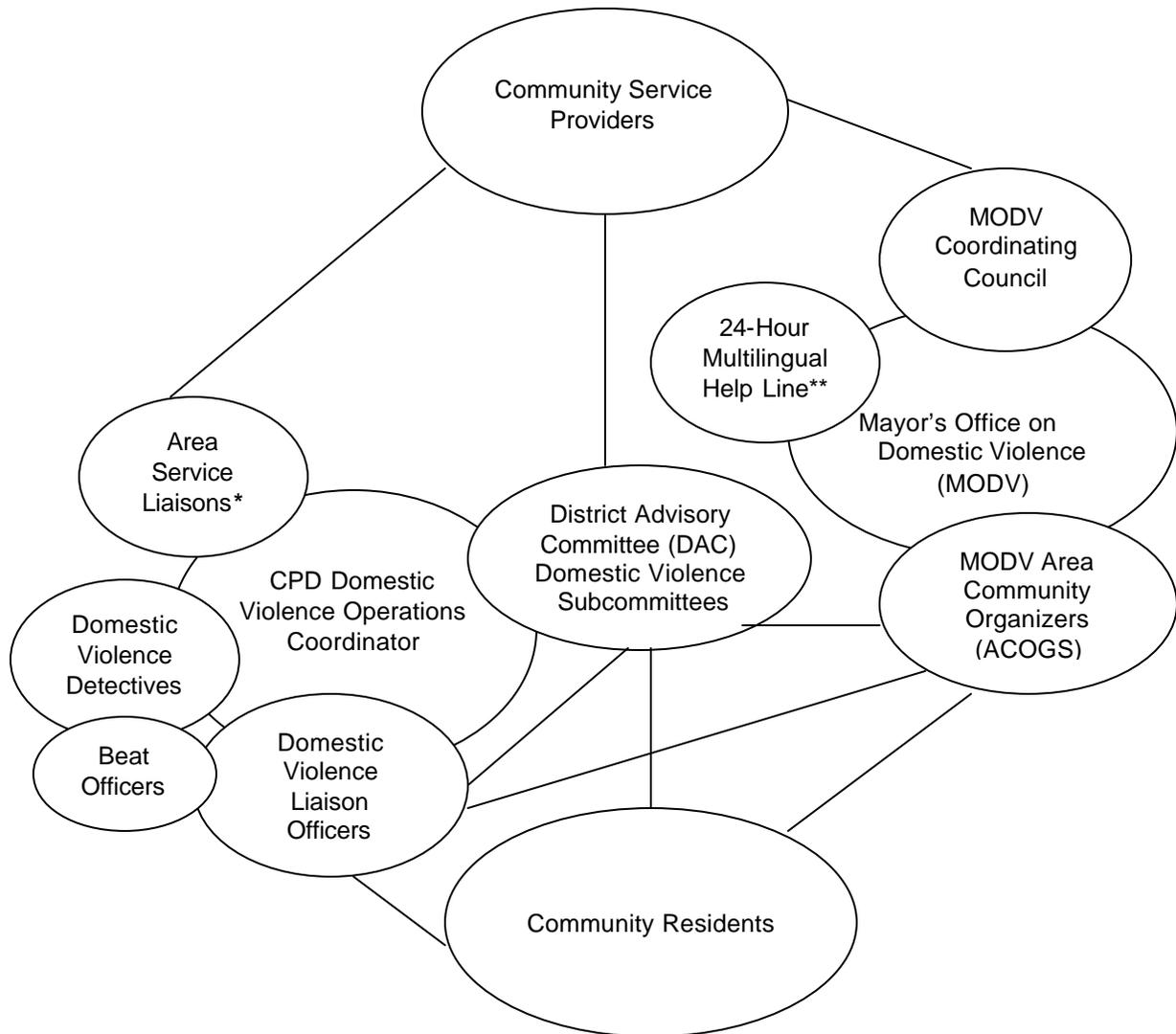
MODV has been a significant partner in shaping the Chicago response to domestic violence and supporting the DVLOs and the DV Subcommittees. The variety and level of partnerships fostered by MODV and CPD is distinctive. It extends beyond

the usual alliances of domestic abuse service providers, criminal justice agencies, and medical professionals that characterize community coordinated response. Figure 1 illustrates the key partners and their relationships. This framework supports the neighborhood-based organizing and problem solving that is described in Promising Practice #2.

Partnership between police organizations and others has been the strongest community policing feature across the four sites. Problem solving and organizational change, however, remained largely undeveloped. This was somewhat different in Chicago because of the overarching influence of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy. The purpose of CAPS is organizational change, not only in the arena of response to domestic violence, but across the agency, in all of its functions. CAPS has the expectation of “members engaging in proactive problem solving related to both crime and neighborhood disorder.”<sup>38</sup>

For London, KY, building community partnerships was the centerpiece of its efforts under this project. In its experience, this meant the first attempts to build a nucleus for coordinated community response. Until formation of the Laurel County Family Violence Prevention Council in November of 1998, there was no mechanism in place to link community systems responding to domestic violence. A sergeant on the London Police Department, with broad support from the chief of police, was a key participant and organizer of the council. Community engagement in London has been largely drawn in terms of the individuals involved in partnering agencies. In a rural community this is significant, because of their visibility and presence in the larger community. Activities of the London Police Department have been directed toward increasing the overall visibility of domestic violence as a community problem, via the council and longstanding community education practices, such as Domestic Violence Awareness Month activities, public speaking, teaching, poster programs, and public service announcements.

Figure 1. Chicago's Community Policing Response to Domestic Violence  
The Partners, 1999-2001



\* Area Service Liaisons were in place for the first 18 months of the case study period. CPD contracted with community-based advocates in each of the five police areas to link beat officers and others with community service agencies.

\*\* Staffing provided by the Chicago Metropolitan Battered Women's Network.

## #2: Neighborhood-Based Organizing and Problem Solving

*What is the community role? Is it mobilization, awareness, education, or action? Is it on behalf of individual battered women? What is the community role? That is the question.* – Leslie Landis, City of Chicago Domestic Violence Project Manager

As noted previously, the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence has been a key partner in shaping Chicago's response to domestic violence. It provides planning, monitoring, and evaluation services to a citywide effort that includes the Chicago Police Department, service providers, and other agencies that comprise the Domestic Violence Advocacy Coordinating Council. With staffing from the Chicago Metropolitan Battered Women's Network, it operates a 24-hour multilingual help line that is widely utilized by responding officers in the field, victims, family members, friends, co-workers, employers, and others. Since mid-1999, MODV has conducted an extensive, integrated citywide public education campaign: *There's No Room for Domestic Violence in this Neighborhood*. The campaign has used widespread public transit advertising and numerous radio spots. It has provided posters in nine different languages and printed safety plan brochures in English, Spanish, and Polish. It has distributed thousands of pocket-size guides targeted to family and friends, faith communities, health care providers, employers, and the gay and lesbian community. Every piece of literature carries the Help Line number.

Coinciding with this widespread attention to domestic violence, in January 2000 the MODV Organizing Project placed community organizers in five targeted neighborhoods. In mid-2001 they moved to five new areas. The Area Community Organizing Guides, or ACOGs, were to build awareness and "help mobilize the community to address domestic violence at the neighborhood level." They focused on key stakeholder groups, working with the Domestic Violence Liaison Officers and DV Subcommittees as a primary avenue for education and action.

Because of multiple demands on many DVLOs, such as teaching D.A.R.E. and addressing senior citizen concerns, it is unlikely that they would have been able to develop the range of mobilization activities that have emerged without the support of the MODV organizers. The DVLOs, in turn, provided the organizers with knowledge about the district, an understanding of the CPD beat team structure, and the District Advisory Committee and subcommittee process.

Over an eighteen-month period, the organizers met with DVLOs, attended DV Subcommittee meetings, and contacted educators, businesses, health care providers, members of the faith community, and domestic violence and other social service agencies within the neighborhoods. They asked: *What needs to happen in this neighborhood? What do you need to address domestic violence?*

These day-to-day contacts and activities culminated in a series of focus group discussions throughout the targeted neighborhoods, town hall meetings, and a citywide

domestic violence summit meeting that involved over 250 participants. At the summit, each of the neighborhoods presented its individual recommendations. The following illustrates recommendations from a neighborhood that is split almost evenly between African-American and Latino residents, with over half of the population living on an income that is two times below the poverty level:

- Encourage block clubs, school councils, and other community organizations to saturate the neighborhood with domestic violence information.
- Develop culturally sensitive domestic violence messages.
- Increase bilingual services and translation materials.
- Develop a one-day religious leaders Speak Out.
- Identify alternative safe places for victims to obtain emergency services.

In addition, four recommendations crossed all five organizing areas: 1) provide more affordable housing and services (community-based, follow-up, and bilingual); 2) utilize the CAPS Domestic Violence Subcommittees; 3) improve police accountability for response to domestic violence; and, 4) establish a new domestic violence court facility.

MODV organizers distilled the previous months of organizing work and community discussions into three “Calls for Action”: a day of mass leafleting; a weekend of action by faith communities; and, a youth summit on domestic violence. They recruited volunteers among the summit participants to join the planning and implementation of each event.

Neighborhood-level activities continued throughout 2002, with an emphasis on utilizing the Domestic Violence Subcommittees. As noted previously, this included training on facilitation skills and problem solving, plus efforts to expand the number of members on most DV subcommittees. MODV then convened a citywide Domestic Violence Assembly to showcase the work of its organizers and the 25 DV Subcommittees. Over 1,500 Chicago residents attended.

Chicago has, in part, answered the question – what is the community role? – by emphasizing mobilization, awareness, and education. It has put the weight of its efforts behind the attempt to galvanize public awareness and action on a neighborhood, then citywide level. The challenge is to move from recognition of domestic violence as a problem to a deeper level of involvement – and defining that involvement – without continuing to leave the response up to the police or social service agencies.

The Domestic Violence Liaison Officers, DV Subcommittees, and MODV community organizers have been cautious in designing a community role on behalf of individual battered women, acknowledging the numerous issues around safety and confidentiality. If uncertain of the answers, they have articulated the questions: Because you have discovered that there have been repeat domestic violence crimes on your block, do you go knocking on doors offering assistance? What kind of assistance? Should neighbors show up on the doorstep offering her a safe place to go? How do you approach

domestic violence victims appropriately? How do you ensure her safety? Who should offer support? The next-door neighbor? CAPS-affiliated volunteers? The domestic violence service community? The beat officer?

### **#3: Community Policing Action Team**

*How does law enforcement engage the community? First, focus on the 'community of law enforcement.'* – Deputy Julie Sobaszek, Marin County Sheriff's Office

*There's a dialogue now that wasn't there, much better communication . . . We're partners.* – Community Policing Action Team Member

In Marin County, California, the Marin County Sheriff's Office (MCSO) assigned a full-time deputy to work with Marin Abused Women's Services (MAWS) to define a community policing approach to domestic violence. A distinctive feature of this partnership was that the position was physically located within the MAWS administrative offices. Known as the Community Policing Liaison, the deputy was instrumental in recruiting members from all fifteen law enforcement agencies with jurisdiction in Marin County to participate in the Community Policing Action Team.

The foundation for the Community Policing Action Team, or CPAT, was MAWS' approach to community mobilization, known as Transforming Communities. The Transforming Communities process of change includes:

1. Individual transformation of knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs;
2. Community ownership of the issue and increased participation of community members in prevention; and,
3. Shift of social norms through increasing public alignment with the issue and positively impacting public policies and procedures.<sup>39</sup>

A central strategy of Transforming Communities is the development of Community Action Teams. Volunteers, assisted by MAWS' staff organizers, plan and implement prevention campaigns. The Community Action Team (CAT) is "an opportunity for collective action, where community members can work together to develop campaigns and events that will hold perpetrators accountable by challenging and changing the attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and policies that condone and perpetuate violence against women and children."<sup>40</sup>

The CAT model was the basis for the Community Policing Action Team. In this case, it was applied to law enforcement *as a community*. The emphasis was on building the team around patrol-level officers and their immediate supervisors, around law enforcement first-responders, because of their day-to-day experience and awareness of domestic violence. By developing CPAT members as a "knowledgeable resource and training guides," they would influence their respective agencies and the law enforcement community would link with the wider community to challenge the underpinnings of

domestic violence. Figure 2 is a graphic representation of the CPAT concept. The Community Policing Action Team also emphasized the joint roles of officers and advocates in the “co-production of safety.”

The CPAT completed a strategic planning process that identified four problem or action areas: 1) underreporting by victims and the community; 2) insufficient education about domestic violence; 3) need for a change in attitude from blaming victims to holding perpetrators accountable; and, 4) need for law enforcement to approach the “verbal domestic” as an opportunity for intervention.

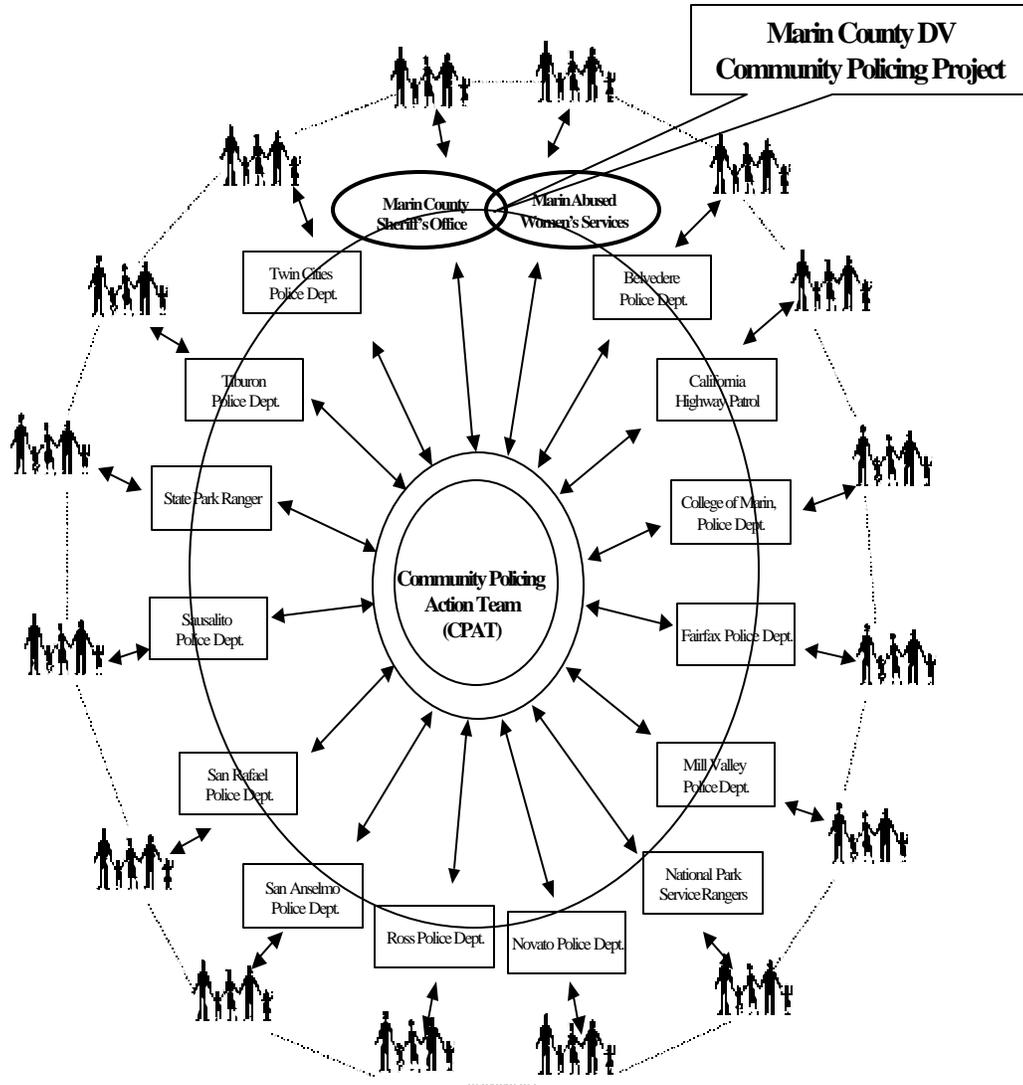
The MAWS’ COPS Team had initial expectations for more direct law enforcement involvement with community members and groups in domestic violence prevention work. This was pushed back, however, as they realized that they first needed to pay closer attention to law enforcement as a community. This meant taking cues from CPAT members as to priorities and action. Members of the COPS Team recognized that they had to pay attention to building relationships and familiarity with law enforcement and present the CPAT with realistic alternatives for action, in order to address the problems identified in the strategic plan.

The CPAT determined that its primary goal would be to develop and deliver a one-day training on domestic violence and community policing to all patrol officers and sergeants in the county (approximately 450 officers among all jurisdictions). The expectation was that this was the most significant way to affect officer understanding and response. It was the first county-wide training designed and delivered by a joint team of law enforcement and advocate trainers. The participants repeatedly cited improved partnership and collaboration between the police and advocacy community as the most distinctive accomplishment of the community policing project.

In developing the CPAT, the MCSO Deputy who served as Community Policing Liaison individually recruited CPAT members. Her position as a law enforcement officer and credibility with her colleagues throughout the county was central to their willingness to participate. It is unlikely that the CPAT would have been possible without an experienced officer in place. This was evident following reassignment of the deputy who was in the position and the lack of a replacement through either MCSO or another agency. It was difficult to maintain the cohesion and momentum built over the course of the previous two years and the Community Policing Action Team was put “on hold.”

The CPAT remains a promising model, however, and significant for whom it involved and how it came about. It was broad based and built new relationships between advocates and law enforcement. It would not have worked if it was just a law enforcement idea or just an advocate idea. Its law enforcement participants agreed to facilitate change within their own ranks. The COPS Team organizers encouraged the CPAT members to keep the big picture in mind: long term change in the social acceptability of violence toward women.

Figure 2. Marin County Community Policing Action Team



## #4: Access and Collaboration

*[DAIP] has a really uncanny way of bringing issues to us, even if we don't like it.*  
– Chief Scott Lyons, DPD

*[DPD] stayed with the process; they were open to talking.* – Ty Schroyer, DAIP

Since the early 1980s, the Duluth, MN, Police Department (DPD) has worked with battered women's advocates and community organizations to develop its response to domestic violence. It was among the first law enforcement agencies in the United States to require arrest on probable cause for misdemeanor assaults and to guide officers via specific policies and training. Duluth remains distinctive for the level of access that community-based advocates – specifically, the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP) – have to domestic violence policy and training within the police department. Duluth grounded its involvement in the BWJP community policing project in its history of access and collaboration and used broad-based work groups to revamp law enforcement policies and reassess its community response.

For the last four months of 1999, the dual arrest rate in Duluth averaged 13.5%, and was as high as 24% in December. DAIP contacts with battered women suggested that women were sometimes being arrested after responding in self-defense against a threat or assault. In other situations, they were arrested because the policy required an arrest, without predominant aggressor considerations. The DPD policy had remained essentially unchanged since the 1980s.

DAIP prepared a draft of a new policy and presented it to the chief of police, who assigned departmental personnel to continue the process. Over a twelve-month period, a ten-member police-community work group met regularly to review drafts, discuss the intent of different sections, and determine what would and wouldn't work with the proposed language, and why.

One participant described the process as one of “very spirited discussions,” while another observed that “we argued out every sentence.” DPD and DAIP stayed with it, however, and produced a policy that requires officers to make a self-defense determination when there is evidence of violence by multiple parties and arrest the predominant aggressor if self-defense cannot be established. They did not confine their attention to multiple offender issues. They also added or revised provisions regarding supervisory review, response to children, and victim assistance.

In the face of police-community partnerships that are often in name only, Duluth's experience illustrates some of the factors that contribute to building a more lasting, genuine partnership. On the DPD side, the leadership has been willing to “[open] the department to public scrutiny around an issue, [open] it to a community voice,” as DAIP described the relationship. It publicly emphasizes a commitment to community partnerships. DAIP, in turn, “recognizes the uniqueness of its access to the police department. It's respectful, willing to do a lot of work.”

The level of access and collaboration reflect a relationship that has been built steadily over twenty years. Many of the individuals involved have remained the same. There has been an ongoing willingness to stay at the table: to ‘agree to meet and agree to disagree.’ Recent changes in police leadership and at DAIP will test how deeply the level of access and collaboration has been established within both organizations. The policy revision and related training involved several new players in both agencies, which may be decisive in maintaining this police-community partnership.

## **#5: The Safety and Accountability Audit as a Community Problem-Solving Tool**

*What’s it like for a well-defined coordinated community response to reinvent itself?* – Ellen Pence

Revising the DPD policy was the initial focal point of Duluth’s participation in the BWJP community policing project. In the fall of 2000, however, four battered women were murdered in St. Louis County and Duluth’s attention shifted to examining its community response, including law enforcement and prosecution policies and protocols, the court’s response, orders for protection, and the DAIP role in ongoing monitoring and systems’ advocacy.

DAIP reviewed and summarized the community response to over 100 cases initiated with law enforcement contact. It prepared a report that identified 55 problems where safety was compromised or offender accountability was minimized. In response, Chief Scott Lyons convened a summit meeting of agency leaders and challenged them to “re-energize our efforts.” Out of this meeting, four broad-based work groups were formed to recommend solutions to the problems identified in the report. Thirty-three people from 13 different agencies participated, including many front-line practitioners.

In reviewing the 100 cases and preparing the initial report, DAIP used methodology from the Safety And Accountability Audit (Safety Audit)<sup>41</sup> as a way of examining the various points of institutional action that comprised Duluth’s coordinated community response. Via a text analysis of police reports, prosecution files, order for protection cases, and DAIP records, they produced a report that included: detailed case studies of 17 offenders, including three who had murdered their female partners; analysis of the time lapse between arrest and disposition for all 1999 domestic abuse arrests; and, analysis of 99 order for protection case files. This report provided the raw material for the four work groups to shape 90 recommendations for action and “build two key issues into the structure of case management in responding to domestic assault . . . the safety of victims and the accountability of offenders.”<sup>42</sup>

DAIP had previous experience in 1998 conducting a Safety Audit with the St. Louis County Sheriff’s Office (SLCSO). In order to develop a new domestic violence policy, SLCSO formed an audit team comprised of management, patrol officers, jail staff,

a judge, a probation agent, three women's advocates, and representatives from DAIP and Praxis International. Their work led to development of a new policy, and to a handbook and training guide that was intended to be a "user-friendly" manual. It also included a laminated pocket-card that provides deputies with a report writing checklist, risk questions, the self-defense definition, predominant aggressor considerations, and criteria for determining the validity of protection orders.<sup>43</sup>

This experience clearly influenced DAIP's approach to the community policing project, both in developing the revised Duluth Police Department policy and in building the case for a broad-based effort to revitalize the coordinated community response. The Safety Audit is an approach that, in many ways, maximizes the core community policing principles of community engagement and problem solving. It is grounded in the broad participation of practitioners and community members. It is a systematic method of observation and analysis that has the additional feature of being developed within the context of the key issues of victim safety and offender accountability. The application of the Safety Audit to policy development and evaluation of community response illustrates its use for measuring system accountability, as well.

## **The Failure and Promise of Community**

*The only form of public accountability that has the power to guarantee the safety of women and justice for survivors is the resolve of the community to denounce such violence.* – Annanya Bhattacharjee<sup>44</sup>

Articulating who and what is the *community* has bedeviled community policing discussions.<sup>45</sup> Is it everyone and anyone? Is it defined by geography? Is it defined by common interest? Is it a single entity, or multiple, often competing entities? Is it defined by gender, race, and class? Are police apart from or part of the community? Are they in, but not of the community? Are offenders a part of the community?

On the surface, it is simplistic to say that the *community* in community policing is all of the above, but it is at once that simple and that complex. Community policing, with its principles of engagement, problem solving, and organizational change, requires police to develop new relationships with the array of individuals, groups, neighborhoods, and interests that comprise their community. There is the rhetoric of community policing on the one hand, with its mantra of community partnership, and there is the reality of stepping out of familiar routines to challenge past practices and figure out who, how, and whether those outside of policing will be involved in directing the work of the organization. As various observers have noted, policing has displayed mixed success in building community partnerships among its varied and independent constituencies: “for the most part . . . community policing initiatives have failed to involve communities in meaningful and effective ways.”<sup>46</sup>

There has perhaps been more success in community engagement in the response to domestic violence than in other aspects of police work. Battered women and their allies kept a persistent foot in the door (and sometimes a well-chosen lawsuit in hand), getting the attention of those in policing who were receptive and willing to consider a different response to domestic violence, and a different role for community voices in shaping that response. A coordinated community response has tended to develop most completely where police agencies have also been willing to experiment with community policing.

The battered women’s movement, domestic violence organizing, and criminal and civil justice reforms of the past twenty years have challenged the failure of the public and community institutions to speak up and to provide protection, support, and accountability. The pull of keeping domestic violence behind closed doors remains powerful, even after more than two decades of shelters, crisis lines, advocacy, police training, and legal reform.

Each of the BWJP partner sites has tried to address some aspect of the failure of community. For London, it was building a basic framework for community response and investing a wider segment of the public, and law enforcement, in acknowledging the problem. As one advocate expressed it, “it’s still ‘just a domestic,’ even when there’s been a killing.” In Chicago, the emphasis has been on mobilizing neighborhood-level

change among police and city residents. Duluth set out to address problems in community systems that had lost their focus on safety and accountability. Marin County sought to engage law enforcement as a community and thereby make a wider impact on violence against women.

If *community engagement* is at its core, then community policing promises to be more responsive to community in its broadest sense, including battered women and including diverse communities of color and affiliation. The experience of the BWJP partners suggests that there is potential within the principles of community policing, applied within the context of leadership from battered women's advocates, of moving beyond a narrow criminal justice system response and develop broader community capacity to respond to violence against women. The experiences of Chicago, Duluth, Marin County, and London suggest ways in which this potential might, in part, be realized.

This potential faces a significant barrier, however, in the historically poor relationship between American policing and culturally and racially distinct communities. In addition, some of the tactics used under the name of community policing, such as zero tolerance policies, saturation patrols in specific neighborhoods, and the drug war and its attendant policing practices have taken a harsh toll on communities of color and on young African-American men, in particular. In Dane County, WI, for example, with its major city, Madison, long known as a model community policing city, the racial disparity for drug offenses averaged 200 to one (200:1) in 1992-97, during the influx of "Weed and Seed" funds in specific neighborhoods.<sup>47</sup> There is the risk that zero tolerance approaches and saturation patrols can undermine the very community engagement that might promote collective efficacy, in its broadest sense. "Without adequate mechanisms for the diverse communities within most jurisdictions to register their demand for or rejection of zero tolerance tactics, those tactics may directly undercut the objective of partnership building by alienating potential community partners."<sup>48</sup>

The history of police-community interaction in a particular community can put women of color in a difficult double bind: wanting police protection from battering, but not wanting their partners to be drawn further into the criminal justice system. Women of color "are between a rock and a hard place: perhaps at greater risk for domestic violence than white women because of poverty (of self and of partners); unable to trust the police for themselves or their partners; less able to rely on internal community resources because of low awareness of domestic violence; and confronted with reluctance . . . to further criminalize men of color."<sup>49</sup>

Chicago's experience illustrates the complexity and challenges in reshaping a police response that attempts to put community engagement at its center. Of the four partner sites, Chicago was most notable and most deliberate in attempting to address the diversity of its community. Chicago is also the most racially and culturally diverse of the locations. The Domestic Violence Liaison Officers, the DV Subcommittees, the MODV community organizers, the hotline, the *There's No Room in this Neighborhood* campaign,

and the citywide summit and assembly all reflected efforts to include a variety of participants and culturally-distinct activities and materials.

All of this occurred within the larger context of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy. The CAPS mission defines the Chicago Police Department as “part of, and empowered by the community.”<sup>50</sup> The hallmark feature of CAPS has been the effort to draw the diverse communities of Chicago into partnerships and problem solving with the police. CAPS also set out to “mend the breach between police and Chicago’s large minority communities.”<sup>51</sup> Taking stock of CAPS after its first decade, the Northwestern University evaluation notes some success in building community involvement, changing residents’ perceptions of police, and in reducing crime and neighborhood problems. This has been more true for some communities than others, however. Black residents have reported the greatest participation in CAPS, particularly at the beat meeting level, and the bulk of improvements. Latinos report worsening conditions, however, and are among the residents least likely to be involved in beat meetings and other activities, along with the city’s new Asian residents. While overall views of police improved, the gulf between whites and others was nearly as great in 2001 as it was when CAPS was launched in 1993. “In the aggregate, less than half of blacks and Latinos still approved of police performance.”<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, “in less than a decade, communities have gained a sense of ownership of beat boundaries and the officers who work within them . . . beats are now the lines along which many residents define their personal territory and around which organizations mount problem-solving projects.”<sup>53</sup>

In order to realize the potential of community policing to support domestic violence intervention, police-community partnerships must be broad-based and genuine. Police cannot retain “‘the expert’ role, [with], the community relegated to passive participants . . . and local agencies providing their services where directed.”<sup>54</sup> It requires acknowledging the leadership of community-based advocates. It also requires a frank assessment of police practice in diverse communities.

Realizing the potential of community policing to support domestic violence intervention requires understanding the complexity of battered women’s lives, the risks they face, their survival skills, and the many strategies and supports necessary to achieve safety. “Perhaps above all else, it is vital to keep a focus on the lived experience of victims of domestic violence in all its diversity and complexity. Understanding of the dynamic and purposes of women’s coping skills, their survival strategies, and their help seeking should guide developments. The lives of women, men, and children are not simple. We should avoid putting too simple solutions in place for them.”<sup>55</sup> The promise of community policing, *in partnership with victim advocacy*, is that it can be one of many tools and strategies for building safety, in exploring new roles for police and communities.

## **Appendix A: Defining Core Principles of Community Engagement and Problem Solving**

Effective community engagement and problem solving, as applied to domestic violence, involves actions and strategies that centralize victim safety, improve offender accountability, and change the community climate to one of intolerance of domestic violence. The goal of intervention is to stop the violence; the focus is to protect victims from further harm. The Battered Women's Justice Project has identified seven core principles of coordinated community response that are adapted here to provide direction to community policing intervention in domestic violence.

### **1) Respond to the Needs of Victims**

Practices must respond to the articulated needs of victims, whose lives are most impacted by police and community actions. Safe housing and free and confidential advocacy services are essential.

### **2) Focus on Changing the Offender and System**

The community and its institutions, not the victim, must hold the offender accountable from initial response through restrictions on offender behavior. Focus on changing the offender's behavior or the system's response.

### **3) Recognize Differential Impacts on Different Communities**

All problem solving must recognize how the impact differs, depending on the economic, cultural, ethnic, immigration status, sexual orientation, and other circumstances of the victim and offender. Non-majority-culture community members must be central to mobilization and problem solving.

### **4) Address the Context of Violence**

Most incidents of violence are part of a larger pattern and history of violence. The need for protection from further harm and the need to create a deterrent for the assailant should guide problem solving and community action.

### **5) Avoid Responses That Further Endanger Victims**

Community practices should balance the need for standardized institutional responses with the need for individualized responses which recognize potential victim consequences for confronting the offender, validate victim input, encourage victim autonomy, and support victims' relationships with their children.

**6) Link with Others**

Community engagement and problem solving must be built on cooperative relationships and on communication linkages and procedures to ensure consistency between the civil/criminal responses.

**7) Involve Battered Women in Monitoring Changes**

A group of advocates and battered women, **outside community systems**, should continually monitor mobilization strategies and problem solving to evaluate their effectiveness in protecting victims and to guide the process.



## Appendix C: Chicago Case Study

Prepared for the Battered Women's Justice Project by  
Jane M. Sadusky

Chicago was one of four partner sites<sup>ii</sup> that collaborated with the Battered Women's Justice Project Criminal Justice Center to examine the ways that domestic violence intervention can move beyond the limits of the criminal justice system and develop the capacity of diverse communities to engage in active problem solving. This case study examines Chicago's experience with the application of community policing strategies to domestic violence between 1999 and 2001.

### The Community

Spanning 228 square miles alongside Lake Michigan, Chicago is the third largest city in the United States, with a population just under three million.

The 2000 Census reports 42% of the city as white, with 36.8% African-American and 4.3% Asian. The proportion of the population identifying as Latino grew from 20% in 1990 to 26% in 2000. In 1990, 29% of the population above the age of five spoke a language other than English at home. Approximately 17% of the population speaks Spanish as their primary language. The city also has a large Polish-speaking population. Per capita personal income in 1999 was \$34,743.

The Chicago Police Department is the second largest municipal police agency in the country. It employs 13,500 sworn officers and 3,000 civilian employees. Police services are delivered via 279 neighborhood-level police beats, which are grouped into five areas and 25 districts.

General Order 99-07 governs the department's response to domestic violence calls. The policy provides for preferred arrest, except for violations of orders for protection and bail bonds, which require arrest. Under Illinois law and departmental policy, when a victim wants to leave the scene, officers must provide or arrange transportation to a medical facility or "nearby place of shelter or safety." Supplemental orders cover orders for protection, requirements to provide a Domestic Incident Notice to victims, and the role of the Domestic Violence Liaison Officer (see later discussion).

The Chicago Police Department responds to an average of 570 "domestic related" calls for service each day, over 200,000 annually. The tally includes three "event types": domestic disturbance, defined by GO 99-07 as a "verbal altercation," which is the

---

<sup>ii</sup> The other sites were Duluth, MN; Marin County, CA; and, London, KY. This project was supported by Grant No. 1977-WT-VX-K006 awarded by the Office on Violence Against Women, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

designation for about 75% of the calls; domestic battery, accounting for around 22% of calls; and violation of order for protection, at 3%.<sup>56</sup>

Of all domestic related calls for service, approximately 67,000 to 70,000 (33%-35%) are classified as crimes and go to the detective division via a case report. Domestic Violence Detectives in each of the five areas review the case reports and may initiate a follow-up investigation or evidence collection. Detectives also flag higher risk cases for the Targeted Abuser Call (TAC). Established by the Cook County State's Attorney's Office, TAC provides intensive support and prosecution of high-risk misdemeanor cases, with the goal of intervening before the violence escalates to homicide. TAC accepts about 160 cases per month. Victims receive a comprehensive array of services, protection and information via a team that includes prosecutors, victim specialists, investigators, a social service coordinator, community-based advocates and a civil attorney.

Chicago has 211 designated domestic violence shelter beds. Requests for shelter routinely exceed the available space. Battered women often turn to homeless shelters, which do not offer domestic violence-specific services and support, as well as family members, friends, and social service agencies. The city operates a 24-hour multilingual Help Line that has identified 172 different sites offering some type of domestic violence services, including shelter, counseling, and legal advocacy. Launched on January 1, 1999, the Help Line was established to serve primarily as a clearinghouse to link victims with community-based services. In its first eighteen months of operation, the Help Line averaged over 700 calls per month, with 33% of callers seeking shelter, 33% seeking legal advocacy, 23% requesting counseling, and the remainder calling for other information.<sup>iii</sup> In the twelve months between October 2000 and October 2001, the average calls per month increased to 1,052 and the requests for shelter to 43%. Ninety-two per cent (92%) of callers are linked to a community based service as a result of their Help Line contact, although only 27% find the service within their preferred geographic location, whether in their neighborhood or near work.<sup>57</sup>

A 28-member Domestic Violence Advocacy Coordinating Council, established by the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence, advocates for funding, encourages coordination across community agencies and systems, and addresses policy issues that affect domestic violence services citywide.

## **The Partners**

### The Chicago Police Department and CAPS

In 1993, under then-Superintendent Matt L. Rodriguez, Chicago initiated CAPS, the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy. Expanding city-wide in 1995 from five experimental districts, CAPS was intended to be "a wholesale transformation of the Department, from a largely centralized, incident-driven, crime suppression agency to a

---

<sup>iii</sup> The Help Line data system records up to two needs for service for each caller.

more decentralized, customer-driven organization dedicated to solving problems, preventing crime, and improving the quality of life in each of Chicago's neighborhoods."<sup>58</sup>

Centered in the Patrol Division as "a strategy to address chronic crime and disorder problems," CAPS came with a new mission statement:

*The Chicago Police Department, as part of, and empowered by the community, is committed to protect the lives, property and rights of all people, to maintain order, and to enforce the law impartially. We will provide quality police service in partnership with other members of the community. To fulfill our mission, we will strive to attain the highest degree of ethical behavior and professional conduct at all times.*<sup>59</sup>

General Order 96-3 presented this new "comprehensive citywide plan of action":<sup>60</sup>

1. An organizational model that promotes teamwork at all levels.
2. Members working in partnership with the community and other City service providers.
3. The use of beat, district, and area level planning processes.
4. Impartial enforcement of the law.
5. Prompt response to serious crime and life-threatening emergencies.
6. Members engaging in proactive problem solving related to both crime and neighborhood disorder.
7. Time management techniques that support problem solving.
8. Use of technology to collect and analyze data at the beat level to support problem solving.
9. Support of beat-level problem solving by district and other Department members.

In 1999, CAPS evaluators observed that "in important respects, community policing has become a routine aspect of the city's life."

Within the police department, the program is no longer described as "just smoke and mirrors," nor is it expected to disappear after a mayoral election. Indeed, there is widespread consensus from within that the department will continue to keep CAPS on course. Evaluation surveys document that significant numbers of officers who were dubious about the program during the early years have now come to accept it as a feature of their daily life. Many officers at all levels of the organization believe that the increased interaction, information sharing and sometimes joint action by police and residents have greatly improved their relationship with the public, especially among knowledgeable, involved and vocal neighborhood activists.<sup>61</sup>

CAPS implementation has been an ongoing process of dealing with its direction, changes in police leadership, political in-fighting, officer resistance, and community mistrust, along with confusion about the mechanics of problem solving. These problems

have not been universally overcome. CAPS evaluators have seen the best and the worst examples of potential and resistance in the CPD's attempt at organizational and community change.<sup>62</sup> In the same report that they characterized community policing as routine, they found that "CAPS implementation is at a crossroads. While the structure of the organization has changed to accommodate the new program, the new roles and responsibilities it created are being only fitfully carried out. Innovation has reached a standstill."<sup>63</sup> Almost eighteen months later they found that the department had "done a creditable job of recasting the direction of the program," but it was "too soon to attempt to assess the consequences of these reorganization efforts."<sup>64</sup>

CAPS emphasizes problem solving and community partnership, implemented at the neighborhood level via 279 police "beats." Beat teams consist of nine officers and a sergeant. They are assigned to a beat for a minimum of one year and are expected to spend their time responding to calls and working on problem solving and prevention projects.

Beat teams must convene a community meeting at least once each quarter, although most hold monthly meetings. Beat meetings are open to residents and are advertised via flyers, neighborhood newspapers, and community organizations. Participants might include residents, business owners, representatives from community organizations and churches, police personnel, staff from city agencies, and on occasion elected officials, such as city council members. They are the primary forum for community members and police to exchange information and identify, prioritize, and analyze crime problems. A CPD training bulletin describes them as "the most common and conspicuous way in which the police-community partnership is developed. They are also an essential part of the beat planning and problem-solving process."<sup>65</sup>

The beats are organized into twenty-five police districts, each of which has a District Advisory Committee (DAC). This is another forum for community participation and partnership, designed to support problem solving at the beat level, but with a broader emphasis. As described in the Department's training bulletin, "while the beats address specific crime and disorder problems, the DACs focus more on the underlying causes and conditions that breed crime in the community." The DAC works largely via subcommittees, two of which are mandatory: Court Advocacy and Senior Citizen. Others address issues of community concern, as defined by DAC members. While not mandatory, since 1998 the Department has encouraged DACs to establish domestic violence subcommittees and 21 of the 25 districts have done so.

The Department's application of CAPS to domestic violence follows the beat team and District Advisory Committee Subcommittee structure, with additional features to address specific needs and issues. These include:

Domestic Violence Operations Coordinator – Created in 1996, this position provides "a single point of contact for the development of policy and operational response for domestic violence"<sup>66</sup> within CPD. With supervisory rank of sergeant and located in the Superintendent's office, the Coordinator works with the

Mayor's Domestic Violence Advocacy Coordinating Council and other city, criminal justice, and community organizations to develop Chicago's intervention strategies. The Coordinator also troubleshoots district-level problems related to police response, collaborates in development and delivery of training, and keeps officers informed about criminal justice issues related to domestic violence and police response.

Domestic Violence Liaison Officers (DVLO) – Each of the 25 districts has a DVLO working out of the Community Policing Office. Their role is “to facilitate police/community domestic violence partnerships and problem solving at the district level.”<sup>67</sup> They receive additional training on domestic violence and act as a resource for district officers and the community. They work with Area Service Liaisons to identify available services and represent the district on domestic violence subcommittees. They also work with organizers from the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence to build community interest and action.

Area Domestic Violence Service Liaisons (ASL) – During eighteen months of the case study period, the Department contracted with community based advocates in each of the five police districts to link beat officers with community service agencies. ASLs participated in training, met with community-based organizations to coordinate service to victims referred by beat officers, and helped beat officers troubleshoot problems. They also kept the Domestic Violence Operations Coordinator informed of services and issues and provided technical assistance to District Advisory Council subcommittees. The positions lapsed when the grant period ended.

Domestic Violence Detectives – Working from the Detective Division, nearly 200 detectives, approximately one-third of the division, have been trained as domestic violence specialists. Approximately 60 are assigned across the five areas at any one time. They have follow-up responsibility for investigating domestic violence crimes and conducting targeted investigations of high-risk domestic violence cases. In addition, a Detective Division Sergeant in each of the five areas serves as the Area Domestic Violence Coordinator and is responsible for the conduct of all domestic violence investigations.

ICAM2 (Information Collection for Automated Mapping) – Computer-based crime mapping provides the officer with a map of all “households at risk” on their beat and a printout of all incidents involving a particular household. “Armed with this information, officers can develop specific strategies to monitor and intervene at households where there is an increased risk for violence.”<sup>68</sup> The district DVLOs are charged with providing ICAM2 domestic violence information to beat officers. They provide ICAM statistical information to DAC subcommittees, beat meetings, and the community.

The Chicago Police Department describes its response to domestic violence as extending “beyond the first responding officer, involving a coordinated effort between different Departmental units, organizations and City agencies.”

### Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence (MODV)

Established in 1997, MODV, along with the Advocacy Coordinating Council is charged with “developing a citywide, coordinated response to domestic violence.”<sup>69</sup> Working out of the MODV is the Domestic Violence Project Manager, a key player in the design of this response. The project manager coordinates the response of city agencies, facilitates public awareness, monitors service availability, and collaborates with government and private agencies to improve domestic violence response. MODV provides planning, monitoring, and evaluation services to the citywide effort. MODV and the Chicago Metropolitan Battered Women’s Network operate a twenty-four hour toll-free multilingual Domestic Violence Help Line, with the Mayor’s Office providing the equipment and facilities and the Network providing the staff.

In mid-1999 MODV initiated an extensive, integrated citywide public education campaign. It included widespread public transit advertising and numerous radio spots on multiple stations. The campaign provided neighborhood posters, *There’s No Room for Domestic Violence in this Neighborhood*, in nine different languages<sup>70</sup> and printed safety plan brochures in English, Spanish, and Polish. The campaign printed thousands of pocketsize guidelines on what to do about domestic violence for family and friends, the faith community, health care providers, and the gay and lesbian community, plus guidelines on teen dating violence, elder abuse, and victim rights in the workplace. Every piece of literature, from bus placards to a bookmark size abuse checklist, carried the Help Line number.

### Mayor’s Domestic Violence Advocacy Coordinating Council (DVACC)

Comprised of the city’s domestic violence project manager and representatives from the police department, community organizations, schools, and city, county, and state agencies, the council was organized around the goals of reducing domestic violence crime and increasing victim services. Established in 1997, the 28-member DVACC advocates for funding, encourages coordination of services, and addresses policy issues that impact service delivery.

### Community-Based Service Providers

The police department’s relationship with domestic violence shelters and advocacy programs has been built primarily via the Domestic Violence Liaison Officers and the Area Service Liaisons, the Domestic Violence Advocacy Coordinating Council, and Help Line contacts.

The Chicago Metropolitan Battered Women's Network, a coalition of domestic violence service agencies, has a representative on the Advocacy Coordinating Council. The Help Line is a collaboration between the Network and the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence, with the Network providing the contracted staff.

In addition to the Battered Women's Network, the Advocacy Coordinating Council also has representation from four shelters, a domestic violence counseling program, a civil legal services program, and an abuser services program.

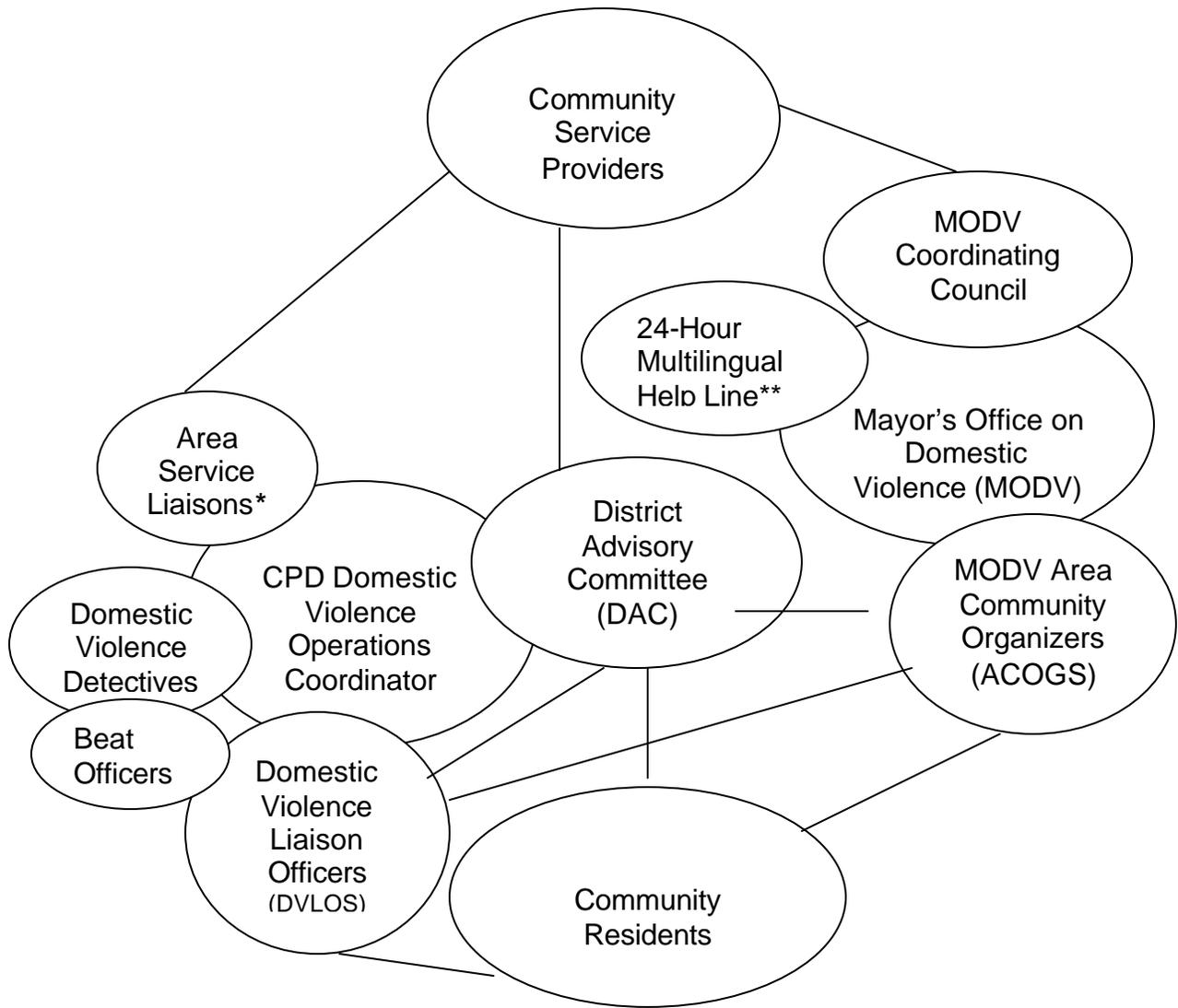
### Community Residents

Resident involvement comes primarily via the CPD District Advisory Committee (DAC) subcommittees on domestic violence. The hallmark feature of CAPS has been the effort to draw the diverse communities of Chicago into partnerships and problem solving with the police. This extends to the case report form that officers provide to crime victims, including domestic violence victims, which encourages involvement in beat community meetings.<sup>71</sup> Monthly neighborhood beat meetings provide another avenue for resident involvement, along with community trainings, forums, and other events.

The Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence has also drawn community residents into its work via its organizing project (described below). There has been some overlap between resident involvement in the DAC subcommittees and participation in MODV-sponsored events.

Figure 1 illustrates the partners and main points of connection in Chicago's effort to apply community policing principles and strategies to domestic violence.

Figure 1. Chicago's Community Policing Response to Domestic Violence  
The Partners, 1999-2001



\* Area Service Liaisons were in place for the first 18 months of the case study period.

\*\* In collaboration with the Chicago Metropolitan Battered Women's Network.

## Goals

*Domestic violence is a serious crime against the individual and society. The Chicago Police Department seeks to reduce the incidence and severity of domestic violence in our communities through coordinated partnership involving law enforcement, domestic violence service providers, prosecutors, and the community. [Chicago Police Department General Order 99-07, July 30, 1999]*

Chicago has “the single goal of reducing domestic violence crime and increasing victim services,” as described in a departmental publication outlining the Chicago Police Department’s response to domestic violence. Defined in the mission statement of the Domestic Violence Advocacy Coordinating Council, the goal is “to create conditions which insure that victims are provided with effective protection and support and that perpetrators are held accountable for violent acts.”

The department’s application of CAPS to domestic violence has occurred within the larger context of a citywide strategic plan to reduce violence, known as the Chicago Violence Prevention Strategic Plan. As announced by Mayor Richard M. Daley, “We need to focus on violence not just as a law enforcement problem but as a public health problem that can be addressed through programs that seek to prevent violence. Safe neighborhoods begin with safe families.” *Safe Neighborhoods Are Everybody’s Business* have become the watchwords for governmental and community-based organizations throughout the city, with the Department of Public Health, the Chicago Police Department, and the Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence prominent among them.

The *Chicago Response Protocol* describes the CPD response to domestic violence in the context of community policing.

Under the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS), the Chicago Police Department recognizes that partnerships and targeted problem solving are pivotal to reducing domestic violence crime in our communities. The Chicago Police Department has structured its domestic violence response to support community-based efforts in Chicago. The focus of our program is the primary responder – the patrol officer. The responsibility for ensuring an appropriate investigation and access to resources for victims falls to the primary responder. Therefore, General Order 99-07 and the Chicago Response Protocol focus on providing the field officer with the tools to meet this responsibility.<sup>72</sup>

Completed in December 2000, the *Chicago Response Protocol* is a collaborative project by the CPD, Cook County State’s Attorney’s Office and the Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence. It sets forth responsibilities, expectations, and information about police response, prosecution, and victim information. It includes CPD general orders and training bulletins pertaining to domestic violence, forms, and a description of CAPS. Copies of the complete Protocol are located in the twenty-five District Community Policing Offices and each front office. In the spring of 2001, all officers received a

brochure summarizing key features of the Protocol, accompanied by training to all watches, delivered by the CPD and State's Attorney's Office. The brochure has been translated into Spanish and Polish and widely distributed to city residents.

Throughout the Chicago Response Protocol, officers are reminded of the Department's commitment to community policing and its application to domestic violence. For example:

*The CPD recognizes that partnerships and targeted problem solving are pivotal to reducing domestic violence crime in our communities. The role of the DVLO is designed to facilitate police/community domestic violence partnerships and problem solving at the district level. By being actively engaged in the community and serving as a district-based resource on domestic violence issues for field officers and the community, the DVLO is the key to a coordinated police/community response to domestic violence.*

*The ASL [Area Service Liaison] will provide technical knowledge on domestic violence service issues facilitating district-based applications of the CAPS problem-solving model to domestic violence.*

*[The] Domestic Violence Subcommittee provides the foundation by which the police/community partnership can come together and begin targeted problem solving on the issue of domestic violence, as it exists within the district.*

Beneath the larger canopy of reducing domestic violence crime, improving services and support for victims, and holding offenders accountable, the CPD has consistently expressed the goals of targeted problem solving, community involvement, and partnerships. The effort has been both promising and problematic, much like the broader CAPS implementation.

## **Findings**

### Community Engagement and Partnership

*What is the community role? Is it mobilization, awareness, education, or action? Is it on behalf of individual battered women? What is the community role? That is the question. [Leslie Landis, City of Chicago Domestic Violence Project Manager]*

The most challenging and most elusive aspect of police and community partnership and problem solving in Chicago has been engaging community residents in the process. Those associated with community-based organizations, such as shelters and legal advocacy programs, or public agencies such as public health, schools, and courts, have been the most visible members of police-community partnerships responding to domestic violence, primarily via forums such as the Domestic Violence Advocacy

Coordinating Council and on-going work with Domestic Violence Liaison Officers and Area Service Liaisons.

By building partnerships between community based service organizations, community members, community institutions, and the police, it is the goal of the CPD under CAPS to support and augment prosecution of domestic violence and ensure greater victim safety within neighborhoods. While Chicago has begun *problem solving* around domestic violence with its institutional partners, the next challenge is to organize the community to facilitate problem solving *at the community level*. . . *The goal of all partners is to develop the capacity of diverse communities to engage in active problem solving on the crime of domestic violence.*<sup>73</sup>

The discussion of evidence collection in the *Chicago Response Protocol* makes a claim for wider community involvement because of CAPS.

Officers should be aware that, as a result of the Department's community policing philosophy, community involvement in active problem solving to reduce domestic violence has increased. Community members are more willing to become involved in the domestic disturbance and play an active role as witnesses.

Whether this, in fact, occurs and with what frequency remains untested, however. According to Sgt. Judith Martin, Domestic Violence Operations Coordinator, "we want officers to understand that there are people around to talk to," and that through canvassing and interviewing witnesses, they may well find a higher level of community cooperation. Her impression, from reading case reports, is that officers are locating witnesses to domestic violence crimes via neighborhood contacts and residents' willingness to come forward.

It is clear that the partnership between the Chicago Police Department and Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence has drawn community members to discussion and action on domestic violence, from Domestic Violence Subcommittees and neighborhood beat meetings to focus groups, town hall meetings, and a citywide summit.

#### Domestic Violence Subcommittees

The Chicago Police Department has designated the District Advisory Committee Domestic Violence Subcommittees as the main avenue for community involvement and problem solving. This is articulated in an addendum (July 30, 1999) to General Order 99-07, the Department's domestic violence policy, establishing the role and responsibilities of the Domestic Violence Liaison Officer.

The Domestic Violence Subcommittee provides the foundation by which the police/community partnership can come together and begin targeted problem solving on the issue of domestic violence, as it exists within the district.

The larger CAPS evaluation has found subcommittees problematic, largely because domestic violence is not an issue that “resonates with the community.” It is not the kind of problem that brings residents and business owners forward in the way that gang violence, drug dealing, prostitution, or graffiti has brought them together. While the Department “strongly encouraged” DACs to establish domestic violence subcommittees, and 21 of the 25 districts have them in place, “many of those have been cited as among the weakest subcommittees on their DACs.” The evaluation offers this observation and analysis.

Domestic violence subcommittees were described by one chair as “a subcommittee that was forced on us.” He admitted that the domestic violence group was “not doing too well,” explaining that “no one is getting involved . . . It’s a difficult topic to address, and I think a lot of people are uncomfortable with it.” Another DAC member explained the subcommittee’s failure in terms of the futility of organizing a group of residents around an issue that was so personal and controversial. “What can they do?” he asked. “I mean, besides hold meetings?” Lack of grass roots support for domestic violence subcommittees was in some places the reason for their stagnation. In other districts, the idea was well received, but members failed to find a role for the community. A Chair from one such DAC noted that “batteries are the district’s biggest crime and many of those are related to domestic violence,” but she lamented that the domestic violence subcommittee consisted of “one community policing officer who now and then passes out flyers.”<sup>74</sup>

According to the CAPS evaluators, along with community reluctance to become involved, the domestic violence subcommittees, as well as other subcommittees cited as least effective, did not have easy access to resources and assistance from the CAPS Implementation Office organizers and service representatives.

Subcommittee members interviewed for this report acknowledged the difficulty in generating wider community interest in domestic violence. One member, who is also an experienced neighborhood beat meeting facilitator, noted the general reluctance of people to participate, “when you add domestic violence on top, people don’t care much about talking about it.” When asked about the challenges the subcommittees face, “trying to get the neighborhood involved” was the common theme. “The subject matter [is the biggest challenge]. It’s not something people like to talk about.” “The community population is the biggest barrier, and businesses in the area. I’m not sure how interested [they are] in hearing about domestic violence.” One member noted that at first they tried to draw in community members, but “it’s hard to get people to meetings. If you appear, it equals being a victim.” They decided to change strategies and tried generating interest through other channels, primarily by public education activities. Now, their “goal for this year is to try and talk to every group in the district and share information with each other.”

Subcommittees typically have a small core membership of five to seven individuals, including the DVLO. They characterize their accomplishments as “getting information

out there, letting people know, helping victims know about services and raising awareness.” They see the subcommittees playing a role as “a source of support and advocacy.” Their activities reflect a variety of efforts to promote the Domestic Violence Helpline and generate community discussion and interest:

- Organizing a candlelight vigil at the criminal court for Domestic Violence Awareness month.
- Leafleting supermarket customers and public transit stops with the Helpline number and other domestic violence information.
- Presentations to neighborhood beat meetings.
- Community forums and workshops.

In general, the CPD has found that participation in beat meetings and subcommittees tends to draw individuals who already have a high level of community involvement. This is true of the Domestic Violence Subcommittees. In addition, most members have a professional interest in the issue of domestic violence, via domestic violence and child abuse service agencies and schools. The demands on their time can make it, as one member noted, “tough to get people together and to keep it going; everyone has a full-time job.”

#### MODV Organizers

In addition to the work of the DV Subcommittees and the Domestic Violence Liaison Officers, neighborhood-level involvement has been encouraged by organizers provided by the Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence. Because of multiple demands on many DVLOs, such as teaching D.A.R.E. and addressing senior citizen concerns, it is unlikely that they would have been able to develop the range of domestic violence mobilization activities that have emerged without the support of the MODV organizers. The DVLOs, in turn, provide the organizers with knowledge about the district, an understanding of beat team meetings and the DAC and subcommittee process, and a link to the Area Service Liaisons. Community engagement reflects the combined efforts of the CPD Domestic Violence Coordinator, DVLOs, DAC Domestic Violence Subcommittees, and the MODV.

Since January 2000, the MODV Community Organizing Project has placed organizers, known as Area Community Organizing Guides (ACOGs), in five targeted areas. Beginning in mid-2001, the organizers moved to five new areas. Their task is to build awareness and “help mobilize the community to address domestic violence at the neighborhood level.” ACOGs have focused on key stakeholder groups, working with the Domestic Violence Liaison Officers and DAC domestic violence subcommittees as a primary avenue for education and action.

Six organizing neighborhoods were initially selected to include those with high rates of reported domestic violence, areas of suspected underreporting, diverse demographic mix, and at least two districts were to reflect a strong CAPS presence. One has the highest rate of domestic violence in the city: 7,739 per 100,000 adult women.

Residents are predominantly African-American and living in extreme poverty. It has been a strong CAPS area, with residents participating in beat meetings and District Advisory Committee and Subcommittee activities. One neighborhood is predominantly Latino (85%; Mexican descent) and another is primarily a mix of African-American (49%) and Latino (44%; Puerto-Rican descent). Another district with high resident involvement in CAPS is among the most diverse in Chicago. In the end, organizing work in one of the initial six neighborhoods did not proceed as planned because of turnover in the ACOG position. In contrast to the district with the highest reported rate of domestic violence, it had the lowest: 618 per 100,000. This district is predominantly white, with a high proportion of police officers and their families among the residents.<sup>75</sup>

The MODV organizers provided the domestic violence subcommittees in the five target neighborhoods with the kind of resources and assistance that other subcommittees received from the CAPS Implementation Office. Their presence brought a new momentum and support to the subcommittees. In partnership with the Domestic Violence Liaison Officers in the five neighborhoods, the organizers supported subcommittee members and other community residents in the kinds of mobilization efforts characteristic of CAPS: marches or rallies, information forums, charity drives, youth activities, and social events.

#### MODV-Directed Town Hall Meetings

Observations of two of the six town hall meetings conducted by the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence, plus a citywide summit meeting, illustrate the new situation of channeling community enthusiasm once mobilization efforts begin to pay off. The town hall meetings followed over a year of activity by the five MODV organizers. They built on focus group discussions in each district (20 total) with faith communities, schools and day-cares, business and health care organizations, and community residents. The town hall meetings were open to focus group participants and interested community members, plus Domestic Violence Liaison Officers and other police personnel.<sup>76</sup> Two months later, on June 2, 2001, MODV convened a citywide summit, inviting participants from the DAC subcommittees, focus groups, town hall meetings, police department, state's attorney's office, and domestic violence programs and other community-based organizations.

Between 30 and 40 participants attended each meeting, including neighborhood residents, the DAC domestic violence subcommittee Chair for that area, and a sprinkling of church and social service workers. The DVLOs for each district and most of the MODV organizers were also present. The town hall meetings began with information about police calls and crime reports and Domestic Violence Help Line calls for that district, followed by a summary of the focus group discussions and recommendations from that area. Participants were then asked to respond to two questions: *How do we move forward?* and *What do we need?*

The discussions illustrated the challenge in bringing “the community” to a common point of understanding about domestic violence. After months of organizing work, there was still no unified understanding of the dynamics of domestic violence. In both town hall meetings, someone asked a variation of *What causes domestic violence?* Answers offered by the participants ranged from narcolepsy to stress to the cycle of violence.

Nevertheless, there was a high level of enthusiasm and no shortage of ideas for what to do, with differing viewpoints as well as some commonalities. At one meeting, recommendations reflected the participation of high school students affiliated with a youth anti-violence action group: coordinate anti-violence projects in different schools, provide money to teen groups and let them decide how to use it (such as a play, music event), or organize a youth march against domestic violence.

Another recommendation was to establish school-based support groups for women because they would be easy to reach and in more inconspicuous locations. One woman, inspired by the youth anti-violence group, recommended starting a “Latina power” group of volunteers who would knock on every door in the neighborhood and provide information. A participant who identified herself as a battered woman also suggested door-to-door contact as a way to reach isolated women. Other participants countered the idea of a door-to-door campaign, saying that it was too risky for battered women to have someone show up at the door offering information. Another suggestion was for more public education about the level of violence, using local statistics to get the community’s attention.

Participants in a second town hall meeting were older and included more individuals who identified themselves as battered women. They returned several times to recommendations for a campaign emphasizing the importance of positive male role models. They also wanted more widespread information about abuser services, including public education messages suggesting where men could turn. They wanted information they could share in the community and “saturate” the message. Participants also recommended getting into the schools with domestic violence information, and confirmed an overall need for money and more services.

In addition to the resident-focused town hall meetings in the five organizing areas, MODV held a separate town hall meeting for service providers in a part of the city that has a gap in domestic violence services. Approximately 40 people attended the meeting, representing a variety of community-based services. Along with domestic violence shelter and advocacy organizations, this included public health agencies, alcohol and drug abuse treatment clinics, childcare centers, mental health services, and churches. The MODV facilitator raised several questions with the group, which included three Domestic Violence Liaison Officers and one Domestic Violence Detective from the area:

- Are you seeing domestic violence in your client population?
- How are you addressing domestic violence?
- What barriers are you encountering?

Participants cited a high level of domestic violence in the community, and they expressed considerable frustration at what they were able to do about it. They turned repeatedly to their concern about the lack of shelters. Because Chicago has only 211 dedicated domestic violence shelter beds, women frequently end up in homeless shelters without domestic violence specific services.

- The facilitator followed this discussion with three “visionary” questions:
- What would you like to see happen in responding to domestic violence?
  - Are you interested in becoming involved?
  - What would it take to begin responding to domestic violence?

The discussion remained basic and tended to return repeatedly to variations on “more money for more services.” MODV was not necessarily looking for innovation from this meeting, however. The larger benefit – the goal – was in getting people together to begin the discussion and to begin building connections with each other. This was an area of Chicago where there was little existing collaboration around any issue, regardless of how many service agencies were facing different aspects of the same problem. This was an example of successful community engagement. Participants exchanged business cards and phone numbers and lingered to talk with one another. They made good use of the resource table provided by MODV, with brochures and other information from the organizations in attendance and other services throughout the city. MODV gained a list of names and addresses, and left the participants with the promise of another meeting as well as an invitation to the domestic violence summit.

#### Community Domestic Violence Summit

On the heels of the town hall meetings, the Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence convened a citywide summit meeting, building on the past eighteen months of organizing, from the individual efforts of the Area Community Organizers to the focus groups and town hall meetings. Held on June 2, 2001, the meeting drew over 250 participants, including the mayor, state’s attorney, and police superintendent, plus the CPD Domestic Violence Operations Coordinator, Domestic Violence Liaison Officers, Domestic Violence Subcommittee members, and community residents recruited via the MODV organizing activities.

Leslie Landis, the MODV Domestic Violence Project Manager, presented the common strategies, current activities, and recommendations made by the twenty focus groups held throughout the five neighborhoods:

Common Community Activities/Strategies

- Participate in DAC Domestic Violence Subcommittee
- Display posters and resource materials
- Provide safe space at clinics, work, schools, churches
- Provide funds for emergencies and transportation
- Address domestic violence in newsletters and Web pages

Current Community Activities/Strategies

- Health care provider training
- School workshops
- Community residents call police
- Street outreach
- Men's Ministry stresses responsibility
- Block clubs host domestic violence presentations
- Religious communities concerned about creating safe space and building trust among congregations
- Residents discussing domestic violence in CAPS meetings
- Community residents participate in marches and forums
- Peer education group

Community residents from the five neighborhoods made these recommendations in their focus group discussions:

- Advocate on behalf of victims to police, schools, churches.
- Secure transitional properties for women where they receive case management.
- Send letters out and encourage people to get involved.
- Create community support for abusers who have completed programs.
- Encourage politicians to include domestic violence on their agendas.
- Provide emergency funds, transportation, and safe havens for victims.
- Conduct door-to-door leafleting and flyer distribution.

The summit then moved to the common recommendations that emerged from the town hall meetings, the wider discussions that included participants from the focus groups, plus other community residents: 1) Provide more affordable housing and services (community-based, follow-up, and bilingual); 2) Utilize the CAPS DAC Domestic Violence Subcommittees (recommended by four of five communities); 3) Improve police accountability for their response to domestic violence; 4) Establish a new domestic violence court facility.

In keeping an emphasis on community engagement and mobilization, a representative from each of the five MODV organizing areas presented their town hall meeting's recommendations for action (Table 1). As each was introduced, it was clear that all were longtime activists in their communities, involved in multiple organizations and causes. All were active in the Domestic Violence Subcommittee in their district. As the CAPS Evaluation has repeatedly emphasized, the District Advisory Committees and

their subcommittees typically attract residents who already have a high level of civic engagement. This has been true of the MODV organizing project as well: it targets “key community stakeholders.” As demonstrated in the town hall meetings, and at the summit, community engagement consistently meant reaching those who were already accustomed to participation in faith communities, block clubs, business organizations, and schools.

<b>Table 1. Community Recommendations</b>	
Auburn Gresham	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Hold a day of prayer involving prominent religious leaders who will speak from the pulpit to <i>No More Domestic Violence</i>.</li> <li>✓ Encourage more involvement from men: speaking out against abuse and serving as mentors, role models .</li> <li>✓ Provide positive and empowering public service messages targeted to men.</li> <li>✓ Increase domestic violence education and training to institutions in the community.</li> <li>✓ Use residents to distribute domestic violence material throughout the neighborhood.</li> </ul>
Humboldt Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Encourage block clubs, school councils, and other community organizations to saturate the neighborhood with domestic violence information.</li> <li>✓ Develop culturally sensitive domestic violence messages .</li> <li>✓ Increase bilingual services and translation materials .</li> <li>✓ Develop a one-day religious leaders Speak Out.</li> <li>✓ Identify alternative safe spaces for victims to obtain emergency services.</li> </ul>
South Lawndale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Encourage youth and youth organizations to develop youth-led outreach to address teen violence.</li> <li>✓ Increase and maintain domestic violence training in seminaries and theological schools; increase religious leaders’ understanding of domestic violence.</li> <li>✓ Place prevention and intervention information in schools and day cares. Use schools, festivals, block parties as safe venues for information to individuals and families.</li> <li>✓ Train professionals who come in contact with victims; culturally specific training on dynamics of domestic violence.</li> </ul>
Rogers Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Develop diverse and culturally sensitive faith leaders who will speak out.</li> <li>✓ Educate tenant resource center personnel and property managers about safety and protection orders.</li> <li>✓ Encourage residents to donate practical and professional services to victims .</li> <li>✓ Increase support for batterers who have completed counseling or intervention.</li> <li>✓ Encourage community newspapers to increase domestic violence coverage.</li> </ul>
Englewood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Develop youth mentoring programs to support peer education on dating violence at high school level.</li> <li>✓ Promote programs at grammar school level on anger and conflict management.</li> <li>✓ Support in-school conflict resolution.</li> <li>✓ Collaborate with religious leaders of all faiths to declare places of worship as safe havens for information, support, and services .</li> <li>✓ Collaborate with city colleges to develop radio and television messages that will be seen and heard widely and continuously.</li> </ul>

Going beyond the town hall recommendations. MODV organizers distilled the past eighteen-months of organizing work and community discussion into three “Calls for Action.” Summit participants received a one-page flyer on each call to action, explaining what it was, why it was proposed (Table 2), and how to become involved. Volunteers could sign up at one of three tables provided at the summit, or contact MODV by phone. Approximately fifty people signed up for further action on the day of the summit and others volunteered later. Twenty-five to thirty people attended planning meetings held for each Call to Action. This was no small measure of interest, since it meant a trip into the Loop to the MODV offices. Each work group developed plans to implement the proposed action:

- The Day of Healing became a Weekend of Healing, September 28-30, 2001, to better include the practices of diverse faith communities. A volunteer developed recommended readings and an information packet went to all faith institutions in the five neighborhoods, with suggestions for action and follow-up.
- The Day of Distribution became part of Domestic Violence Awareness Month plans. The Domestic Violence Liaison Officers and MODV organizers worked with the planning group to recruit volunteers in each of the ten neighborhoods where the mobilization project had been or would be active. The emphasis, however, was on the initial five organizing areas.
- The Youth Summit will occur sometime in 2002. MODV organizers are taking time to build a planning group that adequately represents youth and that will develop a summit description and agenda grounded in their ideas. Coordinated by the DVLOS, police officers bring planning group members from their schools to the MODV office for meeting.

<b>Table 2. Chicago Community Domestic Violence Summit</b> <i>A Mobilized Community: Becoming Part of the Solution</i> <b><i>Calls for Action</i></b>	
Youth Summit	<p>Why? An overwhelming theme discussed during the focus groups and town hall meetings was the need for more youth led and adult supported dating/domestic violence initiatives. Many individuals recognized that in order to effectively break the “generational cycle of violence,” youth centered education, prevention and intervention is crucial.</p> <p>The Youth Summit will address many of the primary concerns identified, including ways to involve schools, creating youth centered prevention messages, teaching kids how to respect and value one another, and increasing awareness on the dynamics of teen dating violence. As suggested, youth will take a leadership role in organizing and participating in the Summit.</p>
Day of Distribution	<p>Why? One of the most common concerns discussed by the participants at the focus group and town hall meetings was the need to “saturate” their neighborhoods with domestic violence awareness materials. Many individuals indicated that people do not know where they can go or whom they can call to access services and general information. They also identified that messages usually need to be heard multiple times before they sink in.</p> <p>By distributing materials throughout the community, in restaurants, laundromats, health clinics, grocery stores, in home windows, etc., communities can take an active role in raising awareness and initiating discussions around domestic violence.</p> <p>When entire communities take action, they are sending a strong message that domestic violence will NOT be tolerated in their neighborhoods.</p>
Day of Healing	<p>Why? The crucial role that the faith community plays in addressing domestic violence was addressed in all five communities during the focus group and town hall meetings. Several individuals recognized that places of worship have the potential to be safe havens where victims can access valuable resources and support.</p> <p>By speaking out against domestic violence during sermons, and addressing violence in youth programs and in ministries, faith communities can take an active role in raising awareness around domestic violence and offering practical assistance to victims.</p> <p>When faith leaders and communities take action, they are sending a strong message that domestic violence will NOT be tolerated.</p>

## Problem Solving

All of the elements of community policing are important, but a department cannot claim to be doing community policing without the problem-solving component. Chicago developed its problem-solving model as part of a wholesale reorganization along community-policing lines . . . Officers have to confront the vital issues facing the community, if only to identify how others can take – or help take – responsibility for addressing them. Problem-solving may also be the most radical component of the package. It changes the unit of work within the department from individual incidents to problems. It calls for police to adopt tactics that fall outside their standard repertoire as well as address issues that fall outside of their traditional competence. Finally, it stresses results rather than the process of policing.<sup>77</sup>

The CAPS model is a five-step process drawing on the SARA format (scan, analyze, respond, assess). The steps are: 1) identify and prioritize issues, 2) analyze the problem, 3) design strategies, 4) implement strategies, and 5) evaluate effectiveness and acknowledge success. Analysis is built around the *crime triangle*: offenders, victims, and locations of crimes. Officers collect information on all three components and design strategies that will impact at least two in order to make a lasting change. The emphasis is on strategies that go beyond usual police enforcement tactics. Officers and many community members have been trained in the CAPS problem-solving process. The expectation is that identifying issues and designing strategies require the joint involvement – the partnership – of police and community residents.

The CAPS Evaluation conducted by the Institute for Policy Research has repeatedly found widely varying implementation of problem solving on the police side and varying levels of understanding and sustained involvement on the community side. Resistance comes from many directions. For some officers, problem solving is not seen as real police work. Others are distrustful of the public and negative about wider community involvement in their work. Still others have been discouraged by lack of support by immediate supervisors and the doubtful support of upper managers. For community residents, past experience with the police has made them reluctant and skeptical about the capacity of police to change. Others are afraid of being identified as working with the police. In addition, the capacity of communities to affect change varies widely, from economic and social factors to the “downtown connection.”<sup>78</sup>

Apart from the wider issue of implementing the CAPS problem-solving process, domestic violence is not a problem that has emerged as a “vital issue facing the community.” When asked to identify problems, to compile their *Top Ten List*, residents at beat meetings are more likely to identify problems of drug sales, gang violence, graffiti, vandalism, loitering, parking, and abandoned buildings. CAPS Evaluators observed 459 meetings in 253 beats. Domestic violence was discussed as a problem in just ten percent of the beats. Only sidewalk and street repair and traffic congestion received less attention.<sup>79</sup> Domestic violence has been an issue that does not “resonate

with the community,” via the more common venues for CAPS problem solving, such as beat meetings and surveys.

### The Role of Domestic Violence Liaison Officers

The role of the Domestic Violence Liaison Officer is to move the issue of domestic violence forward, so that it does resonate with the community. An addendum to General Order 99-07, the CPD’s domestic violence policy, defines the DVLO role in the context of partnership and problem solving.

The Chicago Police Department recognizes that partnerships and targeted problem solving are pivotal to reducing domestic violence crime in our communities. **The role of the DVLO is designed to facilitate police/community domestic violence partnerships and problem solving at the district level.** By actively engaging the community and serving as a district-based resource on domestic violence issues for field officers and the community, the DVLO is the key to a coordinated police/community response to domestic violence. [Emphasis added]

Where the identification of domestic violence as a community problem is starting to appear more spontaneously in some neighborhoods, it is when a Domestic Violence Liaison Officer seeds the discussion at beat meetings and other events. It is also most likely where they have worked in partnership with MODV organizers, who have been in a position to generate wider community attention to the issue. The DVLO might hold a community forum, provide ICAM reports to beat and DAC subcommittee meetings, or organize a march or other event for Domestic Violence Awareness Month. The CPD domestic violence newsletter reported the following DVLO activity between June 2000 and March 2001.<sup>80</sup> (The five mobilization activities characteristic of CAPS are reflected here: marches or rallies, information forums, charity drives, youth activities, and social events.)

- Frequent distribution of domestic violence literature to businesses, schools, churches, community centers, and other neighborhood organizations
- Partnership with clergy to distribute literature during services
- Play on domestic violence for a local middle school
- A community “Walk to Stop Domestic Violence”
- Numerous marches, rallies, and candlelight vigils
- “Survivor Speak Out”
- Community forum on the impact of domestic violence on children
- Numerous teen dating workshops
- Seminar on “How domestic violence affects the cycle of life”
- Book reading for children
- Family Safety Fair
- Neighborhood coffee and discussion sessions
- Service provider fair
- Domestic violence workshops at district libraries

- “Basic Needs Drive” for battered women’s shelters, plus clothing, book, and holiday gift drives
- Bilingual English-Spanish focus groups on domestic violence topics, held in district parks
- Domestic violence seminars organized collaboratively across several districts
- Presentations to senior citizen meetings and beat meetings
- Workshop on “How Domestic Violence Affects the Workplace”
- “Community Response to Domestic Violence” meeting with neighborhood block club
- Purple Ribbon Campaign to “bring awareness to the issue of domestic violence and to protest violence against women”
- Monthly Spanish radio program on domestic violence
- Family Health and Awareness Day
- Cell phone donation drive
- Art exhibit
- Domestic violence resource guide

DVLO community activities are frequent and varied. They are usually held in conjunction with the district’s domestic violence subcommittee, and often in partnership with shelters and domestic violence agencies, churches, schools, and other community organizations. They have done much to meet their charge of facilitating partnerships, being actively engaged in the community, and serving as district-based resources.

The structure and supervision of the DVLO position, however, does not support their lead in problem solving to the degree suggested by the General Order. Domestic Violence Liaison Officers are appointed by District Commanders. While their role is defined by policy, there is no job description defining responsibilities across the districts. Most DVLOs serve part-time. Along with the domestic violence designation, they may be required to work with D.A.R.E and other youth programs, attend DAC Senior Subcommittee meetings, support the Court Advocacy subcommittee, conduct abandoned building investigations, and “everything else,” as one DVLO put it.

Offered another: “there is no job description; I didn’t know what to expect. I got to make it up. It wasn’t easy; there was no information.” This DVLO reviews all case reports for the district and often contacts victims. She may take the victim to a shelter or accompany her to court to obtain an order for protection. She is trying to follow up on warrants and get the domestic violence detectives and beat officers involved in order to apprehend offenders who are the subject of multiple case reports. In contrast, her counterpart in another district has no direct victim contact, per “the district commander’s decision.” While she did at first, and might again, they are “too busy now; CAPS officers have multiple demands.”

In spite of these multiple demands, DVLOs have shaped a problem-solving role around community awareness, via the DV Subcommittees, and response to domestic violence crimes, via the case review and follow-up. The problem-solving model and its crime triangle base is more evident in the latter role.

The case review process is a strategy designed to identify patterns of severe and repeat abuse. As a single point of contact, screening all case reports for their districts on a daily basis, DVLOs are in a position to recognize patterns of violence and repeat offenders. They communicate this information to domestic violence detectives and beat officers.

The degree to which they have further involvement in specific cases, and follow-up with victims varies. DVLOs report contacting victims when there is a pattern of repeat abuse. For some, the contact is limited to a phone call and link to the Hotline. Others may have in-person contact, arrange for a court advocate to accompany the woman to court, assist in getting her to a shelter, and have continued contact over a period of weeks.

DVLOs express an interest in having more direct contact with victims, if they had the time. When asked about challenges they face and changes they would like to see, those interviewed for this report echoed this officer: “Domestic violence should be our only beat. I don’t have time to make contact with everyone.” Offered another: “Not having more time [is a challenge]. Domestic violence needs to be primary. I would be able to make for face-to-face contact and follow-up with victims.”

There is some indication that the organizing support from MODV and the Community Summit may have encouraged more attention to the role of the Domestic Violence Liaison Officers. Since the Summit, MODV and CPD representatives have been talking about refocusing DVLO time and activities to domestic violence and making the positions full-time. The continuing challenge is that CPD Domestic Violence Operations Coordinator has no authority to direct the work of uniformed officers. Ultimately, the degree to which the DVLOs meet the expectations of General Order 99-07 rests with the district commanders.

### Domestic Violence Subcommittees and Problem Solving

Domestic violence subcommittees have primarily been avenues for community mobilization activities, such as marches and rallies, information forums, and social events. While officially in place in 21 of the 25 districts, their actual level of activity and resident involvement varies greatly. Some meet infrequently and rarely pursue activities outside of the meeting. Others are comprised primarily of domestic violence service agencies located in the district. Among the subcommittees that more closely met the expectation of “police/community partnership” are those in districts where MODV organizers have been active.

According to the General Order, the subcommittees are the foundation to “begin targeted problem solving on the issue of domestic violence.” The “one constant” for the subcommittees is “the commitment to the reduction of domestic violence crime within the community.” Overall, the subcommittees have claimed community awareness as their problem-solving arena. They experiment with strategies – from direct appeals to leafleting and neighborhood forums – in their efforts to increase community interest in

the issue. “Our goal is to heighten awareness and access to domestic violence information and resources.”

Subcommittees have largely stayed away from direct involvement in specific domestic violence crimes. There is one example of court accompaniment, arranged with permission of the victim at the DVLO’s suggestion. Another subcommittee member reported that they would leaflet with Helpline and other materials within several blocks of a block with repeated police calls, as identified by the DVLO. Stepping into this kind of problem solving with domestic violence crimes raises many questions about victim safety and confidentiality. For example, ICAM information is presented as a tool to assist city residents “in problem-solving and combating crime and disorder in their neighborhoods.” Domestic Violence Liaison Officers are expected to provide ICAM statistical information on domestic violence crimes to beat officers, Domestic Violence Subcommittees, beat meetings, and the community. In addition, “Citizen ICAM” is available to anyone via the CPD Internet site.

Citizen ICAM provides a map with the location of crimes within a one-quarter mile radius of a given address, beat, or intersection. Via Citizen ICAM, anyone with Internet access can enter an address and find out whether any domestic batteries have been reported within that quarter-mile radius. Because you discover that there have been repeat domestic violence crimes on your block, do you go knocking on doors offering assistance? And what kind of assistance? Should neighbors show up on the doorstep offering the victim a safe place to go?

Thus far, the problem-solving strategy of the Court Advocacy Subcommittee has not been extended to domestic violence cases, because of concerns about privacy, boundaries, and victim safety. Under a general court watch, members of the subcommittee, in conjunction with beat and district officers, select cases to follow, tracking the progress in court and offering support to victims. Court Advocacy Subcommittees have typically been involved in housing violations as well as drug and gang-related crimes. How do you approach domestic violence victims appropriately, however? How do you ensure the victim’s safety? What if she is reluctant to become further involved in court action? Who should offer support? CAPS-affiliated volunteers? The domestic violence service community? The beat officer?

Chicago has not answered these questions, though they are on the table as the CPD and MODV explore where to go next with their partnership and community mobilization. The problem-solving role for the Domestic Violence Subcommittees thus far has been to address problems of community understanding and resources. This may remain the most appropriate role: increasing resources and safety for victims while changing the community indifference and social supports that reinforce offenders.

## Organizational Change

Chicago has perhaps been the most thoroughly examined community policing effort in the United States. The Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, coordinated by the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern University, has been observing and chronicling the experience since the early days of CAPS. Thus far it has produced six reports and numerous other papers examining such aspects of change as officer attitudes and perceptions, community participation and mobilization, beat team meetings, and problem solving. CAPS was intended as a “wholesale transformation” and considerable time, energy, and money have gone into redefining the function of patrol officers and presenting new expectations of police-community partnerships with the public. As the evaluators have noted, it has become “a routine aspect of the city’s life.” It is too soon to know, however, whether the barriers to innovation and continued realization of the CAPS idea have been overcome.

CAPS has changed the Chicago Police Department response to domestic violence. It has redefined the work of officers and detectives, putting in place Domestic Violence Liaison Officers and Domestic Violence Detectives. It has put a problem-solving and community mobilization framework in place via the District Advisory Council Domestic Violence Subcommittee, role of the DVLO, oversight by the Domestic Violence Operations Coordinator, and partnership with the Mayor’s Office on Domestic Violence. Community residents have come forward to participate in marches, rallies, information fairs, and town hall meetings. Police are exploring how to safely follow up with victims, particularly where there are repeat calls or repeat violence, beyond the isolated response to a specific incident. As with CAPS itself, however, it is too soon to assess whether these organizational changes will prove lasting or whether domestic violence will remain a largely marginalized crime, consuming significant police resources, but still outside the category of “real” crime for many officers.

## **Conclusions**

Chicago has taken many bold steps in its effort to acknowledge domestic violence as a police problem and a community problem, and to figure out a meaningful role for community residents. Key positions in the Chicago Police Department and the Mayor’s Office have been dedicated to supporting these efforts. In the words of one DVLO: “It’s a big accomplishment just to bring forward the city domestic violence coordinator and the police department [coordinator] position to assist officers.”

Because of the partnerships among the Domestic Violence Liaison Officers, MODV organizers, and many of the DAC subcommittees, the city is beginning to face the question of what to do with community members once they have been engaged, as well as ensuring that their actions proceed with a clear understanding of the dynamics of domestic violence and safety issues for victims. Who should see police reports? Who in the neighborhood should have information about victims? Should beat officers release information about domestic violence calls or protection orders by block? What happens if

community engagement prompts a vigilante type response by residents? Police have specific information about the level and location of domestic violence in a given neighborhood. Community engagement has heightened community concern in some neighborhoods. Among the challenges now is figuring out how to connect the information and the concern in a way that is safe and respectful.

The organizing work of the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence in the five police districts, in partnership with the liaison officers and subcommittee members, has demonstrated that community residents outside of service agency professionals can be mobilized to offer significant support and action. Some are residents who already have a high level of civic involvement, as has been typical of community involvement in CAPS. Others are drawn in because they are survivors of domestic violence or have seen the damage done to friends and family members. The organizing project brought two streams of community engagement together: community as family-friends-neighborhood and community as domestic violence service and response workers, including police. The city-wide Summit illustrated this broad-based response: 250 participants, reflecting Chicago's ethnic and racial diversity and comprised of domestic violence survivors, neighborhood residents, subcommittee members, DVLOS, advocates, and MODV organizers. The Mayor, Superintendent of Police, and State's Attorney received recommendations from the five organizing districts, presented by residents of those districts. All participants were challenged to join in specific actions that emerged as common themes across the districts.

Domestic Violence Liaison Officers face many demands on their time. The MODV organizers have moved on to new neighborhoods. The challenge will be to continue community interest and participation. The broader CAPS experience, with its hundreds of beat meetings, District Advisory Committees, and DAC subcommittees, has demonstrated the difficulty in doing this. The mobilization that culminated in the Summit and Calls to Action requires the kind of sustained, targeted organizing that is beyond the daily responsibilities of Domestic Violence Liaison Officers, nor is it likely to emerge spontaneously from the DAC Domestic Violence Subcommittees. It requires trained organizers, well grounded in an understanding of domestic violence and safety considerations for community involvement.

There are a variety of ways Chicago could support continued community engagement and mobilization. One course may be to refocus the Domestic Violence Liaison Officers so that their attention is not split between domestic violence and three or four other areas of responsibility. They could then become more directly involved in developing and sustaining the subcommittees and related community work on domestic violence, as well as spend more time with beat officers, exploring options for follow-up on repeat domestic violence calls. This might require changing district commanders' current authority over DVLO assignments. Another means might be to provide additional follow-up training on facilitation and strategic planning skills to subcommittee members, community leaders, and DVLOs. There may also be a role for the CAPS organizers currently working in and with the Chicago Police Department. They do not have the necessary domestic violence knowledge or organizing base, however, and would need training and support in order to

become more directly involved. This could perhaps be met via a resource and support position in the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence in partnership with experienced DVLOs and DV Subcommittee members.

Chicago has learned much about the process of community mobilization around the problem of domestic violence. Now "the real challenge," according to Leslie Landis, MODV Project Manager, "is to figure out how to sustain it."

## **Postscript**

Since this case study was written, Chicago has continued to develop its community policing response to domestic violence, centering much of its effort on expanding the DAC Domestic Violence Subcommittees and expanding the skills of subcommittee members and Domestic Violence Liaison Officers. All 25 police districts now have subcommittees in place.

In 2002, the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence conducted training on facilitation skills and problem solving for all 25 of the district subcommittees (five or more people per district) and the DVLOs. This included a training video, "the DV subcommittee meeting from hell," which was a collaborative project among MODV, the Chicago Police Department DVLOs and media production staff, and Domestic Violence Subcommittee members.

In November 2002, nearly 1,600 people attended a citywide Domestic Violence Assembly organized by the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence to showcase the work of the CPD Domestic Violence Subcommittees and MODV organizers. All 25 subcommittees sent participants to the Assembly. Leading up to the event, each subcommittee identified three action steps that it intended to take in the coming year. Participants also attended a range of workshops targeted to business leaders, faith leaders, youth, and community residents.

## **Appendix D: Duluth Case Study**

Prepared for the Battered Women's Justice Project by  
Jane M. Sadusky

Duluth was one of four partner sites<sup>iv</sup> that collaborated with the Battered Women's Justice Project Criminal Justice Center to examine the ways that domestic violence intervention can move beyond the limits of the criminal justice system and develop the capacity of diverse communities to engage in active problem solving. This case study examines Duluth's experience with the application of community policing strategies to domestic violence between 1999 and 2001.

### **The Community**

Duluth is a city of 87,000, situated along Lake Superior in St. Louis County, Minnesota. Duluth is the county seat and largest city, comprising 43% of the county's population. It is the only urban area within the sparsely populated northeast corner of Minnesota.

According to the 2000 Census, Duluth is 93% white, with small numbers of Native American (2.4%) and African American (1.6%) residents. Nearly 99% of residents identify themselves as Non-Latino. The median household income in the county (\$36,254) is less than for the state (\$41,591), while the numbers of persons and children below poverty are higher. 12% of county residents and 17% of its children are below the poverty level, compared to 9% and 13% statewide. Duluth has had a history of economic difficulties and declining population over the last two decades.

The Duluth Police Department has 145 sworn officers. In 1981, it was the first law enforcement agency in the United States to adopt a mandatory arrest policy in domestic assault cases. During the project period, misdemeanor domestic violence arrests averaged 320 per year.

Safe Haven Shelter (formerly the Women's Coalition<sup>v</sup>) operates a 37-bed emergency shelter, extended stay program, 24-hour crisis line, court advocacy program, and community-based support and education groups. It provides individual advocacy to battered women in the civil and criminal court systems, including: follow-up calls on all arrests, assistance with orders for protection, contact with women following non-arrest calls, and assistance with filing complaints through the city attorney's office. A second organization in Duluth, the Domestic Abuse Intervention Program (see following

---

<sup>iv</sup> The other sites were Chicago, IL; Marin County, CA; and, London, KY. This project was supported by Grant No. 1997-WT-VX-K006 awarded by the Office on Violence Against Women, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

<sup>v</sup> In January 2002 the Women's Coalition changed its name to Safe Haven Shelter.

discussion), advocates with community systems on behalf of all battered women. Additional support for Native American women is available via Dabinoo'Igan shelter.

## **The Partners**

### The Duluth Police Department (DPD)

Since the early 1980s, the Duluth Police Department has worked with battered women's advocates and community organizations to develop its response to domestic violence. It was among the first law enforcement agencies in the United States to require arrest on probable cause for misdemeanor domestic assaults and to guide officers via specific policies and training. It has demonstrated a distinctive level of openness to involvement by a community-based organization, the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP), in policy writing and training. This has continued and expanded under the chief of police, Scott Lyons.

DPD assigned Training Sergeant Peg Johnson to work with the Battered Women's Justice Project and its community policing partners. When the DAIP released findings on the status of civil and criminal processing of domestic violence cases in the county, Chief Lyons called for a summit meeting of coordinated community response agencies to "re-energize our efforts."<sup>81</sup> He subsequently directed two lieutenants, Tim Hanson and Bob Brazell, to participate in the work groups formed to address the problems identified in the report. Along with Sgt. Johnson, they were also asked to collaborate with the DAIP to draft a new domestic violence policy and the training to implement it.

### Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP)

Established in 1980, the DAIP is the "institutional advocate" in Duluth, directing its attention to the ways in which criminal and civil systems respond to domestic violence. It is a freestanding agency, unattached to either system or to the local shelter. It provides a men's nonviolence program, primarily for court-ordered offenders, and support services for women whose partners are ordered to attend. It operates DAIN, the Domestic Abuse Information Network, which coordinates information among agencies responding to domestic violence. Over the past twenty years, the DAIP has developed several related programs: the National Training Project (providing training and producing manuals, videotapes, and other curriculum materials); the Duluth Family Visitation Center; specialized services for Native American communities (Mending the Sacred Hoop); and, programs for women who use violence.

The DAIP is at the center of Duluth's collaborative community response and is responsible for monitoring and coordinating the agencies and practitioners who intervene in domestic violence. This approach – with its emphasis on written protocols and procedures, limitations on individual discretion, standards for response, offender accountability, and oversight by battered women – has come to be known as "the Duluth model." After hundreds of training seminars and widely distributed curricula and videos,

Duluth has been influential in shaping coordinated community response (CCR) in the United States and elsewhere.<sup>82</sup>

For the Community Policing Project, the DAIP partnered with the Duluth Police Department.\* An experienced facilitator in the DAIP men's program, Ty Schroyer, was assigned to the project. A longtime staff member of Safe Haven Shelter, Cathryn Curley, took a leave of absence to work with DAIP on the project and guide a series of community focus groups that were to explore youth and intimate partner violence, sexual assault as an element of domestic violence, and the response to battered women who are intoxicated. The emphasis shifted, however, to a broad, detailed examination of Duluth's coordinated community response. In the fall of 2000, four battered women were murdered in St. Louis County and DAIP, with the support of Chief Lyons, launched a review of the policies, practices, and relationships that comprised the community response.

## **Goals**

Duluth's initial goal was to redesign the DPD domestic violence policy, with "authentic public input."<sup>83</sup> DAIP, in cooperation with the police department, intended to draw upon a wide range of focus groups, including police at the street level, advocate, neighborhood groups, battered women (including those who have and have not used the police), and community-based organizations.

The DPD policy had remained essentially unchanged since it was first written in 1981. Using the focus groups, plus an analysis of 911 calls, police reports, and other documents, they wanted to look at how the policy addressed, or did not address, three problems: 1) children involved in domestic violence as victims or offenders; 2) the impact of a victim's use of alcohol on police response; and, 3) police response when sexual assault is part of the violence. They wanted to rewrite the policy to include these issues, plus predominant aggressor language.

Duluth began this process. The collaboration between DAIP and DPD produced a new police policy and the department trained all of its sergeants and patrol officers as part of the policy implementation. It did not happen, however, quite as expected. The project extended beyond policy revision to include a broad look at the civil and justice systems' responses to domestic violence in Duluth and St. Louis County.

---

\* While not formally part of the community policing project, the St. Louis County Sheriff's Office also has a close collaborative relationship with the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project. Following a Safety and Accountability Audit conducted in 1998, the Sheriff's Office drafted a new policy and training handbook. A laminated pocket-card includes a report-writing checklist and provides deputies with risk questions, the self-defense definition, predominant aggressor considerations, and guidelines for determining the validity of orders for protection. Download the handbook at [www.praxisinternational.org/documents](http://www.praxisinternational.org/documents). From the home page, select Library & Links, then Law Enforcement.

In the fall of 2000, four battered women were murdered in St. Louis County and the project's attention shifted to examining Duluth's community response, including law enforcement and prosecution policies and protocols, the court's response, orders for protection and DAIP's role in ongoing monitoring and systems' advocacy.

Their deaths caused almost everyone who works in domestic violence intervention or the legal system to examine the role we might have played in their deaths. We are likely to reflect on these killings in a way that the public does not . . . *“Were we involved in these cases? Did we do what we were supposed to do? Could we have . . .? Should we have . . .?”*<sup>84</sup>

DAIP reviewed and summarized the response to over 100 cases initiated with law enforcement contact. It prepared a report that identified 55 problems where safety was compromised or offender accountability was minimized. The report's purpose was to provide “a catalyst for dialogue and interagency policy work.”<sup>85</sup>

DAIP distributed the report to the ten judges in the district and to agency administrators, including the court administrator, corrections director, chief of police, sheriff, city attorney, county attorney, and women's advocacy program directors. Chief Lyons convened a summit meeting of agency leaders, out of which came an agreement to form four committees that would study the report and find solutions to the problems it raised. As Chief Lyons described the goal in his invitation, it was time to “re-energize our efforts.” Beyond the initial expectation of revising police policy with a different level of public participation, the Duluth community policing project became “an example of what it's like for a well-defined coordinated community response to reinvent itself.”<sup>86</sup>

## Findings

### Community Engagement and Partnership

#### The Work Groups

As described by a DAIP staff member, Duluth set out to “find a different model for real community participation in developing policy, beyond asking one or two advocates from the shelter what they think.”<sup>87</sup> The intended approach was to conduct a series of broad-based focus groups involving police at the ground level, advocates, neighborhood groups, battered women (who have and have not used the police), and community-based organizations. The focus groups would explore understanding of and the current response to three issues, in particular: 1) dating violence and youth as domestic violence victims and offenders; 2) sexual assault as an element of domestic violence; and, 3) the experience of battered women who are also alcoholic or intoxicated.

This was not the approach the project implemented, however. Initial focus groups were held on youth involvement and rape, but not with the intended range of participants. The focus group on juvenile domestic violence included teachers and other school

personnel, plus staff from DAIP, the Women's Center, and other agencies dealing with juveniles. While there was an interest in conducting additional focus groups among high school students, they did not occur. The focus group on sexual assault as an element of domestic violence involved service providers and police, and one or two victims. It concluded that it was hard enough for women to report domestic violence, and they were even more reluctant to disclose rape and sexual assault to the police. The project shifted direction following the homicides and further discussion was put on hold.

Following the release of the DAIP report on domestic violence case processing, four broad-based work groups were formed as a result of the first summit meeting (March 13, 2001) to recommend solutions to the problems identified in the report. Thirty-three people from 13 different agencies participated in the work groups. They included many front-line practitioners, plus those in policy-making positions within their organizations. Members included court officials, prosecutors, law enforcement officers, probation and parole agents, legal aid attorneys, batterers' group facilitators, and women's advocates. They met at least once and often twice a month between April and August, developing recommendations to present to a second summit meeting in the fall.

While not the neighborhood-level of community engagement that is usually associated with community policing, the work groups reflected the significant participation of the civil and criminal justice community, along with community-based advocates. Agency leaders, encouraged by Chief Lyons, agreed to go well beyond accepting delivery of the report and filing it away. This level of community engagement is complex and multi-faceted. It is not a police agency reaching out to draw in a few targeted neighborhoods or select community organizations. It is grounded in the day-to-day work of practitioners and the relationships within and among systems. The task of the work groups was repeatedly described as *reenergizing*, *recreating*, and *reclaiming* the purpose of a coordinated community response. Engagement and partnership were evident in the composition of the groups, the level of cooperation, and a willingness to tackle the intricacies of implementing the recommendations.

Active involvement in a coordinated community response improves the practice of all agencies, builds a shared sense of purpose, but mostly it makes our city a safer place to live. Many agencies in Duluth's institutional response to domestic violence have taken part for more than twenty years. They have given time and resources, and worked in partnership with others to improve their response. In practical terms, this has involved policy makers being prepared to listen to constructive criticism, review their practices, and commit staff and resources to meetings, working groups, training and resource development.<sup>88</sup>

The Duluth Police Department assigned two lieutenants to participate in two of four work groups. One group examined criminal case processing from 911 through arraignment. In addition to the DPD lieutenant, members included representatives from DAIP, Safe Haven, the city and county prosecutors' offices, the St. Louis County Sheriff's Office jail and 911-center, and the regional probation agency. The other studied the civil order for protection (OFP) process, including OFP hearings, service, content,

and enforcement. Along with DPD, it included members from DAIP, Safe Haven, St. Louis County Sheriff's Office, Legal Aid Services, and the courts. The remaining work groups focused on pre-trial and trial procedures and pre-sentence investigation, sentencing, and revocation of probation practices.

The work groups met at least monthly between March and September 2001 to draft their recommendations. Their starting point was the information gathered by DAIP and presented at the first summit meeting. At the second summit meeting, on September 12, 2001, each group presented its recommendations. This process is discussed in more detail in the problem-solving section of this report.

### The DAIP and DPD Working Relationship

The relationship between the Duluth Police Department and the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project dates back to the early 1980s and the DAIP's first efforts to develop inter-agency agreements and policies. Duluth is distinctive for the access that DAIP has had to the department and its involvement in policy writing and training. The DPB, in turn, has assisted the DAIP in filming training videos and providing numerous ride-alongs for participants in the National Training Project seminars.

In rewriting the DPD domestic violence policy, Chief Lyons "opened the department to public scrutiny around an issue, opened it to a community voice."<sup>89</sup> He permitted an outside entity, the DAIP, to bring a draft of a new policy to the department and participate in shaping the new policy and subsequent training. It was a process that those involved described as one of "lengthy discussions and negotiations, both internally and in conjunction with DAIP,"<sup>90</sup> where "we argued out every sentence,"<sup>91</sup> in "very spirited discussions," stretching over two or three hours at a time.<sup>92</sup>

Community policing partnerships are often in name only, with community agents having a lesser voice.<sup>93</sup> The process Duluth followed in revamping its policy brought DAIP to the table as a genuine partner. The police, according to Ty Schroyer, "stayed with the process, [they] were open to talking." They saw the new policy as "a better version of justice."<sup>94</sup>

According to Chief Lyons, DAIP has "a real uncanny way of bringing issues to us, even if we don't like it." He emphasized the significance of a relationship "built one-on-one" over a period of years, and with many of the same individuals involved. The DAIP approach is not one of attack, he noted, but to say "we think there's a problem here and here's how we think we can help you."<sup>95</sup>

Sgt. Peg Johnson observed: "DAIP recognizes the uniqueness of its access to the police department. It's respectful, willing to do a lot of work. It's open to recognizing that it's just not police [that need to be involved]. It's willing to go and fix things where there is a problem."<sup>96</sup> As an example, she cited DAIP including itself in the broader

examination of the coordinated community response, not limiting their critique to the police and other agencies.

The Duluth Police Department has ongoing working relationships with other organizations, and places an emphasis on partnerships: “We value our community partnerships – partnerships that are vital to maintaining a safe, peaceful and vital community.”<sup>97</sup> The relationship with DAIP remains distinctive, however, for the degree of access and participation by a community entity: “none have had the same impact on policy development as DAIP.”<sup>98</sup>

## Problem Solving

### The New DPD Domestic Abuse General Order

For the last four months of 1999, the dual arrest rate in Duluth averaged 13.5%, and was as high as 24% in December. DAIP contacts with battered women suggested that women were sometimes being arrested after responding in self-defense against a threat or assault. In other situations, they were arrested because the policy required an arrest, without predominant aggressor considerations. Revising the domestic abuse policy began with a draft prepared by DAIP and presented to Chief Lyons, who assigned departmental personnel to continue the process. Over a twelve-month period, a ten-member policy work group met regularly to review drafts, discuss the intent of different sections, and determine what would and wouldn't work with the proposed language, and why. The group included representatives from DPD, DAIP, and the Women's Center (Safe Haven). A smaller group of DPD personnel was responsible for formatting the new policy to be consistent with departmental general orders and for planning the training that would introduce the new policy.

As noted earlier in this report, the process was lengthy and characterized by a significant amount of initial disagreement and “spirited discussions” of the DAIP draft. As one participant recalled, “we were far apart, internally in the police department, with opposition to the predominant aggressor language.”<sup>99</sup> The prevailing viewpoint among officers was that if someone commits a crime, they should be held accountable and distinctions should not be made between multiple offenders in domestic violence situations. DAIP challenged this viewpoint by presenting predominant aggressor as a determining factor in the arrest decision. It was working from the definition developed in revising the St. Louis County Sheriff's Office policy: “a predominant aggressor is defined as the party to the incident who, by their actions in this incident and through known history and actions, has caused the most fear and intimidation against the other. The deputy should determine who, if left unrestrained, would likely cause the greater degree of fear and harm to the other.”<sup>100</sup>

In spite of the disagreement, however, DPD and DAIP stayed with the process, and produced a revised policy that required officers to make a self-defense determination when there was evidence of violence by multiple parties and arrest the predominant

aggressor if self-defense could not be established. The new general order contained four criteria for determining predominant aggressor, “considering the totality of the circumstances.”<sup>101</sup>

- The relative severity of the injuries and fear inflicted in this incident;
- the relative use of force and intimidation used in this incident;
- information available to officers involving prior incidents involving either party; or
- the likelihood of either party to commit domestic abuse in the near future.

The new order required supervisory review in incidents involving multiple offenders. It also required that “officers must always make a determination about the safety or advisability of leaving the child in the residence” and provided guidelines for considering whether or not to interview a child as a witness. It also emphasized the significance of the initial patrol action to coordinated community response: “The investigation of these cases sets the foundation for almost every subsequent action by the courts and community-based agencies. It is the cornerstone of an effective, coordinated inter-agency response.”<sup>102</sup>

The revised order also included additional victim assistance mandates. In all incidents officers provided information about services available via Safe Haven (Women’s Coalition) and DAIP. Following an arrest, they were required to “advise victims that an advocate will be contacting them to explain their legal rights and options.” Before leaving the scene, the arresting officer was to contact Safe Haven and advise them how and where to contact the victim. Officers also were to “request the booking jail corrections officer to contact the Women’s Coalition following the booking procedure and advise them of the arrest.” The new policy required officers to “obtain at least two phone numbers of persons who can reach the victims in emergencies to enable notification concerning the suspect’s release and other safety issues.” Numbers were recorded on the back of the booking form and not in the arrest or incident report, to which the suspect has access.<sup>103</sup>

To implement the new general order, all sergeants, lieutenants, and patrol officers completed a half-day training delivered by the lieutenants involved in revising the policy, Bob Brasel and Tim Hanson, and Officer Scott Jenkins, who is also a trainer with DAIP’s National Training Project. The session covered the changes in policy and procedure, review of probable cause standards, and criteria and investigative techniques for determining self-defense and predominant aggressor.

Each officer received two laminated pocket cards to assist with decision making and report writing in domestic assault cases. One included a decision-making tree to refer to when it appears that both parties have used violence, plus criteria for enhancing assault charges and determining the validity of an order for protection. The report writing checklist included thirteen factors to document in a report, plus three risk questions that officers should ask in every incident, victim notification procedures, the self-defense definition, and predominant aggressor considerations (Appendix 1).

The training was reinforced by ongoing review of all police reports. About a quarter of the way into the twelve sessions needed to train everyone, there was “a noticeable change.”<sup>104</sup> Patrol officers were conferring more often with supervisors about arrest decisions. They were more conscious of including a risk assessment in their reports, using the risk questions on the report-writing checklist. Officers were doing a better job of telling Safe Haven how to reach the victim and checking prior records to make sure that the arrest charge reflected any possible offense enhancers.

### The Safety and Accountability Audit as a Community Problem-Solving Tool

As it began the work leading up to the first summit meeting, DAIP turned to the safety and accountability audit (or, safety audit) as a way of examining the various points of institutional action that characterized Duluth’s coordinated community response. While not a full-fledged safety audit, as described in Appendix 2, their investigation drew heavily on text analysis as a method of inquiry. The information and analysis they assembled via review of police reports, prosecution files, order for protection cases, and DAIP records was presented in the *Report to the Sixth Judicial Bench on the Status of the Civil and Criminal Processing of Domestic Violence Cases in Southern St. Louis County*. It was influential in Chief Lyon’s willingness to convene the first summit meeting and it provided the raw material for the resulting work groups to shape their recommendations. The report included detailed case studies of 17 offenders (including three who had committed homicide against their female partners), analysis of the time lapse between arrest and disposition for all 1999 domestic abuse arrests, and analysis of 99 OFP case files.

DAIP had previous experience conducting a safety audit with the St. Louis County Sheriff’s Office (SLCSO). In 1998, in order to develop a new domestic violence policy, SLCSO formed an audit team comprised of management, patrol officers, jail staff, a judge, a probation agent, three women’s advocates, and representatives from DAIP and Praxis International. Under the direction of Ellen Pence and Kristine Lizdas, the team examined SLCSO policies and practices. The team’s work was described as follows:

Over a one-year period, we interviewed staff in all our departments and in other agencies that work with us on domestic violence cases. We asked audit members to observe staff in action – through ride-alongs, observations of jail intakes, etc. – to fully understand the context and conditions in which the work takes place. Finally, we reviewed literally hundreds of documents, forms, and procedures that our agency produces or uses when processing domestic assault cases. This process, similar to a financial audit, helped us to rethink many current practices, and to look at every step to see that the best processes and procedures were in place to protect victims from future assaults.<sup>105</sup>

The SLCSO’s safety audit led to the development of a new policy, and to a handbook and training guide that was intended to be a “user-friendly manual” that would help the new policy, and the reasoning behind it, become “second-nature” for responding

deputies. The handbook includes policy excerpts, definitions, background information, and interpretation. It also includes a laminated pocket-card that provides deputies with a report writing checklist, risk questions, the self-defense definition, predominant aggressor considerations, and criteria for determining the validity of orders for protection. The policy and handbook were introduced via agency-wide training.

This experience clearly influenced the DAIP's approach to the community policing project, both in developing the revised DPD policy and in building the case for a broad-based effort to revitalize the CCR. The safety audit is an approach that in many ways maximizes the core community policing principles of community engagement and problem solving. It is grounded in the broad participation of practitioners and community members. It is a systematic method of observation and analysis that has the additional feature of being developed within the context of the key issues of victim safety and offender accountability. The application of the audit to policy development and evaluation of community response illustrates its use as a tool for measuring system accountability, as well.<sup>106</sup>

### Reinventing Coordinated Community Response

After the first summit meeting on March 13, 2001, the committees began meeting to discuss the problems identified in the report and to draft recommendations. The following examples illustrate the variety and breadth of the issues they set out to resolve.

- While officers in both law enforcement agencies had high compliance with their departments' arrest policies, this was not evident in cases where the woman was a chronic alcoholic. Where female victims were intoxicated, probable cause and injuries often did not lead to an arrest.
- An increasing number of domestic abuse offenders were being released prior to arraignment, without notification to the victim.
- There was a decline in advocates consulting DPD and SLCSO about problematic cases and a decline in advocate contacts with victims after an assault.
- There was a growing gap in time between arrest and disposition in domestic assault cases, with almost one third taking over five months to go through the system. Contrary to the state's Domestic Abuse Act, domestic assault cases were not being given docket priority.
- Judges were increasingly reluctant to order pre-sentence investigations (PSIs) in domestic assault cases, and PSIs were increasingly completed without speaking with the victim or including important background information about violence and danger.

- Many repeat offenders with serious violent histories were not receiving any executed jail time.
- Referrals to the DAIP batterers' program had declined significantly over the previous ten years.
- OFP petitioners did not receive consistent information about the process and assistance available from Safe Haven. Some reported being treated poorly in attempting to file a petition.
- There is no uniform orientation procedure that makes the OFP process understandable and protective of the rights of all involved.
- In contrast to previous practice, OFP petitioners are no longer notified of rulings until after they have left the courthouse, and are often not informed about why their petitions are denied.
- Many of the reliefs available under law and within the judge's authority, such as temporary rights to the family car or child support, are not awarded to OFP petitioners.
- There has been a decline in directing OFP respondents to attend batterers' education groups and classes about the impact of domestic abuse on children.
- There is no designated separate or secure waiting area available to OFP petitioners.

Each of the four committees drafted recommendations that were gathered into a second report and presented at a summit meeting on September 12, 2001. Participants included the policy makers who had been invited to the first meeting: representatives from corrections, the courts, police and sheriff's departments, and community-based domestic violence services agencies. The report presented specific recommendations for individual agencies and general recommendations that would apply to all agencies, reinvigorate the CCR, and "build two key issues into the structure of case management" in responding to domestic assault . . . the safety of victims and the accountability of offenders."<sup>107</sup> Table 1 presents the three levels of recommendations: general, work group findings, and those specific to the Duluth Police Department and DAIP, the primary partners in the community policing project.<sup>108</sup> Altogether, the report made 90 such recommendations for change.

The focus in the general recommendations was on re-establishing a common understanding of domestic violence among the CCR partners as something more than the isolated actions of individuals, with an emphasis on the importance of understanding dangerousness and dynamics: "we must develop ways to structure our response based on who is doing what to whom, and at what level of harm."<sup>109</sup>

By the time of the September 2001 summit, the Duluth Police Department policy had been revised and most patrol officers and sergeants had completed a training that reinforced the recommendation noted in Table 1: “the response must accurately reflect the dangerousness and dynamics of each case.”

<b>Table 1. Recommendations to the Sixth Judicial Bench – Southern St. Louis County</b>
<p><b>General Recommendations:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Establish a domestic assault response system that:               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A. Recognizes the social nature of abuse.</li> <li>B. Offers the opportunity to change but sets a climate of intolerance for domestic violence.</li> <li>C. Removes the responsibility from victims to hold offenders accountable for their behavior.</li> </ol> </li> <li>2. The response must accurately reflect the dangerousness and dynamics of each case.</li> <li>3. Directly address offenders about their use of violence at every opportunity.</li> <li>4. Re-establish the function of the DVRS (Domestic Violence Response Specialist).</li> <li>5. All participating agencies re-commit to taking part in a coordinated community response to domestic violence.</li> </ol>
<p><b>Recommendations for 911 to Arraignment:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Law enforcement provides the jail with two contact numbers for the victim when offenders are arrested.</li> <li>2. The jail notifies victims when defendants are to be released or transferred to another institution, and forwards victim contact information to any other institution that the defendant is transferred to.</li> <li>3. Law enforcement contact Safe Haven as soon as possible to notify them of an arrest, a victim’s whereabouts, and information about accessing the victim.</li> <li>4. The Domestic Violence Response Specialist (DVRS) * be re-established.</li> <li>5. Prosecutors attend arraignment to advocate for victim safety and offender accountability measures.</li> <li>6. That ‘released on own recognizance’ not be used for domestic violence cases.</li> <li>7. Judges routinely provide no-contact orders unless the victim requests that an order not be made.</li> <li>8. Provide orders for protection at arraignment.</li> <li>9. Conditions of pre-trial release be set according to the suggested graduated scale (addressing dangerousness, previous pattern of abuse, and the likely escalation of violence).</li> <li>10. Minimum bail for gross misdemeanor domestic abuse related offense be \$6,000 and \$12,000 for a felony offense.</li> <li>11. Law enforcement enforce no-contact orders, and make warrant-less arrests of violations of these orders.</li> <li>12. City and county prosecutors be provided training on the new law enforcement predominant arrest policies.</li> </ol>
<p><b>Recommendations Specific to Duluth Police Department:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Implement and monitor the Predominant Aggressor Arrest Policy.</li> <li>2. Use the new ‘short form’ to serve orders for protection wherever possible. (A provision of MN law providing a way for officers who have contact with OFP respondents on other matters to notify them that an order for protection has been made.)</li> <li>3. Review and update the policy enforcing orders for protection.</li> <li>4. Enforce no-contact orders, and make warrant-less arrests of violations of those orders.</li> </ol>
<p><b>Recommendations Specific to Domestic Abuse Intervention Program:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Take a more active role in system review.</li> <li>2. Provide reports from the Domestic Abuse Information Network (DAIN).</li> <li>3. Explore men’s nonviolence program options to tailor the program to repeat offenders.</li> <li>4. Research Duluth city resources given to misdemeanor prosecution as a proportion of city spending.</li> </ol>

\* The Domestic Violence Response Specialist was a grant-funded position active between 1996-1998 that screened all arrest and non-arrest reports to identify the most dangerous and/or escalating offenders. Located in the DPD, the position worked with a designated officer to prioritize follow-up on these cases and shared information across systems, including DAIP, the Women’s Center, prosecution, and probation.

## Organizational Change

In 1998, the year prior to Duluth's participation in the BWJP Community Policing Project, the Duluth Police Department decentralized its operations into five policing districts, with 13 neighborhood officers "assigned to full-time community policing functions in specific neighborhoods" within the district. "We believe that decentralizing access to police and supporting problem-solving and proactive police response will enable us to better serve the needs of the community and to reduce or eliminate repeat calls and the frustration they bring."<sup>110</sup>

In spite of DPD's policy and training activities and its involvement with DAIP and Duluth's coordinated community response, there has been little exploration of using the neighborhood officers in a specific capacity to respond to domestic violence. While "domestics" are one of the most common repeat calls, the problem solving expected of the neighborhood officers has not been extended to domestic violence in any deliberate way. Turnover among the neighborhood officers is low and there is potential in framing their role as one of a consistent point of connection for battered women and their children, providing a link to advocacy and other community resources and contributing to overall safety planning. Their involvement remains specific to individual officers, however, who may have taken it on their own to become more proactive in identifying and responding to domestic violence within their assigned neighborhoods.

There is some policy-directed neighborhood action in the area of offenders who are gone from the scene when officers arrive. If someone has not been able to locate and arrest the offender by the end of the shift, "the paperwork will be left for the neighborhood sergeant to make arrangements for a citation to be delivered or a request for formal charges." The DPD general order prohibits officers from leaving a citation with a victim to give to an offender or mailing the citation.

The potential role for neighborhood officers in case follow-up "still needs more work, there's more that we could do." DPD could "use neighborhood officers and supervisors more in increasing reminders that we're out there" and willing to work with the community in responding to domestic violence. "How can we be more of a resource to families?"<sup>111</sup> As Chief Lyons put it, "we're not there yet, but we will be there" in fitting community policing with domestic violence.<sup>112</sup> He also cited a need for improved records management and crime mapping to assist in linking incidents and developing a reliable offender history.

The experience of the "split force" approach to community policing, where a distinct group of officers is designated as the community policing unit, such as DPD's neighborhood officers, can be problematic in building organization-wide commitment and support. It can be difficult to build community policing principles into everyday work practice, with the majority of officers often dismissive of the designated officers as doing something less than "real" police work. The interviews and site visits conducted as part of this project suggest that this may be part of the dynamic in Duluth as departmental

leadership has attempted to reshape the agency around community policing principles and strategies.

While the relationship with DAIP and the process used to develop the new general order provides an example of community engagement and problem solving, the overall response to domestic violence remains call driven and incident focused, and has yet to explore other possibilities in changing the nature of officer and community engagement.

## **Conclusions**

DAIP has had a distinctive degree of access to the Duluth Police Department for over twenty years, both preceding DPD's attention to community policing and during an administration that seeks to shape the agency as a community policing organization. During the course of the BWJP project, the impact of DPD's more recent orientation toward community policing was evident in the deeper level of partnership with DAIP and in the chief's leadership and departmental participation in the critique and reshaping of the coordinated community response.

DAIP was involved from the beginning to develop the new general order, invited by DPD to participate in the process and to identify problems with police practices and recommend a different response. Those involved emphasized the importance of this relationship. "If you look at it in a problem-solving context, it's a good example. We got outside our own network and resources to look at how to get something done."<sup>13</sup>

DPD's policy revision and participation in the summit meetings and work groups involved in "re-inventing" the coordinated community response illustrates two hallmark principles of community policing: community engagement and problem solving. From one angle, the patrol response looks much as it always has: respond to calls and make a decision whether to arrest or not. Patrol officers and neighborhood officers are not widely or formally involved in rallying local residents or problem solving.

The new general order sets a high expectation, however, that officers' daily work will include sound arrest decisions, thorough reports, and attention to victim risk and safety. Attention to the quality of police response is fundamental to providing meaningful support to victims of domestic violence and meaningful consequences for offenders. There may be other arenas in which police can work more directly with neighborhoods and residents to build a broader response to domestic violence, but someone calling 911 for help is probably more concerned with a quick, respectful, and thorough police response. The Duluth Police Department, with the support, and prodding, of the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project has been willing to question its response and challenge other criminal justice and civil justice system players to do likewise.

## **Postscript**

On June 19, 2002, Duluth held a third summit meeting to review implementation of the recommendations made the previous year. As the implementation report noted, “progress is being made, but we need to be mindful of keeping the momentum going if we are to accomplish the implementation of the majority of the recommendations for safety and accountability that our collective agencies have recommended . . . After review it was decided that communication between DPD and DAIP and the enforcement of the new policy, are going extremely well.” For about half of the committee recommendations, further information gathering, negotiation and discussion were needed in order to develop the implementation plan. Monitoring, implementation, and follow-up were to continue. A coordinated community response “relies on relationships of the partners [and] also has to be part of the institutionalized response in a way that reinforces those relationships. We believe that we are on our way to accomplishing this objective but must continue improving our response for the safety of victims and their children.”<sup>114</sup>

By August of 2002, the dual arrest rate in Duluth had dropped to 1% of arrests, after a steady decline that corresponded with training on the new general order and its emphasis on self-defense and predominant aggressor. At the close of 2002, Duluth began the search for a new chief of police. Chief Lyons resigned to become an instructor at an area college.

## Appendix 1

<b>Domestic Abuse Arrest/Incident DPD Report Writing Checklist</b>	
<p><b>Document the following:</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Time of arrival and incident</li> <li>2. Relevant 911 information</li> <li>3. Immediate statements of either party</li> <li>4. Interview all parties and witnesses documenting:                             <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. relationship of parties involved/witnesses</li> <li>b. name, address, phone – work/home, employer, etc.</li> <li>c. individuals' accounts of events</li> <li>d. when and how did violence start</li> <li>e. officer observation related to account of events</li> <li>f. injuries, including those not visible (e.g. sexual assault, strangulation)</li> <li>g. emotional state/demeanor</li> <li>h. alcohol or drug impairment</li> </ol> </li> <li>5. Evidence collected (e.g., pictures, statements, weapons, other)</li> <li>6. Children present, involvement in incident, general welfare. Children living at residence, not present</li> <li>7. Where suspect has lived during past 7 years</li> <li>8. Medical help offered or used, facility, medical release obtained</li> <li>9. Rationale for arrest or non-arrest decisions</li> <li>10. Summarize actions (e.g., arrest, non-arrest, attempts to locate, transport, referrals, victim notification, seizing firearms)</li> <li>11. Existence of OFP, probation, warrants or prior convictions</li> <li>12. Victim's responses to risk questions including your observations of their response</li> <li>13. Names and phone numbers of 2 people who can always reach victim (<b>#s not to be included in report</b>)</li> </ol>	<p><b>Risk Questions</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Do you think he/she will seriously injure or kill you or your children? What makes you think so? What makes you think not?</li> <li>2. How frequently and seriously does he/she intimidate, threaten, or assault you?</li> <li>3. Describe the most frightening event/worst incidence of violence involving him/her.</li> </ol> <p><b>Victim Notification</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Provide victim with Crime Victim Information Card (including ICR number and officer's name)</li> <li>▪ Advise of services of local domestic violence shelter</li> <li>▪ Advise victim (if there was an arrest) that a volunteer advocate will be coming to her home soon to provide information and support</li> <li>▪ If victim has a phone, inform her that the advocate will attempt to call her before coming</li> <li>▪ Contact the shelter as soon as possible and advise them of the arrest – [phone #]</li> </ul> <p><b>Self-Defense Definition</b></p> <p>Reasonable force used by any person in resisting or aiding another to resist or prevent bodily injury that appears imminent. Reasonable force to defend oneself does not include seeking revenge or punishing the other party.</p> <p><b>Predominant Aggressor Considerations</b></p> <p>Intent of Policy – to protect victims from ongoing abuse</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Compare the following:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Severity of their injuries and their fear (incident)</li> <li>▪ Use of force and intimidation (incident)</li> <li>▪ Prior domestic abuse by either party</li> <li>▪ Likelihood of either party to commit domestic abuse in the near future</li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Code this call a DOMESTIC</b></p>

## Appendix 2

### Praxis International Domestic Violence Safety and Accountability Audit

When a woman who is beaten in her home dials 911 for help, she activates a complex institutional apparatus responsible for public safety. Within minutes, her call for help is translated into something that makes her experience something that institutions can act upon. Her experience has become a domestic assault case.

Over the next twenty-four hours, up to a dozen individuals will act on her case. They hail from as many as five agencies and represent four levels of government. Over the next year, the number of agencies and people who work with her case—and therefore her safety—will more than double. 911 operators, dispatchers, patrol officers, jailers, court clerks, emergency room doctors and nurses, detectives, prosecuting attorneys, law enforcement victim specialists, prosecutor's victim specialists, child protection services workers, civil court judges, criminal court judges, family court judges, guardians ad litem, family court counselors, therapists, social workers, probation officers, shelter advocates, children's advocates, legal advocates, and support group facilitators at the local shelter may all become involved in a chain of events activated by her original call for help.

In the past twenty years, every state and hundreds of communities have initiated criminal and civil justice reforms in order to improve victim safety and offender accountability in that chain of events. Laws have been changed, policies written, procedures revised, and training conducted. Domestic violence coordinating councils, task forces, and response teams have been formed. Are communities now safer for domestic violence victims and their children? Are offenders held accountable for violence and coercion? Have our good intentions and reforms helped or hurt?

The Audit helps answer these questions from the standpoint of battered women and their children. While the audit team is compelled to ask questions from the standpoint of women who are battered, the team itself is made up of practitioners in the system and domestic violence advocates and experts. It is a way to look at how a woman's experience is retained or disappears in the handling of the case and whether or not safety and accountability are incorporated into daily routines and practices of workers who act on the case. Because it is structured to reflect the actual experiences and job functions of those who intervene in domestic violence, it engages workers in the system in a practical, useful change process.

The Audit is *not* a review of individual performance or effectiveness, but a close look at how workers are institutionally coordinated, both administratively and conceptually, to think about and act on cases. The audit team uncovers practices within and between systems that compromise safety. The team examines each processing point in the management of cases through interviews, observations, review of case files and an analysis of institutional directives, forms, and rules that shape a worker's response. The

team's analysis provides direction on specific changes in technology and resources, rules and regulations, administrative procedures, system linkages, and training. The analysis also accounts for how, in attending to the safety of the victim, institutions account for diverse social status factors that affect safety and accountability—for example, race, class, addiction, employment, literacy, immigration status, language, and sexual orientation.

## **IDENTIFYING AN AUDIT QUESTION**

Audits ask questions that begin with *How...* An Audit will show how problematic outcomes are produced by the institutional work routines and ways of doing business. Audits ask questions from the standpoint of victims of battering, but the gaze is not on individuals such as judges, police, or social workers—nor even on batterers or victims themselves. It is on institutional case management processes and the logic, thinking, and assumptions that support them.

The Audit begins with a question that highlights a gap between the lives of the people who are being processed and the institution mandated to respond to their situations. For example:

- *How are victims of battering made safer or more vulnerable by the actions of interveners?*
- *How does the criminal justice system intervene in cases where victims of battering use violence against their batterers? Does it respond in a way that decreases the vulnerability of both parties to future violence? How might current interventions make either party more vulnerable to ongoing attacks?*
- *How does victim blaming occur in policy or procedures of victim advocacy, child protection, or sentencing?*

By asking **how** something comes about, rather than looking at the individual who is doing it, we discover systemic problems and are able to come up with recommendations for longer-lasting change.

## **AUDIT LOGISTICS**

### **The Audit involves these people:**

1. *A community team of domestic violence experts and key workers representing the systems that are being examined.* Team members collect data and meet as a group to discuss the Audit findings; recommend changes in policy, procedure, and training; strategize how to implement the recommended changes; and help implement, monitor, and evaluate the changes over time.
2. *A local Audit Coordinator, who provides overall direction and support to the Audit.*

The Coordinator secures agreements with participating agencies, recruits the Audit team, secures records for analysis, schedules interviews and observations, and coordinates Audit events with the team and Praxis.

3. *Praxis and BWJP*<sup>vi</sup>, who provide whatever assistance is requested. This assistance commonly includes designing and planning the Audit, training the Audit team in data collection and analysis, conducting text analysis, facilitating analysis of findings and drafting recommendations, preparing a final report, and providing post-Audit implementation support.

**The Audit involves these steps:**

- An interagency team of highly skilled practitioners and seasoned advocates form to conduct the Audit.
- An Audit Coordinator is selected and given the resources to coordinate the team's efforts over the ensuing months.
- The team clarifies its audit question and maps out the various points of institutional contact with the case.
- The team members are assigned short stints of observing and interviewing the practitioners carrying out each intervention step.
- The Coordinator gathers a sample of case files for the team to examine.
- The Coordinator gathers all of the key rules, regulations, protocols, forms, and directives associated with each step of the process.
- The team reviews all of the data from interviews, observations, and text in order to discover 1) how practitioners are organized and coordinated to think and act on these cases; and 2) where the coordinating routines compromise the goals of safety and accountability.
- The team produces recommendations for altering the routines and practices that produce problematic outcomes.

For more information about consultants, text analysis and technical assistance available to communities conducting Safety and Accountability Audits, please see the Praxis Web site, [www.praxisinternational.org](http://www.praxisinternational.org); call Tammie Larsen, Praxis International, (651) 699-8000, Ext. 11; or, e-mail [safetyaudit@msn.com](mailto:safetyaudit@msn.com).

*The Duluth Safety & Accountability Audit; A Guide to Assessing Institutional Responses to Domestic Violence* (Ellen Pence & Kristine Lizdas, with contributions by Coral McDonnell) is an introductory manual outlining the Audit methods and their application to misdemeanor domestic assault cases. Purchase the manual for \$35 from MPDI, National Training Project, 202 East Superior St., Duluth, Minnesota 55804. (218) 722-2782 Ext. 205; Fax: (218) 722-0779. Or, find an order form for this and all NTP publications at [www.duluth-model.org](http://www.duluth-model.org).

---

<sup>vi</sup> The Battered Women's Justice Project, Minneapolis, MN, is a partner with Praxis International in providing Safety Audit technical assistance.

## Appendix E: Marin County Case Study

Prepared for the Battered Women's Justice Project by  
Jane M. Sadusky

Marin County was one of four partner sites<sup>vii</sup> that collaborated with the Battered Women's Justice Project Criminal Justice Center to examine the ways that domestic violence intervention can move beyond the limits of the criminal justice system and develop the capacity of diverse communities to engage in active problem solving. This case study examines Marin County's experience with the application of community policing strategies to domestic violence between 1999 and 2001.

### The Community

Marin County, California, sits across the Golden Gate Bridge from San Francisco, bounded by the Bay to the east and the Pacific Ocean to the west. A predominantly urban county of just over a quarter million people, it also has large tracts of public and agricultural lands. Most of the population is concentrated in the southeast corner of the county. It is one of the wealthiest counties in the United States, with a median household income in 1999 of \$93,510, the highest in California.

The county is predominantly white (84%), with a small Asian population (4.5%) and African-American population (2.9%). The 2000 Census reported 11.1% of the county identifying as Hispanic or Latino, compared with 7.8% in 1990. In 1990, fifteen per cent (15%) of the population above the age of five spoke a language other than English at home, with no one language predominating.

Sixteen agencies provide police service in jurisdictions throughout the county: the Marin County Sheriff's Office; municipal police departments in San Rafael, Novato, Mill Valley, Sausalito, Twin Cities, San Anselmo, Tiburon, Fairfax, Ross, and Belvedere; the College of Marin, and the California Highway Patrol, California State Parks Police, and National Park Service Police at Sausalito and Point Reyes. They range in size from two sworn officers in the State Parks Police to 202 in the Marin County Sheriff's Department. In addition to the Sheriff's Department, the largest municipal agencies are San Rafael with 75 officers and the Novato Police Department with 61 officers.

In 1998, Marin County law enforcement agencies adopted a uniform policy on domestic violence. California law requires written policies regarding officer and dispatcher response to domestic violence calls. The "Uniform Marin County Law Enforcement Protocol for the Handling of Domestic Violence Cases" was revised in January 2001, primarily to include dating and former dating relationships and add a

---

<sup>vii</sup> The other sites were Duluth (MN); Chicago (IL); and London, (KY). This project was supported by Grant No. 1977-WT-VX-K006 awarded by the Office on Violence Against Women, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

primary or dominant aggressor “decision tree.” The policy mandates arrest for felonies and takes a pro-arrest stance on misdemeanor violations. (California law mandates arrest for violations of protection orders.) The protocol is described as a “living document,” which is updated annually.

On average, based on figures for 1998-2000, there are approximately 340 bookings per year in the Marin County Jail on domestic violence-related charges. Most of the arrests are under the state charge for spousal abuse.<sup>115</sup> During this period the percentage of female arrestees has averaged nearly 20% of domestic violence-related bookings. Black and Hispanic residents are arrested at rates higher than their proportion of the population. In 2000, 14% of those booked were identified as Black and 21% as Hispanic (male and female arrests). Sixty-one per cent (61%) of arrestees were identified as White.

The number of domestic violence related calls for service to county law enforcement agencies is unavailable, so it is impossible to gauge how many reported incidents result in arrest. In comparison to approximately 340 booking per year, however, calls to the Marin Abused Women’s Services two hotlines (English and Spanish) average 3,125 per year.

Marin Abused Women’s Services (MAWS) is the primary provider of support and services to victims of domestic violence in Marin County. In addition to the English and Spanish hotlines, it operates a sixteen-bed emergency shelter, a ten-unit transitional housing program, women’s support groups, advocacy services, legal referrals, and an expansive community prevention project. MAWS has also developed an education-based men’s program directed toward changing patterns of violent behavior. It includes a hotline, jail-based classes, and a 52-week (150 hours) batterers’ treatment program.

A Domestic Violence Coordinating Council has been in place since 1998. Comprised of representatives from criminal justice system agencies, service providers and community organizations, it addresses issues of coordination and response to domestic violence across community systems. It was formed “to increase safety for those who are potentially and currently affected by domestic violence.”<sup>116</sup> In addition to coordinating the response across community organizations, government agencies, and the courts, the Council promotes community awareness and action, and improved prevention and intervention strategies. The Council does its ongoing work via five committees: Coordination of Services, Batterer Intervention, School Prevention and Education, Community Outreach, and Courts. In 1998 the Council developed the countywide law enforcement protocol.

## **The Partners**

### Marin County Sheriff's Office (MCSO)

The Marin County Sheriff's Office is the major law enforcement partner in the community policing project. With over 200 sworn officers (including jail deputies) and 115 support positions, it is the largest police agency in the county. It operates within an articulated expectation of community involvement and problem solving:

The services that we provide and how we provide them are critical to the success of our mission. It is important that we work closely with the community and other service organizations in identifying and solving the problems facing us. We can say confidently that the Marin County Sheriff's Office is committed to quality service through our Community Policing Programs. It is important, as we charge into the twenty-first century, that we are careful to measure community needs and help create and support successful solutions with the smallest degree of intrusiveness necessary. It is, however, our belief that we can work together in order to deter crimes in our community, especially the troublesome ones, such as domestic violence and hate crimes. It is through the consistent practice of honest communication and interaction with the community that our partnership will be effective.<sup>117</sup>

When approached in 1997 by Marin Abused Women's Services to develop a community policing approach to domestic violence, MCSO agreed and assigned four deputies to share the role of liaison to MAWS. It was difficult to maintain consistency under this arrangement, however, because of scheduling conflicts and turnover. It was the MCSO Lieutenant on the MAWS COPS Team who suggested assigning a full-time deputy, housed in the domestic violence organization's office. The Community Policing Domestic Violence Liaison (CP Liaison) created and facilitates the Community Policing Action Team, serves on the COPS Team and Domestic Violence Coordinating Council, and works to strengthen police-advocate partnerships in Marin County. Initially, it was supported by federal community policing funds. However, after the first year, the MCSO assumed most of the cost for the position, with some grant funds via the Battered Women's Justice Project partnership.

The Marin County Sheriff's Office also collaborates with MAWS on two measures to address domestic violence that target inmates in the jail. The Sheriff's Office provides space in the jail to MAWS to conduct weekly classes that challenge men's violence toward women. In addition, after the booking process, deputies contact a CURB (Community Unit Responding to Batterers) volunteer who comes to the jail and provides information about order for protection conditions, post-arrest no-contact provisions, and groups that address battering, both in jail and in the community.

### Marin Abused Women's Services (MAWS)

Marin Abused Women's Services is the catalyst agency for Marin County's application of community policing to domestic violence. Founded in 1977, MAWS provides an array of

support and safety services for battered women, including hotlines (English and Spanish), emergency shelter, advocacy, support groups, and transitional housing. Its Men's Program includes a 24-hour hotline, classes, and jail intervention.

Since 1992, with its Transforming Communities (TC) project, MAWS has emphasized community mobilization to prevent violence against women and girls. As described in the program literature, "TC seeks to change the prevailing knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that support violence against women and other forms of abuse as a social and individual norm."

The community policing project proceeds within the context of the elements of primary prevention, as articulated by Transforming Communities:<sup>118</sup>

1. Individual transformation of knowledge, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs;
2. Community ownership of the issue and increased participation of community members in prevention;
3. Shift of social norms through increasing public alignment with the issue and positively impacting public policies and procedures.

A central strategy of Transforming Communities is the development of Community Action Teams. Volunteers, assisted by MAWS' staff organizers, plan and implement prevention campaigns. MAWS describes a Community Action Team, or CAT, as "an opportunity for collective action, where community members can work together to develop campaigns and events that will hold perpetrators accountable by challenging and changing the attitudes, beliefs, behaviors, and policies that condone and perpetuate violence against women and children." The CAT model is the basis for the Community Policing Action Team, one of the core features of the community policing project.

#### Community Policing Action Team (CPAT)

With the community action team model in mind, the deputy assigned to MAWS as the Community Policing Domestic Violence Liaison recruited a representative from each law enforcement agency in the county to participate on a Community Policing Action Team.

The CPAT is the law enforcement version of the CAT. Its mission is to use the strategic planning tool to develop and implement campaigns that will address the problems of coordination among all the law enforcement agencies in the county and the lack of a common conception and practice of community policing. The team will design and conduct its work through the lens of community policing core principles by addressing the cause of [domestic violence], encouraging community participation and cooperation with law enforcement, and making better use of existing community resources.<sup>119</sup>

CPAT recruitment focused on patrol-level officers, with the intent of drawing upon their first-hand experience and awareness of the issue. "The ambition was to have the members of the CPAT serve as knowledgeable resource and training guides for domestic violence and community policing practices."<sup>120</sup> Their individual actions, in other words, would influence their

respective agencies and the law enforcement community would link with the wider community to challenge the underpinnings of domestic violence. Figure 1 is a graphic representation of the CPAT concept.

CPAT members were individually recruited by the CP Liaison assigned to Marin Abused Women's Services, Deputy Julie Sobaszekiewicz. Her position as a law enforcement officer and connections with her colleagues throughout the county was important to their willingness to participate. In interviews with CPAT members, they emphasized the significance of using a well-known, trusted officer in this organizing role. As one officer described it, "[CPAT] wouldn't have happened without her energy. She built up all the connections in the law enforcement community, knew who we were, how we learn, and our limitations."

Once a CPAT member was recruited, Sheriff Robert Doyle and Donna Garske, MAWS' Executive Director, signed a memorandum of understanding with the officer's chief. The MCSO and MAWS agreed to "closely coordinate the CPAT" with the agency by organizing and facilitating the meetings, providing training and assistance to CPAT members, and producing a countywide training course. The law enforcement agency agreed to ensure that its representative would attend meetings and "bring back community policing information to the first responders and sergeants." It also agreed to send all first responders and sergeants to the training that CPAT would develop.

The Year 2000 evaluation of the Marin County COPS Project describes the theory behind the CPAT model and its intention of overcoming line-officer resistance and influencing change "from the bottom up."

In theory, the CPAT is an ingenious program in that it relies on line officers to act as seeds of change within their respective departments. It is an attempt to take the very same grassroots and bottom-up processes at work in the CURB, CAT, and COMEDORG<sup>viii</sup> models and apply them to the often rigidly structured hierarchy within policing. Studies on community policing suggest its success and failure within departments rests on the buy-in of line officers. Hence, the CPAT offers an insertion point within the policing culture that may likely encourage line-officer acceptance of the program, because [of] the belief officers will associate the model with something passed on by fellow officers rather than imposed upon them from a policy or leadership perspective.<sup>121</sup>

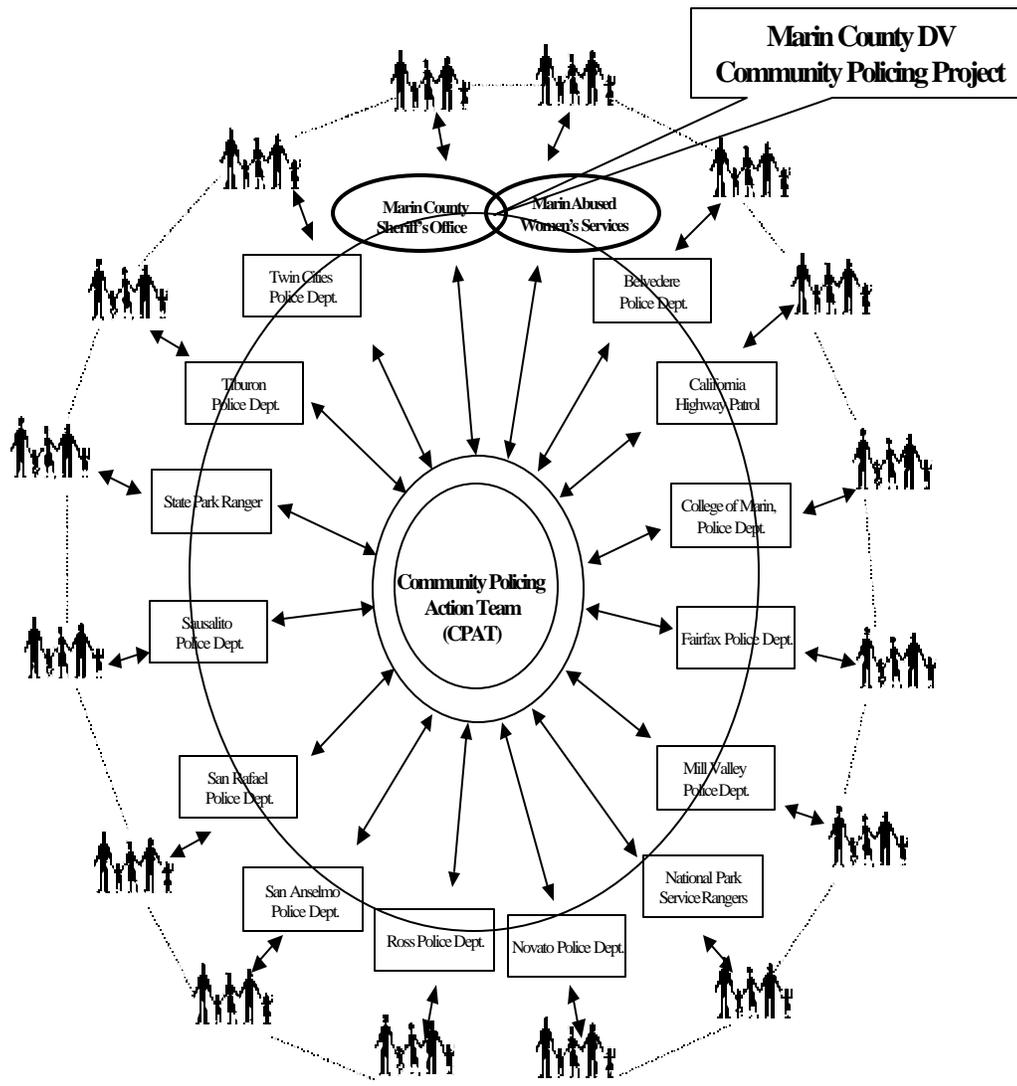
The CPAT mission, as articulated at its inaugural meeting on December 14, 1999, "is to use the strategic planning tool to develop and implement campaigns that will address the problems of coordination among all the law enforcement agencies in the county and the lack of a common conception and practice of community policing." As envisioned, the Community Policing Action Team was to "develop community policing strategies both on a departmental level and countywide level."<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>viii</sup> Community organizing and mobilization programs of Marin Abused Women's Services: CURB is the Community Unit Responding to Batterers; CAT is Community Action Team; and, COMEDORG is Community Education and Organizing. The COPS Team includes the Community Policing Liaison, the team manager and administrator, Community Educator/Organizer, and the Men's Project Manager .

The CPAT meets every other month for two hours at the MAWS office. The Community Policing Liaison facilitates the meetings. Members of the Community Policing Team at Marin Abused Women’s Services also attend the meetings. CPAT conducts its work as a whole, under a consensus decision-making process. Smaller groups formed as needed to accomplish specific tasks, such as developing a training curriculum or designing a law enforcement poster. Over seven meetings, attendance has fluctuated between ten and fifteen officer participants. Given the nature of shift work, reassignments, and promotions within law enforcement agencies, participation has remained “pretty stable,” according to Deputy Julie Sobaszek, CP Liaison.

Figure 1. Community Policing Action Team



## Goals

### The Co-Production of Safety

The Marin County approach has been described as a concentrated effort “to use the original goal of the [community policing] model – a goal to increase social capital and connection with citizens who often feel alienated and helpless in confronting problems in their communities – to reduce violence against women in Marin County.” As articulated by its organizers, behind the Marin County experience is the compatibility between community policing and domestic violence concepts.<sup>123</sup> Table 1 illustrates the operating framework for the project.

<b>Table 1. Compatibility Between Community Policing and Domestic Violence Concepts - The Marin County Experience</b>	
<b>Marin Abused Women’s Services Community Oriented Policing Project</b>	
Community Oriented Policing	Domestic Violence Organizing
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Theory sets out to reshape notions of power, trust, and control in police/community relations.</li> <li>▪ Strives to adapt a hierarchical, paramilitary structure to include decentralized styles within departments and communities to improve problem solving.</li> <li>▪ Seeks to create new ways and new partnerships to deal with law enforcement mandates that require response to criminal acts (i.e., harassment, intimidation).</li> <li>▪ Stresses the co-production of safety rather than solely responding to crime.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Theory seeks to reshape notions of power, trust, and control in interpersonal relationships.</li> <li>▪ Attempts to change notions of patriarchy and dominant belief systems within families and communities in order to prevent domestic violence and other community problems.</li> <li>▪ Recognizes the relationship between violence and other forms of oppression (i.e., hate crimes, harassment, intimidation), thus making advocates allies with similarly oriented agencies and groups.</li> <li>▪ Stresses the role community action plays in changing behaviors rather than solely responding to abuse.</li> </ul>

In the **co-production of safety**, the Marin project defines the police role as that of “catalysts for local change, helping residents to exploit their own informal social control abilities.” The role of advocates is to “serve a critical capacity by ensuring police understand the dimension and complexity of violence against women.” In this approach, police and advocates have distinct but complementary roles. Trust, mutual respect, and

communication are critical to each partner’s role. Table 2 was developed by MAWS to illustrate the respective roles of law enforcement and advocacy.

<b>Table 2. “Co-Producing Safety” in Marin County Marin Abused Women’s Services Community Oriented Policing Project</b>	
Law Enforcement	Advocates
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Continues with a zero-tolerance policy by arresting batterers to hold them accountable.</li>   <li>▪ Offers to facilitate a movement of change in knowledge, attitudes, belief, and behavior of all community members, including law enforcement.</li>   <li>▪ Crucial to a process of change that includes formal criminal justice system procedures as well as a reliance on grassroots and community social control mechanisms.</li>   <li>▪ Recognizes the community as an important partner in monitoring and improving law enforcement domestic violence response.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Hold all aspects of the criminal justice system accountable through monitoring, feedback, brainstorming, and problem solving.</li>   <li>▪ Encourage law enforcement to keep the big picture in mind: long term change in the social acceptability of violence toward women.</li>   <li>▪ Provide an opportunity for the community to know how it fits into the co-production of safety, what role it can play, and the support it should offer law enforcement.</li>   <li>▪ Provide training, issues analysis, strategic planning and individual and group campaigns to address law enforcement’s delivery of service.</li> </ul>

The expectation is that police and advocates will support the community’s role, using the Community Action Team model, to challenge the attitudes and practices that underpin domestic violence. “. . . Eventually the CPAT, in collaboration with MAWS advocates, will work together with community members in their respective jurisdictions, to develop and implement community mobilizations campaigns for prevention in their local communities.”<sup>124</sup>

Reducing Repeat Domestic Violence Offenders

Another goal of the Marin County community policing project was to reduce recidivism rates via a combination of post-arrest intervention in the jail and changed community norms. This purpose is described in the Executive Summary of the initial evaluation report.

The project sought to increase safety for women and girls by reducing repeat domestic violence offenders. Repeat offense and continued police contact indicate continued abuse, and, at worst, evidence of escalation and increased lethality of

abuse. The project used community policing, led by advocates, to reinforce a zero-tolerance norm in the community. Re-educated batterers were recruited to intervene with men who had been arrested. To ensure accountability of offenders, and law enforcement response to offenders, advocates improved their access to data, and uses of that data.

The project sought to front-load the domestic violence response by relying less on formal criminal justice interventions, such as prosecutions, and instead emphasized arrest as part of other social control mechanisms. This strategy was designed to limit batterer violence, increase survivor help-seeking behavior, and encourage community members to provide social reinforcements necessary to stop domestic violence in their communities.<sup>125</sup>

This work was to be accomplished via intervention at the time of booking, with the CURB Team (Community Unit Responding to Batterers), and a community education and mobilization campaign targeted to business, organizations, and social service agencies likely to have contact with domestic violence victims and batterers.

### CPAT Strategic Planning Goals

Under the wider goal of the co-production of safety, the Community Policing Action Team completed a strategic planning process between February and April 2000 that defined goals and points of action. The CPAT goals are to: 1) ensure the safety of victims, children, and officers; 2) hold perpetrators accountable and promote batterer intervention; and, 3) ultimately prevent domestic violence.

CPAT members also identified four problem or action areas: 1) underreporting by victims and the community; 2) insufficient education about domestic violence; 3) need for a change in attitude from blaming victims to holding perpetrators accountable; and, 4) need for law enforcement to approach the verbal violence call as an opportunity for intervention.

To begin to act on these problems, the CPAT determined that its primary goal would be to develop and deliver a one-day training on domestic violence and community policing to all patrol officers and sergeants in the county (approximately 450 officers among all jurisdictions). The expectation was that this was the most significant way to affect officer understanding and response. Officer response that was “fair, effective, and consistent,” would in turn “establish credibility and trust with the community” and form a basis for the partnerships necessary for the *co-production of safety*.

## Findings

### Community Engagement and Partnership

“The Marin County Project recognizes that the greatest power to protect women is in their own neighborhoods.”<sup>126</sup>

Getting to that point, however, with police officers serving as change agents, is problematic. While the Marin County community policing project has solidified advocate-police partnerships, and offered a new model for that relationship via CPAT and the MAWS-based deputy, wider community engagement remains elusive. Although charged with community mobilization, CPAT members are attempting to do so within an environment that views the officer’s role as largely one of arrest/enforcement and information referral. This is evident in the survey that the Community Policing Action Team conducted as part of its strategic planning process.

Each CPAT member took the survey back to his or her agency, with a request to distribute it to all patrol officers and patrol sergeants (352 officers countywide). Forty-three officers from seven Marin County law enforcement agencies completed the survey. Among the questions was: *What role, if any, do you think police officers can play in preventing repeated or future incidents of DV in your community?*<sup>127</sup> Eight of the respondents did not answer the question. Five replied “none” or “unknown.” Among those who answered the question, most offered variations on increased arrest and prosecution. Improved information to victims and the public was another common response. Officers identified their role as:

- Make arrests even though DA will not file case.
- Arrest & aggressive prosecution.
- Not up to police officers. Need more aggressive prosecution by the DA’s office.
- DA must access stiffer penalties on DV & violations of restraining orders.
- Giving contact #s to victims.
- Pass out info, dispatch keep track of potential call-outs, follow up by other agency or police recommendation.
- Educate public on DV!
- Education, community policing.
- Ensure that both victims & perpetrators of DV contact local resources for intervention & assistance.
- Lock up (permanently) repeat offenders.
- Follow up w/ victims to ensure they take advantage of resources. Educate the participants of severe penalties for DV, hand out resource materials.
- Officer must ensure that primary aggressor knows DV is not an acceptable way to deal with anger. Discover what is bothering [primary aggressor]. & note that in his/her report.
- Unsure, but arresting & assisting w/ prosecution may help reduce recidivism.
- Training, flyers, etc.
- Arresting & booking suspect into jail.

- Put on an event at fairs, events, etc. re DV. Getting word out about zero tolerance on DV crimes.
- Police officers attempt to be more assertive in domestic disputes. Educate parties of severe consequences of DV.
- A first line role. This would be a great topic to cover!
- Follow-up by initial officers w/ the victim.
- Provide valuable info & good advice.
- Let victim know there is a way out.
- Take appropriate action at initial contact; follow-up after.
- Follow-up on DV incidents to determine whether or not the victim and aggressor have gotten proper assistance.
- Aggressive enforcement of violations from arrest to prosecution to probation. Probation clauses allowing officers to enter violator's home for random checks preventing DV.

The COPS Team had initial expectations for more direct law enforcement involvement with community members and community groups in domestic violence prevention work. This was pushed back, however, as they realized that they first needed to pay closer attention to *law enforcement as a community*. This meant taking cues from CPAT members as to priorities and action. The level of strategic planning and gender analysis of violence that MAWS staff and the COPS Team were accustomed to was unfamiliar territory for CPAT members. The members of the COPS Team recognized that they had to step back and pay more attention to building relationships and familiarity with the law enforcement community, and present the CPAT with alternatives for action that were realistic.

According to Deputy Sobaszkievicz, CP Liaison, the community policing ideal of patrol officers attending community meetings and getting directly involved won't work. "Street cops are not going to go the Y, to neighborhood meetings – that's the job of the crime prevention officer – they have to respond to calls." The more educated the first responders are about domestic violence, however, the more impact they can have on the public.

#### Community Policing Action Team

When asked what has changed because of the community policing/domestic violence link in Marin County, "CPAT" was the response by participants at a round table discussion held in April 2001 and in other conversations over the course of the project. The partnership between MAWS and police agencies has been repeatedly described as "improved liaison and collaboration" and "a more equal and balanced collaboration."

Captain Reggie Lyles, Novato Police Department, emphasized the relationship between MAWS and the Novato Police Department as a "progressive community change" relationship, which grew out of the Transforming Communities project.<sup>128</sup> Both partners are "in on the ground floor" regarding power and decisions and results, versus a superficial partnership. He also cited wider change in the relationships between advocates

and police since 1993, as agency leadership has changed. When faced with an advocate's perspective on how their agencies can improve, "the chiefs seem to be more in tune; this is not [taken as] as criticism, this is just the way things naturally go in a truly collaborative effort."

Improved partnership and collaboration between the police and advocacy communities was cited repeatedly by the Marin participants as one of the accomplishments of the community policing and domestic violence project. CPAT is one example. The change is also marked, in many of their examples, by stronger personal relationships between individual officers and MAWS staff. Donna Garske, MAWS Executive Director, and Captain Lyles also characterized it as a more systemic change, creating an expectation of collaboration.

*The notion of a collaborative relationship with the law enforcement community [is] more viable and positive. – Donna Garske*

*We in the law enforcement community have to learn to be just as flexible as advocates are. We have to get together to see what is valuable, to see how it can work for us, and to explore how we can get what we want out of it. – Capt. Reggie Lyles*

CPAT members offered these observations about change in law enforcement and advocates' relationships:

- *The training really turned some of the sergeants around. It's improving the comfort level with people from different points of view, roles. By exposing each side to each other's frustrations there's more openness and improved trust.*
- *There's a dialogue there that wasn't there [before] and much better communications. It used to be that police were seen as "The Ma," not part of the team. Now, great lines of communication are open. We're partners.*
- *We put names to faces and developed rapport. It seems to be holding.*

#### Community Unit Responding to Batterers (CURB)

The Marin County Community Policing Project cites two examples of what it describes as law enforcement-MAWS-community partnerships: the CURB program and Workplace Violence Campaign. However, both efforts are less examples of a deliberate community policing strategy initiated by the police than illustrations of law enforcement receptivity to working with community partners. Both are MAWS-initiated and directed, with varying degrees of law enforcement participation. Of the two, CURB comes closest at this point to a model of wider police-advocate-community engagement.

CURB grew out of a focus group of MAWS Men's Program (batterers' program) graduates who were asked: What could have helped you stop your violence? Their first response was to suggest a poster campaign (later implemented by MAWS) with the slogan *change your behavior before you change your address* and an image of a man behind bars. That led to discussions about what would happen if someone intervened at the time of the arrest. CURB volunteers are members of the community who have successfully completed the MAWS program for batterers, remained violence-free for one year, and completed a five-hour training with the Men's Program Manager. A CURB volunteer comes to the jail, in response to a deputy's call, to meet with a man who has been arrested for violence against his partner. They provide information about restraining orders, try to obtain a verbal agreement to not violate the order or act violently, and emphasize options available to change his behavior.

Predating the CURB program, the Jail Class is a collaboration between MAWS and the jail to provide a two-hour class to men once a week. The class addresses battering and the social conditions and beliefs that support domestic violence. The trained facilitators include community members who have completed the 52-week (156 hours) batterers' program, plus additional training on abuse prevention and intervention. Forty to sixty men attend class each week.

#### Workplace Violence Campaign

Data collected by the COPS Project in 2000 showed a high number of arrests of men employed in the construction and restaurant businesses. In response, the project decided to shift from more general community action campaigns to one focused specifically on the workplace in the two industries identified. This campaign fits within the larger goal of focused community organizing, education, and mobilization, or "co-production of safety." Within the Marin County conceptualization of community policing as applied to domestic violence, the significance of the workplace violence campaign is less the direct involvement of officers than the support that wider community action provides to law enforcement, and vice versa.

- If violence in a relationship is indeed not to be tolerated, then law enforcement can remove excuses for violence as readily as community members. Batterers, and those around them, are more likely to consider community messages against abuse when coupled by law enforcement's response. This might result in increased legitimacy for the community's action and law enforcement's [action], legitimacy that neither entity could gain on its own.
- Batterers might readily dismiss the message of an arrest: "The cops were unfair" [or] "The system is stacked against men." Such a dismissal becomes more difficult if the community is also joined in providing a similar message: "violence is not to be tolerated, your arrest is evidence that you have a problem with violence."<sup>129</sup>

Still in its early stages, the workplace violence campaign thus far has been one of persuading employers in the two industries to distribute educational materials and

information via the job sites. According to the COPS Team organizer for the project, the emphasis is on a “positive message, not ‘domestic violence is a crime.’”

Through 2001, officers have had little direct involvement in the Workplace Campaign. The COPS Project plans to link the CPAT and the Workplace Campaign, however. It would be a vehicle to move from internal community engagement – the law enforcement community – to broader engagement in a targeted community: the workplace. What the CPAT will do has yet to be determined.

At this point in its development, partnership in the context of community policing and domestic violence in Marin County primarily means the partnership between MAWS and county law enforcement agencies. While MAWS has considerable community involvement via its Community Action Teams and various public education campaigns, these are not police-MAWS-community collaborations. This may change, however, as the police, primarily via the CPAT, are brought in to a wider circle of involvement, such as the Workplace Campaign. “CPAT will engage the community as the next step in its strategic plan,” as one COPS Team member put it. Steps have been taken in that direction. CPAT members have secured proclamations for Domestic Violence Awareness Month and organized an informational e-mail campaign among city and county agencies.

### Problem Solving

*Deliberate problem solving following a model doesn't happen.*

Deputy Julie Sobaszekiewicz, the CP Liaison, was speaking more broadly about problem solving and policing, and officers' day-to-day work. The CPAT experience has been more deliberate and focused, utilizing a strategic planning process developed by MAWS as a problem-solving tool. The problem-solving model used by the Community Policing Action Team is not the SARA model, although there are commonalities in the process, as with problem-solving approaches in general. In its broadest sense, the CPAT problem-solving approach is grounded in the Transforming Communities' cycle of theory, action, and reflection.

The problem-solving tool used with the CPAT is a strategic planning process that designs a “map for social transformation.”<sup>130</sup> Beginning with a process of articulating the “current reality” and the “new reality,” the community team identifies its overall goal and the problem or action area. It then “maps” the process of getting there by defining goals and objectives, resources, allies and opposition, actions, outcomes and evaluations, and methods. This forms the basis of a strategic plan. The CPAT strategic plan included this broad mission: “To ensure the safety of victims, children, and officers. To hold the perpetrator accountable and promote batterer intervention programs. To ultimately prevent domestic violence.” It identified the “problem or action area” as the “need to change attitudes from blaming victims or questioning why they stay, to holding the perpetrators accountable” and the “need to take verbal violence calls as an opportunity

for education (early intervention), and warn the perpetrator about consequences of future abuse/violence.”

The Community Policing Action Team strategic planning process identified four problems it would address: 1) underreporting by victims and the community; 2) insufficient education about domestic violence; 3) need for a change in attitude from blaming victims to holding perpetrators accountable; and 4) need for law enforcement to take the verbal violence call as an opportunity for intervention. Its first approach, however, was to step back and prepare patrol officers throughout the county to better understand and respond to domestic violence. Its primary goal in 2000 was to design and deliver countywide training. As noted earlier, the focus was on the *internal* law enforcement community, with affecting the wider goals by addressing the “knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs” of responding officers.

### Training to Law Enforcement First Responders

The countywide training conducted in early 2001 was a direct and significant accomplishment of the community policing project. It was a first-time collaboration between advocates (Marin Abused Women’s Services) and law enforcement (Community Policing Action Team) to create and deliver training to the police community. With an initial goal of reaching 350 officers, the final attendance was 440, including patrol officers, sergeants, jail personnel, and dispatchers. A volunteer committee, including CPAT members, an assistant district attorney, and MAWS’ staff, developed and presented the training.

The training was a solid stepping-off point for the CPAT. Although drafted in 1998 by the Domestic Violence Coordinating Council, there had been no uniform action to implement the countywide protocol. While presented as training on “primary/dominant aggressor and community oriented policing,” the daylong session was primarily devoted to police function in response to domestic violence calls. This reflected the results of the officer survey. “Applying community policing to domestic violence” was the lowest priority among the available topics.

Marin CPAT Officer Survey – “Training you think should be emphasized or given top priority.” (N=43)

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Number of Responses</u>
Regular updates on new domestic violence laws	40
Primary aggressor training	27
Local resources and services for victims of violence and for perpetrators	26
Dealing with child victims or witnesses	24
Officer safety precautions	21
Lethality assessment	18
Applying community policing to domestic violence	9

These results are not particularly surprising. Patrol officers gravitate toward topics that they perceive as having the most concrete, on-the-job value. “Applying community policing to domestic violence” is a vague statement that offers no sense of what this might actually mean. Does it mean working more closely with advocates? Or organizing residents to leaflet a neighborhood? In addition, the results reflect the absence of previous action and attention to the uniform protocol. Officers are concerned about what they need to know and what they need to do.

Reflective of the survey, the CPAT-developed training included a single thirty-minute lecture addressed directly to community policing: *Community Oriented Policing In Domestic Violence & The Role Of The Marin Abused Services (MAWS) Advocate*. Two instructors, a sergeant from the largest municipal agency and the MCSO liaison to MAWS, presented the conceptual framework for applying community policing to domestic violence, which they called “Best Practices *Plus*” (Table 3).<sup>131</sup> Through it, they attempt to expand the scope of officer involvement and suggest a different approach. Much of what is laid out under community policing and problem solving is the kind of coordinated community response that has been emphasized since the mid-1980s: referrals to community agencies; coordination and follow-up with advocates, prosecutor, and courts; improved coordination among law enforcement agencies; and multi-disciplinary training.

What is a more distinctively community policing idea, from the standpoint of community engagement, problem solving, and organizational change, is the recommendation to “keep officers’ assignments consistent,” for the purpose of getting to know families and neighborhoods. Officers would “establish trust with [the] victim and perpetrator” to better intervene in verbal or non-criminal incidents and focus on future or ongoing victim safety and perpetrator treatment.

How this would happen is unclear. Would officers knock on doors throughout the neighborhood and provide prevention and resource information? Would they follow-up on all domestic violence related contacts? Would they target specific households with known reports? Would they contact households where a protection order had been issued, regardless of whether there was a record of police calls? The training did not address these questions, along with the overriding issue of how to take such actions in a way that ensures victim safety.

“Best Practices *Plus*” also articulates a more active role for police in challenging the perception that domestic violence is not something that warrants community attention. It emphasizes coordinated, collaborative media campaigns, with the county law enforcement agencies and their partners speaking in one voice at one time. This approach has been evident through their increased role in acknowledging Domestic Violence Awareness Month. In 2000 this included a publicized, coordinated effort to enforce outstanding domestic violence warrants.

CPAT and COPS Team members repeatedly cited the first responder training when asked to describe the project's impact. It helped repair what many described as a longstanding poor relationship between officers and advocates. Beginning with the development team that planned the training and wrote the curriculum, the CPAT modeled a new way of working together. They brought an assistant prosecutor into the project as well. One CPAT member contrasted their work with a previous grant that was characterized by poor communication and cooperation among police, prosecutors, and advocates. "Because of the training, the relationship between MAWS and the DA has improved, plus between the DA and law enforcement." Others noted the importance of "bringing [officers] from all over Marin County, with a wide range of knowledge and experience and calls." Now, "every first responder in court is on the same page."

**Table 3. Community Policing (COPS) & Domestic Violence**  
 From Marin County Law Enforcement 2001 Domestic Violence Training  
 Adapted from material developed by Travis Fritsch

COPS does <i>NOT</i> replace 'best practice' police interventions. COPS brings victims & other community partners into effective intervention & prevention strategies.			
Issues	Traditional Policing	Best Practices	Community Policing And Problem Solving (Best Practice Plus)
Probable cause for 273.5 or 243(e)(1)	Hook and book, EPO, Shelter -> where can victim go?, education, consider "perpetrator's" story, <u>conflict management</u> , diffusion, mediation, referral, intervention -> avoid arrest, keep family together, avoid crime, justice involvement.	Pro-arrest, <u>high-quality reports</u> and evidence collection, investigation, follow-up by L.E., maintain communication with victim, victim advocacy, assistance for children.	Suspect referred to Men's Program, follow-up with D.A., keep officers' assignments consistent, officers get to know families and neighborhoods, concerned with future safety of victim and treatment for perpetrators, partner with community agencies, need improvements in court system – probation, programs, laws, etc, encourage victim to use MAWS and Victim Witness, cross-training.
Verbal dispute – domestic violence relationship	No action, "take a walk," no crime. "We come back, someone goes to jail." "What did you do?" "Why don't you leave?" Some victim-blaming, violence often escalated after some police visit, provide information on related issues -> drugs, alcohol, arrest for public drunkenness.	Document call regarding nature of call, investigate if there's history of physical violence, make referrals, educate victim about cycle of violence, follow-up with reporting party (even if not victim), interview children, warn primary aggressor that he'll be arrested for physical violence, follow-up after situation cools down to get better response from perpetrator.	Follow-up with batterer, coordinate L.E. branches, encourage participation with MAW for both victim and perpetrator, policy that requires the follow-up, focus on responsibility of batterer, establish trust with victim and perpetrator.
Perception in community that DV is not a serious problem, that sometimes DV is acceptable behavior & that DV is none of their business.	Believe and follow this attitude perpetuates the problem.	Educate community groups, individuals, etc. Presentations through partnerships, follow the law despite attitude, publish stats on DV, media action.	Educate media on importance of DV. Use public information, officer, each agency – L.E. MAWS, children's advocacy groups, etc. – contact media at the same time. DVAM (October) actions, follow-up on warrants for DV, press conference, corporate partners. <hr/> Cross-training and coordination in including emergency response workers.

### Reducing Recidivism

The Marin County COPS Project seeks to reduce repeat offenses by emphasizing individual accountability and the opportunity to change, via CURB intervention, and by increasing community intolerance of domestic violence.

As described previously, the Community Unit Responding to Batterers is comprised of “reformed batterers,” volunteers who have successfully completed the Men’s Program and remained violence-free, and MAWS staff members. Following arrest and booking on a domestic violence-related charge, jail deputies page the CURB volunteer on call. Within thirty minutes the volunteer reports to the jail and meets with the offender. The CURB volunteer emphasizes accountability for his violence, explains Emergency Protection Order restrictions, provides information about the Men’s Program, and seeks a verbal agreement from the perpetrator that he will respect the protection order, refrain from future violence, and call the men’s hotline if he feels violent.

The second component in Marin County’s effort to reduce repeat violence is a focused community education and mobilization campaign led by the COPS Team. They conduct training sessions and informational presentations for community-based organizations. They organize rallies and marches with the goal of increasing community awareness of and resistance to domestic violence. Community intervention proceeds with several repeated and consistent messages.<sup>132</sup>

- Domestic violence is a public concern, not simply a private matter.
- Awareness + Community Action = Change.
- Domestic violence is learned and can be unlearned.
- Violence is always a choice.
- Deny, Minimize, Blame, and Collude: Batterers and the community perpetuate violence by these reactions.
- Information about MAWS services.
- A call to action and recruitment of volunteers.

Evaluation conducted thus far on behalf of Marin Abused Women’s Services suggests that this combination of jail-based intervention and wider community education has an impact on domestic violence recidivism.<sup>133</sup> Between June 1998 and June 2000, evaluators studied rearrest records for 474 men arrested on domestic violence-related offenses, primarily under felony and additional charges.

Less than half of the men (42%) received CURB intervention at the time of booking. (Arrestees can refuse the CURB contact and during this period jail deputies were inconsistent in calling or not connecting with the volunteer on call.)<sup>ix</sup> CURB by

---

<sup>ix</sup> According to Mark Owens, MAWS Men’s Project Manager, it’s often the newest deputies assigned to the jail who contact CURB, but more seasoned deputies may be more perceptive and pick up a wider range of domestic violence related calls. Latino men (21% of those arrested) are less interested because none of the current CURB volunteers speak Spanish. The call rate has improved with the interest and attention of a new

itself proved to be ineffective. The recidivism rate was the same as those of men who received no intervention. If, however, CURB was involved and the offender lived in an area of the county where community education and organizing activities occurred, the recidivism rate was significantly less (4% compared to 17%).

On its own, the community organizing and education component (known as COMEDORG) had almost twice the impact on recidivism than did CURB intervention alone (9% versus 17%). What accounts for this is unclear. The evaluators offer this observation:

There is the potential that batterers who only receive CURB do not have the sufficient aura of anti-violence norms in the rest of their daily lives to overcome persistent minimization and denial of their violence. CURB is a 30-minute intervention that occurs at a jail, after which volunteers may never again interact with a batterer unless he is rearrested.<sup>134</sup>

The community organizing activities were not broadly distributed throughout Marin County. Twenty-two of twenty-nine involved social service organizations. COMEDORG did not focus on neighborhood associations, schools, and churches. In attempting to gauge the impact of the activity, evaluators sought out participants of the various presentations and trainings. What they found was a high turnover rate among social service agency workers. Of the 531 people exposed to some type of community education and organizing between January and June 2000, contact information existed for only 29. Half of those 29 had changed agencies since the COMEDORG event and could not be located. Ultimately, evaluators were able to contact and interview only five individuals who had received some level of exposure to community organizing and education.

While five subjects make an uncertain footing for analysis, their experiences suggest the possibility that “COMEDORG may initiate community-level responses which may not have been utilized in the past.”<sup>135</sup> Where arrest triggers a reach for counseling or other social service intervention, and where those responding have a better understanding of domestic violence and available support, such as the MAWS Men’s Program, repeat violence may be less likely. One CPAT member observed: “In our town there seems to be a lot more awareness about where to go for help. I made an arrest Christmas Eve and he knew what we were doing and why. He heard about the Men’s Program and wanted to contact it. There’s a better community understanding . . . of the need for intervention.”

### Acting on the CPAT Strategic Plan

Donna Garske, Executive Director of Marin Abused Women’s Services, describes the Community Policing Action Team as a “forum for problem identification” and a “planned process for creating change.” The CPAT agenda for 2001 was to address two

---

lieutenant at the jail and the countywide training. Between March and June, the jail called on 100% of arrests.

of the problems identified via its strategic plan: lack of reporting domestic violence by both victims and the community and insufficient community education. Completing the countywide training occupied the first quarter of the year. At their April meeting, CPAT members offered and explored responses to both problems. The framing question was: “What community policing strategies can we use to address the problems?”

Problem One: Victims and the community do not always report domestic violence to law enforcement.

- Conduct multi-language community campaigns, particularly in Spanish.
- Form partnerships with School Resource Officers in middle and high schools to develop domestic violence prevention and intervention programs specific to each level of school.
- Conduct a public awareness campaign similar to the Prom Night Awareness Campaign, launched after prom-related accidents and sexual assaults.
- Conduct a cross-agency and cross-culture awareness campaign, with an emphasis on new partnerships and reaching “beyond our comfort zones.”
- Establish a 1-800 “tip line” for residents to anonymously report incidents of domestic violence.
- Form partnership with the media community to run public service announcements that emphasize domestic violence as a crime and how to report it. The PSAs would appear at movie theaters, bus stops, and on buses and other public transportation.
- Provide domestic violence information at the crime-prevention booth at Marin County Fair.
- Explore ways to increase reporting in Latino community.

Problem Two: Community education about domestic violence is insufficient.

- Take advantage of existing resolutions and proclamations. [As part of its work in 2000, CPAT members secured resolutions from their respective units of government regarding Domestic Violence Awareness Month.]
- Focus on a specific, simple message and repeat it frequently. Example: “It’s not cool for a man to hit a woman.”
- Use thematic outreach messages, such as the billboard series developed by the Family Violence Prevention Fund, emphasizing that domestic violence is a crime and it is preventable. Send the message that the community no longer tolerates domestic violence.
- Participate in Domestic Violence Awareness Month activities.
- Place bumper stickers on all patrol cars: “There’s No Excuse for Domestic Violence.”
- Be more proactive at “dispute” (non-criminal) calls: take the advantage to intervene earlier before more severe abuse occurs.
- Be clear about the consequences of domestic violence.
- Standardize the response: the same treatment from arrest to booking to CURB intervention in the jail.

- Distribute pocket-size resource cards with information about the domestic violence law and the MAW's men's program.

CPAT members left the meeting with this list of possible actions, but they did not identify any one response to pursue. By the June 2001 meeting, the COPS Team had decided to step back from wider police-community engagement and focus on "law enforcement as a community." This stemmed from recognition that officers already felt overburdened with the demands on their time and would not be receptive to additional work, particularly as it emphasized new community activities and types of involvement outside their usual experience. The COPS Team decided to emphasize continual training of law enforcement officers with the expectation that "if they are trained more, they will naturally affect [the] community in a positive way."<sup>136</sup>

Between June and August 2001, the Community Policing Action Team refocused its attention to four activities, emphasizing the role that team members would play in influencing the law enforcement community. These included:

1. Design and print a poster to be used in briefing rooms, locker rooms, and other law enforcement agency locations. Framed with the patches of all Marin County agencies, it carries the slogan *Complete Investigation + Complete Report = Intervention/Prevention* and contact information for the CP Liaison and MAWS.
2. Obtain their jurisdiction's permission to participate in a Domestic Violence Awareness Month (DVAM) e-mail campaign to public employees.
3. Contact civic organizations in their jurisdiction to offer a DVAM speaker, coordinated via the CP Liaison.
4. Provide the MAWS "Wish List" to their agencies, inviting individual officers to make contributions of supplies and household goods to support the shelter, transitional living homes, and other programs.

In keeping with its interest in continuing education for officers, the CPAT is also planning a local video, using expertise from a local college film program and the studio facilities of the California Peace Officer Standards and Training agency. It would emphasize the practical relationship between law enforcement officers and MAWS, the process of making referrals, and frequently asked questions.

### The Role of Evaluation

The Marin County COPS project set out to reduce the rate of repeat domestic violence and to strengthen prevention-oriented community mobilization, with broad law enforcement involvement and visibility via the Community Policing Action Team. It put an evaluation component in place from the beginning to assess the results, which it sees as a critical element in problem solving.<sup>137</sup> The evaluation includes a Community Education/Organizing database that tracks community contacts, ongoing analysis of the CURB intervention and community education/organizing intervention (both individually and separately), and attention to CPAT strategies and the police-advocate partnership.

The data sources for the evaluation include booking logs, researcher observation and field notes, meeting minutes, news articles, focus group discussions, interviews, and crisis line phone log tallies.

Among the evaluation findings (which are reported throughout this case study): community education/organizing has reached over 84,000 community members since March 1998. The most significant claim is that “county-wide rates of domestic violence recidivism decreased 73%.”<sup>138</sup> Marin County attributes this to the combination of on-site intervention (CURB) with community outreach and education. The evaluation also found that after “difficult initial periods in forming a community policing partnership,” law enforcement and advocates have experienced success, particularly via the COPS Liaison, CPAT, and the countywide training. CPAT “shows great promise in creating officer buy-in, in providing an environment in which officers can foster domestic violence prevention and response in their departments.”<sup>139</sup>

Dropping the repeat offense rate by 73% is a bold finding and warrants a closer look. During the study period (April 1998 through December 1999), after an initial arrest, evaluators tracked male offenders for subsequent domestic violence related charges. Recidivism was defined as any rearrest for a domestic violence crime in the six months following the initial arrest.

Rates of repeat violence followed a steady downward trend over the course of the project. The rate of repeat arrests for DV in the months April through June 1998, before the project was fully implemented, was 96.2 per 1,000 men arrested for domestic violence. The last three months during which a full six months of follow-up data were available were April through June 1999. In that quarter the rate of repeat male offenders was 26 per 1,000 DV-related arrests.<sup>140</sup>

There are some cautions in drawing conclusions about repeat violence from this information, as the evaluators note.

Repeat offending as defined by re-arrests for a DV-related offense during the program did fall by 73 percent. Because of the number of months examined, and the dependency on a quasi-experimental design, it is difficult to conclude if this drop was due entirely to the COPS Project or to other factors at work in the community over the course of the project. A relatively strong economy and a decrease in all types of crimes could also account for the decline, as could some unmeasured criminal justice system response, such as increased prosecution, or increased victim services.<sup>141</sup>

In addition, reduced recidivism rates do not necessarily mean that victim safety has improved. “Batterers may continue to offend without being identified by the criminal justice system. Battered women may not experience continued physical violence but have their safety continually threatened. Recidivism rates can be considered one source of data, which should be used in conjunction with multiple approaches.”<sup>142</sup> At MAWS request, the COPS Project evaluators did not conduct follow-up interviews with

offenders' partners, but used hotline calls and reports from focus groups and observations in an attempt to gauge the reliability of the decline in recidivism. Using these methods, they concluded that there was no indication that the decline was due to offenders sidestepping arrest or coercing victims into not calling the police.

The suggestion that the combination of community education and early jail-based intervention might reduce repeat violence is significant and we will learn more if Marin County is able to sustain both strategies.

### Organizational Change

Marin County law enforcement agencies have not made significant changes in organizational structure and function as part of their more general participation in community policing. While some have articulated mission statements that support a community policing orientation, for the most part they fall in the broad group of police agencies that assign an individual officer or unit to some project or activity under the community policing label, such as participation in CPAT.

In the context of domestic violence response, however, Marin County law enforcement agencies are involved in a level of organizational change via their participation in the community policing project lead by Marin Abused Women's Services. One element in this is acknowledging the leadership role of the community-based organization. Another is the willingness to commit officer time as well as continuity to the Community Policing Action Team and to consider a wider prevention role for officers.

The Marin County Sheriff's Office support behind the COPS Team and CPAT, its willingness to work with MAWS, and its decision to place a deputy in the advocacy program are notable commitments to a different relationship between law enforcement and a community-based organization. As Donna Garske, MAWS Executive Director, notes, "the financial support from the Marin County Sheriff's Office backing [the CP Liaison] says a lot in terms of support, as does the continuous presence of the line officers." According to the CP Liaison, "the Sheriff backed me on anything I did there." At the same time, as one of the COPS team members observed, the typical officer on the street probably does not see the position as integral to the organization. Rather than reflecting an expectation of applying community policing to domestic violence, the CP Liaison is individually identified. It's "just what Julie does."

There is an expectation on the part of the MAWS organizers that the Community Policing Action Team will influence a deeper level of change: "implementation of CPAT strategies based on a community policing framework will require organizational change within police organizations through leadership and training. Therefore, the COPS Project will integrate *community policing* training with *protocol* training to facilitate law enforcement's development of a unified conception and practice of community policing and problem solving throughout the county to address domestic violence."<sup>143</sup>

Arriving at a “unified conception and practice of community policing” is a tall order. It has eluded many (and some commentators would say most) police agencies that have attempted it. Whether it can be accomplished within the boundaries of domestic violence response, but not organization-wide, or among the dozen-plus organizations in Marin County, remains a question. As the CPAT survey and subsequent training reveals, community policing is not at the top of the list for officers. Their interest is in the protocol side: what do I do when, where, and how?

It is too soon to tell what level of organizational change might unfold via the long-term influence of CPAT. Will officers carry the experience with them as they move through their organizations? Or, will their attention be drawn to other problems, CPAT being merely one of the many special projects to which departments commit officer time?

## **Conclusions**

When asked what they wish they would have done differently with their community policing project, the COPS Team indicated that at first they were not working with the right people in the Sheriff’s Office. Not everyone was on board and participation was part-time. A large part of the project has been learning about relationship building and they should have “frontloaded it, paid more attention to it.” Two years later they expressed a better understanding of each other’s jobs: “what we do, not what you think we do.” They also noted that they regretted discontinuing police ride-alongs for advocates. They stopped because of the time involved to schedule and complete them. “It would have helped build relationships and understanding of what police and advocates do.”

One of the significant accomplishments, cited by a COPS Team member, was their success in “bridging the gap, bringing together the two communities (police and advocates), two polarized communities.” A member of the MAWS staff expressed surprise at the “number of people in law enforcement who, from their own position in the jail, dispatch, or patrol, really took on domestic violence work.” One of the law enforcement partners noted that “MAWS staff had to stop cop bashing. It was a pattern, a habit. They didn’t necessarily know they were doing it, but they were willing to change, to question what they were doing” when confronted with it. Another participant has described the community policing project as a learning experience about “how difficult it is to create real collaboration, with trust and respect,” citing the initially cool reception to CURB by the jail staff. Over time that has changed to where “we now get feedback from deputies on how the program’s going, how it could be better.”

If community engagement is ultimately measured as changing the community norms that have supported domestic violence, then CPAT holds promise and its impact will be evident as time passes. It is a distinctive effort to move police beyond their arrest/enforce/refer functions to a role of community education and change. Observation of the CPAT in action reinforces the conclusions of the Year 2000 Evaluation. Team

members demonstrate “uncommon enthusiasm” in their involvement; they are committed to raising awareness in their departments and communities, and rapport between CPAT members is strong. Whether this can be sustained and strengthened is the next challenge. Thus far, most of the Marin community policing project’s work has been familiar ground for law enforcement: designing and delivering and attending a training program. Taking on a social change campaign and a gender analysis of men’s violence against women sets new and unfamiliar challenges before the Community Policing Action Team.

## **Postscript**

By the close of 2001, the Community Policing Liaison had returned to the Marin County Sheriff’s Office. Because of staff shortages and funding pressures at MCSO, the department did not provide a replacement or continue to cover the cost of the position. Because of a reduction in funding under VAWA, Marin Abuse Women’s Services was unable to continue the CP Liaison and no other law enforcement agency came forward to pick up the position. As a result, the Community Policing Action Team was put “on hold.” Without the understanding and credibility that a law enforcement officer brought to the CP Liaison, the CPAT lost its focus and energy. As one member described it: “CPAT needs to have someone from law enforcement in that role. As soon as law enforcement attention wanders, drifts off, we see that separation [between police and advocates] again. It needs to be right there at MAWS.” MAWS’ staff expressed frustration at the impact that launching a new project of this scope has on an organization when funding and support suddenly disappear: “it takes a while to integrate, then ‘boom,’ it disappears.”

## **Appendix F: London, Kentucky Case Study**

Prepared for the Battered Women's Justice Project by  
Jane M. Sadusky

London was one of four partner sites<sup>x</sup> that collaborated with the Battered Women's Justice Project Criminal Justice Center to examine the ways that domestic violence intervention can move beyond the limits of the criminal justice system and develop the capacity for diverse communities to engage in active problem solving. This case study examines London, Kentucky's experience with the application of community policing strategies to domestic violence between 1999 and 2001.

### **The Community**

London, Kentucky is a rural community of 7,890 people, located 75 miles south of Lexington, in a region known as the Cumberland Valley. The surrounding county, Laurel County, has a total population of 53,700, including London. After an annexation in 2001, London became the largest city in the county. Its population increased by over 2,000 (from 5,700 to 7,890), without any increase in police personnel. The annexation added 250 families in one mobile home development and three low-income housing projects.

According to the 2000 Census, London is predominantly white (96%), as is the surrounding county. The African-American population is approximately 2%, with the combined Native American, Asian, and Latinos populations all under one per cent of the population. Within Laurel County, the median household income is \$27,146 and 30% of children live below the poverty level.

The London Police (LPD) has 30 sworn officers. Between 1999 and 2001, they responded to an average of 200 domestic violence calls each year, with 44 (22%) resulting in arrest.

Since 1992, Kentucky state law has required law enforcement agencies to have written domestic violence policies. The LPD's first policy was implemented in 1993, following the state model policy, and updated in 2001. Arrest is the preferred response, when required by state law, such as violation of an Emergency Protection Order, Domestic Violence Order, Foreign Protection Order, or condition of release or bond. "Every response to a domestic violence call" shall be treated the same as any other crime

---

<sup>x</sup> The other sites were Duluth (MN), Marin County (CA), and Chicago. This project was supported by Grant No. 1977-WT-VX-K006 awarded by the Office on Violence Against Women, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view in this document are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

against a person, include a substantive investigation, and take “every step possible” to “insure the safety of the victim, including providing a safety plan . . . and transporting the victim and children, when appropriate, to another site for safekeeping.”<sup>144</sup>

Kentucky is a mandatory reporting state. It is “unique in the inclusion of spouse abuse within the Adult Protection Act.”<sup>145</sup> A broad list of public safety and social service personnel, including physicians, law enforcement officers, nurses, and social workers, must report “abuse or neglect inflicted by a spouse.” The London Police Department uses a standard state-issued report form, the “JC-3,” that must be completed “in all cases of **known or suspected** domestic violence and abuse, adult/child abuse, neglect or exploitation.”<sup>146</sup> Within forty-eight hours a copy of the report goes to the county social services agency, charged with conducting an investigation and offering protective services to the victim.<sup>147</sup>

The Family Life Abuse Center, a program of the Christian Appalachian Project, provides shelter and other domestic violence services, including a 24-hour crisis line, to the city of London and Laurel County. Opened in 1984, the Center is funded in part under a contract with the state and covers an eight county jurisdiction. It serves a rural, mountainous region, with large tracts of national forest land and remote areas difficult to reach by road. The shelter has twenty beds and in a year might house 120 women and 150 children. As described in its brochure, the Center also provides “crisis intervention, medical and legal referral, individual counseling, [and] family and marriage referrals.”

The Family Life Abuse Center (FLAC) works with women who are often severely isolated, without access to telephones, transportation, or employment. Law enforcement and medical response to a call at the victim’s residence may take an hour or more and be hampered by poor roads and extreme weather. Often the nearest neighbors are her husband’s family. There remains a level of distrust and suspicion about the shelter. As one Laurel County resident noted, “some women see going to the psychiatric hospital as more acceptable than the shelter.” Statewide, advocates have raised concerns about the mandatory reporting law discouraging victims from coming to shelters or seeking help.<sup>148</sup>

## **The Partners**

### London Police Department

The London Police Department is a small rural agency that operates under an articulated, published mission statement.

The London City Police Department was created to provide protection and law enforcement services to the community of Laurel County. Major goals of the Department are:

- To reduce crime through prevention, detection, and apprehension of offenders.

- To provide for the orderly and safe movement of vehicular traffic through traffic law enforcement, accident prevention, and accident investigation.
- To ensure public safety through regulation and control of hazardous conditions, the recovery and return of stolen property.
- To provide non-enforcement services through programs designed to meet community needs and desires.<sup>149</sup>

The LPD's application of community policing to domestic violence is centered in the work of Sergeant Kenneth Jones. With support from the administration, his interest and enthusiasm has extended to a variety of efforts to expand community attention to domestic violence. These include founding the Laurel County Family Violence Prevention Council, participating in local and regional law enforcement training, and providing community education, such as public service announcements and presentations.

London Police Chief Elijah Hollon's support includes his own participation in training videos developed by the ECU Justice & Safety Center, in cooperation with the London Police Department. In addition to the video and curriculum on risk assessment, "Violence Against Women: Risk and Lethality Assessment," this includes the domestic violence in-service training video developed to meet Kentucky's annual requirement for law enforcement officers, and distributed statewide.

#### Laurel County Family Violence Prevention Council

The Laurel County Family Violence Prevention Council (FVPC) was formed in September 1998 at the initiative of Sgt. Kenneth Jones and Shannon Smith Knight of Ambulance, Inc., a private ambulance service covering London and Laurel County. Their joint participation in a Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) Technical Assistance training delivered by the ECU Justice & Safety Center sparked their collaboration and idea for the council.

In addition to the London Police Department and the ambulance service, members of the FVPC include the Kentucky State Police, Laurel County Sheriff's Office, probation and parole, state and local human services agencies (governmental and non-governmental), county and commonwealth crime victim advocates, and the regional domestic abuse program.<sup>150</sup> While the Family Life Abuse Center participates in the Council, its role has been more peripheral than would be expected in a coordinated community response effort. Leadership has continued to center in law enforcement and emergency medical services.

The FVPC Mission Statement describes its role as a "facilitator in cooperation with the various service providers and the community in an effort to maximize the resources and the services, making them available and accessible to those citizens in need, in accordance to law."

### Eastern Kentucky University Justice & Safety Center (JSC)

Located within the College of Justice and Safety, the Justice and Safety Center (JSC) is the home of grant-funded projects and initiatives that complement the university's academic criminal justice program. It includes programs supported by VAWO grants, a Regional Community Policing Institute (RCPI), and other OCOPS-funded projects. JSC violence against women projects include: technical assistance, training, and resources to small towns and rural areas on the topics of domestic violence in the deaf community and in Native American communities, risk and lethality assessment training, and domestic violence in the workplace. JSC also provides training on domestic violence awareness and response to the Marine Corps. As a RCPI, the Justice and Safety Center implements *Community Policing to Reduce Domestic Violence*, a training of trainers curriculum developed as a joint venture between the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center and the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.<sup>151</sup>

It was the JSC's role as technical assistance provider to small towns and rural areas that led to its collaboration with the London Police Department. Travis Fritsch, Project Coordinator for the JSC violence against women projects, has been the liaison between the center and London. In this capacity she has supported the activities of Sgt. Kenneth Jones and the Family Violence Prevention Council and developed a range of training materials and resources.

Travis Fritsch emphasizes that as the Justice & Safety Center liaison she has been careful to restrict her role to that of advisor and technical assistance provider. "I don't feel like I've ever invaded or told them what to do."<sup>152</sup> She has followed the pace and direction of London and the Family Violence Prevention Council, "in the interest of sustainability and community investment."

## **Goals**

The goals in London have been shaped by the efforts to establish a coordinating council and to bring greater visibility to domestic violence as a law enforcement problem:<sup>153</sup>

- Build an interagency council.
- Develop written policy and protocol that provides for a 'seamless' system of safety and accountability.
- Educate and involve the broader community in prevention and intervention.

While Sgt. Kenneth Jones and Shannon Smith Knight were the catalysts in defining these goals, they found receptive community partners in their employers and other community systems.

Based on her work with the London Police Department, Travis Fritsch expanded on these goals to produce a detailed list of strategies “developed to build community partnerships, to involve and better meet the needs of traditionally underserved populations, and to respond to and prevent all forms of domestic violence” (Table 1, London Case Study).<sup>154</sup> It is an ambitious list of tasks that reflects what *could be* more than what *is*. While these strategies may guide the future development of a community policing response to domestic violence in London, the more immediate work has centered on building a basic framework of relationships and investing a wider segment of the public as well as those involved in law enforcement in acknowledging the problem. As one advocate expressed, “it’s still ‘just a domestic,’ even when there’s been a killing.”

Those involved in the project often described a change as “it’s the first time anything like this has been done in the county,” whether describing the Family Violence Prevention Council, providing cell phones to domestic violence victims, or designing community education materials. London has skimmed the surface of the many issues and strategies Fritsch articulated, but relationship building and greater visibility remained the consistent goals and accomplishments.

## Findings

### Community Engagement and Partnership

The Laurel County Family Violence Prevention Council has been at the center of London’s efforts to build community partnerships. Until its formation in November 1998, there was no mechanism in place to link community systems responding to domestic violence. Key participants have been and remain the London Police Department, the ambulance service, and the county and commonwealth attorney’s victim/witness specialists. Members repeatedly emphasize “connections and relationships” when describing the changes that have occurred. It is clear that this has been a significant and welcome change for those involved with the FVPC.

According to Travis Fritsch, the FVPC’s “most significant success has come from the improved communication among members, overall improved competency of everyone, and the strengthened confidence of victims and the community that [Laurel County] is a community intending to ‘do right’.”<sup>155</sup> According to advocates at the Family Life Abuse Center, “Sgt. Jones’ involvement is distinctive for law enforcement.” The FLAC advocates are involved in five active domestic violence coordinating councils in the region and it is “hard to get steady police presence.” London is an exception to that experience, with Sgt. Jones playing a central role in organizing the council. “Kenny Jones, the council, and the vigil opened doors in the community to get people talking.”<sup>156</sup>

Community engagement in London has been largely drawn in terms of the individuals involved in partnering agencies. In a rural community this is significant, as Sgt. Jones notes, because “by their involvement and action we get to the wider community.”

Activities of the LPD, particularly via Sgt. Jones, and the Family Violence Prevention Council have been directed toward increasing the overall visibility of domestic violence as a community problem. One of their early steps was the first Domestic Violence Awareness Month candlelight vigil every held in Laurel County. Other efforts include longstanding community education practices, such as public speaking, teaching, poster programs, brochures, coloring books, and public service announcements, such as the following:

*This is Sgt. Kenneth Jones with some advice for people who have a friend in an abusive relationship.*

- ✓ *Be a good listener.*
- ✓ *Tell her it is not her fault.*
- ✓ *Help her find resources and support available in her community.*
- ✓ *Contact your local police department, Community Based Services, or local victims advocate for advice.*

*This message was brought to you by the Laurel County Family Violence Prevention Council,*

*And remember, there is no excuse for domestic violence.*

London Police Department PSA-Domestic Violence

### Problem Solving

Problem solving in London is not a distinct, articulated process following a particular model, such as S.A.R.A.\* As Sgt. Jones noted, officers tend to “jump to response” and skip the analysis.

Sgt. Jones and Shannon Smith Knight’s work in establishing the Family Violence Prevention Council, however, reflects a more deliberate problem-solving approach. The problem they addressed was the lack of connection and cooperation between organizations and agencies responding to domestic violence in Laurel County. They set out to answer the following questions:

- What kinds of intervention and prevention services exist in Laurel County?
- Who are the possible partners?
- What kinds of working relationships exist?
- What strategies and partnerships should be developed?

Drawing on the JSC’s technical assistance session, they decided that an interagency domestic violence council would be the mechanism to achieve the necessary communication and collaboration.

The FVPC’s initial activities have more of a community-building flavor than a problem-solving emphasis. The “twenty-five enthusiastic people”<sup>157</sup> who attended the

---

\* S.A.R.A. is a problem-solving approach associated with community policing: Scan, Analyze, Respond, Assess.

first meeting needed to get to know one another, as well as project their common identity as the Laurel County Family Violence Prevention Council. Consequently, they began with the following projects:

- Cell phones for domestic violence victims, donated by a local business and distributed via the county attorney's office.
- Domestic Violence Awareness Month activities, including the first candlelight vigil (50 participants) ever held in Laurel County.
- Security Satchels provided to children at domestic violence incidents. These include a stuffed animal, crayons, and a safety plan coloring book.
- Countywide distribution of posters and brochures containing safety plan information.

This approach met a need in London and Laurel County to begin with a narrow range of activities that would unite the members of the FVPC and increase public visibility of domestic violence.

With this base, the FVPC can shift to problems within the community systems' responses to domestic violence, which will require more deliberate, complex problem solving. For example, prosecution of domestic violence charges rests with the victim. If she does not appear on a scheduled date, there is either no effort to find out why she is absent or advocates can't reach her. (Often there is no phone number or it has been disconnected.) FVPC members would like to reissue the Emergency Protective Order (EPO) in such situations until there can be victim contact and follow-up. They would also like to schedule all domestic violence cases on the same day in district court. Another concern is to shift the focus of prosecution from the victim to the offender, proceeding on the basis of officers' statements and evidence, independent of the victim initiating prosecution.

Advocates at the Family Life Abuse Center identified several problems with overall law enforcement response in the region that will challenge the FVPC: officers don't show up or don't get back to victims; there is no investigation if the offender is gone when officers arrive; there is little on-scene investigation; EPO enforcement is poor; and there is a high level of dual arrest. A typical law enforcement response, they contend, is to tell the victim to "just leave" or threaten to arrest her: "if we have to come out here one more time, you're both going to jail."

The contribution that the London police department, and Sgt. Jones in particular, make in this environment is to model a response that is more firmly grounded in concerns about victim safety. It's "better in London," as one advocate put it, "better than what it was," although how a victim is treated still "depends on the officer."

An overarching challenge for London and the FVPC will be to address the features of rural communities that particularly impact domestic violence, as described by Neil Websdale in his study of rural woman abuse in Kentucky: "lack of transportation, geographic isolation that renders escape difficult, absence of effective social services

intervention, and a cultural climate that fosters a view of women as subordinate. All of these factors tend to limit resistance and exacerbate abuse.”<sup>158</sup> Staff at the Family Life Abuse Center echoed Websdale’s conclusion: “officers don’t understand the larger social, cultural impact of violence and the process of safety for her.” Within the criminal justice system and the community there is a need to change the “basic belief of what domestic violence is, and realizing that it’s not just hitting and cutting.”

### Organizational Change

The development of the Family Violence Prevention Council is an organizational shift in that there is now a new entity shaping the community response to domestic violence. The degree to which it accomplishes significant changes in policies and practices has yet to be determined. Its mission statement calls for the council to “act as facilitator” and “maximize the resources and the services,” which does not frame its role as making structural and organizational change.

However, change in the level of collaboration in a community does not necessarily include much, if any, organizational change. FVPC members work with organizations that look substantially like they did before the council was established. This includes the London Police Department. Community policing remains one of four functional areas within the Operations Division, along with Patrol, Vehicle Maintenance, and School Liaison. It is in effect a “split force,” with what are considered community policing functions set aside as separate from general patrol officer duties. While this approach can maximize individual interest and enthusiasm, it can also leave community policing strategies isolated from the broader work of the organization.

*We’ve had COP for as long as I can remember. 99.9% [of officers] are doing COP and don’t realize they’re doing it. – Sgt. Kenneth Jones*

In a small town police agency with thirty officers, change has fewer layers to work through. The decentralization and geographic definition required to establish community policing in a larger organization are of less urgency, because there is less distance to bridge in police-community interactions. While the structural impediments to community policing may be fewer or more easily overcome in rural areas and small towns, community engagement and problem solving can still require a significant change in orientation, and prove challenging to police leadership. The community may have certain expectations that shape police response: take care of traffic, barking dogs, and noisy teenagers; don’t pay too much attention to underage drinking or domestic violence.<sup>159</sup>

Officers may see little need for a deliberate, community policing approach to their work. “We’ve always done community policing,” is a frequent response in rural communities when the question comes up. They already ‘know everyone’ and their problems. They respond to a great variety of calls – from stalled cars to cows on the road to domestic violence – and problem solving seems unnecessary.

The unfortunate tendency of officers to assume that they already know everything about a problem, including what causes it, may be even greater in small towns, because they know the people involved and much of the history and context of the problem. This kind of intimate knowledge generally helps in problem solving, of course, but it can interfere if it precludes objective analysis.<sup>160</sup>

Along with their colleagues in larger jurisdictions, rural officers may not see community engagement and problem solving as “real” police work. These strategies face on-going skepticism from officers who see community responsiveness and cooperation as a soft approach, and characterize community policing as the *pooper-scooper patrol*, the *love police*, or *milk-and-cookies cops*.

The LPD administration has made an effort to implement community policing strategies department-wide. The “drop and walk,” for example, is an attempt to initiate more deliberate community contacts and problem solving. Patrol officers park their cars in neighborhoods and public housing complexes and walk the streets, interacting with residents, answering questions, and getting to know the area firsthand. Even this approach has met with some resistance, as one London observer noted. “It is seen as extra work, and some officers don’t want to leave their vehicles and interact with people.”

In London, community policing as applied to domestic violence rests largely on the energy and initiative of one officer, who has significant support from the chief. However, this concentrated attention has led to new visibility for the issue and new responses: the formation of the Family Violence Prevention Council, preparation of domestic violence response packets for each squad car (including all required forms and resources, risk assessment, and safety planning information), police-sponsored PSAs, increased participation in regional and statewide training, and attempts to engage a wider community response to the issue. For example, it has meant exploring ways in which a neighborhood watch program in a housing complex can be enlisted to support victim safety.

*I consult with the victim first. If she says yes, then the EPO information, his make of car, description, etc., is shared with the Neighborhood Watch and they will keep an eye on the house. If she says no, I ask her what can I tell them? She might say ‘tell them I have personal problems and I might need to use their phone.’ If she says no, nothing, I will arrange for some extra police patrols.*

Being so closely linked to a single officer or unit, however, leaves such changes vulnerable to shifts in assignment and administration. London is not unique in this situation. It characterizes the experience of many efforts to implement community policing, as well as respond to domestic violence.

## **Conclusions**

London reflects the change that can be initiated when law enforcement leadership supports its personnel to engage and encourage a wider community response to domestic violence. What was once a marginal police response has been improved with increased police attention to domestic violence, development of the Family Violence Prevention Council, and a higher level of community visibility for domestic violence. This is significant in an area with few resources and a history of indifference or resistance to public action on domestic violence. To repeat the earlier observations by community advocates, “it’s better than it was” and “it has opened doors in the community to get people talking.”

At the same time, the attention to domestic violence that began to emerge in London and Laurel County during the project period seems vulnerable to changes in leadership and personnel. With the clear support of Chief Hollon, Sgt. Jones has been a central figure in establishing the council and bringing domestic violence forward as a community issue. If either one of them were to shift their attention to other issues or leave the department, however, it is likely that the attention to domestic violence – and to community policing – described in this report would greatly diminish.

Whether the work initiated by the London Police Department, Sgt. Jones, and the Family Violence Prevention Council can be sustained and expanded remains uncertain. London would not be the first community to find it difficult to move beyond the initial enthusiasm and individual commitment that characterizes the first steps in building a coordinated community response.

## **Postscript**

In the two years since the community policing and domestic violence project formally concluded as a grant-funded program, the Family Violence Prevention Council has held together, retaining its core members and adding new participants, including the YMCA and local members of Kentuckians for the Commonwealth (a “statewide citizens social justice organization”<sup>161</sup>). A member of the Council, Rhonda Arena, was appointed to the National Advisory Committee on Violence Against Women (U.S. Department of Justice, Office on Violence Against Women). The Council has begun meeting quarterly with its counterparts in adjoining counties.

Sgt. Kenneth Jones continues to have a major role in Council activities and in building partnerships between the London Police Department and the community. This includes developing a training team to provide self-defense training to women in the community; exploring the creation of “safe sites” for victims in business and other public places, where a battered woman could seek help and police would be contacted; and, initial planning for training community first responders, including patrol officers, emergency medical services staff, and advocates. According to Sgt. Jones, the Council “has really

brought the community partners together” and police and the shelter have a closer working relationship, with increased trust in each other.

<b>Table 1. London Police Department: Application of Community Policing Principles &amp; Practices - Travis Fritsch, Eastern Kentucky University Justice &amp; Safety Center</b>		
Community Policing to Reduce Domestic Violence: Issues & Strategies		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Strategies</b>
Victim Advocacy and Criminal Justice	To identify legal and advocacy roles in the criminal justice system and how the victim's safety/interests are best promoted.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Clarify the roles of the advocates and legal professionals in criminal justice cases (i.e., philosophies, principles, duties, policies, practices, services).</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Differentiate between the roles and responsibilities of the various 'advocates.'</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify skills for communication, cooperation, collaboration, and consultation.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss effective methods for addressing problems and conflict resolution.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify skills for effective advocacy in the criminal system.</li> </ul>
Community Oriented Policing: Basics	To promote awareness of COP.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain the evolution of policing and COP.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss the philosophy, principles, and practices of COP.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Focus on community involvement and problem solving.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Share examples of COP implementation in various jurisdictions.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Provide resources for training and technical assistance.</li> </ul>
Children and Youth of Domestic Violence	To identify and develop COP/DV initiatives to serve children and youth, especially those who have experienced domestic violence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss the role of COP/DV to reduce and prevent domestic violence and how these principles and practices could be adopted/adapted to serve children and youth.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Examine how these issues are currently being addressed for children and youth in a community.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Provide strategies for promoting COP/DV initiatives and practices that better serve children and youth.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss ways to involve children and youth throughout the process.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify resources to support and maintain these initiatives and practices.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Provide methods and measures for evaluation.</li> </ul>
Problem-solving Skills	To identify and practice effective problem-solving skills.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss the purpose of problem solving for individuals as well as within and between agencies.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify basic skills and processes to promote effective problem solving.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Provide case scenario practical learning exercises.</li> </ul>
Coordinated Community Response (CCR)	To promote coordinated community responses to domestic violence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss the importance and practicality of CCR.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Provide skills for development and maintenance of CCR.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Provide resources from model sites.</li> </ul>

<b>Table 1, cont. - Community Policing to Reduce Domestic Violence: Issues &amp; Strategies</b>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Strategies</b>
Community Partners	To increase awareness and skills for building effective community partnerships.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss the purpose of community partnerships.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore the differences and similarities of partnerships with agency partners and community (resident) partnerships.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify and practice skills and methods for building community partnerships (agency and residents).</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain ways to build upon and maintain those partnerships.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss ways to bridge and mentor other relationships, e.g., expanding relationships, increasing involvement of others from same groups, dealing with staff turnovers, etc.</li> </ul>
COP/DV with Traditionally Underserved Populations	To identify skills and resources to improve and strengthen partnerships and services with traditionally underserved populations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify traditionally underserved populations.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore skills and methods to learn about and develop relationships with these populations, natural organizational leaders and service providers.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain the importance of and ways to maintain communication, learning opportunities, and relationships.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify initiatives for collaboration with traditionally underserved populations, including any DV and COP/DV initiatives.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Provide resources and technical assistance ideas.</li> </ul>
COP/DV in Schools and on Campuses	To increase awareness about ways that COP/DV could better serve school populations and police agencies.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify the populations served by the local schools.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss the responsibilities of the educational agencies.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain the relationship of these police agencies with other local, state, and federal police agencies.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify campus/off-campus partners and skills for building and maintaining working relationships.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore existing 'best practice' and COP/DV initiatives for these populations.</li> </ul>
Prevention Education	To increase awareness about the skills and resources that foster healthy individuals and safe relationships.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss the role of prevention education and the many forms it can take.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify skills and resources needed to develop and implement various forms of DV prevention education and public awareness campaigns.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Share research that addresses components of effective prevention education.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Provide opportunity to practice a prevention education program session.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Share program and technical assistance ideas.</li> </ul>
Building Diversity	To increase personal awareness about diversity issues and to increase agency diversity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify the 'why' and 'how-to.'</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Examine the possible ranges of diversity within/between communities.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Examine the possible ranges of diversity within/between agencies.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Apply diversity issues to domestic violence and community policing.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore a continuum of contacts and opportunities for communication.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Describe methods of outreach and invitation.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> List how to build and maintain diversity in the community and one's agency.</li> </ul>

<b>Table 1, cont. - Community Policing to Reduce Domestic Violence: Issues &amp; Strategies</b>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Strategies</b>
Cultural Competence	To increase personal awareness about cultures and to increase skills related to building cultural competence.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify the 'why' and 'how-to.'</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Examine cultural issues including culture variations.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Apply cultural issues to domestic violence and community policing.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> List strategies for building cultural competence.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore cultural issues to address on personal/agency basis.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore a continuum of contacts and opportunities for communication.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Describe methods of outreach and invitation.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> List how to build and maintain cultural competence in the community and one's agency.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Share resources to enhance cultural competence.</li> </ul>
Stalking	To increase ability to identify and respond to domestic violence related stalking cases.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify range of stalking behaviors and effects on victims/ others.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain risk and lethality assessment.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Examine elements of state and federal stalking related offenses.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Victim protection.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Case/witness preparation.</li> </ul>
Fast Track	To expedite the civil and criminal justice processes for domestic violence cases.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Clarify the intent and purpose of Fast Track dockets.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Focus on due process protections.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Examine victim safety and participation issues.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Clarify roles of legal and advocacy professionals.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain the importance of records and monitoring systems for these cases.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Cite models of Fast Track programs and their 'experiential lessons.'</li> </ul>
Community Policing and DV Conceptual Models	To increase awareness about the shared goals, principles, roles, and functions important to COP and DV communities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain the basics of COP and DV.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Discuss the COP/DV conceptual models.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore practical applications and guiding principles.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Assess sample initiatives and possible COP/DV opportunities.</li> </ul>
Communication, Cooperation, Collaboration, Consultation	To build skills that support working, effective partnerships.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Address the 'why' and 'how-to.'</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify actual or perceived barriers.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Clarify strategies to resolve/reduce barriers.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify ways to build long-term relationships.</li> </ul>
Community Needs Assessments (CNA)	To increase awareness and skills related to conducting, evaluating, and addressing community needs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Address the 'why' and 'how-to.'</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify various types/capabilities of CNA.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain evaluation/resolution processes.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore role of community in all the above.</li> </ul>

<b>Table 1, cont. - Community Policing to Reduce Domestic Violence: Issues &amp; Strategies</b>		
<b>Issues</b>	<b>Purpose</b>	<b>Strategies</b>
Domestic Violence Policing, Advocacy and Safety Planning	To clarify the respective roles of peace officers and advocates and build on shared purposes.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Clarify duties and responsibilities.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify policy considerations.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Name shared goals.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> List successful opportunities for communication, cooperation, collaboration, and consultation.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Clarify practical strategies to develop all the above on an individual/agency basis and with the community.</li> </ul>
Administrative Support for COP and DV Initiatives	To increase administrative support for the principles and work of COP and personnel responsible for its implementation.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore policy issues and how COP and DV are promoted throughout the agency and community.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify community priorities (safety/justice).</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Assess fiscal considerations, responsibilities, and liabilities for doing/not doing.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Clarify importance of training and supervision.</li> </ul>
Select COP and DV Initiatives	To identify working COP/DV initiatives and assess how these might be adopted, adapted, or excluded from local COP/DV considerations.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Review of a variety of COP/DV initiatives.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain importance of and how to conduct safety audits.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Assess appropriateness for local application.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explore problem situations/opportunities.</li> </ul>
Effective Case Conferencing	To increase inter-agency/community capability to address victim safety and perpetrator accountability in DV cases generally, and in complex, high-risk specific cases.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Clarify purposes and procedures.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Share sample policy and protocol.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Explain issues around information sharing.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify case selection criteria.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Assess critical incident/fatality review.</li> </ul>
Engaging the Community	To increase understanding how community involvement (CI) can work to promote safety, justice, and prevention initiatives.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Address the 'why' and the 'how-to.'</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Clarify the various meanings of 'community.'</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Identify personal skills and resources helpful to building community involvement (CI).</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> Describe agency opportunities for CI.</li> <li><input type="checkbox"/> List ways to maintain community involvement.</li> </ul>

## Notes

---

<sup>1</sup> This monograph and its related case studies are available at <http://www.bwjp.org/> and <http://www.vaw.umn.edu/>.

<sup>2</sup> During this same period, BWJP provided technical assistance to fifteen COPS Domestic Violence Test Sites. That experience is also reflected in this monograph. Funded by the COPS Office, the projects were to apply community policing strategies to nine different priority areas: training; implementation of full faith and credit; partnerships and multi-disciplinary work groups; threat assessment; investigation; response in rural communities; stalking; response in tribal communities; and, response to under-served populations. In addition, four research and evaluation projects were funded to address creation of a stalking protocol; documentation of police-community partnerships; study of inter-agency services in a large city; and, the efficacy of community policing in reducing domestic violence. Individual projects received customized technical assistance from BWJP to assist in clarifying and refining the application of community policing to domestic violence in their priority areas, in a manner consistent with the principles of community policing and domestic violence organizing. BWJP also conducted a collaborative workshop involving all sites, which included representatives of the four partner communities, and organized and hosted a series of audio-conferences for the test sites.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Ann Wycoff, *Community Policing Strategies*, Research Preview, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, November 1995.

<sup>4</sup> Malcolm K. Sparrow, *Implementing Community Policing*, Perspectives on Policing, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, November 1988; Herman Goldstein, *Problem-Oriented Policing*, McGraw-Hill, 1990; Caroline Nicholl, *Community Policing, Community Justice, and Restorative Justice: Exploring the Links for the Delivery of a Balanced Approach to Public Safety*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1999; Robert C. Trojanowicz and Bonnie Bucqueroux, *Community Policing: How to Get Started*, Cincinnati: Anderson Publishing, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 1998, and *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*, 1990; Gary W. Cordner, "Community Policing: Elements and Effects," in G. Alpert and R. Dunham (ed.), *Critical Issues in Policing: Contemporary Readings*, Prospect Heights: Waveland Press, 1997. For an overview of community policing history and issues, see Willard M. Oliver (ed.), *Community Policing: Classical Readings*, Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall, 2000.

<sup>5</sup> 1998: "Community policing is a policing philosophy that promotes and supports organizational strategies to address the caused and reduce the fear of crime and social disorder through problem-solving tactics and community-police partnerships . . . Core components of community policing include partnering with the community; problem solving; and transforming policing agencies to support and empower frontline officers, decentralize command and encourage innovative problem solving.

2000: Community oriented policing is " , solution-based, and community driven". It occurs when: "A law enforcement agency and law abiding citizens work together to do four things: arrest offenders; prevent crime; solve on-going problems; and improve the overall quality of life."

2003: "Community policing can be defined as a philosophy that focuses on crime and social disorder through the delivery of police services that includes aspects of traditional law enforcement, as well as prevention problem-solving, community engagement and partnerships."

<sup>6</sup> Herman Goldstein, "The New Policing: Confronting Complexity," NIJ Research in Brief, in Oliver, *Supra*, at 4, p.71.

<sup>7</sup> Jeffrey A. Roth and Joseph F. Ryan, et.al., *National Evaluation of the COPS Program – Title I of the 1994 Crime Act*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, August 2000, p.183.

<sup>8</sup> For discussion of the emergence of community policing and the contrast with "traditional" policing, see the works cited in Notes 4, 7, and 9. In addition, see Community Policing Consortium, *Understanding Community Policing: A Framework for Action*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Assistance, August 1994.

<sup>9</sup> Among the publications in the Perspectives on Policing series: Mark H. Moore, Robert C. Trojanowicz, and George L. Kelling, *Crime and Policing*, June 1988; George L. Kelling and Mark H. Moore, *The Evolving Strategy of Policing*, November 1988; George L. Kelling, *Police and Communities: the Quiet Revolution*, June 1988; and, George L. Kelling and William J. Bratton, *Implementing Community Policing: The Administrative Problem*, July 1993. Also, see Sparrow, at Notes 4 and 11. Drawing again on the

---

Kennedy School sessions, *Beyond 911* encouraged rethinking the mission, operational methods, and organizational structure of policing: Malcolm K. Sparrow, Mark H. Moore, and David M. Kennedy, *Beyond 911: A New Era for Policing*, New York: Basic Books, 1990.

<sup>10</sup> Michael S. Scott, *Problem-Oriented Policing: Reflections on the First 20 Years*, Washington, DC: U. S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000, p.2. See also, Herman Goldstein, *Supra*, at 4.

<sup>11</sup> Malcolm Sparrow, *Information Systems and the Development of Policing*, Perspectives on Policing, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, March 1993, p.2.

<sup>12</sup> Wesley G. Skogan, *On the Beat: Police and Community Problem Solving*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999, p.8.

<sup>13</sup> *Supra*, at 11, p.3.

<sup>14</sup> Jeffrey A. Roth and Joseph F. Ryan, "The COPS Program After 4 Years – National Evaluation," *National Institute of Justice Research in Brief*, August 2000, p.17.

<sup>15</sup> David Carter, "A Response to 'Community Policing: Thriving Because It Works'," *Police Quarterly*, Police Executive Research Forum, March 1999.

<sup>16</sup> Nicholl, *Supra*, at 4, p. 34.

<sup>17</sup> Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990, *Supra*, at 4, p.114.

<sup>18</sup> Goldstein makes several references to mediation and domestic disputes or spouse abuse in *Problem-Oriented Policing*, *Supra*, at 4.

<sup>19</sup> Annette Jolin and Charles Moose, "Evaluating a Domestic Violence Program in a Community Policing Environment," *Crime and Delinquency*, 43 (July 1997): 279-297.

<sup>20</sup> A series of problem-specific guidebooks and accompanying resources, published by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services.

<sup>21</sup> See Loretta Frederick, *The Evolution of Domestic Violence Theory and Law Reform Efforts in the United States*, Minneapolis: Battered Women's Justice Project, September 2000; available at

<http://www.bwjp.org/>. Also: Ellen L. Pence and Melanie F. Shepard, "An Introduction: Developing a Coordinated Community Response," in *Coordinating Community Responses to Domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and Beyond*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1999; and, Jane Sadusky, *Challenge and Change: Organizing Domestic Violence Intervention Projects*, Madison: Wisconsin Coalition Against Domestic Violence, 1987.

<sup>22</sup> See Carol Sullivan and Jane Sadusky, *Domestic Violence Community Policing Resources* at <http://www.bwjp.org/>. Roth and Ryan, et.al., *Supra*, at 7. Examples of communities with notable attention to community policing and domestic violence include: Chicago, Colorado Springs, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, Madison (WI), Portland (OR), and Seattle.

<sup>23</sup> *Supra*, at 14, p.2.

<sup>24</sup> Cited in Peter M. Sheingold, *National COPS Evaluation Organization Change Case Study: Colorado Springs, CO*, Boston: Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, for the Urban Institute, 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Rana Sampson and Michael S. Scott, *Tackling Crime and Other Public-Safety Problems: Case Studies in Problem-Solving*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000, p.39.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p.41.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel E. Lungren, *COPPS: Community Oriented Policing and Problem Solving*, California Department of Justice, Attorney General's Office, Crime Prevention Center, November 1992, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Author's notes from *Community Problem-Solving Approaches to Domestic Violence Prevention and Intervention*, Illinois Regional Community Policing Institute Conference, Springfield, December 14, 1999.

<sup>29</sup> Author's notes from *The Nexus of Community Policing and Domestic Violence*, Michigan Regional Community Policing Institute Conference, Lansing, October 29, 1999.

<sup>30</sup> Comments of Barbara Hart, September 13, 1997, via e-mail.

<sup>31</sup> Herman Goldstein, "Improving Policing: A Problem-Oriented Approach," 1979, in Oliver, *Supra*, at 4, p.27.

<sup>32</sup> Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, *Report to the Sixth Judicial Bench on the Status of the Civil and Criminal Processing of Domestic Violence Cases in Southern St. Louis County*, February 2, 2001, p.1.

<sup>33</sup> Duluth Police Department, General Order 230.01, January 10, 2002.

---

<sup>34</sup> Chicago Police Department, *Chicago Response Protocol: Chicago's Response to Domestic Violence – A Collaboration by Chicago Police Department, Cook County State's Attorney's Office, and the Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence*, December 2000, Section C.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Chicago Police Department, *Addendum to General Order 99-07*, July 30, 1999.

<sup>37</sup> CAPS has been the focus of extensive and ongoing evaluation conducted by the Institute for Policy Research at Northwestern University. Numerous publications by Wesley G. Skogan and others chronicle its experience, with particular attention to community involvement and problemsolving. Many of these are posted on the National Institute of Justice Web Site: <http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij>. See the Chicago case study in Appendix C for further details.

<sup>38</sup> Chicago Police Department, General Order 96-3, *Patrol Division Strategy to Address Chronic Crime and Disorder Problems*, April 29, 1996.

<sup>39</sup> Transforming Communities, at <http://www.transformcommunities.org/>.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Developed by Ellen Pence, Praxis International, Inc., the Domestic Violence Safety and Accountability Audit is a systematic investigation of one or more points of institutional action on a domestic violence case, to see how, when, and if standard practices – both those in job descriptions and those that evolve in work culture – ensure victim safety and offender accountability. It is conducted with an inter-agency team, using five methods: mapping, focus group discussions, interviews, observations, and text analysis. For further details, see <http://www.praxisinternational.org/>. The author is member of the Praxis International Safety Audit consultant team.

<sup>42</sup> Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, *Recommendations for Change: Safety and Accountability, Report to the Sixth Judicial Branch on the Status of the Civil and Criminal Case Processing of Domestic Violence Cases in Southern St. Louis County, MN*, September 12, 2001, p.5.

<sup>43</sup> The *St. Louis County Sheriff's Office Domestic Violence Handbook and Training Guide for Patrol Deputies*, 2001, can be downloaded at <http://www.praxisinternational.org/>. Go to Safety Audits, then Resources.

<sup>44</sup> Annanya Bhattacharjee, *Putting Community Back in the Domestic Violence Movement*, posted at [www.zmag.org](http://www.zmag.org), February 8, 2002.

<sup>45</sup> For example, see Daniel W. Flynn, *Defining the "Community" in Community Policing*, Washington, DC: Police Executive Research Forum, July 1998; and, Paul McCold and Benjamin Wachtel, *Community is Not A Place: A New Look at Community Justice Initiatives*, Paper presented to the International Conference on Justice Without Violence: Views from Peacemaking Criminology and Restorative Justice, Albany, NY, June 5-7, 1997.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., McCold & Wachtel, p. 5. Also, see discussions of the challenges of community engagement in the work of Carter, *Supra*, at 15; Nicholl, *Supra*, at 4; Roth and Ryan, *Supra*, at 7, 14; and, Skogan, *Supra*, at 12.

<sup>47</sup> Dr. Pamela Oliver, *Racial Disparities in Madison & Dane County in Context*, presentation to the Madison Urban Ministry Forum on Community Policing, March 19, 2002. For another critique of community policing see Neil Websdale, *Policing the Poor: From Slave Plantation to Public Housing*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001.

<sup>48</sup> *Supra*, at 7, p.237.

<sup>49</sup> Rinku Sen, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Domestic Violence in Communities of Color," *ColorLines*, 2:1, Spring 1999.

<sup>50</sup> *Supra*, at 25.

<sup>51</sup> Wesley G. Skogan, et.al., *Taking Stock: Community Policing in Chicago*, Northwestern University, Institute for Policy Research, Washington: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, July 2002, p. 19.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p.20.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p.30.

<sup>54</sup> *Supra*, at 5, p.194.

<sup>55</sup> Robyn Holder, "Pick 'n Mix or Replication: The Politics and Process of Adaptation," in Pence and Shepard, *Supra*, at 21, p.267.

<sup>56</sup> Based on data compiled by the Chicago Police Department Office of Emergency Communications, 1998-2001.

- 
- <sup>57</sup> Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence and Chicago Metropolitan Battered Women's Network, *Single Point of Access: Linking Victims to Services – Preliminary Report of the Help Line*, October 12, 2000; e-mail correspondence with Leslie Landis, Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence.
- <sup>58</sup> Matt L. Rodriguez, *A Strategic Plan for Reinventing The Chicago Police Department*, October 1993, p.13.
- <sup>59</sup> Chicago Police Department, *General Order 96-3, Patrol Division Strategy to Address Chronic Crime and Disorder Problems*, April 29, 1996.
- <sup>60</sup> *GO 96-3*, Chicago Police Department, Bureau of Operational Services, April 29, 1996.
- <sup>61</sup> *Northwestern Study Shows Great Strides in Community Policing Program*, Press Release, Northwestern University Institute for Policy Research, 3 May 1999, <http://www.northwestern.edu/IPR>.
- <sup>62</sup> For a detailed discussion of CAPS implementation, see Wesley G. Skogan, et.al., *On the Beat: Police and Community Problem-Solving*, Westview Press, 1999.
- <sup>63</sup> Wesley G. Skogan, et.al., *Community Policing in Chicago, Years Five-Six: An Interim Report*, The Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, May 1999, p.7.
- <sup>64</sup> Wesley G. Skogan, et.al., *Community Policing in Chicago, Year Seven: An Interim Report*, The Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, November 2000, p.157.
- <sup>65</sup> Chicago Police Department, *General Order 96-3, Training Bulletin No. 5: Building Partnerships With the Community*, 1996.
- <sup>66</sup> Chicago Police Department, *Chicago Response Protocol: Chicago's Response to Domestic Violence – A Collaboration by: Chicago Police Department, Cook County State's Attorney's Office, & Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence*, December 2000, Section C (Law Enforcement, Introduction).
- <sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>68</sup> Chicago Police Department, *Response to Domestic Violence*, January 1999.
- <sup>69</sup> Leslie Landis, *Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence Development and Status Report*, Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence, Chicago, IL, January 2001, p.1.
- <sup>70</sup> The posters were printed in English, Spanish, Polish, Korean, Chinese, Urdu, Hindu, Arabic, and Vietnamese.
- <sup>71</sup> Form CPD-11.443 includes this language: "CHICAGO ALTERNATIVE POLICING STRATEGY (CAPS) SAFE NEIGHBORHOODS ARE EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS The police alone cannot solve the problems of crime in our City. It takes an active and informed community working with the police and other City agencies to really make a difference. Join your neighborhood police officers as we work together to reduce crime and improve the quality of life in our City. Become part of the CAPS team in your community." It follows with the CAPS Hotline telephone number, the Internet site, and space for the officer to note the Beat number and date, time, and location of the next Beat Community Meeting.
- <sup>72</sup> *Supra*, Note 65. Officers received a condensed version of the Protocol in a brochure that has also been widely distributed to the public. Designed as a policy and practice refresher for officers, as well as information for the community, this brochure, *The Chicago Response to Domestic Violence*, summarizes the Illinois Domestic Violence Act, the CPD and police response, role of the State's Attorney, the Target Abuser Call, and orders for protection. It is available in English, Spanish, and Polish.
- <sup>73</sup> Material presented by the Chicago Team to the Community Policing & Domestic Violence Phase II Meeting, convened by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, Violence Against Women Office, and Battered Women's Justice Project, May 24-25, 1999, Orlando, FL.
- <sup>74</sup> *Supra*, Note 63, pp.86-7.
- <sup>75</sup> Demographic data provided by Mayor's Office on Domestic Violence.
- <sup>76</sup> However, the evaluator observed only Domestic Violence Liaison Officers in attendance.
- <sup>77</sup> *Supra*, Note 61, p.8.
- <sup>78</sup> For a discussion of problem solving in Chicago, see the following National Institute of Justice Research in Brief Reports, Wesley G. Skogan and Susan M. Hartnett, et.al., *Problem Solving in Practice: Implementing Community Policing in Chicago*, April 2000, and *Public Involvement: Community Policing in Chicago*, September 2000. Additional information found in *Supra*, Notes 6, 7, and 8.
- <sup>79</sup> *Supra*, Note 63, pp.14-15.
- <sup>80</sup> Under the direction of Sgt. Judith Martin, the Domestic Violence Operations Coordinator, the Chicago Police Department distributes a quarterly Domestic Violence Bulletin to all officers. It includes a training

---

column, information on policy changes, legal updates, and report of Domestic Violence Liaison Officer activities.

<sup>81</sup> Letter from Chief Scott Lyons to summit meeting participants, February 22, 2001.

<sup>82</sup> For a detailed overview of DAIP and Duluth's experience with coordinated community response, see *Coordinating Community Responses to Domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and Beyond*, Melanie F. Shepard and Ellen L. Pence, eds., Sage Publications, 1999. Also, <http://www.duluth-model.org/>.

<sup>83</sup> BWJP Community Policing Project Videoconference, February 11, 2000.

<sup>84</sup> Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, *Report to the Sixth Judicial Bench on the Status of the Civil and Criminal Processing of Domestic Violence Cases in Southern St. Louis County*, February 2, 2001, Ellen Pence, Introductory letter.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, "Dissemination of this Report".

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Ellen Pence, April 22, 2001.

<sup>87</sup> BWJP Community Policing Project Videoconference, April 27, 2000.

<sup>88</sup> Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, *Recommendations for Change: Safety and Accountability, Report to the Sixth Judicial Branch on the Status of the Civil and Criminal Processing of Domestic Violence Cases in Southern St. Louis County, MN*, September 12, 2001, p.5.

<sup>89</sup> *Supra*, at 86.

<sup>90</sup> Telephone interview with Sgt. Peg Johnson, June 8, 2001.

<sup>91</sup> Interview with Cathryn Curley, April 22, 2001.

<sup>92</sup> Telephone interview with Lt. Bob Brasel, May 21, 2001.

<sup>93</sup> Jeffrey A. Roth and Joseph F. Ryan, *National Institute of Justice Research in Brief: The COPS Program After 4 Years – National Evaluation*, August 2000, p.17

<sup>94</sup> Interview with Ty Schroyer, April 24, 2001.

<sup>95</sup> Telephone interview with Chief Scott Lyons, May 30, 2001.

<sup>96</sup> *Supra*, at 90.

<sup>97</sup> Duluth Police Department Home Page, <http://www.dareduluth.org/PoliceSite/depthome.asp>.

<sup>98</sup> *Supra*, at 90.

<sup>99</sup> *Supra*, at 92.

<sup>100</sup> Ellen Pence, et.al., *St. Louis County Sheriff's Office Domestic Violence Handbook and Training Guide for Patrol Deputies*, 2001, p.13.

<sup>101</sup> Duluth Police Department General Order 230.01, *Domestic Abuse*, January 10, 2002, p.4.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.5 and 1.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p.6.

<sup>104</sup> Telephone interview with Lt. Tim Hanson, May 29, 2001.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2.

<sup>106</sup> The author is an audit consultant for Praxis International. For additional information about the Domestic Violence Safety and Accountability Audit: <http://www.praxisinternational.org/>.

<sup>107</sup> *Supra*, at 88, p.3.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.4-8, 17-18.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>110</sup> Duluth Police Department Home Page, <http://www.dareduluth.org/PoliceSite>.

<sup>111</sup> *Supra*, at 90.

<sup>112</sup> *Supra*, at 95.

<sup>113</sup> *Supra*, at 90.

<sup>114</sup> Domestic Abuse Intervention Project, *Implementation of Recommendations for Change: Safety and Accountability, Report to the Sixth Judicial Branch on the Status of the Civil and Criminal Processing of Domestic Violence Cases in Southern St. Louis County, MN*, June 19, 2001, pp.2, 5, 17.

<sup>115</sup> Data compiled by Marin County Sheriff's Office and California Department of Justice Criminal Justice Statistics Center. California Penal Code § 273.5 (Inflict corporal injury on spouse, former spouse, cohabitant, former cohabitant, or parent of defendant's child).

<sup>116</sup> E-mail correspondence from Alanna Donahoe, Community Policing Project, Marin Abused Women's Services, October 23, 2001.

<sup>117</sup> Marin County Sheriff's Office Internet site: <http://www.co.marin.ca.us>.

<sup>118</sup> Transforming Communities Internet site: <http://www.transformcommunities.org>.

<sup>119</sup> Minutes of the Community Policing Action Team, December 14, 1999.

---

<sup>120</sup> William DeLeon-Granados, William Wells, and Jennie Long, “The Marin County Community Policing to End Domestic Violence (COPS) Project: A Collaboration Between Marin Abused Women’s Services and the Marin County Sheriff’s Office – Final Evaluation Follow-Up for Year 2000,” January 31, 2001, p.10.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>122</sup> *Supra*, at 118.

<sup>123</sup> Drawn from the presentation and materials provided by the Marin County Team to the Community Policing & Domestic Violence Phase II Meeting, convened by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, Violence Against Women Office, and Battered Women’s Justice Project, May 24-25, 1999, Orlando, FL.

<sup>124</sup> “Community Policing to End Domestic Violence: A Project of Marin Abused Women’s Services and Marin County Sheriff’s Office, Semi-Annual Progress Report, July 1999 – December 1999,” p. 3.

<sup>125</sup> “The Marin County ‘Community Policing to End Domestic Violence’ (COPS) Project: A Collaboration between the Marin County Sheriff’s Office (MCSO) and Marin Abuse Women’s Services (MAWS): March 1998 through December 1999 Final Evaluation Executive Summary”.

<sup>126</sup> Marin County presentation in Orlando, *Supra*, note 9.

<sup>127</sup> The CPAT survey to Marin County officers included the following questions: **1) Date of Last Training? 2) Provider of Training? 3) Type of Training? 4) Specifics from that training that seemed especially useful or helpful? 5) What do sergeants, dispatchers, & first responders most need to know to do a better job of handling DV in this county? 6) Do you and other officers need additional resource materials to help you respond to incidents of DV in your community? 7) Put a check under the possible topics for future police training you think should be emphasized or given top priority [regular updates on new domestic violence laws; primary aggressor training; local resources & services for victims of violence and for perpetrators; officer safety precautions; lethality assessment; dealing with child victims or witnesses; applying community policing to domestic violence; other ideas] 8) Other thoughts re: DV training for local police/law enforcement that ought to be conducted or approved? 9) What role, if any, do you think police officers can play in preventing repeated or future incidents of DV in your community?**

<sup>128</sup> Novato was the site for Marin Abused Women’s Services development of a social change model known as Transforming Communities or TC. TC promotes primary prevention via a variety of strategies and programs that challenge violence against women and girls. “Transforming Communities provides a learning environment for the advancement of new thinking, practices, and strategies aimed at transforming existing social belief systems and practices so that violence, abuse, and intimidation of women and girls will cease to exist.” The Community Action Team or CAT is a core strategy. In Novato, much of the work was conducted among high school age students, including a girls’ safety group led by a Novato police officer.

<sup>129</sup> *Supra*, at 125, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Transforming Communities, *Evaluation Handbook for Community Mobilization: Evaluating Domestic Violence Activism*, California Department of Health Services, Maternal and Child Health Branch, Domestic Violence Section, 2000.

<sup>131</sup> Adapted from a grid developed by Travis Fritsch for the National College of District Attorneys. Distributed at the meeting in Orlando, *Supra*, note 9.

<sup>132</sup> *Supra*, at 125, p. 1.

<sup>133</sup> See the Final Evaluation Follow-Up for Year 2000 and March 1998 through December 1999 Final Evaluation Executive Summary, *Supra*, note 120 and 125.

<sup>134</sup> *Supra*, at 120, p. 4.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>136</sup> CPAT Meeting Minutes, June 12, 2001, p. 2.

<sup>137</sup> Marin Abused Women’s Services places a particular emphasis on evaluation as a core component of its work. See *The Evaluation Handbook for Community Mobilization*.

<sup>138</sup> “Community Policing to End Domestic Violence: A Project of Marin Abused Women’s Services and Marin County Sheriff’s Office, Semi-Annual Progress Report, January 2000 – June 2000, p. 5.

<sup>139</sup> *Supra*, at 120, p. 1.

<sup>140</sup> William DeLeon-Granados, William Wells, and Jennie Long, “The Marin County ‘Community Policing to End Domestic Violence’ (COPS) Project: A Collaboration between the Marin County Sheriff’s Office (MCSO) and Marin Abuse Women’s Services (MAWS): March 1998 through December 1999 Final

---

Evaluation Report, 2000, p.5, as cited in e-mail correspondence with William DeLeon-Granados, July 17, 2002.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>142</sup> Melanie F. Shepard, "Evaluating a Coordinated Community Response," in *Coordinating Community Response to Domestic Violence: Lessons from Duluth and Beyond*, Melanie F. Shepard and Ellen L. Pence, eds., Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999, p. 188.

<sup>143</sup> *Supra*, at 124, p. 3.

<sup>144</sup> "London City Police Department Policy, in Travis Fritsch, *Community Policing to Reduce Domestic Violence: London, KY, Final Report*, January 31, 2002, p. 9.

<sup>145</sup> *Mandatory Reporting of Child and Spouse Abuse*,  
<http://www.state.ky.us/agencies/gov/domviol/reprting.htm>

<sup>146</sup> Commonwealth of Kentucky, Form JC-3, *Child Abuse, Adult Abuse, and Domestic Abuse Standard Report*.

<sup>147</sup> The JC-3 includes a tear-off section, "Victim Rights Information," that contains information about how to get help and phone numbers for domestic violence programs throughout the state.

<sup>148</sup> For a discussion of mandatory reporting, and the Kentucky experience in particular, see *Domestic Violence Report*, 3:4, April/May 1998, Civic Research Institute, Inc.

<sup>149</sup> *London City Police Department Policy: Mission, Values, Goals, & Objectives*.

<sup>150</sup> Members of the Laurel County Family Violence Prevention Council: London Police Department, Kentucky State Police (London Post), Laurel County Sheriff's Office, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Kentucky Office for Probation and Parole, Children's Advocacy Center/TLC House, Kentucky Cabinet for Families and Children Department for Community Based Services, Come-Unity Cooperative Care, Youth Service Center for Laurel County Schools, Family Life Abuse Center, Laurel County Attorney's Crime Victims' Advocate, Commonwealth Attorney's Crime Victims' Advocate, Ambulance, Inc. of Laurel County, Marymount Medical Center, Bennett Center of London, London Younger Women's Club, and Laurel County Ministerial Association.

<sup>151</sup> The Regional Community Policing Institutes nationwide were charged with recruiting and training local trainers to deliver the curriculum. In 2001, the RCPI affiliated with Eastern Kentucky University held thirty two-day training sessions, targeted to "officers, educators, and advocates."

<sup>152</sup> Telephone interview with Travis Fritsch, April 23, 2002.

<sup>153</sup> *Supra*, at 144, p.5.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20-23

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.* p. 41.

<sup>156</sup> Interviews conducted with Family Life Abuse Center staff, May 10, 2001.

<sup>157</sup> Interview with Sgt. Kenneth Jones, May 9, 2001.

<sup>158</sup> Neil Websdale, "Rural Woman Abuse: The Voices of Kentucky Women," *Violence Against Women*, 1:4, December 1995, p.57-58.

<sup>159</sup> For a discussion of community policing in rural communities, see *Community Policing in a Rural Setting*, Quint C. Thurman and Edmund F. McGarrell, eds., Anderson Publishing Co., Cincinnati, OH, 1997.

<sup>160</sup> Gary W. Corder and Kathryn E. Scarborough, "Operationalizing Community Policing in Rural America: Sense and Nonsense," *Ibid.* p. 12.

<sup>161</sup> Kentuckians for the Commonwealth: [www.kftc.org](http://www.kftc.org).