



THE CONNECTICUT POLICY INSTITUTE

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Reducing Crime In Connecticut's Cities: A Four-Part Strategy

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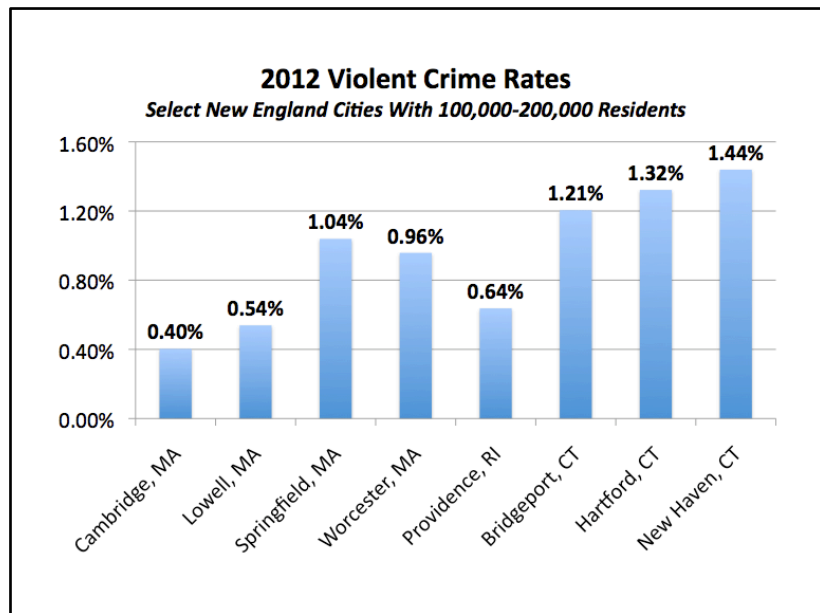
Introduction

This paper is part of a series of Connecticut Policy Institute policy papers outlining recommendations for how state government can improve the direction of Connecticut's struggling cities. The project includes government interventions in four areas of urban policy: jobs, education, housing, and crime. This paper addresses urban crime prevention.

The last two decades have witnessed a dramatic drop in urban crime in the United States. Since 1990 U.S. violent crime has fallen by 32% overall and by 64% in large cities.¹ Unfortunately, in three of Connecticut's five cities, crime rates have remained stubbornly high. As of November 2013, New Haven, Hartford, and Bridgeport constituted three of the country's six most dangerous cities with population under 200,000, according to FBI data.² And as the chart below shows, Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven all have violent crime rates substantially higher than rates in similar cities elsewhere in New England.

Connecticut's high urban crime rates impose enormous costs. Most important, of course, is the human cost. Every resident in Connecticut has the right to live in a neighborhood where they are free from fear of crime. But high crime rates also impose

large fiscal costs on the state. Connecticut spends just under a billion dollars per year (\$929 million) on costs associated with prisons.³ As the chart on the next page shows, this is the highest per capita spending in the country out of the forty states that provided data to the VERA Institute of Justice in a 2012 report on nationwide prison costs. High crime also contributes to high unemployment rates in Connecticut's cities, generating additional costs in social services and foregone tax revenue.



¹ The Economist, "Where Have All the Burglars Gone?"

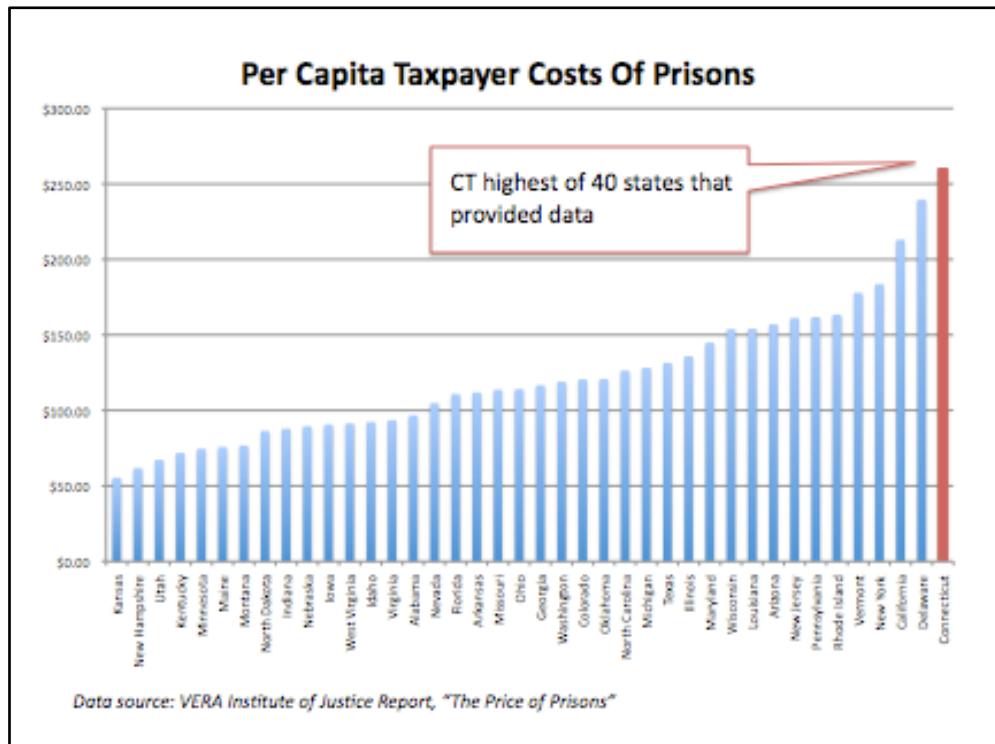
<http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21582041-rich-world-seeing-less-and-less-crime-even-face-high-unemployment-and-economic>

² Examiner.com, "Most Dangerous Cities in the United States in 2013 – FBI Small Cities Data"

<http://www.examiner.com/article/most-dangerous-cities-the-united-states-2013-small-cities-based-on-fbi-data>

³ Christian Henrichson and Ruth Delaney, Vera Institute of Justice, "The Price of Prisons: What Incarceration Costs Taxpayers"

http://www.vera.org/sites/default/files/resources/downloads/Price_of_Prisons_updated_version_072512.pdf



Criminologists and other scholars have spilled considerable ink debating the “root causes” of the national drop in crime, and have reached no consensus.⁴

But even if no single factor can be “proven” responsible for the drop in crime nationally, cities that have successfully reduced their crime rates and made urban areas safer share a number of crime prevention and policing strategies in common. The goal of this paper is to review those strategies and recommend ways they can be applied in Connecticut to reduce crime in the state’s urban areas.

The paper will focus particularly on strategies that reduce crime through collaboration with, not hostility towards, law-abiding citizens in the communities where most crime takes place. The neighborhoods where the majority of individuals who commit violent and property crime live are also the neighborhoods where the majority of the victims of that crime live.⁵ Often the perpetrator of one criminal act is the victim of another. Crime prevention is about creating a general sense of safety and wellbeing in a community that allows members of that community to focus their time and mental energy on their schools, jobs, and families. Policies that replace a fear of crime with a new fear of the police are counterproductive to this sense of wellbeing.

⁴ Vanessa Barker, Journal of Law and Social Issues, “Explaining the Great American Crime Decline” <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1747-4469.2010.01192.x/full>

⁵ Jennifer Truman, Lynn Langton and Michael Planty, US Dept. of Justice: Bureau of Justice Statistics, “Criminal Victimization 2012” <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/cv12.pdf>

Happily, a number of cities have managed to dramatically lower crime rates using strategies that do not create a new fear of the police. Those are the strategies that this paper will seek to emulate, along with some particularly cutting edge programs that would put Connecticut at the forefront of urban crime prevention nationally.

Summary of Policy Recommendations

1. Each of Connecticut's cities should rigorously pursue community policing, an approach that reduces crime by building trust and partnerships between the police and law-abiding residents and organizations in the communities where most crime takes place. Connecticut's state government should promote accountability in the adoption of community policing by publishing community policing "scorecards" for each city. The scorecard should track important community-policing tactics and survey urban residents, businesses, and community organizations to capture whether community policing is actually forging the relationships it needs to be successful. The scorecards should also include statistics on crime levels and trends, as a community policing strategy that builds trust and relationships but does not use those relationships to effectively prevent crime cannot be deemed effective.
2. Connecticut should refashion its state crime lab into a cutting-edge twenty-first century support services center that doesn't simply perform tests, but uses innovative technologies to provide police departments and officers in the field with data and analysis they can immediately put to use to prevent and investigate crime. At a minimum, the state should:
 - Provide departments and officers in the field with mobile biometrics tests (including for facial recognition, fingerprinting, and DNA);
 - Develop a state-of-the-art computational center for crime analytics and predictive policing;
 - Provide departments and officers in the field with passive millimeter wave (MMW) imagers for concealed illicit weapon detection.
3. Connecticut should work to reduce recidivism by adopting a framework of "swift, certain, and short" punishment for probation and parole violators. Specifically, the state should swiftly jail, for a few days at a time but no longer, any probationer or parolee who failed a drug test, missed an appointment, or committed any other violation, be it a technical violation or a substantive violation of the law. Programs of this nature have proven records of reducing recidivism in Hawaii and elsewhere.
4. To ensure that Connecticut's officers kept abreast of the latest strategies, tactics, and technology, the state should establish a "Policing Command College." This could be loosely modeled off of the Naval War College and expand on a New Haven Police Department command college established in 2012 in collaboration with Yale and University of New Haven. All supervising officers at every police department in Connecticut would be required to attend upon every promotion, which would develop

a common level of knowledge among those of a certain rank and ensure that officers are continually updated on best practices as they move up the chain of command.

Rationale & Details of Policy Recommendations

1. Support The More Rigorous Adoption and Measurement of Community Policing

American policing has traditionally followed a “9-1-1” model: the police were called if a problem arose and, when the issue was resolved, they retreated back to their patrol cars or headquarters. Engagement with citizens was minimal and crime was dealt with almost exclusively after-the-fact.

In the last few decades, a number of cities have begun adopting an alternative approach, called “community policing.” Community policing is a philosophy based on “3 Ps”: prevention, problem solving, and partnerships. Officers build trust and relationships with individuals, businesses, and community organizations by walking the same beats every day, engaging in conversation with local residents, attending and participating in community events, and helping when possible to address community problems before they lead to crimes – referring at-risk youth to community organizations that can help get them back on track, for instance. Community members, in turn, are invited to join the police in reviewing crime data and developing strategies to respond to and reduce crime.

Community policing isn’t just about building goodwill as an end in itself. It concretely helps reduce crime. For instance, New Haven has aggressively pursued community policing since 2011. As a result of relationships in the community the police have built, business owners in high-crime neighborhoods have improved security protocols with police assistance and community organizations regularly help the police track down persons of interest. Although New Haven still has a long way to go in reducing crime, since the city’s police force began implementing community policing in 2011 murders are down 45.2%, rapes are down 5.3%, robberies are down 3.2%, aggravated assault is down 35.3%, burglaries are down 27.5%, and motor vehicle thefts are down 25.8%.⁶

Community policing has helped bring about drops in crime in cities throughout the country. In San Diego, where violent crime rates have fallen from 4.80 crimes per 1,000 residents in 2002 to 3.41 per 1,000 in 2011, Chief William Lansdowne cites community policing as a key ingredient in the city’s success.^{7,8} In Providence, Rhode Island community policing contributed to a 34% drop in crime between 2002 and 2006.⁹ And in

⁶ Data current as of December 2013.

⁷ Cynthia Burke, SANDAG: Criminal Justice Research Division, “Thirty Years of Crime in the San Diego Region: 1982 through 2011” http://www.sandag.org/uploads/publicationid/publicationid_1653_14307.pdf

⁸ Tom Fudge, KPBS, “Why Is Crime Down Again?” <http://www.kpbs.org/news/2010/oct/06/why-crime-down-again/>

⁹ Family Service of RI Press Release, “Family Service of RI Helps Cut Crime in Providence” <http://www.familyserviceri.org/DramaticCrimeDropinProvidence.asp>

Portland, Oregon, partnerships between police and local hotels have helped cut down on auto thefts, vandalism, and burglaries.¹⁰

Most of Connecticut's cities embrace the general principles of community policing, but their success in generating actual community trust in the police has been uneven. A 2012 Connecticut Post investigation into community attitudes towards the police in Bridgeport, for instance, found extensive distrust of the police among law-abiding citizens and an unwillingness to cooperate with them in deterring or investigating crimes.¹¹

For community policing to be effective, police departments must go beyond asserting general adherence to the "3Ps" and implement a set of concrete community policing tactics. For instance, every neighborhood in a city should be covered by police officers walking beats, and the same officers should walk the same beats every day so that community members get to know members of the police force as individuals. Similarly, officer training and performance evaluations must reflect community policing activities and reward officers for building relationships and helping to resolve problems before they result in crimes (rather than simply rewarding after-the-fact arrests).¹²

In Connecticut right now it is difficult to assess the rigor and effectiveness of community policing because there is almost no publicly available data on whether police departments are implementing these tactics and what outcomes they are generating. As a result, departments cannot easily benchmark their tactics and results against other cities and it is even harder for the public to hold elected officials accountable for their crime prevention strategies in an informed manner.

One way state government could help address this challenge is by compiling data on community policing in each of the state's cities and publishing "scorecards" on community policing processes and outcomes. The scorecard should track important community-policing tactics like whether the same officers walk the same beats each day and how officers are trained and evaluated. It should then survey urban residents, businesses, and community organizations, to capture whether community policing is actually forging the relationships it needs to be successful. For instance, the survey could assess what percentage of residents know and trust the police officer who walks their beat, and what percentage of community organizations actively collaborate with the police in problem-solving crime reduction. Finally, the scorecards should include statistics on crime levels and trends, as a community policing strategy that builds trust and relationships but does not use those relationships to effectively prevent crime cannot be deemed effective.

¹⁰ U.S. Department of Justice: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, "Implementing Community Policing: Lessons from 12 Agencies"

<http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/files/RIC/Publications/e080925236-ImpCP-Lessons.pdf>

¹¹ Tim Loh and Brittany Lyte, AP, "Anti-snitch Culture Hinders Police in Bridgeport"

<http://www.telegram.com/article/20120527/NEWS/105279773/0>

¹² See 8

2. Refashion the State’s Crime Lab Into A Cutting-Edge Analytics and Technological Support Center

The essence of policework remains officers on the ground making human decisions about how best to prevent and investigate crime. But twenty-first century technology has produced a paradigm shift in how officers access and engage with information to help them make these decisions more effectively and exercise discretion in a more informed way.

Traditionally, police records management systems revolved around “feeding mother” – officers submitted reports to superior officers, who submitted reports to department heads, who submitted reports to the state, where they sat filed away. Now, effective records management systems revolve around using cutting-edge technology that allows “mother” to “feed” officers in the field with previously unavailable information on persons of interest and criminal activity.

Officers in New York City, for example, can plug the address of a building they are about to enter into their smartphone and access “...the names of every resident with an open warrant, arrest record or previous police summons; each apartment with a prior domestic incident report; all residents with orders of protection against them; registered gun owners; and the arrest photographs of every parolee in the building.”¹³ Similarly, Chula Vista, CA uses real-time facial recognition software to identify persons of interest – officers can take a photo in the field and immediately run it through a facial recognition database they access through their tablets.¹⁴

Technological support services are an area of crime prevention where state government has a particularly important role to play. While most policing in Connecticut is managed at the local level, records and forensic databases and analytics are managed through state-level crime labs.

Connecticut’s state crime lab has traditionally been one of the worst performing labs in the country, though it has seen some improvements in recent years. In 2010, an Office of Legislative Research survey found that the lab’s turnaround times were among the slowest of 34 labs surveyed, and in August 2011 the backlog of cases became so great that the lab was decertified.¹⁵ Following this decertification, Governor Malloy admirably increased staffing levels and improved efficiency at the lab to increase turnaround times and reduce the case backload. In 2012 the lab was reaccredited.¹⁶

¹³ Wendy Ruderman, The New York Times, “New Tool for Police Officers: Records at their Fingertips” <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/12/nyregion/new-tool-for-police-officers-quick-access-to-information.html>

¹⁴ Todd Strain and Monica Garske, NBC San Diego, “Chula Vista Police Use New Facial Recognition Technology” <http://www.nbcsandiego.com/news/local/Chula-Vista-Police-Dept-New-Facial-Recognition-Technology-231835401.html>

¹⁵ Jeanne Hayes, CT General Assembly Report, “Forensic Turnaround Times in Fifty States” <http://www.cga.ct.gov/2010/rpt/2010-R-0086.htm>

¹⁶ Governor Dannel P. Malloy press release, “Gov. Malloy: Dr. Guy Vallaro Appointed Director of State Crime Lab” <http://www.governor.ct.gov/malloy/cwp/view.asp?A=4010&Q=514200>

But Connecticut should not be satisfied with simply meeting the standards of today's crime labs. Rather, the state should refashion the lab into a cutting-edge twenty-first century support services center that doesn't simply perform tests, but uses innovative technologies to provide police departments and officers in the field with previously unavailable data and analysis they can immediately put to use to prevent and investigate crime more effectively. Specific investments the state should make in twenty-first century support services include (but are not limited to):

- Providing departments and officers in the field with mobile biometrics tests, including facial recognition, fingerprints, and DNA.

As mentioned above, cities like Chula Vista, CA have already begun providing officers with the tools for in-field facial recognition tests. Similarly, police in New South Wales, Australia have implemented mobile fingerprint units that allow officers to scan fingerprints in the field and run them through a database in their patrol cars, rather than having to take a suspect back to the police station.¹⁷

Mobile DNA testing is an earlier-stage technology, but a number of techniques have been developed in recent years that would allow officers to collect and analyze DNA at a crime scene for real-time human identification.¹⁸ In 2012 Palm Bay, Florida began rolling out one mobile DNA testing technology to officers in the field.¹⁹

- Developing a state-of-the-art center for crime analytics and predictive policing.

A number of police departments around the country have begun using crime analytics software to detect spatial and temporal patterns, giving officers helpful guidance on where and when crimes are likely to occur. Officers can, based on this guidance, locate themselves in places where their utility is maximized. Moreover, data analysis can allow officers to spot trends and identify problems—that, say, a disproportionate number of assaults in a particular city occur between the hours of 3 and 5 p.m.—and work to address them at Comparative Statistics (CompStat) meetings with fellow officers and community members.

Advanced data management systems and predictive software have been successfully implemented elsewhere. Richmond, VA's data-mining and predictive policing initiative lunched in 2006; in its first year, homicides dropped by 32%,

¹⁷ Biometric Technology Today, "Australian Police Take Delivery of Mobile Fingerprint Units" <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0969476509700293>

¹⁸ Peng Liu et al, FSI Genetics, "Real-time forensic DNA analysis at a crime scene using a portable microchip analyzer" [http://www.fsigenetics.com/article/S1872-4973\(08\)00050-1/abstract](http://www.fsigenetics.com/article/S1872-4973(08)00050-1/abstract).

¹⁹ J.D. Gallop, Florida Today, "Palm Bay PD Pioneers Use of Rapid DNA Tests" <http://www.floridatoday.com/article/20121208/NEWS01/312080014/Palm-Bay-PD-pioneers-use-rapid-DNA-tests>.

rapes by 19%, and aggravated assaults by 17%.²⁰ Memphis' CRUSH predictive policing initiative led to 31% decline in street crime.²¹ And in Baltimore, robberies went down by 35.5%, and auto thefts by 40.9% after predictive strategies were applied.²²

- Supplying police officers in the field with passive millimeter wave (MMW) imagers for concealed weapon detection.

Most violent crime is committed with illicit weapons, and detecting these weapons before a crime is committed is critical to effective urban crime prevention. Traditionally, officers could only detect concealed weapons by searching individuals, which gave rise to concerns over the stigmatization of large numbers of individuals searched even though they weren't carrying an illicit weapon or doing anything else illegal.

MMW imaging technology provides a much more precise and less stigmatizing way for police officers to detect concealed weapons. MMW sensors and associated cameras display a glow wherever there is an inanimate object on a person without otherwise revealing personal anatomical details.²³ MMW has been used for some time by the military, and in the last few years has become increasingly available for use by law enforcement.²⁴ Connecticut should work with MMW imaging providers to identify the right technology package to provide to the state's urban police departments for illicit weapons detection.

3. Reduce Recidivism With “Swift, Certain, And Short” Punishment For Parole and Probation Violators

Any successful strategy for reducing crime in Connecticut must address the fact that the individuals most likely to commit crimes are those already on probation and parole. A 2011 Pew Center on the States report found that for prisoners released between 2004 and 2007, Connecticut's recidivism rate was 43.7% (about in line with the national

²⁰ Ger Daly, CNN, “Embracing the Police Force of the Future”

<http://www.cnn.com/2013/09/18/tech/innovation/police-future-technology/>

²¹ Doug Henschen, InformationWeek, “Memphis Cuts Crime with Predictive Analytics”

<http://www.informationweek.com/healthcare/analytics/memphis-cuts-crime-with-predictive-analytics/d/d-id/1090960?>

²² Walter L. Perry et al, RAND Corporation, “Predictive Policing: The Role of Crime Forecasting in Law Enforcement Operations”

http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RR200/RR233/RAND_RR233.pdf

²³ See Millivision, “Millivision Pasive Millimeter Wave Immager”,

<http://www.millivision.com/technology.html>.

²⁴ See Chris Tillery, “Detecting Concealed Weapons: Directions for the Future” *National Institute of Justice Journal*, <http://nij.gov/journals/258/Pages/detecting-concealed-weapons.aspx>; Paul Ridden, “New portable camera sees inside solid materials and structures”, <http://www.gizmag.com/mst-team-develops-microwave-camera-that-can-see-through-objects/18057/>.

average).²⁵ In other words, nearly half of prisoners released during that period reoffended. The probation and parole system, meant to encourage offenders to straighten out their lives and engage productively with society, is clearly in need of improvement.

Connecticut has made some progress in reforming offenders' behavior. The state established a Technical Violation Units (TVU) in 2004 to work with particularly recalcitrant offenders—those who are on the verge of being referred to a judge to be sent back to prison. These units are comprised of officers chosen for their proven ability to handle difficult cases; officers are given very low caseloads and priority access to special services, like drug treatment and psychological counseling.²⁶ As a result of the TVU program, technical violations (missed appointments, failed drug tests, essentially everything short of a new arrest) have fallen from 50% of violations to 30%.²⁷

According to the Pew Report, Connecticut's recidivism rate fell slightly from 45.8% in the 1999-2002 period to 43.7% in the 2004-2007 period after the TVU program was introduced. This is admirable progress, but further improvements can be made.

One notable flaw with Connecticut's current system is that those on probation and parole continue to navigate a capricious system without a clear link between transgression and punishment. Offenders may commit dozens of violations before they are ever disciplined, as parole and probation officers use their discretion to decide when to recommend that misbehaving offenders serve prison time. As a result, misconduct and consequence are decoupled, and the penalty becomes arbitrary and unpredictable.



In recent years, criminologists have begun to focus on the unpredictable consequences of probation and parole violations as one of the major causes of high recidivism rates, urging states to reform their probation and parole systems to emphasize “swift, certain, and short” punishment for violations.²⁸

²⁵ Pew Center on the States, “State of Recidivism: The Revolving Door of America’s Prisons” http://www.pewtrusts.org/uploadedFiles/wwwpewtrustsorg/Reports/sentencing_and_corrections/State_Recidivism_Revolving_Door_America_Prisons%20.pdf

²⁶ Stephen M. Cox, Kathleen Bantley, and Thomas Roscoe, “Evaluation of the Court Support Services Division’s Probation Transition Program and Technical Violations Unit” <http://www.jud.state.ct.us/external/news/ProbPilot.pdf>

²⁷ Interview with William Carbone

²⁸ Mark A. R. Kleiman, Washington Monthly, “A New Role for Parole” http://www.washingtonmonthly.com/magazine/january_february_2013/features/a_new_role_for_parole042045.php?page=3.

In particular, they advocate programs that would swiftly detain, for a few days at a time but no longer, any probationer or parolee who failed a drug test, missed an appointment, or committed any other violation, be it a technical or a new crime.²⁹ This would ensure that those who violate the terms of their probation or parole are punished immediately and uniformly. It would also promote a “language of personal responsibility” among offenders: because the link between an offense and the penalty is clear, jail time becomes their fault, not their parole/probation officer’s.³⁰ The result: offenders spend fewer days behind bars, the state saves money, and recidivism rates decline.

A number of states have already begun developing programs along these lines and have seen striking results. The gold standard is Hawaii’s Opportunity Probation with Enforcement (HOPE) program, which immediately jails any probation or parole violator for no more than four days. Since enacted, HOPE has led to a 55% decline in recidivism, and a 72% decline in drug use.³¹ As a result, participants in the program have spent 48% fewer days behind bars than members of a control group.^{32 33}

The HOPE program has been so successful that other states have copied its basic premise. Alaska is in the process of implementing a similar program, called PACE, which has already begun to decrease the number of parolees who failed drug tests.³⁴ Seattle, WA’s pilot program led to reduced criminal activity and drug use, even among repeat offenders.³⁵ Other states across the country are working to enshrine “swift, certain and short” in law.³⁶ Connecticut should follow suit and implement its own program modeled on HOPE that immediately jails, for no more than a few days, any parole or probation violator.

4. Support the Professionalization of Policing and Sharing of Best Practices Through a “Policing Command College”

One of the lessons from the last two decades of national crime reduction is that policing tactics make a big difference. For instance, to reduce homicides departments must not only target homicides but also shootings more generally. And addressing “smaller” crime like burglaries and auto thefts is also important for reducing violent crime.

²⁹ Sam Kornell, Slate, “Probation That Works”

http://www.slate.com/articles/health_and_science/science/2013/06/hawaii_hope_probation_program_reduces_crime_drug_use_and_time_in_prison.html

³⁰ See 25

³¹ See 25

³² Kevin McEvoy, “HOPE: A Swift and Certain Process for Probationers”

<https://ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/237724.pdf>

³³ Angela Hawken and Mark Kleiman, “Managing Drug Involved Probationers with Swift and Certain Sanction: Evaluating Hawaii’s HOPE” <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/230444.pdf>

³⁴ Teresa W. Carns and Stephanie Martin, Alaska Judicial Council, “A Preliminary Evaluation of the Anchorage Pilot PACE Project” <http://www.ajc.state.ak.us/reports/pace2011.pdf>

³⁵ Lynn Thompson, Seattle Times, “Short, Fast Stay in Jail Cuts Crime, Study Finds”

http://seattletimes.com/html/localnews/2016994859_supervision12m.html

³⁶ Tracy Wholf, PBS Newshour, “Innovative Justice Program Spurs Similar Models Across the U.S.”

<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/2013/11/innovative-justice-program-sweeping-the-usa.html>

Unfortunately, Connecticut currently has no means to share effective tactics and strategies across the state's 169 police departments or to systematically keep officers up-to-date on the most effective and innovative best practices from around the world. As they move up the chain of command, officers are given almost no additional training, which results in outdated knowledge and policing that is not as effective as it could be.

To ensure that Connecticut's officers are kept abreast of the latest strategies, tactics, and technology, the state should establish a "Policing Command College." This could be loosely modeled off of the Naval War College, which seeks to "prepare leaders for the challenges of operational and/or strategic level leadership over the remainder of their careers as decision makers and problem solvers" and "synchronize the Navy's leadership...by providing a common framework for leader development—regardless of community—that is comprehensive in scope and enduring."³⁷ Having well trained leaders who are all on the same page has worked well for the armed forces, and it would be similarly helpful for law enforcement.

The Connecticut Policing Command College could build off of the New Haven Police Department's command collage, established in 2011 in conjunction with Yale and the University of New Haven.³⁸ All supervising officers would be required to attend upon every promotion, which would develop a common level of knowledge among those of a certain rank and ensure that officers are continually updated on best practices as they move up the chain of command. The college would also provide a standardized credential, allowing for greater mobility among departments, and between law enforcement and other industries. Therefore, policing would be professionalized to an extent never seen before, and an even broader range of talented candidates would be encouraged to consider a career in law enforcement.

Conclusion

If these four recommendations are rigorously implemented, they will dramatically reduce crime in Connecticut's cities. Moreover, they would transform Connecticut from a state that lags its peers on important criminal justice metrics (urban crime rates and per capita prison costs, to name two) to a cutting edge center for innovative law enforcement and criminal justice that could serve as a model for the rest of the country.

The recommendations are focused on new approaches and getting more out of existing resources, rather than simply throwing more money at the problem. But implementing these recommendations will not be free. We estimate that in total, the annual cost of the recommendations would be in the tens of millions. Yet this cost pales when compared to the hundreds of millions per year the state would save by reducing crime rates and bringing its prison costs in line with national averages. Reducing crime is also a critical

³⁷ U.S. Naval War College, "Navy Leader Development Strategy" <http://www.usnwc.edu/About/Navy-Leader-Development-Strategy.aspx>

³⁸ University of New Haven press release, "UNH Receives \$350,000 Grant to Partner with Yale and New Haven Police to Create First-Even 'Command College' for Police Supervisors" <http://www.newhaven.edu/news-events/news-releases/486526/>

component of revitalizing Connecticut's cities more generally, an effort that if successful would generate with huge fiscal returns to the state.

Most importantly of all, the state owes it to the residents of its cities to provide them with communities where they can live free from fear of crime. This four-part strategy provides Connecticut with a roadmap to achieve this.