

Community Policing in Chicago, Year Two: An Interim Report

June 1995

Prepared by
the Chicago Community Policing
Evaluation Consortium

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Executive Summary

Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) began in April 1993. At the heart of the program lies the reorganization of policing around small geographical areas. Officers assigned to beat teams are to engage in identifying and dealing with a broad range of neighborhood problems in partnership with neighborhood residents and community organizations. To give them time to do this, some of the burden of responding to 911 calls has been shifted to rapid response teams and tactical units, youth officers, and detectives are expected to work more closely in support of beat officers. All of these officers share responsibility for meeting and working with members of the community on a regular basis at beat meetings. At the district level, advisory committees have been formed to review issues of wider scope and to discuss strategic issues with district commanders. A prioritizing system was developed for coordinating the delivery of municipal services to support local problem-solving efforts. A wave of new recruits has put more officers on the street to carry out these new tasks and several rounds of officer and supervisor training have been conducted to ensure that they knew what to do when they are out there.

This report is drawn from our ongoing evaluation of the planning, implementation and impact of CAPS throughout the city. Most of it focuses on what happened in five prototype police districts where all of these program elements were field tested. The material presented here was gathered using surveys of neighborhood residents, interviews with officers from all levels of the Chicago Police Department, discussions with community leaders, observations of meetings and training sessions and a systematic survey of neighborhood activists.

Trends in Crime. An analysis of reported crime figures and survey reports of victimization and neighborhood problems found there were significant decreases in perceived crime problems in all five prototype areas. In Englewood, Austin and Rogers Park there were no parallel changes in matched comparison areas. In Morgan Park and Marquette, perceived crime also went down in the comparison areas. Among the crimes identified in the surveys as particularly troublesome, burglary and auto theft victimization went down in Morgan Park and robbery went down in Rogers Park. Compared to matched non-CAPS districts, for the first 17 months after the program began there was less officially recorded robbery than statistically predicted in all five prototypes and less burglary than predicted in three of the five prototypes.

Neighborhood Disorder and Decay. Our surveys identified the four biggest problems facing residents in each area. The biggest effects of the program on these problems were in Englewood and Austin. In Englewood all four problems — gang violence, drug dealing, building abandonment, and junk- and trash-strewn streets and sidewalks — declined significantly. In Austin gang violence, drug dealing and street crime went down. In Rogers Park street crime went down significantly. The other major area problems also declined, but not significantly. In Marquette graffiti problems went down. In Morgan Park there were slight declines in all problem ratings, though none were significant. A general measure of physical decay declined significantly in Englewood, Austin and Marquette. There was a great deal less physical decay in Morgan Park and Rogers Park to start with. The public's assessment of the extent of problems with both gangs and drugs went down significantly in Englewood and Austin. There was a clear correlation between the effectiveness of residents and citizens in mobilizing city services and improvements in the physical environment.

Assessments of Police Performance. Optimism about the police went up significantly in four prototype areas. A noticeable increase in Rogers Park was not statistically significant, and there was a slight improvement in Englewood. In four prototypes there was a significant increase in perceived police

responsiveness to the public's concerns. A slight increase in Marquette was not significant. Changes in attitudes toward police were widespread. Perceived police responsiveness went up significantly among both African-American and white residents, but not among Hispanics. Both renters and homeowners grew significantly more positive about police.

Visibility of the Program. After a year, program recognition was somewhat higher in the prototype districts than in their comparison areas, but there had been about the same level of recognition before the program began. Knowledge of the program was quite low in Englewood, Marquette and Austin, with less than a third of the residents saying they were aware of CAPS. Nearly half of the residents in Rogers Park and Morgan Park had heard of CAPS a year after it began, but this did not represent any increase in program visibility over time. Citywide, program visibility over time decreased by nine percentage points and declined more among blacks than among whites.

Police Supervisors' Opinions. Police supervisory personnel were surveyed at the beginning of a new round of CAPS training. More than half of the supervisors indicated that they were moderately or very familiar with the concepts of CAPS. Before CAPS training eight of 10 felt qualified or very qualified to identify community problems and to develop and evaluate solutions. However, only half believed they were qualified or very qualified to use the CAPS model to analyze problems before their training. Large majorities of supervisors believed that police officers should assist citizens, make informal contacts with them and work with them to solve problems before their training occurred.

Before training, the great majority of the supervisors believed that police officers should be concerned about more than just crime in their beat and that citizens know more about their own neighborhood problems than do police officers. Supervisors with a year's CAPS experience in the prototype districts were more optimistic than their counterparts about the impact of CAPS on traditional policing concerns (arrests, speed of response, corruption). Prototype supervisors were also more optimistic about the impact of CAPS on resolving neighborhood problems and willingness of citizens to cooperate with the police. They were no more optimistic than their counterparts about the impact of the program on police-community relations, relations with minorities, or the effective use of crime information. Experienced prototype supervisors did not differ from others in their pessimism about the impact of the program on police autonomy.

Beat Meetings. Observations of beat meetings indicated that police leadership of beat meetings increased over time in four of the five districts, which hindered the development of police/citizen partnerships. Neighborhood relations officers in many areas maintained leadership roles, which did not allow beat officers the opportunity to develop leadership at the meetings. Citizens and police had very different ideas about problem solving. Citizens were more likely to put emphasis on community organizing and acting upon local problems, while the police focused on traditional solutions that emphasized police action. Police acted as leaders when there was an absence of citizen leadership. This occurred in prototype areas where levels of community activism has been historically low. Four of the districts experienced adversarial encounters between police and citizens at beat meetings.

Partnerships in Action. Case studies of police/citizen problem-solving initiatives illustrated the many different types of problems that have been addressed by CAPS, as well as alternative avenues for solving the problems which have now become available to both police and citizens. They document how partnership links can be formed among the police, citizens, private organizations and public agencies to solve local problems. Citizens demonstrated a strong initiative to become involved in problem identification. The development and implementation of solutions to problems was most successful when

citizens were organized and developed strong leadership. Once individual citizens placed a problem on the public agenda or involved agencies or organizations, their role in developing solutions declined, and the initiative shifted to those organizations. City services proved instrumental in implementing proposed solutions to problems. Often they involved services which could not have been provided by individuals or groups. The police played significant roles in many cases in creating and implementing solutions to problems. They often demonstrated leadership roles in this capacity.

Community Organization Involvement. A study of 253 community organizations revealed that there was a great deal of variation in levels of involvement in CAPS-related activities in the five prototype districts. Organizations in Morgan Park and Rogers Park scored high on both involvement in CAPS-related activities and positive impressions that CAPS was having an impact in their communities. Marquette scored the lowest, with Englewood and Austin falling somewhere in between on CAPS-related activities and activists' perceptions of the impact of CAPS in their community. Organizational factors were related to levels of CAPS involvement. Local organizations with a crime prevention mission or an economic development focus that also were informally organized and membership based tended to be much more involved in CAPS. Local organizations with a citywide focus, a client-oriented social service orientation, a bureaucratic organization structure, or cultural or religious goals were far less involved in CAPS-related activities. The five prototype districts featured varying mixes of organizational life that facilitated or inhibited levels of involvement in CAPS. Organizations active in Morgan Park shared factors that led to high levels of involvement in CAPS, followed by Rogers Park. At the other extreme, organizations in Marquette matched most consistently the profile associated with low levels of CAPS involvement.

District Advisory Committees. Each committee has a stable membership that meets on a regular basis with their respective commanders and/or neighborhood relations staff to identify key issues, set priorities and work on solutions to problems. Marquette and Morgan Park have been successful at getting disparate segments of their communities to work together. Englewood and Austin have sustained a grassroots effort drawing in members of the community who were not involved prior to CAPS. Rogers Park has maintained an ongoing effort despite potentially divisive political agendas and an excessive focus on procedural issues.

Advisory committees that seem to be experiencing more success have realistic, short-term goals and specific views about the important issues facing the district in addition to enjoying strong commander leadership. Advisory committees that are experiencing less success have citizens with divided opinions about issues that need to be addressed; have focused on broad issues that are beyond their competence; and have a less positive relationship with the police as well as less clear police/citizen roles. Committee members are often distracted or sidetracked by developmental issues like creating bylaws or dealing with attendance or voting rules. None of the committees have been able to prioritize their long-term goals. While some committees have discussed very difficult issues, they have not been able to come up with a plan for addressing the problems because they have identified deeply-rooted social problems that require major shifts in public policy. Other committees have been more practical.

Court Advocacy. Court Advocacy was mandated to be a part of CAPS, but without much early guidance or direction. Three of the prototypes were involved in court advocacy efforts before CAPS began. These areas have experienced more success in developing program leadership, identifying relevant court cases and recruiting volunteers to track cases. The two prototypes that launched a completely new effort experienced difficulty in recruiting members and reaching consensus on which cases to follow. Little has been accomplished in these two subcommittees.

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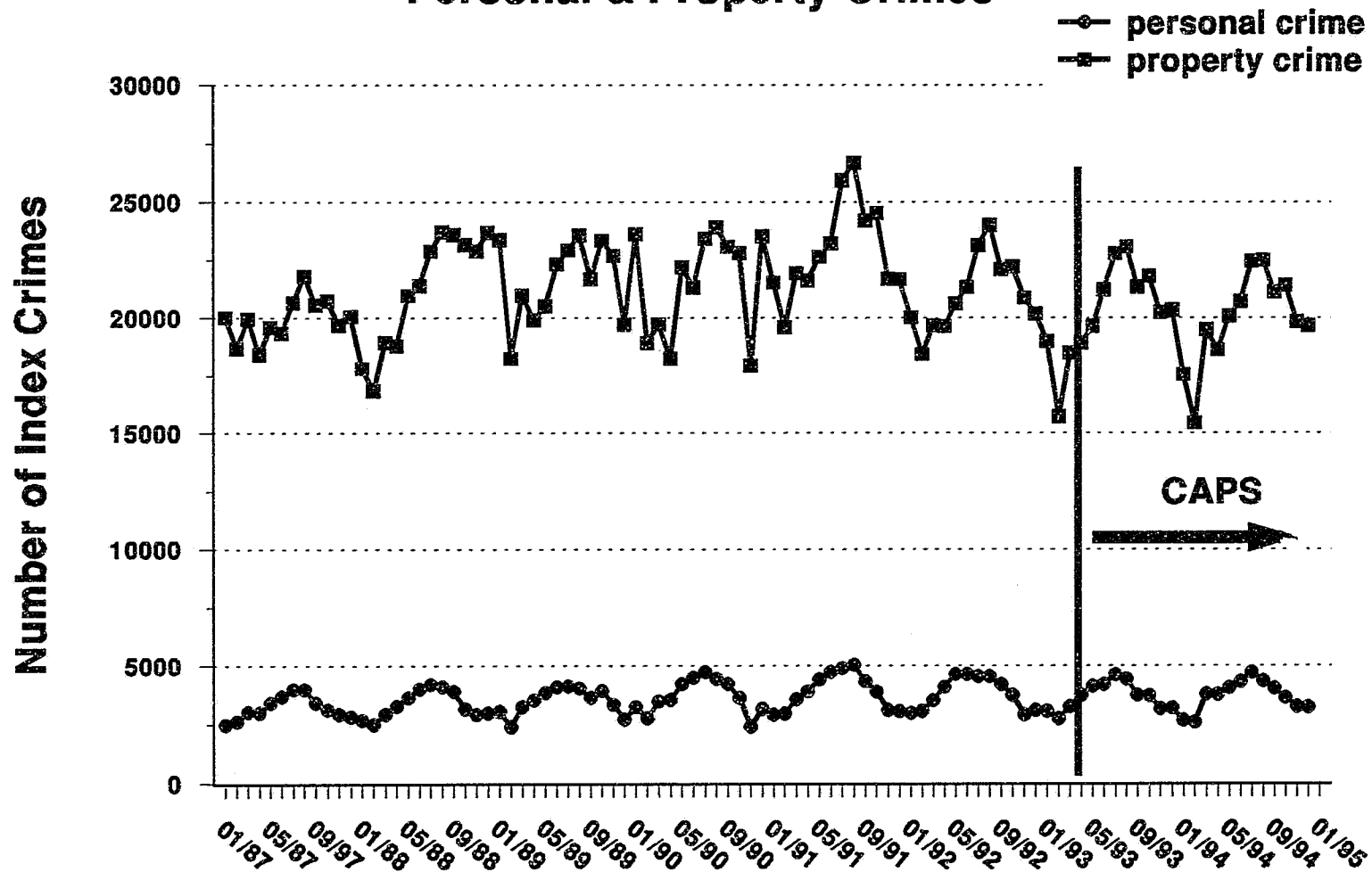
Introduction

Chicago's experiment with community policing began in April 1993. For more than a year the Chicago Police Department had worked on a plan for Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) and laid the groundwork for implementing it in selected districts. At the heart of the plan lay the reorganization of policing around small geographical areas, the city's 279 police beats. Officers assigned to beat teams were expected to engage in identifying and dealing with a broad range of neighborhood problems in partnership with neighborhood residents and community organizations. To give them time to do this, some of the burden of responding to 911 calls was shifted to rapid response teams, and tactical units, youth officers, and detectives were expected to work more closely in support of beat officers. All of these officers shared responsibility for meeting and working with members of the community on a regular basis at beat meetings. At the district level, advisory committees were formed to review issues of wider scope and to discuss strategic issues with district commanders. A prioritizing system was developed for coordinating the delivery of municipal services to support local problem-solving efforts, and new computer technology began to be introduced that would support the analysis of local crime problems. Finally, modest gains in the civilianization of administrative positions and the first of a wave of new recruits began to put more officers on the street who could carry out these new tasks. Several rounds of officer and supervisor training were conducted to ensure that they knew what to do when they were there.

This report examines many aspects of this effort. It is drawn from our ongoing evaluation of the planning, implementation and impact of CAPS throughout the city. An earlier report examined the origins of the program, early planning efforts, how resources were leveraged to support it and conditions in the city's neighborhoods. The bulk of this year's report focuses on what happened in five prototype police districts where all of these program elements first came on line. The department's strategy for developing CAPS relied on the experience it gained from first trying out various program elements in the prototype areas — the laboratory for CAPS — before implementing them on a citywide basis. The material presented here was gathered using surveys of neighborhood residents, interviews with officers from all levels of the department, discussions with community leaders and a systematic survey of neighborhood activists. We attended planning meetings and observed police training sessions and beat and District Advisory Committee meetings. Technical details about all of these activities will be presented in follow-up reports. Both there and in this summary we honor the confidentiality that we promised all respondents so that they could freely report their honest assessments of the program.

During the year since our last report, crime in the city has remained fairly constant. As Figure 1 (p. 10) illustrates, personal and (especially) property crime peaked during summer 1991, and the question of what to do about that was one of the driving forces behind the city's move toward community policing. The city's leaders felt they had to respond to the crime problem, which was at the top of the public's agenda that summer, but they knew they had to do so in a fiscally prudent manner and in a way that would unite the city rather than further divide it by race and class. They also wanted to increase the efficiency and responsiveness of police operations. Since that time, crime in Chicago has tracked the national trend, but remains slightly below its level for the past half-decade. Our citywide surveys indicate that between spring 1993 and spring 1994, there also were no discernible increases (or decreases) in fear of crime, neighborhood dissatisfaction, or assessments of the quality of police service.

Figure 1
Citywide Crime Trends
Personal & Property Crimes



The place of crime on the public agenda also did not decline. Nationally, the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 promised to put more police on the streets, and Chicago moved quickly to secure its share of the money. The police department anticipated that federal funds would partially support the addition of approximately 500 officers to the force during 1994 and that in conjunction with local funding the department would grow by an additional 475 officers by the end of 1995. To date, federal funds have supported the hiring of 321 new officers. Locally, the decision to quickly expand CAPS from the five prototype districts to encompass the entire city was driven in part by the impending 1995 mayoral election. Without new staffing or a training program in place, the CAPS program began to be phased in citywide in January 1994 with the formation of district advisory committees and expedited city services; the accelerated pace of implementation threatens to distract the organization from dealing with restructuring efforts. And while there is evidence of significant progress in several of the prototype districts, it is also clear that important elements of the program have not yet been sufficiently tested in the field.

The next section of this report deals with some of those restructuring efforts. It examines key tasks in planning, training and staffing, which are vital elements of any organizational change effort. The longest section of the report examines the program in action in the five prototype districts. Most of it focuses on the relationship developing between police and neighborhood residents and community organizations as they search for new problem-solving roles. The final section explores the consequences of CAPS in the prototype districts. Resident surveys and crime reports are used to probe the impact of the program on neighborhood problems and the relationship between the police and district residents. There is no overall conclusion to this interim report, for the program continues to evolve, but there is evidence that police and residents have successfully negotiated an effective partnership in certain areas of the city, and that CAPS has significantly reduced levels of crime and serious neighborhood problems in several prototype districts.

Managing Organizational Change

Downtown Planning Activities

Downtown planning activities were almost without exception directed by the CAPS manager, CPD's Research and Development director and key staff members and City Hall's liaison with the Chicago Police Department. With significant input from the superintendent of police, they developed a Policy and Planning Committee to implement the components of change outlined in the department's mission statement, "Together We Can." The document sets forth the Chicago Police Department's vision of community policing. While it highlights some of the key steps necessary to implement community policing, the mission statement is not a "how to" document on implementing those components of change. It was the charge of the Policy and Planning Committee to oversee a strategic planning process that would make "Together We Can" a reality.

The Policy and Planning Committee was composed of approximately 70 police officers, citizens and a few outside consultants. Citizens on the committee represented many well-established organizations and businesses in the Chicago area. Included were representatives from the Chicago Trust Foundation, Centers for New Horizons, Properties and Programs for the Investment Management Corporation, AM Consulting, Communities Empowered to Prevent Alcohol and other Drug Abuse, Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety and the Beverly Area Planning Association. The intent was for this group to review, discuss and give input on action plans that were to be developed by a smaller strategic planning work group. The Policy and Planning Committee met several times during 1994 but had no opportunity to become active in the planning process.

The smaller group, named the Strategic Planning Work Group, was created and charged with mapping out the process for organizational change. The Strategic Planning Work Group was composed of approximately 30 police officers and community members. The organizers hoped a smaller group would be conducive to accomplishing strategic planning goals; members of the larger group were to be brought in on an as-needed basis during the planning process.

During a two-day retreat in late March 1994, the Strategic Planning Work Group set priorities and began to work through the task of becoming strategic planners. The Government Assistance Program (established by the Chicago Community Trust) provided funding for the retreat. One interesting product of the retreat was a list of changes the Chicago Police Department could make within 90 days — a time frame that would demonstrate the department's commitment to CAPS. This inventory, dubbed the "90-day wonder list," consisted of 43 potential changes for review by the superintendent. The changes were viewed by the Strategic Planning Work Group as important because rank-and-file opinion at the time was that the department's commitment to CAPS was not strong and that visible efforts were required to demonstrate its commitment to the program.

After the list was reviewed at headquarters, only seven of the 43 proposed changes were approved. Further, the changes that were selected were viewed as inconsequential by the work group, and its disappointment was obvious. The group was concerned that this "bad signal" would deepen the view that the bosses downtown were not addressing the officers' skepticism regarding the program.

The Strategic Planning Work Group met three times between April and July 1994; these meetings also were funded by the Government Assistance Program. To help guide the strategic planning process, the work group hosted a "Futures Symposium," which brought in experts in the areas of demography, economics, legal policy analysis, technology and organizational behavior. The symposium also gave group members a context in which to envision the future of the Chicago Police Department over the next decade. The messages of the symposium left many work group members feeling overwhelmed with the strategic planning task, because forecasts for Chicago for the next decade appeared quite gloomy. For example, Chicago was characterized as the most segregated major city in the United States, with the most segregated school system. High school drop-out rates were expected to continue climbing while the shift from manufacturing to a service industry would produce an undereducated underclass of unemployed inner-city youth. In Chicago, the greatest proportion of those losing jobs would be blacks living in some of the poorest neighborhoods in the country. Poor inner city residents would get poorer, while better-off, middle-class minorities would continue to move out, leaving behind those with the fewest resources to go elsewhere. Tensions between police and citizens could be expected to escalate as the job of many police officers would be to keep the poor away from the rich. And, finally, unless the poor could be dispersed, Chicago was projected to be a place that would be inundated with unsophisticated, unschooled, unskilled people. These dismal demographic and economic scenarios provided a dispiriting backdrop for strategic planning for CAPS.

As part of the planning process, the Strategic Planning Work Group invited our evaluation team to make a presentation at one of its meetings so we could provide feedback about how CAPS was working in the prototype areas. Input was given about the levels of victimization and fear that residents in the prototypes experienced. Findings about racial differences in assessments of the quality of police service also were presented. We reported that our beat meeting observation summaries indicated that neighborhood relations officers were taking too large a leadership role, while beat officers and residents too often took a more passive role. Observers often noted that meetings typically consisted of citizens voicing complaints and officers indicating that they would "take care of it" or "check into it." There was

no indication that problem solving was going on, and the meetings were primarily reactive in nature and dominated by traditional definitions of police and citizen roles.

By the third work group meeting a very lengthy and task-intensive strategic planning model had been outlined. There was also a general consensus that "too much planning was taking place and not enough doing was happening." The group released the outside consultant hired to advise the planning process because there were not enough funds to pay him through the course of time needed to develop the strategic model. Many in the group disagreed about whether planning should be centralized or if they should turn over some responsibilities to the district level and allow them to try creative problem solving under a prototyping model.

At that point the pressure to develop and implement a training curriculum for officers was growing. The strategic planning model and group meetings competed with a training schedule that demanded the attention of key members of the downtown planning group. Faced with a lack of time and resources to keep the group moving, the Strategic Planning Work Group stopped meeting in July 1994. Key staff members instead moved quickly to develop a curriculum for officer training in the fall.

Research and Development's Role

Concurrently, the Research and Development Division was undergoing personnel changes. Its civilian director was named CAPS co-manager during spring 1994. One of the unit's goals was to identify job functions that didn't require the knowledge and experience of sworn personnel so that they could add more civilian planners to the staff. As a result, during 1995, the division anticipates filling six new civilian positions and one vacancy. The division is also bringing on more sworn personnel to attend to impending changes for implementation of the new 911 system. More than 40 department orders will need to be rewritten to support the new system. Additionally, sworn personnel will be needed to help develop the new crime lab; research and development will maintain a limited core of civilian and sworn staff. Remaining personnel in the division will remain for a two- or three-year period to learn specific skills in the area of policy analysis. The result will be research and development functioning as a training ground from which they can then move through the organization.

The Research and Development Division, while still charged with the strategic planning and implementation of CAPS, must continue its involvement in many other important police functions.

Training

Supervisor Training

This section of the report describes CAPS training for supervisory staff (officers with the rank of sergeant and above). The training was conducted during March, April and May 1994. The evaluation team examined the nature of the training sessions and the performance of the trainers; the background of the training participants and their attitudes toward their jobs, citizens and CAPS; and participants' reactions to the training.

Most of this information was gathered by observing training sessions. After discussions with evaluation team members and Chicago Police Department personnel, the training observers scheduled observations and developed a format for recording their impressions. The two training observers were experienced members of the CAPS evaluation team and belonged to the cadre of researchers who studied CAPS orientation training in spring 1993. They observed each of the trainers at least once and sat through at least one complete training session during the second and third watches for each training

group. Captains and lieutenants formed one training group and sergeants formed the other. Observers attended sessions from the beginning, middle and end of the training schedule. Of the 18 training sessions held for captains and lieutenants, observers attended two complete two-day sessions. Of the 15 training sessions held for sergeants, they attended two complete four-day sessions. In total, they observed 24 days of training. At each training session, observers took notes describing the setting and content of the training as well as the behavior of the trainers and trainees. They also recorded evaluative comments at the end of each day.

Data also were gathered using questionnaires that were completed by trainees at the start of each training session. These questionnaires were distributed by training academy staff with the oversight and support of the evaluation team. The questionnaire was a brief version of an instrument that has been used to track police officers' perceptions and behaviors at various points in the evolution of CAPS. It included 81 items examining five general issues: job assignments, police work, neighborhood activism, program-related issues and demographics.

The evaluators also interviewed small samples of lieutenants and sergeants, mostly those serving in prototype districts. These post-training interviews were conducted at the district station houses, and they addressed a variety of CAPS-related issues and topics. Interview questions relevant to training included:

- Did you find the instructors informative and capable?
- Was the material presented in a clear manner?
- Did you feel the material was geared toward adult learners; that is, did you feel "talked down to" or that the materials were too basic?
- Did you feel that the instructors understood your job?
- Did you feel that the training directly related to the job you are doing or should be doing?
- Was the training useful?
- How satisfied were you with the overall training?

Three activities occurred prior to supervisory training: curriculum development, curriculum pilot testing and trainer selection. A planning committee coordinated by the CAPS manager developed the curriculum. Its members were a lieutenant from the Houston Police Training Academy; several of the Chicago Police Department's members of the research and development unit, including the director, the deputy director and several key staff; the city's CAPS liaison; and an outside consultant who helped with the first year training. The committee met several times to write and revise the curriculum, which was tested to elicit feedback from captains, lieutenants and sergeants. The committee also helped to select the trainers, who were chosen for their anticipated teaching ability, job performance, educational background and favorable attitudes toward CAPS. All of the trainers were Chicago Police Department officers; two of the police trainers were from prototype districts. They were all given a training manual and time to practice their sessions in front of neighborhood relations officers at the training academy.

Under the direction of a sergeant at the training academy, training academy personnel scheduled sessions, managed the flow of personnel into and out of training and assisted trainers with overheads, video tapes and other training equipment. Supervisors were scheduled to begin training on March 14, 1994, after final revisions were made in the curriculum and scheduling changes were approved at the district level. However, there was difficulty in distributing notices announcing the initial training date; consequently, the first day of training was not held until March 21, 1994.

Training Setting. Supervisory training was conducted at the training academy. Captain and lieutenant training took place in a room which easily accommodated the groups of 12 people who attended these sessions. Sergeant training was held in groups of 25 people and took place in either a room which was quite spacious, or in a room which was quite cramped. Third watch sergeants training often began in the smaller room and then moved to the more spacious room when it was vacated by the second watch. During the leadership module of training, both sets of supervisors — captains/lieutenants and sergeants — sat in the more spacious room. The tables in the training rooms were arranged in a U-shape. At the mouth of the U, there was a podium, a television with video equipment, a blackboard, a sketch board and an overhead projector. There was also a table for materials. In general, the rooms were well-lit and comfortable.

Training Curriculum. The training curriculum consisted of the following nine modules:

- 1) **CAPS Orientation:** presented the nature and scope of department change necessitated by CAPS; described the four critical elements of CAPS, which are proactive problem solving, partnership with the community, support of other city agencies and departmentwide change;
- 2) **Effective Leadership:** encouraged participants to explore their own leadership style through the use of the DiSC Dimensions of Behavior Personal Profile System and to relate that style to the four critical elements of CAPS;
- 3) **Beat Integrity:** reviewed the Chicago Police Department's dispatch policy for priority one and priority two calls;
- 4) **Building Partnerships:** focused mostly on how to run a beat meeting and how to help citizens assume responsibility for problems that they can solve themselves;
- 5) **Beat Profiling:** explained how to collect and share CAPS-related information among the three watches;
- 6) **Problem Solving:** offered a dynamic model for solving the problems of crime and disorder in the community. Also reviewed beat plans, sector management meetings, beat team meetings and other staff responsibilities under CAPS;
- 7) **Team Building:** examined supervisors' specific roles and responsibilities in implementing CAPS;
- 8) **Revisit DiSC:** applied in more depth participants' knowledge regarding their personal leadership styles;
- 9) **Question and Answer:** CAPS manager or commanders answered supervisor's questions in an open question-and-answer format.

Training Resources and Modalities. Most trainers effectively used a variety of training resources including overheads, videotapes, flip charts and handouts. Early in the training schedule one group of trainers significantly reduced the number of overheads used in training because participants said that they found the overheads distracting.

Teaching Styles. The training styles and skills of the individual trainers varied greatly, but all of them had obviously mastered the content of the CAPS training manual. Modules were richer and more informative when trainers taught by example and behavior modeling rather than by lecturing from the manual. The least effective trainers were those who read, verbatim, materials from the manual. Contrasting trainer styles and abilities are reflected in the observer's field notes. Trainers who engaged in self-disclosure, relied less on overheads and moved at a moderate pace appeared to have more success-

ful training styles. Conversely, trainers who had too little structure, moved too quickly and relied too heavily on the materials provided seemed to have less successful training styles.

Trainee Behavior. In general, trainees at every rank were very attentive and cooperative during training. They all seemed to grasp the materials quite readily, and most were willing to participate in exercises and to share their questions and concerns about CAPS during open forums. Nonetheless, many were dubious about the Chicago Police Department's ability and willingness to institute the massive organizational changes required to implement CAPS.

Who Participated? A total of 544 participants completed questionnaires at the beginning of their training session. Large percentages of respondents were male (93 percent), white (76 percent), married (78 percent) and currently assigned to operational services (92 percent). More of the respondents worked the third watch (40 percent) than the second watch (36 percent) or the first watch (24 percent). Participants' ages ranged from 33 to 62, and on average they were 49 years old. At the time of training, 69 percent of those surveyed were sergeants, 23 percent were lieutenants, and 8 percent were captains or above. On average, they had joined the department when they were 24 years old, had been with the Chicago Police Department for 24 years and had held their current assignment for 12 years. Slightly more than one-third (35 percent) had some college training, another 17 percent were college graduates, and an additional 17 percent had a graduate degree.

Feelings About Their Jobs. Most of the participants generally appeared to be satisfied with their jobs. Approximately two-thirds agreed or strongly agreed with the following statements: "I like the kind of work I do very much" (67 percent), "I like the employees I work with a great deal" (66 percent), and "This city's police department is a good organization to work for" (64 percent). Much lower percentages agreed or strongly agreed that "it would be very hard for [them] to leave the department now even if [they] wanted to" (47 percent) and that "[they] are very much involved personally with [their] job[s]" (41 percent); only 18 percent agreed or strongly agreed that "the major satisfaction in [their lives] came from [their] job[s]."

Perceptions of Community Support. Participants' perceptions about the public's support for police were mixed. One-third thought that "most people do not respect the police," and even fewer (21 percent) indicated that "the relationship between the police and the people of this city is very good." About half (49 percent) of the respondents thought that "police know better than citizens which police services are required in an area" and more than two-thirds (72 percent) felt that "citizens do not understand the problems of the police in this city." However, only 16 percent believed that "police officers have reason to be distrustful of most citizens" and only 6 percent felt that "police officers should avoid too much contact with citizens."

Beliefs About Community Policing and CAPS. More than half of the supervisors (53 percent) indicated that they were moderately or very familiar with the concepts of CAPS, and 36 percent reported that they participated in the CAPS orientation sessions held at the academy in spring 1993. In addition, an average of more than eight of 10 felt qualified or very qualified to identify community problems (86 percent) and to develop and evaluate solutions (82 percent) to those problems. But only half believed they were qualified or very qualified to use the CAPS model to analyze problems.

A series of items in the survey examined supervisors' orientation toward tasks often associated with community policing. Survey results show large majorities of participants (at least eight of 10) believed that police officers should assist citizens, make informal contacts with them and work with them to solve problems. Significant percentages of respondents also indicated that police officers should

be concerned about more than just crime in their beat (69 percent), and that citizens know more about their own neighborhood problems than do police officers (59 percent). Less than half, however, thought that police officers should involve themselves in solving noncrime problems.

The survey indicated that management staff were quite willing to devote department resources to CAPS-related activities. Specifically, significant percentages were willing to devote moderate or large amounts of resources toward working with citizens to resolve problems (84 percent), coordinating city services (84 percent), researching and solving problems (82 percent), understanding the problems of minority groups (76 percent), marketing police services to the public (67 percent), and patrolling on foot in the neighborhood (61 percent).

Respondents were only somewhat optimistic about the potential impact of CAPS. Their views of the program are illustrated in Figure 2 (p. 19). More than half believed that a number of favorable changes are more likely to occur after CAPS is implemented, such as better police/community relations, more effective use of crime information and greater resolution of neighborhood problems; but less than half believed that CAPS would lead to more effective use of police resources, expanded police capability, more arrests, reductions in crime, fewer citizen complaints about police and better relations with minorities. Furthermore, participants were concerned about the impact of CAPS on police autonomy and workloads: 76 percent thought that CAPS would lead to "greater demand on police resources," 66 percent to "more unreasonable demands on police by community groups," and 49 percent to "blurred boundaries between police and citizen authority."

By spring 1994, some of these supervisors had already been serving in a CAPS prototype district for a full year. We were thus able to use the survey to compare their views of the program with the attitudes of supervisors who had been serving in other districts during the same period. Interestingly, prototype supervisors were much more optimistic than their counterparts when it came to the impact of CAPS on traditional policing concerns, but they barely stood out in their assessments of the impact of the program on other dimensions. For example, 42 percent of the prototype supervisors thought the program would generate more arrests, but only 19 percent of those serving in the other districts agreed. Prototype supervisors also thought CAPS would favorably affect responsiveness to calls for service, and that it would contribute to more balanced officer deployment and the effective utilization of police resources. They were also less concerned than nonprototype supervisors about the opportunities for corruption that the program might engender. Prototype supervisors were also more optimistic than the others about some nontraditional matters, including the impact of CAPS on resolving neighborhood problems and on the willingness of citizens to cooperate with the police. On the other hand, they were no more optimistic than their counterparts about the impact of the program on police-community relations, relations with minorities, or the effective use of crime information. Experienced prototype supervisors did not differ at all in terms of their pessimism about the impact of the program on police autonomy. They were just as likely as first-timers to fear that they would be burdened with solving too many problems and dealing with too many unreasonable demands, and they were just as fearful about the blurring of boundaries between police and citizen authority. In addition, they were just as pessimistic about the fairness of the department's promotion decisions (8 percent of prototype officers thought the program would help that, as did 6 percent of non-prototype officers) and just as pessimistic about the impact of CAPS on the rate of citizen complaints about police.

Participants' Reactions to Training. The vast majority of the lieutenants and sergeants that we interviewed personally made favorable comments about training. They were generally satisfied with the experience and thought it was very useful and necessary. The participants reacted very positively to the instructors. In general, the respondents stated that the trainers were capable and well-informed, and that

they presented the material in a clear, orderly and practical fashion. A sergeant noted that previous CAPS training was "... a little abstract. The problem last year was that they asked questions like, 'would you rather be a tree or a forest.' " Similarly, a sergeant indicated that "... last year it was just theory. I mean the program hadn't started, so you couldn't really make it too practical." Most important, the lieutenants and sergeants felt that the trainers knew their (i.e., the supervisors) jobs, which one lieutenant observed, "was the real difference between last year's [CAPS training] and this year's [CAPS training]. Last year, they ate the civilians alive. They took exception to everything the [civilian] trainers said." Many of the supervisors interviewed indicated their preference for sworn trainers over civilian trainers.

Lieutenants' and sergeants' comments also suggested that they regarded the trainers as highly credible and reliable sources of information who "understood the skills that are needed [to do the job]." Moreover, it was clear that the respondents appreciated the opportunity to help develop the training materials. In addition, respondents reported that the trainers were not condescending, as last year's CAPS trainers apparently were — "last year was like for kiddies," said one lieutenant — and they effectively involved participants from the prototype districts in the actual training process, which enhanced the training sessions for all trainees.

The involvement of trainees from the prototype districts in communicating information about CAPS made them feel like an integral part of the training, and they had a chance to share their direct experience in CAPS with nonprototype officers. In the words of a nonprototype sergeant, "We learned from the prototype people who were there. We heard about their mistakes." The prototype trainees also corroborated many of the trainers' comments and provided object lessons to illustrate the trainers' points. According to a lieutenant from a prototype district, "I was called on quite a bit to explain things because I'd already been through it. We all had name cards sitting in front of us that listed our district, so the instructors knew who to ask."

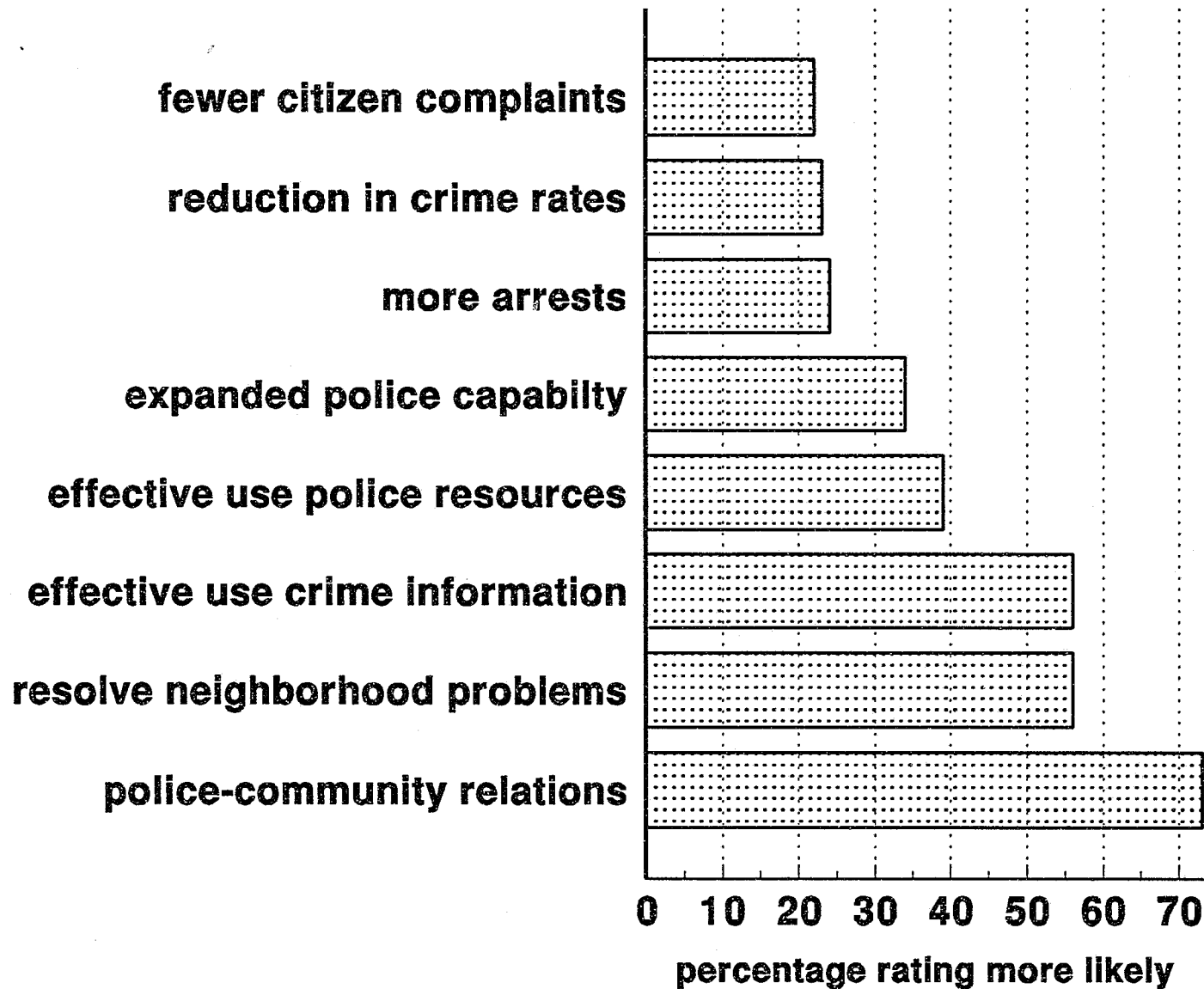
The prototype trainees' cooperation in the sessions seemed pivotal in helping the trainers bring the other participants on board with CAPS. One prototype lieutenant reported, "I enjoyed talking about CAPS to the nonprototype people and seeing the attitude change as the training went on."

A few of the participants had negative comments about the CAPS training. The most common complaint given by trainees from the prototype districts (especially sergeants) was that the training was repetitive. Other complaints reflected participants' skepticism about the police administration's support of CAPS.

Conclusions and Recommendations. The physical environment certainly had some influence over the success of training sessions. Sergeants training was adversely affected by the size of the training rooms, one of which was clearly too small to hold groups of 25. Crowding made trainees feel physically uncomfortable and produced its share of claustrophobia among participants and observers alike. Furthermore, crowding precluded latecomers from having a desk for notetaking, and their noisy entrance into the training room was disruptive to the other trainees as they inched and stumbled their way to an available chair along the wall. In addition, the academy could have done a better job in modulating the temperature in the training rooms which, at times, was either too hot or too cold. The temperature and physical comfort of the training areas should not be regarded as incidental components of the training experience.

This year's CAPS training curriculum was very well-constructed and clearly germane to CAPS operations and functions. The observers reported that "effective leadership" and "building partnerships" were particularly useful modules. "Leadership" emphasized in very concrete terms how supervisors'

Figure 2: Optimism About CAPS' Impact
Spring 1994 Supervisor Training



different styles and approaches to management problems influence their interactions with subordinates and affect their ability to handle CAPS-related assignments. "Partnerships" used videos of beat meetings to illustrate how to perform this activity well or poorly. It provided very graphic examples of scenarios that the trainees could identify with and understand. In short, these modules worked because they did not just tell supervisors how to do something, they showed them how to do it. Also, they drew participants into the training by helping them envision themselves in realistic situations.

Related to the preceding point, training modules that involved only a rehashing of manual material were very ineffective, boring and unengaging; trainers should have avoided reading information that participants had in front of them. Manuals should be a point of departure for presentations and discussions and a storehouse of information for participants' future reference. In addition, trainers should be careful not to overuse overheads and to remove overheads from view after they have finished discussing them. There were obviously too many overheads produced and used in supervisors' training. During future sessions, overheads should be employed more sparingly and only to amplify, illustrate or emphasize information.

The majority of trainers performed very well, but some did manifestly better than others. The observers reported that all the trainers were knowledgeable about the material but were not equally adept at communicating that knowledge. Those who are not accomplished at training due to a lack of training background or experience should be given more time to prepare and to practice in front of a critical audience. Hence, training for trainers is essential.

The decision to enlist prototype personnel to do the training and to mix prototype and non-prototype trainees in the classes was excellent. Indeed, the results of this evaluation argue strongly for doing so in future CAPS training sessions. In fact, we recommend that all trainers responsible for discussing materials that are directly related to CAPS be selected from the prototype districts because they enjoy several inherent advantages. Prototype personnel-trainers can readily provide examples of how CAPS is actually carried out, share their triumphs and tribulations in implementing CAPS, and more effectively allay trainees' anxiety about CAPS and disabuse them of their misapprehensions about the program. Prototype trainers have immediate credibility with trainees and are also more likely to be vigorous proponents of the CAPS model.

As suggested above, trainers who genuinely support the CAPS model are crucial to the success of training. Compared to last year's orientation sessions, there were very few occurrences of trainers undermining CAPS. Moreover, there were no observed incidents of blatantly negative comments about the program. This year, attacks against CAPS were relatively benign and subtly communicated through trainees' attitudes, nonverbal cues, and references to traditional policing and the Chicago Police Department culture. Police officers need to see CAPS as an advantage over traditional policing and as a change for the long-term betterment of the Chicago Police Department and the citizens of Chicago. Those who have been through CAPS and view it in distinctly favorable terms are the best agents for bringing other officers on board with the program. Also, trainers should continue to emphasize that officers already possess many of the skills and knowledge necessary to make community policing successful.

Finally, trainers should not have to rush through their materials because of time constraints. Cramming four days worth of training materials into two days of lieutenants' training was a mistake. As a general rule, the academy should over-schedule rather than underestimate necessary time for CAPS sessions. (For more details about the training evaluation, see Project Paper No. 5.)

Roll Call Training

Roll call training was conducted at station houses citywide during summer 1994. The purpose of roll call training was to provide all beat and rapid response officers with an initial orientation to CAPS. The training was administered by sector sergeants and covered nine topics: rationale for change, CAPS definition, CAPS organization, beat integrity, beat meetings, city services, beat profiling, problem solving, and team building. We were able to observe 36 of these roll call sessions, mostly in the prototype districts. While our observations did not find any particular stumbling blocks with the training, the non-prototype districts appeared to benefit more from the information. We observed that more attention to detail was given to the topics in nonprototype districts by the instructing sergeants, and more nonprototype district officers asked questions about the material. For many in the prototype districts, it appeared that much of the material was redundant to earlier training they had received. The format appeared workable, however, and more roll call training is planned for different topic areas.

A survey of all officers serving in the department's Patrol Division was being conducted by our evaluation team at the time this report was being written, and it included questions about roll call training. This description of officers' views of training was supplied by the first 1,581 officers to receive the questionnaire. About 60 percent recalled receiving at least some roll call training, and another 20 percent were not sure. Nonetheless, about half of the 20 percent who were not sure went on to answer questions about training. About 45 percent agreed that the sergeant presenting roll call training was qualified to teach about CAPS, while another 35 percent were neutral about it. Forty percent thought the information they received through roll call training and the training bulletins was useful, and another 40 percent believed the training gave them enough information to start filling out city service request forms; 35 percent thought they learned enough about attending beat meetings. When asked if more training should be provided through roll call and training bulletins, 52 percent agreed, 34 percent were neutral, and only 13 percent disagreed with the idea.

Older officers were more apt to think that roll call training was useful and that they learned enough about beat meetings and service requests. Older officers also were more apt to call for further training. More than 60 percent agreed with this proposal, compared to 39 percent of those in their 20s and 52 percent of those in their 30s. Officers with a college degree were less likely to favor further training than those with more limited education, and the more educated officers tended less to think they had learned anything useful at roll call. White officers were much less sympathetic than black or Hispanic officers. Officers serving in the prototype districts were less likely than newcomers to the program to think that the training covered enough information about city service requests and beat meetings, but they also did not want any more of it.

Did the training make a difference? In another part of the questionnaire we administered a nine-question test about the CAPS program. Questions, for which there was only one correct answer, probed the officers' knowledge of CAPS before the two days of intensive training began. Two sample questions were:

Which one of the following describes the reason police should use CAPS service requests to obtain city services?

1. for all the problems that used to be phoned in by citizens to 744-5000
2. to fix a plumbing problem in the district station
3. for any crime- or safety-related problem on the beat

Who is responsible for beat profiling?

1. beat officers
2. Neighborhood Relations
3. district administrative managers
4. sector sergeants

Those who thought their sergeant was unqualified, who did not think the training was useful, and who did not feel they learned enough about beat meetings and city services were much more likely to get very low scores (less than four correct answers out of nine questions) on the quiz. While this might suggest that their training was indeed not very good, officers who did not want more training also tended to get very bad scores, suggesting that their attitude toward training rather than its quality might have affected their evaluation of the roll call training effort.

Officer Training

A massive training program launched in January 1995 involved approximately 9,000 officers serving in the districts and in some special units such as Communication and Training. The training is being conducted at two local colleges and the Police Academy, and each session lasts two days. Training is expected to be completed by June 1995. The curriculum was developed by an internal team at the Chicago Police Department and members of the Chicago Alliance For Neighborhood Safety (CANS), a community-based organization long involved in crime prevention and community policing. Outside consultants were brought in at various points to help with the development of instructional materials and methods of instruction. The team of trainers includes sergeant supervisors and police officers. All trainers were interviewed and selected by the Research and Development Division, along with significant input from the newly-appointed deputy superintendent of staff services.

As the trainee groups assemble they complete a 25-minute questionnaire distributed at the start of each training class. The questionnaire is part of our evaluation of police officers' attitudes about and knowledge of CAPS. The questionnaire includes topics on job satisfaction, roll call training, relations with the community, and items about officers' roles and responsibilities. In addition, we are monitoring the officer training process by assigning observers to sit through samples of two-day training cycles at each location and on each watch. The observers are taking extensive notes on how the training is being implemented, as well as how the officers are responding to the training.

Other Training

The Chicago Police Department intends to administer additional training during 1995 for sergeants, district commanders, special units, and city service personnel. The purpose of this training is to bring everyone on board, as well as to better define the roles and responsibilities of district personnel. The Chicago Police Department has recognized the importance of training and has put considerable time and resources into the training component of CAPS.

District Administrative Managers

Reinventing the police department calls for fundamental changes not only in the department's operations, but in its management as well. One aspect of this change was the assignment of new, civilian administrative managers to the prototype districts.

There were several reasons for inserting these new nonsworn managers into the bureaucratic structure. A management study by Booz, Allen & Hamilton for the department recommended this move so that district commanders would gain much-needed time to devote themselves to the department's increasingly decentralized decision-making process. A manager could handle some of the administrative functions that were previously under their purview. Also, the department's focus on seeking out and applying new technologies required them to bring in individuals who could manage the local area network computer systems that were to be installed throughout the department. And, putting a nonsworn individual into this position was a significant step in the direction of civilianization, a general move on the part of the agency to place more police officers on the streets of Chicago.

The CAPS special order dated April 22, 1993, defined the position's duties as follows: "The district administrative manager will supervise, manage and coordinate functions of district civilian clerical personnel, excluding civilian desk and lockup personnel. The district administrative manager will also function as the district's local area network (LAN) manager. The district administrative manager reports directly to the district commander."

The process of hiring administrative managers for the five prototype districts began shortly after the CAPS program was launched. The first five new managers began their eight-week training in mid-October 1993 and joined their respective districts in December 1993. During the training period, managers attended classes four days per week at the police academy, where they learned about police culture, departmental policy and procedure and the CAPS model, and they spent one day weekly in their new district. Days spent in the district during this period were for experience; time was spent in the lockup, behind the desk, out in the field and so on.

One of the new hires accepted another job before training was even completed, so only four individuals ventured into the uncharted waters of civilian police management. Because the position was new and because the four individuals had different backgrounds and strengths, the administrative managers' jobs evolved in different ways. For example, those with stronger computer backgrounds immersed themselves in the UNIX operating system, another with a strong social services background focused on the community-police partnership, and another with a strong business administration background set about creating new office systems and writing job descriptions for district staff members.

There were a few common problems the managers faced on the job, however. Each encountered unexpected and, in some cases, a profound feelings of animosity from the commander's secretary (which contributed at least in part to a second manager's eventual resignation) and each experienced varying amounts of frustration in dealing with the user-unfriendly UNIX-based servers they were to manage. They were also acutely aware of cultural differences between their previous experience in private industry and their new milieu. On the positive side, each also expressed satisfaction in the working relationship that had developed between themselves and their respective commanders.

A good working relationship also emerged among the managers. They met on a monthly basis to compare notes and try to arrive at solutions to common challenges. In addition, they became involved in a users group to help them gain knowledge and expertise on the LAN.

By spring 1994, the administrative managers were growing more comfortable and confident in their positions. Each had become involved with the community to varying degrees via the district advisory committee, and they all reported that they had made themselves accessible to citizens seeking information and assistance.

A watershed event took place in May 1994 when the prototype administrative managers were summoned to the mayor's office for a meeting that they assumed was for the purpose of introducing themselves. The mayor promptly began interrogating them about their jobs, and when they answered with complete candor about the unique aspects of their particular positions, the mayor expressed dismay about the lack of uniformity in the job across the districts. The mayor was concerned that the job requirements for this new position be clear enough to guide the hiring of 20 additional managers for the remaining districts, and that the unique capabilities they brought to the department were being fully utilized. He demanded that the managers set a goal of standardizing their jobs, and he exhorted the CAPS managers to be certain that the soon-to-be hired managers for the nonprototypes would have interchangeable positions.

A department-generated job description that had been written in March 1994 in anticipation of the upcoming hires was much more explicit than the CAPS order establishing the position. It stated the general purpose of the position, which was to "coordinate the efficient and effective operation of the District Administrative office," and it listed daily duties, including supervision of administrative support services personnel, development of procedures, coordination and distribution of various types of information, management of the local area network and working with the commander and Neighborhood Relations on matters involving public officials and the community.

With this job description in hand, the CAPS managers met separately with the prototype administrative managers and their commanders. Both groups agreed that the job description did not need to be rewritten — that it accurately represented the duties of the position — but that less emphasis needed to be placed on duties idiosyncratic to the district.

By the end of 1994, three of the prototype administrative managers remained in their positions. Their experience and unique perspective were acknowledged when they were included as participants in the interview process for the final group of manager candidates in late 1994.

The second wave of administrative manager hires was completed in September 1994, and those individuals began working in their respective districts at the end of October. A final group of 11 was hired in February 1995, and they were scheduled to join their districts at the end of March.

City Hall and CAPS Implementation

City Hall continued to actively monitor and shape the implementation of CAPS during its second year. City Hall's police liaison continued to serve on key committees, and took on the task of ensuring that station house facilities were repaired and that city services were coordinated in the 20 new districts that were joining CAPS.

During 1994 the city invested \$4.4 million in improved station house facilities with monies raised by issuing city improvement bonds. In 1995, that total will increase by \$5 million. The improvements range from removing defunct courtrooms to create more spacious facilities to repairing lockers and washrooms and replacing furniture. The city is currently working on a long-range capital improvement plan to replace the worst station houses. The mayor continued to attend regular CAPS Oversight Committee meetings to be kept abreast of the progress of the program.

The city trained municipal workers serving the new 20 districts on how to respond to CAPS service request forms identifying problems including abandoned buildings, car tows, potholes and broken lights. While the overall completion rate for these requests was about 85 percent, some depart-

ments, such as Transportation, were slower than others to respond. There was new discussion of integrating the CAPS service request process with the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA), which is responsible for many services in the city's public housing developments. Currently, the city handles street, street light, and graffiti problems around housing authority property, but problems within the buildings are handled by CHA staff.

There is recognition by City Hall that CAPS has not been marketed well to the general public. Our citywide surveys indicate that public recognition of the program declined rather than grew between 1993 and 1994, especially in minority communities. To address this, an additional staff person has been assigned the task of marketing and conducting public relations campaigns for CAPS during 1995.

In March 1994, City Hall named a liaison with a working knowledge of the Cook County court system as a project manager for Court Advocacy Services. Court Advocacy Services sponsored a series of training events for volunteers of varying levels of experience, including orientations and operational model training sessions. In addition, staffers from the Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information were assigned to get involved in the Court Advocacy Subcommittee of the districts with which they normally work. (More information about the Court Advocacy program is presented later in this report.)

The Chicago Police Department made some significant strides in crime analysis during the second year of CAPS. After realizing that the UNIX-based SUN System local area network was particularly unwieldy and time-consuming for crime mapping, the Research and Development Division garnered funding from the Illinois Motor Vehicle Theft Prevention Council to purchase PCs for the districts and develop software for the DOS-based Information Collection for Automated Mapping (ICAM) system. This user-friendly system, which was introduced in September 1994 in the Rogers Park District, enables police personnel to create crime maps by making selections from simple menus via a computer mouse.

The prototype districts each received an ICAM-dedicated PC, as will the remaining 20 districts. At the time this report was prepared, all but nine districts had ICAM PCs installed. Two days of on-site training were offered at each district when the computers were installed, and a list of support personnel was made available at each district.

District personnel who use the ICAM praise its simplicity and excellent product, though the majority of officers in most districts are showing little interest in using the system. The UNIX-based computer network was not extended to the nonprototype districts as originally planned, and prototype district administrative managers report that they use the equipment mainly for word processing.

The Program in the Community

Beat Meetings

While the success of CAPS depends on many factors, a principle challenge lies in the successful formation of police-community partnerships to identify and respond to neighborhood problems. The model of community policing on which CAPS is based relies on two activities to build bridges between the police and community members. On an individual level, beat officers are encouraged to establish working relationships with citizens by interacting with them while on patrol or while conducting investigations. The second collaborative effort consists of establishing a regular system of beat meetings: small groups of residents and police officers gathering in church basements and school rooms all over the city. While informal citizen contacts provide important ways to exchange information and improve the community's relationship with the police, beat meetings are key to the success of CAPS because they are to be the forums in which officers and residents jointly develop plans for tackling neighborhood problems.

Beat meetings are to serve a variety of functions. At the most basic level, they help inform residents of police procedures, such as when to call 911, even as they instruct district officers about neighborhood problems. Beat meetings engage citizens in the CAPS program by generating requests for city services and establishing formal ties between residents and the police department. By bringing residents and officers together they also help build communications networks and working relationships. In this way, beat meetings can organize citizens for community action. Most importantly, these regular gatherings can help officers and residents collaborate to solve problems and evaluate the success of past troubleshooting activities.

Translating these ideals into actual working groups of citizens and police officers is more difficult than it may seem. Several obstacles must be overcome for these efforts to be successful. There can be resistance among police officers to new organizational routines and to spending time away from tasks that they believe constitute good police work. There can also be profound distrust of police among district residents. Some residents also fear gang retaliation if they take part in beat meetings. A lack of problem-solving training and experience in community organizing can also defeat the purpose of beat meetings, which can easily devolve into "911 sessions" during which residents rail against specific problems without viewing them collectively and analytically and without adopting a collaborative problem-solving strategy. Police can undermine the goal of developing resident participation and leadership by taking charge in meetings that seem to lack civilian leadership, thus unintentionally stifling the interactive atmosphere that is so important to collaborative problem-solving efforts. Progress toward the CAPS model can also be waylaid by emphasizing communication between citizens and neighborhood relations officers rather than between citizens and the beat officers who actually work the streets of their community.

Our evaluation addressed the success of beat meetings that took place in the five prototype districts during the first 16 months of CAPS. We addressed three sets of questions. First, did anyone attend? Who were they? Were variations in attendance due to structural factors such as police leadership, environmental factors like criminal activity or pre-existing neighborhood organization, or individual factors such as education, affluence, or home ownership?

Second, what happened at beat meetings? Who led the meetings, and what problems and issues were discussed? What complaints did residents lodge about police performance and the efficiency of city services? What expectations were voiced about who is responsible — citizens or police — for

addressing community problems? Furthermore, we wanted to understand how the content and structure of beat meetings changed over time as participants gained more practical experience and had opportunities to implement problem-solving strategies.

Finally, we drew implications for the CAPS program from these findings. Two major issues were in question: Were beat meetings evolving toward a community policing model, and were all the interests of community members and the problems facing them represented at the meetings? Research on community policing and community responses to crime problems indicates representation can be a problem, so it was important to determine whether CAPS successfully involved participants from all walks of life. And of prime concern was whether CAPS was actually building bridges between residents and police as well as mobilizing citizens for community action. Was CAPS overcoming the many barriers dividing citizens from police, and succeeding in getting them to work together in solving neighborhood problems?

This section of the report presents our general conclusions about some of these issues. Project Paper No. 8 presents detailed findings about all of them, based on a statistical analysis of beat meeting data.

Sources of Information. Four sources of data were used to evaluate the success of beat meetings during the first 16 months of CAPS, which began operation in April 1993. Our major source of information was extensive field notes made by trained observers who attended 146 beat meetings between July 1993 and August 1994. Observations took place in the five prototype areas and included about one-fifth of all the beat meetings conducted during that period.

A second source of data was demographic and crime information about each beat and district. These data were used to investigate the extent to which beat-level factors drove attendance at beat meetings. The third source was a survey of residents in the five prototype districts and matched comparison areas. These surveys were conducted twice — once before the program began and again after CAPS had been in operation for more than a year. The surveys gathered self-reports of beat meeting attendance and neighborhood residents' views of what transpired there.

Information about beat meetings also was drawn from records kept by police officers who attended them. Morgan Park was the first district to adopt a standardized beat meeting log sheet, and at this writing theirs are the most complete official record of beat meetings. Police logs record the locations of the meetings, the number of officers and residents attending and some of the issues discussed. In many instances these could be compared to the reports of our observers. These logs will become a more important source of information as their systematic use spreads throughout the department.

Because each of these information sources was rich and yet limited, our picture of beat meeting activity was drawn from all of them, and especially where they overlapped. In the analysis we were aware of potential problems with each data source, and we avoided making fine distinctions about meetings and instead focused on broad patterns that emerged from these multiple sources of information.

A "Typical" Beat Meeting. What was a typical beat meeting like? All of the beat meetings visited by our evaluators were held in the evening. Half of the meetings took place in local churches, and another quarter were held at park district buildings. The remainder took place at schools, banks, city government buildings and police stations.

Most of the meetings consisted of relatively small groups, with 17 residents and five police officers being the median number of people attending. Although most residents attending the average meeting were middle-aged or older, these attendees tended to be fairly representative of the racial, ethnic and class breakdowns of residents living in the beat. The highest ranking police official would be a sergeant, and the officers present were a mix of beat officers and neighborhood relations personnel. If the meeting were held in Austin, there would also be a representative or two from community service agencies or nonprofit organizations. Otherwise it was just officers and residents.

The median duration for beat meetings was about an hour and a half, with meetings in Englewood tending to be shorter (averaging 70 minutes) and those in Marquette tending to be longer (103 minutes on average). It was run informally by a police officer, who acted more as a facilitator of discussion than a chairperson: there would be no formal agenda or handouts for residents, just frank talk. The discussion would be evenly balanced between the views of officers and residents, although it was not unheard of for citizens to dominate the discussion — especially in Rogers Park — or for officers to spend much of the time lecturing residents, as sometimes happened in Morgan Park.

At some point in the meeting officers would describe their expectations for resident involvement in CAPS, especially stressing the need for residents to identify neighborhood problems so that police could begin working on them. Residents were frequently told about the importance of organizing themselves into block clubs, watches and patrols. Unless the meeting took place in Marquette or Morgan Park it would be rare to hear citizens talking about what the police ought to be doing as part of CAPS. When they did, the main themes were the responsibility of police to reduce crime and disorder, to work on crime prevention, and to keep residents informed about criminal activity on the beat. While police were frequently reminded of this last request, it was very unusual for crime and arrest reports to be discussed by police at a beat meeting.

Most of the meeting, however, would be devoted to an open discussion of neighborhood issues, and residents were especially encouraged to make officers aware of local problems. Most of this discussion dealt with social disorder issues, especially drug dealing and youth problems, and with the quality-of-life problems posed by abandoned buildings, vacant lots, graffiti, and trash on the streets. When problems were brought up by residents, police officers usually suggested solutions. While this kind of back-and-forth would continue throughout the meeting, it was extremely rare for anyone to mention whether solutions suggested or actions formulated at previous meetings had ever been put into practice.

The style of interaction between citizens and police at a typical meeting depended on the district in which it was being held. Police and residents tended to act as partners in Englewood, Austin, and especially Rogers Park, working together as members of one team to coordinate their efforts and influence the neighborhood in a positive way. In Morgan Park, however, the typical meeting saw police and residents behaving as though they had similar goals but separate agendas, with police stressing certain aspects of neighborhood problems, citizens emphasizing others, and both acting as though their efforts were independent of one another. A different pattern emerged in Marquette, where police representatives normally took charge of organizing citizens and developing plans for them to implement. Regardless of the district in which the meeting took place, the tone of discussion was cooperative and cordial. Nevertheless, officers and residents rarely mingled informally before or after the meeting.

What did residents think of the meetings? In our survey, those that indicated they had attended a meeting were asked what typically happened there; we asked them to typify meetings because those who attended went to an average of 4.2 meetings each. Fully 86 percent indicated that they had learned

something at the meetings, and 70 percent reported that action was taken or something happened in their neighborhood as a result of the meetings. When asked how useful these meetings were "... for finding solutions to neighborhood problems," 42 percent said they were very useful, 48 percent somewhat useful, and only 9 percent not useful. Half thought the meetings were very useful "... for improving the community's relationship with the police," and another 42 percent thought they were somewhat useful in this regard.

Police vs. Civilian Leadership. The success of the beat meeting program depends on its ability to build bridges between police officers and community residents. To evaluate this aspect we examined how well the meetings corresponded to the CAPS model, in which officers and residents work together to open communication, mobilize the community and engage in joint problem-solving activities.

The beat meeting model emphasizes shared leadership responsibilities between police and community members. However, during the program's first year, many beat meetings failed to meet this standard. Leadership responsibilities were shared between police, citizens, or community organizers in only one in 10 meetings, while nearly two-thirds of the meetings were principally run by a beat or neighborhood relations officer. About one-third were conducted by beat officers and another 30 percent by neighborhood relations personnel. Community organizers ran 17 percent; residents 11 percent; and 9 percent of meetings had shared leadership responsibilities among officers, organizers and residents. The proportion of meetings led by police dropped somewhat over time, and the number of meetings run by citizens and organizers increased from 25 percent in fall 1993 to 33 percent during the following summer. These were not big changes, but they were in the right direction.

The only district in which residents were consistently in charge of a majority of beat meetings was Rogers Park. Over time, however, there has been an increasing tendency for organizers to run a larger share of Rogers Park meetings, from 10 percent of meetings in winter 1994 to 40 percent in the summer. There has also been a larger number of meetings in Rogers Park where leadership was shared, up to 20 percent in summer 1994. There was a great deal of civilian leadership in this district.

Police leadership of beat meetings increased in the other four districts. Police led 71 percent of Marquette's winter meetings and 82 percent of meetings during the following summer; 82 percent of Englewood's meetings were run by police in winter 1994, and by summer officers were leading all of them. Police leadership in Morgan Park rose over time; officers presided over 83 percent of winter meetings and 91 percent of those in the summer. Even in Austin, where 60 percent of meetings were run by community organizers, an increasing number of meetings were chaired by police officers, up from 27 percent of winter meetings to 40 percent of those during the following summer.

This does not mean that most beat meetings were dominated by the police. Although officers frequently took charge, discussion at these meetings was generally balanced between residents and police personnel. At about half of all meetings there was roughly equal give-and-take between police and citizens, with the remainder splitting evenly between meetings dominated by officers and those dominated by citizens. Some districts were more unbalanced than others. Police in Englewood, Marquette and Morgan Park dominated discussion in a quarter to a third of meetings, while citizens dominated discussion in about half the meetings held in Austin and Rogers Park. The most evenly balanced discussions were seen in Englewood, Marquette and Morgan Park, where citizens and police took about equal time at between two-thirds and three-quarters of meetings.

Changes over time in how groups dominate discussion illustrated that beat meetings have been generally moving toward a community policing model. Three districts have shown a trend toward

increasing equality in the amount of discussion by citizens and police: By summer 1994, 83 percent of Englewood's meetings had equal give-and-take between groups, as did 91 percent of meetings in Marquette and 67 percent in Rogers Park. Rogers Park's change has been from citizen-dominated meetings to more equitable discussions; the other two districts evolved from police-centered discussions to more balanced meetings. In Austin, on the other hand, an increasing number of meetings were dominated by police, although most discussions still involved civilians by summer 1994. Morgan Park is the most alarming exception to the general pattern: Its beat meetings were more balanced when CAPS was first introduced than they were by summer 1994. When the program began, discussions in more than three-quarters of Morgan Park beat meetings were evenly balanced between police and citizens. But by summer 1994, nearly two-thirds of meetings were dominated by police, with the remaining third evenly balanced between voices.

Who takes charge had some consequences. One was the clarity of purpose of the meetings. Our observations indicated that leadership was often exercised very casually. Most of the time there was no clear agenda for the meeting. Only 16 percent of all meetings had a printed agenda, and clear verbal agendas were articulated in only another 5 percent of meetings. About 75 percent of the meetings in Rogers Park had clear agendas, but in Englewood, Morgan Park and Marquette between 86 percent and 95 percent of meetings had no agenda at all. Clear agendas were strongly associated with who led the meeting. When neighborhood relations officers were in charge, 85 percent of meetings had no clear agenda. When beat officers were in charge, 99 percent of meetings had no clear agenda. But when citizens were in charge, 54 percent of meetings had an agenda that was announced in advance, and 46 percent of meetings run by community organizers had clear agendas. There was also a tendency for civilian-led meetings to more frequently include calls for volunteers for various tasks, or for sign-up sheets to be circulated during the event.

A more equitable distribution of leadership responsibilities and a balanced pattern of give-and-take in the meetings were desirable for several reasons. The more dependent beat residents were on police leadership, the less likely they were to take independent initiative or act outside the bounds of responsibilities assigned them by police officers. Our observations document that police in all of the districts except Rogers Park downplayed the adoption of nontraditional roles by beat residents, and it seems unlikely that citizens dependent on police leadership will successfully adopt these new responsibilities on their own. Effective community policing requires the support and unique perspectives of civilian leaders. The CAPS program would benefit from a focus on strategies for encouraging beat residents to share in leadership responsibilities. Likewise, increasing appropriation of discussion time by police officers signals serious problems with the way beat meetings are conceived and managed.

The Role of Beat Officers. Not only were police officers taking leadership positions more frequently as time went by, but the proportion of meetings run by neighborhood relations officers rather than by members of the area's beat team has been rising as well. The community policing model emphasizes the need for close coordination between beat officers and residents. However, the proportion of meetings run by beat officers declined from 46 percent in fall 1993 to 30 percent in summer 1994. At the same time, the proportion run by neighborhood relations personnel increased from 21 percent in the fall to 32 percent the next summer.

The increased leadership role taken by neighborhood relations officers has been concentrated in Englewood, Austin and Morgan Park. In Englewood, beat officer leadership of meetings has remained stable over time while neighborhood relations officers have increased their visibility, from leading 9 percent of winter meetings to 29 percent of those the following summer. Austin followed a pattern: there, 9 percent of meetings were chaired by neighborhood relations officers in winter, compared to 20

percent during the following summer. In both Englewood and Austin, this new prominence of neighborhood relations officers was at the expense of shared leadership between officers and civilians. The most dramatic shift occurred in Morgan Park, where leadership by beat officers dropped from 77 percent of meetings in fall 1993 to just 27 percent of meetings in the summer of 1994. At the same time, leadership by neighborhood relations officers rose from 15 percent in the fall to 64 percent the following summer. This sharp move toward direct leadership by neighborhood relations officers is a very unpromising development.

Marquette and Rogers Park went in different directions. Beat officers ran 21 percent of Marquette's winter meetings and 46 percent of its summer meetings, while leadership by neighborhood relations personnel declined from 50 percent of meetings in the winter to 36 percent in the summer. In Rogers Park, leadership by neighborhood relations specialists dropped from 40 percent of winter meetings to just 10 percent of those in the following summer. However, this trend was tied to an overall decline in police leadership in that district, since none of the meetings we observed in Rogers Park were led by beat officers.

The trend in several districts toward leadership of beat meetings by neighborhood relations officers is a serious issue for CAPS, for it runs squarely in the face of the articulated policy of the program's managers. In their view, neighborhood relations officers were to be withdrawing from leadership positions. When neighborhood relations specialists take charge of beat meetings at the expense of either line officers or community residents, the meetings are subverting the CAPS model for developing successful police-community partnerships.

What Was Discussed at Beat Meetings? Beat meetings are to be a principal forum for the exchange of information between residents and police, as well as the locus for developing joint problem-solving strategies in addressing neighborhood problems. To evaluate how well they were doing this, our observers noted the topics that were discussed at the meetings, the problems that were raised, the solutions that were suggested, and how these solutions were acted on and evaluated.

Distribution of Information. Crime and arrest reports were discussed or distributed in about four of 10 beat meetings in Marquette, Austin and Morgan Park. Officers attending Englewood and Rogers Park beat meetings rarely made crime or arrest reports available to residents, and when reports were available, they were discussed only in general fashion. Reports on city services were brought to only 2 percent of the meetings we observed. The Court Advocacy program was mentioned in nearly a third of the meetings, although the attention given this program varied greatly among districts. Court Advocacy was mentioned in half of Rogers Park and Morgan Park meetings, but in only a quarter or less of meetings in the other districts. In those two districts the program has been an increasing topic of discussion.

Complaints About Police. Beat meetings also provided residents an opportunity to voice complaints about the quality of police service, and they took this opportunity often. We examined complaints about the Communication Operations Section (911 operators) separately from other police functions because they were frequent and often drew sympathetic personal complaints from police officers present at the meetings as well. Complaints about general police services were brought up in half the meetings held in Morgan Park and Marquette, compared to just 8 percent in Rogers Park. Moreover, these complaints increased in frequency as CAPS progressed. While there was not a single complaint voiced against police in Englewood, Austin and Rogers Park during fall 1993, by summer 1994 such grievances were raised in half of Englewood meetings, a quarter of those in Austin, and 10 percent of those in Rogers Park. Beat meetings in Marquette and Morgan Park involved a large number

of complaints from the outset, and that number rose with time. In Marquette they finally leveled off at 50 percent of all meetings in the summer. Residents of the Morgan Park district were critical of police performance in nearly half the meetings held during fall 1993 and in more than two-thirds of meetings the following summer.

Complaints about the COS system followed a similar pattern. By summer 1994 the percentage of meetings where 911 complaints were lodged rose to 38 percent in Englewood, 55 percent in Marquette and 13 percent in Austin. The COS system was widely criticized at Rogers Park and Morgan Park meetings; complaints later diminished somewhat in Rogers Park, but grew to being mentioned at 55 percent of all meetings in Morgan Park during summer 1994.

Problem Identification and Problem Solving. During our observations we recorded 113 different categories of problems discussed in beat meetings and 36 proposed solutions to those problems. It is important to note that residents initiated nearly all of the problems brought up for discussion. Police officers brought up only 6 percent of all the problems that were discussed, and other attendees — mostly representatives of neighborhood organizations and local elected officials — identified another 2 percent. There was some variation across districts in this regard: Residents named 88 percent of the problems that were discussed in Marquette and Austin and as many as 96 percent in Morgan Park. Marquette had the most police input, with officers initiating 11 percent of the problems discussed. Clearly the beat meeting process has been a successful mechanism for residents to communicate their problems to police.

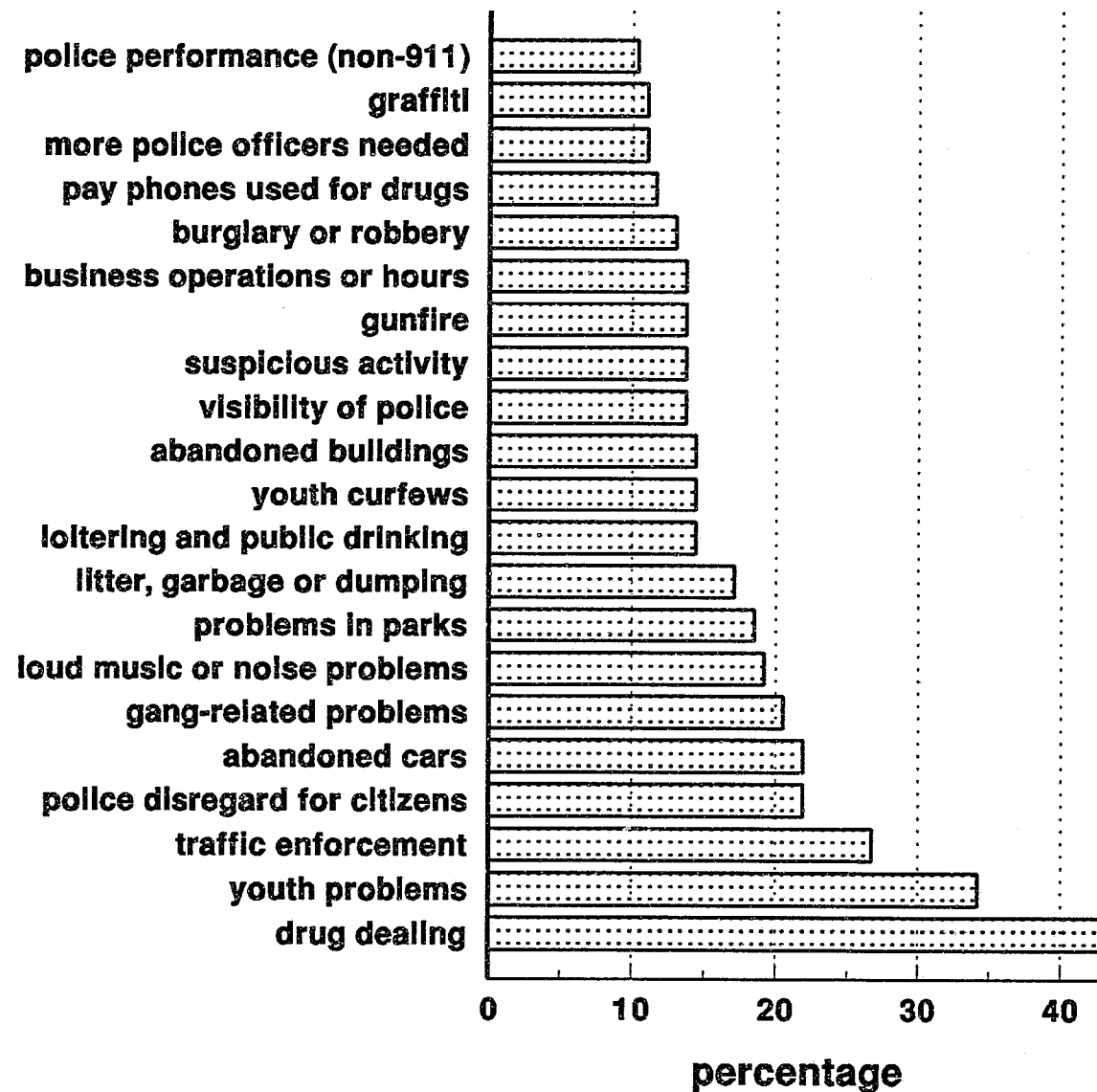
When it came to proposing solutions to these problems, however, residents had very few ideas. Here the roles of police and residents were reversed; while problems were almost universally identified by residents, police officers suggested about nine out of 10 proposed solutions. This basic pattern was shared by Englewood, Marquette and Morgan Park. Austin differed in the proportion of solutions proposed by organizational attendees — 29 percent, compared to 66 percent by police and 5 percent by residents. Rogers Park residents tended to present more solutions than those from any other district; about 17 percent of solutions were suggested by residents and only 77 percent by police. In general, however, residents almost always looked to officers to take the lead in developing solutions for neighborhood problems.

What problems were discussed? Figure 3 (p. 33) illustrates the frequency with which the 21 (of 113) most common problems were raised at beat meetings. Half of the problems involved social disorder issues, including the top two: drug dealing and youth problems. Complaints about police performance made up another quarter of the top issues, including the fourth most frequently discussed problem. Another fifth of the top issues involved decay of the physical neighborhood, including problems with graffiti, litter, and abandoned cars and buildings. Residents also were concerned about traffic enforcement (cars speeding through the neighborhood, drunk driving). Among other kinds of crime, only concern about gunfire in the area and robbery or burglary made the list.

To gain a more comprehensive picture of the problems brought up for discussion, we sorted each of the mentions of the 113 problems discussed into 11 more manageable categories. These are presented in Table 1 (p. 34).

The most frequent topic of concern was social disorder, which made up 37 percent of issue content on average. Next came neighborhood physical decay, at 23 percent. The third most mentioned subject was police performance, which accounted for 15 percent of the issues discussed. These three categories constituted 75 percent of all the topics brought up for discussion in beat meetings. Many

Figure 3: Top Problems at Beat Meetings



conventional crimes were not mentioned very often, including a long list of predatory (robbery, assault, rape, scams and confidence games) and property crimes. Most of the prototype districts followed this pattern. Morgan Park was the only standout: While social disorder got the most attention there, police performance was the second most common topic of discussion, followed by physical decay of the neighborhood.

Table 1
Problems Discussed in Beat Meetings

Problems Discussed in Beat Meetings	Englewood	Marquette	Austin	Morgan Park	Rogers Park	Total
neighborhood social disorder	36%	43%	33%	37%	36%	37%
neighborhood physical decay	33	21	34	13	24	23
police performance	11	14	9	21	14	15
police-citizen communication	3	3	4	6	3	4
predatory crime	2	4	4	3	5	4
fear of crime	4	2	1	3	--	2
problems with judges or local government	--	1	3	2	2	2
problems with service requests, getting organized, meeting turnout	1	2	--	1	3	2
property crime	2	2	2	--	--	1
CAPS program	1	--	1	1	3	1
other miscellaneous	7	7	9	12	7	9

Note: Each column sums to 100 percent. "--" indicates less than 0.5 percent.

It is important to note that there were differences between the problems identified by police and those identified by beat residents. Police officers were less likely than residents to identify problems with social disorder or physical decay. Police were much more likely to discuss predatory and property crime. About 14 percent of the issues police raised involved predatory crimes, but only 3 percent of the issues raised by neighborhood residents fell in this category.

What solutions were discussed? Solutions were proposed for 76 percent of problems raised at beat meetings, and most of these solutions were suggested by police officers. We identified eight general classes of solutions to neighborhood problems. To ease interpretation we then organized these into eight broad categories:

- The most commonly suggested solutions were improvements to the ways that residents and police communicate with one another; this category made up one-quarter of all answers to problems;

- The second most common solution, discussed in response to 21 percent of problems, was for officers and agency representatives to say that the police or other city agencies were working on an answer. This category was especially common in Austin, where more than a third of responses to problems were of this variety. Rogers Park, by comparison, had the lowest proportion of the five districts of responses in this category;
- The third most common answer was to suggest that residents contact city service agencies or politicians, which came in response to 10 percent of problems. This solution was especially emphasized in Englewood, making up fully 17 percent of responses;
- Citizen and neighborhood action in response to problems was discussed 7 percent of the time, and more in Austin than the other districts;
- Crime prevention was stressed in Rogers Park, but otherwise came up only 6 percent of the time;
- Citizen organizing efforts were brought up for 3 percent of problems;
- Assigning more police officers to the area was suggested for 1 percent of problems;
- Postponing action or taking no action was proposed for 1 percent of the problems.

There were telling differences between the types of solutions proposed by police and those suggested by residents. Citizens tended to put greater emphasis on the need for neighborhoods to get organized, and for residents to act on local problems rather than depend entirely on outside help (this encompassed 41 percent of solutions offered by residents, compared to 8 percent of those proposed by police). Conversely, officers put more emphasis on solving problems by improving communication. Officers focused on traditional solutions that emphasized police action, rather than nontraditional solutions that emphasized community participation.

What actions were taken? Of the 1,079 problems that we heard being discussed, there were reports of actions taken in only 49 cases. This suggests a closure rate on specific problems — a problem was identified, a solution suggested, and some action taken — of less than 5 percent during the first year of CAPS. In cases for which solutions were implemented and the results reported in a beat meeting, 78 percent of the time it was police officers who had taken the initiative. However, we are not convinced that the sparse mention of problem-solving actions fairly represents the efforts of residents and officers in many areas. It seems more likely that neither has made effective use of the beat meeting as a forum for reporting on their activities. The effectiveness of the program depends on developing this important feedback linkage between the regular meetings on a beat and interim problem-solving efforts. This would increase the visible utility of attending, speaking out and stepping forward to act. In the long term, this will be central to the problem of sustaining resident involvement and police commitment to the usefulness of the effort.

Police and Citizen Partnership Roles

An important feature of the beat meeting is how officers and residents perceive their roles. We examined the detailed reports of our evaluation team and analyzed the dominant style of interaction between police and residents that they recorded for each meeting. Four types of relationships emerged from this study:

- police as leaders, where police set the agenda and residents follow;

- police and residents as partners, where officers and citizens adopt a balanced and cooperative relationship that closely follows the community policing model;
- police and residents as independent operators, a relationship in which officers and citizens see each other as having different functions and agendas;
- police and residents as adversaries, where officers and citizens take on an uneasy relationship characterized by conflicting goals and methods.

In the aggregate, each of the first three styles characterized about one-third of the meetings, while residents and officers took on adversarial roles in only 6 percent of the meetings.

Police As Leaders. Police officers adopted a leadership role in their dealings with residents in just under one-third of beat meetings. This leader relationship characterized nearly half of the meetings in Marquette, around a third of meetings in Englewood and Morgan Park, and just under a fifth of meetings in Austin. Rogers Park had the lowest incidence of this type of relationship; there, police took on a leadership role in only 9 percent of meetings. Over time there were fewer meetings in which the police took on a leadership role, down from almost 46 percent of all meetings in fall 1993, to 27 percent in summer 1994. For individual districts, the proportion of meetings where police have taken leadership roles has remained roughly the same over time in Englewood and Austin, increased in Marquette (to nearly two-thirds of meetings in summer 1994), and decreased in Morgan Park (to 27 percent) and Rogers Park (none by summer 1994).

These findings are consistent with the conclusion that police officers tend to take charge in the absence of strong citizen leadership, particularly in areas where levels of community activism have been historically low. The districts with traditionally higher levels of citizen activism — Austin, Morgan Park and Rogers Park — had less police leadership in beat meetings. This was evidenced in Austin and Rogers Park by low and unchanging levels of police leadership. In Morgan Park, where police initially took a dominant role, there was a steady and rapid decline in meetings where police adopted a leadership stance. It is unclear how the relationship between police and residents will evolve in the future, but the general move away from the police-as-leaders/residents-as-followers model is a healthy development.

In Englewood, where resident activism was relatively underdeveloped prior to CAPS, police adopted leadership styles on a fairly constant basis throughout the evaluation period. Marquette was the only district where the leader model of police dealings with residents was on the rise. In winter 1993-94, police took on leadership roles in only 36 percent of Marquette's meetings, while in the following summer that figure increased to 64 percent of meetings. Police leadership is perhaps a necessary first stage in developing citizen leadership and organization. Given Marquette's traditionally low levels of resident activism, the challenge for police will be to foster citizen involvement so that leadership responsibilities can eventually become more evenly shared.

Police and Residents as Partners. In the CAPS model, partnership is the preferred mode of police-citizen interaction. Residents and police acted as partners in just less than a third of meetings. Nearly three-quarters of Rogers Park meetings were characterized by a partner relationship, compared to just over two-fifths of meetings in Englewood and Austin, less than one-fifth in Marquette, and just one in 20 Morgan Park meetings.

Over the span of our observations, the proportion of meetings where police and citizens acted as partners grew from a low of 14 percent in fall 1993 to 39 percent in the following winter, before drop-

ping to 29 percent in summer 1994. Individual districts showed divergent trends in this regard. The proportion of meetings in which police and residents acted as partners dropped in Englewood, Marquette and Austin, and has stayed roughly the same in Rogers Park. In Morgan Park, none of the meetings we observed in fall 1993 or summer 1994 could be characterized by partnership between police and civilians, and such a relationship described only 11 percent of winter meetings.

If police and citizens are unable to adopt a partnership relationship, the next best mode of interaction is probably as independent operators. Like the partnership style, police and citizens followed an independent operator model of activism in just less than a third of meetings. This was the dominant relationship in Morgan Park meetings, where more than half of all meetings were characterized by a lack of overlap between citizen and police efforts. Around a quarter of meetings in Marquette and Austin could be characterized in this way, as could just less than one-fifth of meetings in Rogers Park and Englewood. There were clear trends in the individual districts. The proportion of meetings characterized by independent efforts remained relatively stable in Englewood and Marquette, while clearly rising in Morgan Park — from 54 percent of meetings in fall 1993 to 64 percent of meetings the following summer. Rogers Park showed no clear pattern over time, although there may be a resurgence of independent operations in the third time period.

Police and Residents as Adversaries. The emergence of adversarial conflicts between officers and beat residents is clearly an obstacle to successful community policing. Fortunately officers and citizens acted as adversaries during only 6 percent of the beat meetings we observed. However, the meetings that took on an adversarial style were concentrated in Englewood, Marquette and Austin, where our surveys revealed that citizen expectations about the police were the least favorable before CAPS began. In these three districts, as many as one in 10 meetings took on an adversarial flavor. In addition, adversarial relationships between police and citizens developed at least in part as a result of the CAPS program. Our observation data show that adversarial relationships began to emerge in beat meetings only in January 1994, fully eight months after CAPS began. The only district to be apparently free of rancor was Rogers Park. Levels of adversarial behavior in Austin have remained steady since January 1994, while levels in Marquette jumped to 21 percent of meetings in the winter, before disappearing altogether in the summer. The proportion of adversarial beat meetings in Morgan Park increased from none in the winter to 9 percent in the following summer, and it increased dramatically in Englewood, from none in the winter to 29 percent of meetings in summer 1994.

While the sudden rise in adversarial styles of interaction is cause for concern, the general trend has been for police leadership of beat meetings to be eclipsed over time by independent entity and partnership approaches. In summer 1994, the proportion of meetings exhibiting partnership styles of interaction began to decline somewhat as independent entity approaches became more widespread. What will become of this trend is unclear, and it remains to be seen how relationships between officers and residents will change as CAPS becomes more deeply rooted in the prototype communities.

Summary: Progress Toward the CAPS Model

Because this is an interim report it is too soon to pass final judgment on the success of CAPS beat meetings. However, the evidence to date is that the five prototype districts varied considerably in their evolution toward the CAPS model. Figure 4 (p. 39) captures some of this progress by scoring the percentage of beat meetings in each district that matched the CAPS-oriented profile examined above. These were the meetings in which citizens took charge, police adopted a partnership stance, discussion was evenly balanced among police and beat residents, and a cooperative atmosphere prevailed. The left

side of Figure 4 presents the percentage of beat meetings that met three or four of those criteria; we gave those a "passing" grade. Morgan Park failed on most of them: police there dominated beat meetings while acting as independent operators or leaders rather than partners, and there was an adversarial flavor to many of those beat meetings. Rogers Park stood out on most dimensions, especially on police adopting partnership roles and residents running beat meetings. Austin and Englewood were not far behind, but Englewood's meetings were almost always police-led, and professional organizers dominated much of the discussion in Austin. Marquette's meetings were police-dominated; there were few discussions of partner relations; and police and residents there engaged each other cooperatively in only about 60 percent of meetings.

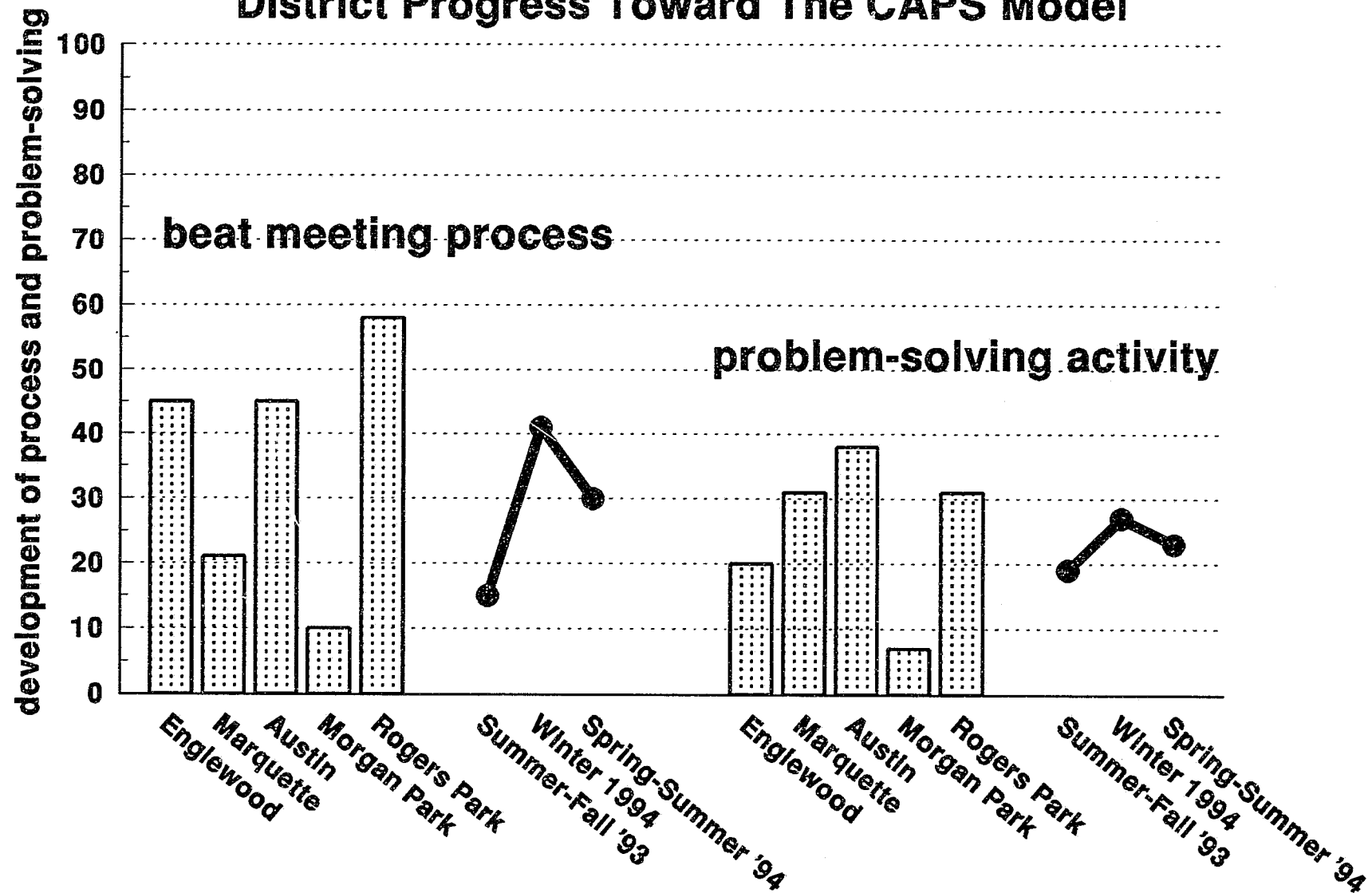
Figure 4 also presents the results of an analysis of how much problem solving went on at beat meetings. The meetings were scored along four problem-solving dimensions: If either police or residents identified a problem, if any solutions were proposed, if any reports were made about ongoing problem-solving efforts, and if the results (positive or negative) of any problem-solving efforts were discussed. Problems were identified at 97 percent of all meetings, and solutions were discussed at 93 percent of them. But feedback was given about ongoing efforts at only 24 percent of meetings, and the results of problem-solving efforts were mentioned at only 23 percent. Figure 4 rates the percentage of meetings in each district that received a score of three or four on this measure, which indicated that ongoing activities or their results were discussed. Austin's high score reflected frequent reports on the results of past problem-solving efforts in that district, and that district ranked number one in terms of discussions of ongoing activities. Police officers in Marquette frequently suggested solutions, reported on their activities, and discussed the results of their past efforts, so that district received a high problem-solving rating even though this police-dominated process did not score well in terms of the process by which problem solving was proceeding. Beat meetings in Morgan Park were also police-dominated, but by neighborhood relations specialists rather than beat officers. Perhaps as a result, only 7 percent of the beat meetings we observed in Morgan Park featured discussions of problem-solving efforts, and reports were made about their effectiveness at only 5 percent of meetings. Rogers Park did well on all dimensions, with much more civilian leadership and with police adopting partnership roles.

The over-time trends depicted in Figure 4 remind us that progress toward the CAPS model is not inexorable. Beat meetings approximating the ideal process profile peaked in frequency in winter 1994, and backslid somewhat between May and September 1994. The only exception to this trend was Rogers Park; there, fully 80 percent of meetings held during the most recent time period approximated the CAPS model. All of the other districts lost at least a little ground. In terms of problem solving, Marquette steadily improved over time, Rogers Park held rock-steady, and Englewood and Austin backslid a bit in the spring and summer of 1994.

Partnerships in Action

For the evaluation we not only used public opinion and crime statistics as measures of program outcome, we also examined police and citizen problem-solving initiatives at the grassroots level. To do this we examined in detail instances of problem solving in each of the five prototype districts. The case studies were initially selected using newspaper indexes, observations at beat meetings, and personal interviews with community leaders and police. Each case study used a variety of data including personal interviews with key informants, observations of neighborhood meetings and court cases, observations of the area under study, and newspaper and other media sources. The case studies were conducted by advanced criminal justice students under the guidance of the principal investigator, the project director

Figure 4
District Progress Toward The CAPS Model



and the course professor. The following summaries describe each of the 11 case studies that are the foundation of the analysis that follows. For a full description of each case study and analysis see Project Paper No. 10.

The cases presented here certainly do not summarize all of the problem-solving efforts that have taken place in the prototype districts since the inception of CAPS. Rather, they illustrate different types of problems that have been tackled under CAPS, as well as the alternative avenues for solving the problems which are now becoming known and available to police and citizens alike. The cases also demonstrate that partnerships can be formed between police, neighborhood residents, organizations and agencies.

Marching Against Drugs. Englewood, an area on Chicago's South Side, has a murder rate that ranks among the highest in the city. Drug dealing and gang activity flourish in the midst of abandoned buildings, graffiti and other signs of physical decay. In Beat 735, where drug dealing is highly visible and prevalent, one neighborhood minister organized a series of peace marches and positive loitering walks through the neighborhood. The marches are the result of coordinated efforts between neighborhood beat organizations and district police. The goal is to target every drug-dealing corner of the beat until drug dealers lose revenue and leave the area. Their initial efforts have given this group visibility in the community and have provided some community members with a sense that something is being done in their neighborhood. Obstacles include sporadic attendance at some marches due to fears of gang retaliation as a consequence of participation as well as low attendance by younger people. Efforts are now in place to recruit more young residents, and to increase the involvement of more of the 244 other churches that serve the Englewood community.

An Automatic Teller Machine. Englewood, also one of the poorest areas in Chicago, is ranked 68th in annual income among the 77 communities in Chicago. Most residents do not have bank accounts and use local currency exchanges to cash their public aid checks. Currency exchanges charge hefty fees for this service, and robberies often coincide with the time that checks are received. Initiatives by the district police commander, a local bank and a philanthropic organization led to the creation of a plan that would not only help with the robbery problem, but also enable residents of Englewood to open bank accounts, many for the first time. Incentive programs for getting residents to open direct deposit accounts were also set in motion. The bank, recognizing that Englewood was "underbanked," was in search of a good location for an automatic teller machine. A decision was made to place the machine in the Englewood police station, where it would be under the watchful eye of district police at all times. Opening the police station to bank customers indicates the police's desire to establish a reputation for service in the community. It is too soon to determine whether robberies have decreased significantly due to the teller machine's location, or whether a significant number of Englewood residents will take advantage of the new banking options in their area. Early feedback from teller machine users has been positive, according to police personnel.

Graffiti Cleanup. A young man was shot and injured by a group of gang members on a residential block in the Marquette District. The area in which the shooting occurred is a predominantly Hispanic community known as Little Village. While gangs have long been a problem in this working class community, they had never before had such an effect on residents of this block. Upset and frustrated, 30 residents attended a meeting at which they decided to clean up graffiti and gang markings in an alley behind their homes. They saw this as a first step in reasserting control over their neighborhood. The residents also hoped that through their actions they might teach their children respect for the community.

With donations from area businesses and from Chicago's graffiti removal services, the group spent an afternoon painting over the graffiti. The neighborhood beat officer participated in the cleanup by instructing the children on how to paint. After this show of solidarity, no further action has been taken by the group. Without leadership, it is possible that residents will take no further action until motivated by another incident.

Gang Unrest at a Bus Stop. In recent years, two Hispanic gangs have plagued the southern edge of Chicago's Marquette District. Gang members congregated near a CTA bus stop to harass local high school students. The problem culminated in the shooting death of a student by a gang member. This incident became the centerpiece of discussion at beat meetings, where residents requested assistance from high school administrators, the ward office and district police in dealing with the gang problem. Solutions have included staggering release times for students, stationing patrol cars at the bus stop and having police officers fill out paperwork in the vicinity of the problem area to maintain a presence. An innovative solution was implemented by the CTA, after it was contacted by police and the ward alderman. The CTA laid out new bus routes that continue to service the high school while circumventing the initial trouble spot. District police, as well as ward officers and parents, see the rerouting as an example of community policing in action. The community believes that the new bus stops, combined with continued police presence at the original stop, provide a greater level of safety for children in the area.

Spanish-Language Radio Broadcasts about CAPS. The Marquette District is home to a large number of Mexican residents, many of whom have a distrust of the police because of historical incivilities by police in their homeland. This has led to what observers describe as a systematic lack of involvement in the CAPS pilot program on the part of these residents. To increase the involvement of Spanish-speaking residents in CAPS-sponsored programs, a beat officer and neighborhood relations officer in the Marquette District decided to use the radio airwaves to communicate the CAPS message to Latino residents. The officers host a one hour radio call-in show once a month, and the show is broadcast on two Hispanic radio stations, WIND on the AM band, and WOJO on FM. Their goal is to familiarize Hispanic residents with the CAPS program. The show has been on the air since May 1993, and while it is unclear whether the program has increased the attendance of Hispanic residents at beat meetings, the officers in charge of the program are confident that by continuing to air their show, they will reach a larger segment of the Hispanic population and eventually convince them that CAPS can benefit the community.

Battling the Proposed Reopening of the Windsor Hotel. Since the 1970s the Austin District has experienced a large increase in crime, transience, poverty and racial tension. The planned conversion of the shuttered Windsor Hotel into a halfway house and treatment center could have serious negative consequences for this already downtrodden community. Residents fear the recovery program will allow inmates released early from prison to live freely in the community without treatment. At beat meetings in fall 1994, police and residents decided to work together through the legal system to prevent the reopening. The police conducted a title search which revealed that the building was not owned by any of the individuals involved with starting a halfway house. The police and a group of Court Advocacy volunteers took these findings to court. Ruling that building permits had been issued under false pretenses, the judge ordered a halt to reconstruction on the Windsor Hotel. The future of the hotel is still uncertain because a title transfer from the original owner to the current petitioners would allow them to resume renovation. Nonetheless, cooperative efforts in this case have led to the formation of a community council, the strengthening of block clubs and a better relationship between community members and the police.

A Program for Youthful Offenders. The Beverly Hills and Morgan Park area of the Morgan Park District is a solidly middle class community with an established and active network of community organizations. Though the crime rate in the area is relatively low, residents perceive a problem there with underage drinking, loitering and other juvenile misdemeanors that go unpunished as a result of overburdened juvenile courts. The Beverly Area Planning Association responded to citizen complaints by establishing a Safety Committee. In July 1993 the committee, made up of youth officers, the district commander, the ward alderman, an assistant state's attorney and community referral agencies, launched a pilot program they dubbed the Alternative Consequence Program for Youth Offenders. The program's philosophy is that juveniles who commit a crime should have to repay the community in some way, preferably through community service. The program is not mandatory, and it requires parental consent. Eligibility is limited to youths between the ages of 12 and 16 who commit misdemeanors. Much of the community service involves beautification projects supervised by neighborhood agencies in the Beverly Hills and Morgan Park areas. While the effectiveness of the program has not yet been determined, community members insist that as a vehicle for community empowerment, the program is a success.

Beatlink. The Beverly Hills and Morgan Park areas in the Morgan Park District are stable communities on Chicago's southwest side. The area has a viable and well-organized business community that has expanded its relationship with district police through a program called Beatlink. Beatlink connects businesses to foot patrol officers by means of alphanumeric pagers. The idea for the program was conceived at a community business meeting attended by district police officers. Business owners were dissatisfied with the response times of the emergency 911 system and wished to establish better emergency communication with police. Business organizations and the police split the responsibility for getting the program off the ground. The Beverly Hills/Morgan Park Business Association persuaded Ameritech to donate four pagers and pay their operating costs indefinitely. The district commander lobbied for six months to gain Chicago Police Department approval for the pilot program. Once convinced that the pagers would not supplant the 911 system, the Chicago Police Department approved the pilot program in December 1993. The program's effectiveness was measured in a survey conducted in March 1994; results indicated that it was a success with business owners and foot patrol officers. Approval to extend the program came almost immediately, and the business community and police are now contemplating the use of cellular phones to further improve communication.

A Bad Building. Problem buildings and the slumlords who manage them are a recurring problem in the Rogers Park District, located on the city's far north side. In 1993, a building located at 1210 W. Granville was deemed a beat priority by residents of Beat 2433 and Rogers Park District police officers. The building was home to gang members, drug dealers and prostitutes. Problems escalated when a portion of the ceiling fell on a tenant and when a woman was found dead in an abandoned unit. At beat meetings, residents and police decided that their goal was to have the manager of the building convicted for criminal housing management. To achieve this goal, it was necessary for the manager to be found guilty of reckless conduct on three occasions. Bringing about charges required a sustained commitment on the part of the community, the alderman's office and the police. The district commander, neighborhood relations and beat officers, members of the Edgewater Community Council, Court Advocacy volunteers and area residents kept up the pressure, working with inspectors from the city's Department of Buildings. In September 1994, their efforts paid off when the manager was sentenced to 200 hours of community service and a \$1,000 fine. The sentence was the highest levied against a landlord in the area. The Edgewater Community Council is now in the process of ensuring that the manager works off his sentence in the community, preferably by cleaning up other problem buildings in the area.

Morse Matters--Operation Beat Feet. In April 1994, 60 residents of police beat 2431 joined forces with the Rogers Park District police and the ward alderman to launch Morse Matters--Operation Beat Feet. Armed only with flashlights, cellular phones and note pads, residents of the beat walk along Morse Avenue and surrounding streets five nights a week. The goal of the project is to create an atmosphere of safety in and around Morse Avenue and displace the panhandlers, loiterers and gang members who hang out there. The walkers do not take a confrontational stance, preferring instead to establish a people presence on the streets. The commitment of the residents of this beat has led to the creation of a particularly close relationship between the community and the neighborhood relations office. Beat 2431 activists also coordinate with foot patrol officers to ensure a visible community presence at all court hearings for arrested panhandlers, loiterers and gang members. Recently, the group received citywide attention when Ameritech recognized their efforts by donating cellular phones to the project. Because of their commitment to the cause and willingness to avail themselves of beat meetings and other CAPS-sponsored programs, the group has sustained its efforts. In November 1994, police reported a 33 percent decrease in five key crimes in the area compared to 1993 figures.

Citizens Picket a Slumlord. In the past two years, a group of citizens in a residential area in the Rogers Park District have been picketing the home of a slumlord, as well as the offices of the bank that holds his mortgage. District homeowners were fed up with the noise, crime and violence that appeared to be directly related to the presence in their community of a few buildings owned by one man. A shooting incident was the catalyst for a group meeting at which residents decided to stage a creative demonstration at this man's suburban home. The goal of the demonstration was to make him as uncomfortable in his neighborhood as his improper management of his buildings was making them. After a second shooting in fall 1993, the pickets resumed; however, they have not had a tangible effect, because the slumlord has not sold his buildings in the area. The group also has attempted to contact the manager's investors, who may or may not know how their money is being handled. This has proven to be difficult, because in Illinois identities of investors remain confidential. In light of this, the group contacted the landlord's rabbi, hoping he could shed light on the investors' identities. This also did not yield much information. The group has not established ongoing contact with area beat organizations or other community groups; perhaps if more crossover occurs between the ad hoc residents group and the broader beat network, greater success can be achieved.

Citizen Involvement. A major tenet of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy is that citizens and police must develop a partnership in the effort to reduce crime and re-establish the security of the city's communities. In many cases, this requires that citizens become involved in identifying problems and bringing them to the attention of police. They can do so by contacting the district neighborhood relations office or by establishing a relationship with beat and foot patrol officers. In other cases, citizen involvement needs to go beyond simply communicating problems to the police, and residents must take responsibility for developing and even implementing solutions on their own.

Identifying the Problem. In some cases, identification of a problem was provoked by a single incident. A shooting outside a resident's home provoked residents to meet and discuss alternatives in the Citizens Picket a Slum Landlord case. Gang related shootings also motivated the Graffiti Cleanup and Gang Unrest cases.

In other situations, a specific perception of general disorder in the vicinity led citizens to identify a specific problem. Their frustrations with panhandling, loitering and gang activity were the motivation for Operation Beat Feet. Perceptions that the 1210 W. Granville building was serving as the locus for

criminal activities spurred citizen involvement in that case. Frustration with a systemic failure on the part of the juvenile justice system initiated the Alternative Consequences for Youth Offenders Program. Businesses' perception that the 911 system was not adequately handling emergency calls led to the creation of Beatlink. Residents' concerns about the consequences for their neighborhood from the proposed reopening of the Windsor Hotel led citizens to organize to oppose a transfer of ownership. Finally, a generalized sense that gangs are at the root of the Englewood District's decline has motivated citizens to undertake marches on violence there.

Developing and Implementing Solutions. The next step in the problem-solving process, direct citizen involvement in developing and implementing solutions to a problem, was seen in a smaller number of cases. When citizens were involved in implementing solutions, they adopted different strategies depending on the nature of the problem.

Many citizens' groups sought to implement solutions to problems by building strength in numbers. By coordinating efforts, they attempted to send a message of intolerance and frustration with what they perceived to be the source of their problems. One way of achieving this was through Court Advocacy groups. The Windsor Hotel and 1210 W. Granville cases demonstrated how important citizens' sustained involvement could be in the process of resolving problems via the court system. When the solution to a problem involved citizens with the legal system, which was often the case in problem buildings cases, the presence of concerned residents could sway the judge's decision in favor of the community.

Other groups attempted to demonstrate their presence by organizing positive loitering campaigns or group marches. Sometimes the goal was to achieve a presence without direct confrontation, as was the case in Operation Beat Feet. At other times, citizens sought to voice their anger and their presence by means of direct confrontation, as was illustrated in the March on Violence and Citizens Picket a Slum Landlord case studies.

Alternately, a group's goals might be more modest. For example, beautifying the neighborhood is a way of restoring dignity and increasing respect for the community. The Marquette District's Graffiti Cleanup was one example of this type of citizen involvement in implementing a solution to a problem.

Finally, citizens sometimes suggested problem-solving strategies to achieve better communication with the police, as was the case in Beatlink as well as Operation Beat Feet.

The Role of Established Organizations

While citizen involvement in all phases of problem solving was direct in some cases, other cases demonstrated that their involvement might be limited to identifying the problem and contacting other organizations, such as neighborhood associations, city service agencies, businesses or the police for solutions and implementation strategies. In these cases, when citizens placed the problem on the public agenda and contacted agencies or area planning associations, their role in developing solutions and strategies became secondary.

Neighborhood and Area Associations. Community-based associations are generally well-established and have numerous contacts and affiliations with other organizations. They often provide assistance in coordinating the actions of smaller community groups. These non-profit associations may

make referrals and provide services to area block clubs and beat associations. Some of the partnership case studies highlighted the critical role played by community-based associations in developing and implementing solutions to neighborhood problems.

The Beverly Area Planning Association (BAPA) was instrumental in bringing together members of the police department's Youth Division and Neighborhood Relations office, the alderman's office, the state's attorney's office and local businesses to form the Alternative Consequences for Youth Offenders Program in the Morgan Park District. In the Beatlink case study, the Morgan Park and Beverly Hills Business Association took responsibility for securing funding for the pagers that foot patrols now carry in Morgan Park.

In the Rogers Park District, the Edgewater Community Council coordinated what had been a loose network of block clubs into a powerful resident coalition to fight a slum landlord and push for the sale of the 1210 W. Granville building. Also in the Rogers Park District, the Rogers Park Community Council coordinated building inspections, provided a Council representative to Court Advocacy, and helped residents with title searches in their continuing battle to rid the area of a slum landlord.

Beat associations were also instrumental in creating and implementing solutions to problems because they provided residents with an opportunity, usually through beat meetings, to weigh alternatives and make suggestions to district police and the ward alderman's office. Beat meetings were central to the creation of Operation Beat Feet in the Rogers Park District. It was also through beat meetings that residents and police implemented a program to stop the reopening of the Windsor Hotel. Even when an area nonprofit organization takes a large part of the responsibility for implementing a solution, as in the Beatlink case, beat meetings provided an opportunity for concerned residents to make suggestions about possible remedies to problems.

The Marches on Violence in the Englewood District illustrated the role area churches can take in coordinating actions of residents, particularly when there is a weak network of beat associations and block clubs in the area. The church, in cooperation with district police, established the times and locations of the marches. It also transported residents to and from the marches, as well as provided a safe haven in which citizens could voice their fears and frustration.

Area philanthropic organizations played a central role in the Englewood District's ATM project. The Munroe Foundation, a nonprofit community development agency, in cooperation with the Englewood District commander, suggested placing the automatic teller machine in the police station. The foundation's goal was to provide banking services to this under-served community, and it continues to sponsor banking days during which residents are instructed about the benefits of having bank accounts.

City Services. Problem solving also involved the cooperation of city service agencies. Two important sources of city service support were the Department of Streets and Sanitation and the Department of Buildings. They provided assistance to citizens and community groups attempting to rid their neighborhood of decrepit buildings or to improve the safety of their streets. In the case of 1210 W. Granville, the Department of Streets and Sanitation became involved with garbage and dumpster problems while the Department of Buildings arranged for inspections of the premises for code violations. Streets and Sanitation also was contacted by activists from Operation Beat Feet, and it has responded to calls about abandoned cars, broken street lights and overflowing garbage.

An important city service for neighborhood improvement projects was the Graffiti Blasters program. For most residents and community groups, graffiti is seen as one of the first signs of decay and disorder in their neighborhood. Contacting the city for graffiti removal, whether in the form of a graffiti blaster or paint, was an important step in neighborhood improvement for many beat organizations. Citizens' efforts to remove graffiti in the Marquette District were facilitated by the donation of paint by the city's graffiti removal program. Graffiti Blasters program requests also were submitted by members of Operation Beat Feet via the alderman's office.

The city's Corporation Counsel played a role in developing the Alternative Consequences for Youth Offenders Program, verifying the legality of various aspects. The Corporation Counsel's office also advised the Beverly Area Planning Association on the extent to which neighborhood groups that were willing to provide work for the juvenile offenders could be liable. The Chicago Park District also was involved in this program, providing an opportunity for juvenile offenders to do their community work in the public parks within Morgan Park.

Businesses. Businesses and nonprofit organizations played a role in problem solving in some of the case studies. While businesses did not appear to be involved at the problem identification stage, their cooperation was indispensable in implementing proposed solutions in some case studies.

The Alternative Consequences for Youth Offenders program depends upon the cooperation of neighborhood service organizations that provide a place for juveniles to perform their mandated community service. Private organizations that monitor and provide work for the juveniles include a retirement home and a community garden. Public service organizations such as the alderman's office and the Cook County Forest Preserve joined the city's park district in providing beautification projects for youthful offenders as a way of teaching juveniles that the community as a whole is the victim of their behavior.

Ameritech was central to the success of the Beatlink pager program. Its donation of four pagers, as well as its commitment to fund the operating costs for an indefinite period, were determining factors in the original approval of the pilot program by the Chicago Police Department.

The Marquette National Bank is another example of a business that was instrumental in implementing a solution to a problem identified through CAPS. In the case of the ATM in the Englewood District's police station, the bank shouldered all responsibility for the operating costs of the ATM. In response to the solution proposal advanced by area police and the Munroe Foundation, the bank installed and agreed to service the ATM. It also instituted a Smart Money program, which provides numerous incentives to residents of Englewood to open low-fee checking accounts.

The WIND/WOJO Hispanic radio stations, broadcasting on both AM and FM bands, donated one hour of airtime per month to beat officers in the Marquette District. The program is a community service to Spanish-speaking residents, providing outreach to citizens of Chicago who are not fluent in English. The goal of the program is to communicate information about the CAPS program to residents who might otherwise not be aware of it. The station has open lines and residents can call and talk to a representative of the police department about concerns or questions they have about CAPS.

The Chicago Transit Authority played a central role in implementing a solution to a problem with gang unrest at a CTA bus stop in front of a high school in the Marquette District. When parents complained to the high school, the police and the alderman's office attempted to solve the problem.

When their attempts proved insufficient, the CTA was contacted. Its decision to reroute the bus that serviced the high school relieved the potential for gang clashes and racial unrest in the area.

Finally, area businesses also served as facilitators in the Marquette District's Graffiti Cleanup, augmenting the city's paint contribution. Various local businesses contributed brushes, paint and even refreshments to residents working on cleaning up the area.

Police Involvement

The complement to citizen involvement in community policing involves adapting the organizational structure of the police force in Chicago and changing police officers' perceptions of their role in the community. In the prototype districts, three elements within the police department played major roles in creating and implementing solutions to problems. They included district commanders, who took leadership and initiative roles in some cases; neighborhood relations officers, who operated as liaisons between the police department and citizens; and beat officers, who in some situations established close and cooperative relationships with citizens and community groups within their beats. The goal of the police is first and foremost to reduce crime in the districts they patrol. But additionally, the case studies illustrate some unique methods by which the police attempted to improve not only their crime-fighting capabilities, but their relationships with the community as well. These efforts included providing improved services to the community and improving the quality of information and cooperation between beat officers and community groups.

Providing services to the community. Four cases illustrated the police department's efforts to provide improved community services.

In the ATM project, Englewood's district commander was responsible for coming up with the idea and working with the Munroe Foundation to approach a bank about the service. The rationale behind the police department's actions in this case was that it was essential to communicate to residents that the police station was more than a jail — that it was not simply a place where people are taken after arrest. By placing the ATM in the station, the commander believed that residents of Englewood would come to see the station as the home for a broad-based community service agency. The police in this district have undertaken some responsibility for directing city service requests. They have also held seminars to assist people in getting off welfare and on the importance of education. The district commander hopes residents will eventually perceive a trip to the police station as an opportunity to benefit from community services and not just the outcome of committing a crime.

Beatlink also served as an example of the police department's efforts to improve its service to the community. In this case, the recipient of the improved service was the area's business community. While the Morgan Park and Beverly Hills Business Association took responsibility for the pagers, it was the district commander's job to secure approval for the pilot program. This process took several months, and involved convincing the city's police department and chief of patrol that the program would not undermine the 911 system. To accomplish this, the commander had to establish clear guidelines as to what constituted an "emergency" and a "non-emergency," as well as ensuring that the protocol for using the pagers would be readily available to businesses. The success of the pilot program, as well as its extension to other beats in the district, led the commander to believe that the Beatlink program improved the quality of communication between area businesses and foot patrol officers. By emphasizing the role of the foot patrol officer, the commander also viewed this as an example of the police department's

commitment to establishing beat integrity. It was also an example of police responding to a demand for improved services on the part of the community and adopting and implementing the community's proposed solution.

The Marquette District's Gang Unrest case was another example of a police effort to provide improved services to the community. The police department created a program called Voluntary Special Employment. Through this program, police officers can work on their days off in a patrol car at a bus stop from 2:30 p.m. to 5 p.m. The patrol car provides a visual deterrent at a CTA stop that is known for gang unrest. At other times, area police officers have been dispatched to complete their paperwork near the CTA stop, again to provide a police presence and a visual deterrent. This innovative solution was one way for the police to show their willingness to work with concerned residents to help provide a safer environment for children.

Finally, in the Marquette District, the police neighborhood relations office took to the airways in an attempt to improve their service to the Hispanic community. Beat officers host the radio show, and ideally this program will result in increased involvement of Hispanics in CAPS. The program was also a means for the Marquette District to demonstrate its interest in providing services to a segment of the population that has a long-standing fear of the police.

Increasing Cooperation and Protection. Five case studies illustrated ways in which the police department attempted to increase cooperation with the community.

The two problem buildings cases, while different, shared similarities in the ways that police neighborhood relations, beat officers and at times district commanders approached the problem. In the Windsor Hotel case, the police were first informed of the problem in a beat meeting. When the case was turned over to the courts, the police helped with transporting citizen activists to and from court, as well as distributing information about court dates to residents. The police and residents active in the South Austin Community Council conferred at Court Advocacy meetings to discuss what their next cooperative steps would be. In addition, the police worked with residents at the very onset of the case, volunteering the services of their personnel for title searches. In fact, it was through these title searches that the police and community were able to get this case into Buildings Court.

In the 1210 W. Granville case, there was visible police presence at all levels of the organization. When the community informed police about problems in and around the building, it became a priority location in the officers' beat planners. Later, the district commander took a personal interest in the case, touring the building with a police photographer. Photos sent by the commander to the state's attorney's office provided evidence of another instance of criminal housing management. Finally, when residents picketed the offices of the building manager, the police sent an escort, even though the picketing was not within the confines of the community group's beat.

The district commander was also visible in the Citizens Picket a Slum Landlord case. He attended various meetings in residents' homes to investigate new avenues for putting pressure on the slum landlord to sell his buildings. Furthermore, beat officers and tactical units in the district flagged the slum landlord's buildings in their beat planners, and attempted to make as many arrests as possible in these buildings to persuade the state's attorney's office to send the slum landlord a notice of nuisance abatement. Police officers also cooperated with residents to undertake surveillance of suspected drug activity in the buildings.

Foot patrol and beat officers of the Rogers Park District developed a cooperative and mutually beneficial relationship with the citizen participants in Operation Beat Feet. While communication was informal, walking groups had nightly contact with their evening foot patrol officer, whom they came to know on a first-name basis. Furthermore, residents provided support for the activities of their patrols through Court Advocacy activities. Priority problems in the neighborhood were discussed at monthly beat meetings, and the contents of officers' beat planners were updated to reflect citizens' concerns.

In the Morgan Park District, the neighborhood relations office and district commander were involved in setting up the Safety Committee that created the Alternative Consequences for Youth Offenders Program. Neighborhood relations and Area 2 Youth Division officers were responsible for presenting the option of participation in the program to youths and their parents at the time of arrest. The officers also were responsible for selecting young offenders they believed would benefit from the program and for determining the number of hours of community service that must be worked. Once this decision was made, the officer contacted BAPA and the case was passed on to the community group for determination of the location at which the sentence would be carried out.

The marches on violence were an example of the role police can play in offering protection to residents while they implement their solution to a neighborhood problem. District police in this crime-ridden community provided protection to marchers by helping transport them from the marches to their area church and by providing police escorts both on foot and in patrol cars. Because the path of the marches took residents directly past known drug dealers and gang members, it is unlikely they would have been willing to march in the evening without the police protection and show of support that they received in the Englewood District.

Organizational Involvement in Community Policing

While there has been a great deal of interest in the police role in community policing, much less attention has been paid to the community side of the equation. Across the country, groups are agitating for a role in determining how the crime problems facing their neighborhood are defined and prioritized, and for a clearly defined role in influencing how police will work with them to solve those problems. The rhetoric of community policing is that community groups must have such a role, for without the active participation of groups as partners in the enterprise, community policing will fail. The coproduction perspective that dominates community crime prevention theory and conventional wisdom about community policing assumes that voluntary action by neighborhood residents can play an important role in maintaining order in a cost-effective and constitutional manner. However, despite the frequent use of strong language to this effect, there has been remarkably little research on the role that civilian organizations have actually played in any policing effort.

Chicago's community policing effort shares this rhetoric of community involvement. The department's mission statement notes, "... the Department and the rest of the community must establish new ways of actually working together. New methods must be put in place to jointly identify problems, propose solutions, and implement changes. The Department's ultimate goal should be community empowerment." Chicago's community policing program represents a transition from incident-driven to community-oriented policing, so officers in the prototype police districts were reorganized into Beat Teams and Rapid Response Teams to enable the former to be freed from 911 calls to devote significant periods to turf-based problem solving under the supervision of their sergeants. Structural changes are underway to push authority down in the organization, and all of the prototype officers have been trained to some extent in this new mode of policing.

Community Organization Involvement

Community organizations were preparing for community policing in Chicago far in advance of its formal announcement. Since then, they have been jockeying for influence over its operation. Citywide umbrella organizations such as CANS (Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety, an umbrella group with roots) have been pressing for community policing for several years, some with the support of local foundations. CANS representatives visited several cities to observe active community policing programs so that they could argue more effectively for the program in Chicago. The Citywide Task Force on Community Policing represents 70 organizations pressing for the program. Local foundations also have funded technical assistance for organizations to help get them involved in community policing.

This study examined the role of community organizations in CAPS during its first year. It is based on survey interviews with hundreds of organizational informants on the roles that their groups were playing in Chicago's community policing program. The study documents how they mobilized to influence the shape of community policing in the city's five prototype areas.

One goal of the project was to determine to what degree community organizations in the five prototype districts were involved in CAPS during its first year of implementation. The survey was designed to capture information on differences in CAPS involvement between various types of community organizations and between the five prototype districts in which it was being tested. This report first describes these levels of involvement, and then advances some explanations for organizational involvement in CAPS and differences in the extent of mobilization around CAPS in the five prototype districts.

The Organization Survey

After a thorough pilot test, interviews were conducted with knowledgeable informants representing 250 organizations active in the five prototype districts. A list of turf-based, named groups, along with the names and telephone numbers of people associated with them, was developed from several sources. A start-up list was contributed by a research team at DePaul University, sharing an inventory it had developed for its own community organization study. Northwestern University and Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority (Authority) staff members supplemented this list with organizations and contacts they encountered while attending various CAPS-related meetings or conducting interviews. Each time we interviewed organizational informants we asked about other organizations with which they were familiar to contribute a "snowball" component to the sample. We also culled local news articles and newsletters to locate additional organizations and named contacts to add to the list. Several key community contacts in prototype districts were asked to go through the list for their area and make additions and corrections. As part of our CAPS evaluation, team members conducted interviews with district commanders, neighborhood relations officers, beat team members, and other officers. Among other topics, lists of group names and contacts were gleaned from these key informants.

Finally, the sample list was supplemented during the survey itself. Respondents were asked to share the names of local community organizations, knowledgeable contacts and phone numbers. In some cases, respondents sent lists with community organization information. The information they gave was then checked against the master list, and additions or corrections were made as appropriate. (A complete description of the survey methodology can be found in Project Paper No. 11.) Interviews were carried

out between May and September 1994. A variety of approaches were used to develop a sample of organizations and informants that was diverse and inclusive.

Whenever possible, data were gathered from two respondents representing each organization so that the results might transcend some of the errors introduced by the use of a single organizational informant. Generally, when two respondents were interviewed, they held different positions within the organization, so they were able to bring different — though not necessarily better or more complete — knowledge and experience to the survey data. For the most part, when two people were interviewed about an organization, responses to a question were consistent. However, respondents tended to agree less often when asked to make subjective assessments, such as ratings of the quality of police service or the impact of CAPS on the community. Depending on the measure being developed, pairs of responses to the same survey measures were combined to create organization-level measures. The aim was always to capitalize on the heterogeneity of two respondents' knowledge when possible.

Altogether, 472 interviews were completed with representatives of a total of 250 organizations. Two respondents were interviewed from each of 222 organizations, while only one respondent could be interviewed from each of the remaining 28 organizations.

The survey instrument was developed to answer the following questions:

- Who is active in CAPS?
- How are the organizations involved with CAPS?
- Are there differences between the districts in organizational involvement in CAPS, and how can these differences be explained?

Items in the questionnaire ranged from questions on organizational missions and goals to organizational activities and involvement in CAPS-related efforts. Information also was gathered on organizational variables such as structure, funding, staffing and alliances with other organizations. In addition to the individual items in the questionnaire, analytic measures combining responses to several questions were developed to more fully answer the primary research questions.

Organizational Involvement in CAPS

One of the areas explored in the survey was what community organizations were doing in regard to CAPS. The questionnaire gathered information on organizations' involvement with CAPS in the past year. Respondents were asked a number of general questions about their organization's activities, such as if they hold general public meeting or engage in fund-raising and so on. After they described their activities, they were asked as a follow up if each activity was CAPS-related. This section was followed by a sequence of eight questions explicitly probing for CAPS-related activities, such as "encouraging people to attend CAPS-related meetings?" Responses to these two sets of items were used to score each organization in terms of its type and intensity of involvement in CAPS.

An analysis which allowed the factors to be correlated clustered 14 of the 18 involvement items into three categories of organizational involvement in CAPS activities: use of CAPS, promotion of CAPS, and turf-based CAPS activity. Factor scores were calculated for the three factors that indicate the degree to which each organization was involved in each cluster of activity.

Using CAPS. The first of these activity clusters, Use of CAPS, combined items identifying organizations making use of or taking part in the most frequent CAPS-related activities. For descriptive purposes, an organization reporting at least two of the seven specific activities included in this measure is described as "using CAPS." The items included in this cluster gathered information on whether organizations were working directly with beat officers, distributing CAPS-related flyers, encouraging people to make CAPS service requests or take part in CAPS-related meetings. Participation in these activities often involved only a moderate level of investment in CAPS, for in many instances they made use of the newly-created CAPS infrastructure, including beat teams, beat meetings, District Advisory Committees and CAPS city services request forms. In these cases, organizational participation was a matter of referring people to or hosting scheduled meetings, or distributing existing flyers or brochures.

Table 2 (p. 54) presents the percentage of organizations that reported involvement in each of the 18 survey measures and the distribution of three summary CAPS activity measures. Overall, 77 percent of the organizations reported they were actively using CAPS. However, there was some variation on this measure across the districts; 59 percent of the organizations active in Marquette reported using CAPS, a lower than average figure. In two districts, Morgan Park and Rogers Park, considerably higher than average levels of involvement were reported, 89 percent and 90 percent respectively. In Englewood, the percentage of organizations that reported using CAPS stood at the overall average of 77 percent, while organizations in Austin reported using CAPS only slightly less (71 percent).

The activities within this cluster that were reported least frequently were "hosting CAPS meetings," at 33 percent; "distributing flyers" (45 percent); and "holding CAPS-related meetings" (46 percent). The activities in the cluster that were reported the most frequently were "attending meetings" (75 percent); "encouraging people to attend (CAPS-related meetings)" (72 percent); and "working with beat officers" (70 percent). In general, the activities that were reported more frequently were those requiring less organizational initiative; it was easier to attend a meeting that was already arranged, or to encourage others to do so, or simply work with beat officers, than to take on the responsibility of hosting a meeting or even distributing flyers.

Promoting CAPS. The second activity cluster was based on measures indicating that organizations had taken the initiative to become involved in promoting CAPS. High levels of participation on this measure indicated a more intense level of involvement in CAPS, because the component items required more extensive outreach effort. An organization reporting involvement in any of the following five CAPS-related activities is described as being active in promoting CAPS: doing training or starting or forming a group; receiving gifts or funding; contacting the media; or picketing. The last question in the list loaded only partially on this measure in the factor analysis, and was partially weighted in the construction of the measure. As a result, to be scored as "promoting CAPS," an organization had to be doing more than just picketing.

Overall, only 40 percent of the organizations surveyed reported promoting CAPS, a considerably lower percentage than those reporting using CAPS. There was also a good deal of variation in promoting CAPS across the five prototype districts. Organizations in Marquette again reported the lowest level of involvement in CAPS, at 17 percent. Organizations in Morgan Park and Rogers Park also reported promoting CAPS most frequently (49 percent and 59 percent, respectively). Organizations in Englewood were also above average in reporting this measure (46 percent). Organizations in Austin reported a lower than average level of CAPS promotion (29 percent).

The activities in this cluster that were reported least frequently were “[procuring] CAPS-related funding” (8 percent) and “[CAPS-related] picketing” (12 percent). The most frequently reported efforts were “doing CAPS training” (26 percent) and “forming a CAPS group or program” (20 percent).

Turf-Based CAPS Activity. The third involvement cluster included neighborhood-based activities. In addition to the picketing question presented above, CAPS-related questions in this cluster included starting a neighborhood patrol or block watch. An organization reporting activity on any of the three items in this cluster was described as having turf-based CAPS involvement. As before, to be scored as involved in turf-based CAPS activities, an organization had to be doing more than just picketing, which was only partially weighted.

Overall, 44 percent of the organizations we surveyed reported turf-based CAPS activity. As before, organizations in Marquette reported the lowest level of turf-based CAPS activity, 28 percent. And, organizations in Morgan Park and Rogers Park reported the highest percentages, at 58 and 53 percent. (Note that this cluster is the only one for which Morgan Park reported more activity than Rogers Park.) Turf-based activity in Englewood was a bit higher than average at 48 percent, while organizations in Austin reported lower than average involvement, at 33 percent.

The activity within this cluster that was reported least frequently was “[CAPS-related] picketing,” at 12 percent. “Neighborhood block watch” was reported most frequently, by 42 percent of the organizations, and “neighborhood patrol” was claimed by 35 percent of them.

Other Activities. Finally, there were four CAPS-related involvement measures which did not cluster with the others in the survey. Respondents were asked if their group had held community activist meetings, contacted governmental service agencies, developed a new service, or done anything not mentioned. Responses to these four questions did not correspond to those in the clusters described above, though they point to other distinctive CAPS-related efforts. In this set, organizations in Marquette reported the lowest level of involvement in CAPS. Organizations in Rogers Park reported the highest level of activity on each of the four measures. Organizations in Englewood reported somewhat higher than average involvement on each item. Organizations in Austin and Morgan Park reported moderate to low involvement on these four dimensions.

Organizations active in Morgan Park and Rogers Park were the most involved in CAPS. Organizations in Englewood stood above average on most dimensions. Organizations in Austin reported somewhat lower than average involvement, while those in Marquette reported the lowest levels of involvement in every case.

This consistent variation across the five districts suggests that there are systematic organizational factors that affect levels of CAPS use, CAPS promotion and involvement in turf-based activity, and that these organizational factors in turn vary across districts. The next section will describe selected characteristics of the organizations active in the prototype districts and explore the connection between these factors and the level of community organizations’ involvement in CAPS.

Patterns of Organization Involvement

This section first describes the characteristics of the organizations that were active in the prototype areas, including their goals and how they were organized to achieve them. Then it examines the

Table 2
Percentage of Organizations Involved in CAPS

	Englewood	Marquette	Austin	Morgan Park	Rogers Park	Total
Use CAPS*	76.9%	58.5%	71.4%	88.9%	89.7%	77.2%
Work with beat officers	73.1	49.1	66.7	86.7	75.9	70.0
Encourage service requests	63.5	49.1	54.8	84.4	75.9	65.6
Attend meetings	73.1	58.5	64.3	88.9	89.7	75.2
Encourage attendance at meetings	71.2	50.9	66.7	86.7	82.8	71.6
Host meetings	25.0	24.5	31.0	28.9	53.4	33.2
Hold meetings	51.9	28.3	40.5	53.3	56.9	46.4
Distribute flyers	44.2	7.5	42.9	64.4	65.5	44.8
Promote CAPS*	46.2	17.0	28.6	48.9	58.6	40.4
Perform training	28.8	13.2	11.9	28.9	43.1	26.0
Form groups/programs	23.1	7.5	16.7	22.2	27.6	19.6
Procure funding	11.5	0.0	7.1	0.0	19.0	8.0
Contact media	23.1	0.0	11.9	17.8	27.6	16.4
Picketing**	17.3	1.9	16.7	6.7	19.0	12.4
Turf-based CAPS activity*	48.1	28.3	33.3	57.8	53.4	44.4
Neighborhood patrol	40.4	22.6	26.2	37.8	44.8	34.8
Neighborhood block watch	46.2	26.4	33.3	55.6	50.0	42.4
Picketing**	17.3	1.9	16.7	6.7	19.0	12.4
Remaining items: (not combined in an index)						
Hold activist meetings	28.8	11.3	28.6	24.4	36.2	26.0
Contact agencies	48.1	9.4	26.2	35.6	44.8	33.2
Develop a new service	13.5	1.9	7.1	4.4	15.5	8.8
Something else	42.3	18.9	21.4	26.7	39.7	30.4
	(n=52)	(n=53)	(n=42)	(n=45)	(n=58)	(n=250)

* The indexed items (Use, Promote, and Turf) were created from factors scores of the variables listed for each category. To be classified as using CAPS, an organization would have had to cite at least two of the seven activities. To be classified as promoting CAPS or doing turf-based CAPS activities, an organization would have had to cite at least one activity in the respective category.

** The variable Picketing was divided between the Promote CAPS index and the Turf-based CAPS index and given a 50 percent weighting on each.

relationship between these characteristics and the extent to which the organizations were involved in various CAPS-related activities.

For this study, an "organization" was a turf-based group with a name. Its size, structure, activity and longevity were variables and not part of the definition of an organization. Sample organizations also had to be turf-based; that is, they had to define their scope geographically, at least in part.

This definition encompassed a wide variety of organizations. In Chicago parlance, the basic organizational unit of a residential neighborhood is a block club. Block clubs encompass a small expanse of turf, typically three to four square blocks, and usually are named after streets or intersections or have adopted local neighborhood names. Umbrella organizations are federations of organizations, mostly block clubs. While they often are sparked by individual activists, their membership base is primarily other organizations. We also found that a surprising number of client-serving organizations were active in CAPS. Supported by grants and contracts or fees for service, they were service-providing rather than membership-based organizations. Churches fell within our net if they engaged in identifiable political, social, or economic development activities. Local merchants' associations typically represent small businesses clustered at the intersection of major arterials or spread along four- to five-block arterial strips, and they fell into our sample as well.

Through the informant questionnaire, information was gathered on a number of key organizational characteristics. From these, analytic measures were developed describing the following general organizational features: their mission, structure and geographic focus.

Organizational Missions. An open-ended question asking respondents to describe their organization's overall mission produced a variety of responses. These were combined into six general mission categories: crime prevention, cultural or religious, economic, family, neighborhood and social service. Most organizations had more than one mission. Those general mission categories are used here to describe the purposes of organizations active in the five prototype areas.

1. **Crime Prevention Mission:** Organizations reporting taking part in, or promoting programs or activities that were specifically geared to preventing crime are grouped together in this category. (Organizations that were dedicated to assisting ex-offenders or high-risk individuals were not included in this category, but instead were included with other social service organizations.) There were 66 organizations in this category (26 percent).
2. **Cultural and/or Religious Mission:** Primarily encompasses organizations that reported serving or promoting ethnic or general spiritual needs. There were 42 organizations in this category (17 percent).
3. **Economic Mission:** Primarily encompasses organizations reporting they wanted to promote business or economic development. (References to programs that were oriented to individuals, such as employment for youths, were included in the social services category.) There were 31 organizations in this category (12 percent).
4. **Family Mission:** Primarily encompasses organizations that reported offering family or child oriented services or programs. There were 74 organizations in this category (30 percent).

5. Neighborhood Mission: Encompasses organizations that reported wanting to improve their immediate community, or those developing or refining neighborhood-based activities. There were 143 organizations in this category (57 percent).

6. Service Mission: Encompasses organizations reporting they existed to provide services for individuals. The specific service needs they referred to were diverse. There were 125 organizations in this category (50 percent).

Organizational Structure. Two structural features of these organizations proved to be important: the extent to which they were formally organized, and whether they were formed around a membership base, a client base, or a combination of the two.

The formality of each organization's structure was represented by a score combining the results of several informant questions. Score assignments were based on whether or not an organization had external funding, office space, its own telephone number, any part-time paid staff or any full-time paid staff. The presence of each of those elements was given equal weight in the calculation of a measure of the extent to which each organization was formally structured. Based on this, there were 63 informal organizations (25 percent), 128 formal organizations (51 percent) and 59 mixed organizations (24 percent).

The second structural feature of the organizations examined here is their relationship with the public. Questions in the survey allowed us to classify them as "client-based" (138 organizations, or 58 percent), "membership-based" (58 organizations, or 24 percent), or both (43 organizations, or 18 percent). The client-based organizations typically fell into service-providing mission categories, while membership organizations more typically served neighborhoods.

Geographic Focus. In the survey, informants were asked, "What geographic area does your organization serve?" For analysis purposes their open-ended responses were grouped into two categories: organizations having a local or neighborhood focus (137 organizations, or 55 percent), versus those serving Chicago as a whole or wide swaths of the city, county, or nation. Organizations classified as having a local focus are those serving the prototype district, a community area, or other named patches of local turf. Organizations were described as having a wider scope if they served a district area and other subparts of Chicago.

Churches and Affiliates. Churches were one of our separate analytic focuses because of the wide-ranging involvement of religious organizations in the life of several of the prototype districts. In Englewood, for example, the Pastor's Subcommittee of the police district advisory committee claimed more than 50 church affiliates. Affiliated organizations in this category were either founded by a church or continued to be religiously affiliated. There were 52 organizations in this category, or 21 percent of the total.

Organizational Factors and Involvement. Table 3 (p. 57) presents the percentage of organizations using and promoting CAPS or engaging in CAPS-related turf activity in each organizational category. Table 3 also ranks each characteristic by the likelihood that an organization like that will be involved in each of the three types of CAPS Activity. For example, for "Use of CAPS" the characteristic "crime prevention mission" is ranked first because organizations that have a crime prevention mission

Table 3
Percentage of Organizations Involved in CAPS Activity Factors
by Organizational Characteristics

	Use CAPS	Rank	Promote CAPS	Rank	Turf-based Activity	Rank	Overall Rank	(N)
Crime prevention mission	90.9	1	60.6	2	57.6	2	1	(66) *
Economic mission	90.3	2	64.5	1	54.8	4	2	(31)
Membership based	86.2	6	53.4	3	58.6	1	3	(58)
Neighborhood mission	88.1	4	51.7	4	55.9	3	4	(143)
Informal organization	88.9	3	42.9	6	54.0	5	5	(63)
Local geographic focus	87.6	5	49.6	5	53.3	6	6	(137)
Client-based	71.7	7	39.1	7	39.1	7	7	(138) **
Formal organization	71.1	8	38.3	8	39.1	7	8	(128)
Social service mission	70.4	9	34.4	9	36.8	10	9	(125)
Family mission	67.6	10	33.8	10	37.8	9	10	(74)
Religious affiliation	60.0	11	28.0	11	32.0	11	11	(50)
Cultural/religious mission	59.5	12	19.0	12	31.0	12	12	(42)
Total involvement of all organizations	77.2		40.4		44.4			

* The six organizational characteristics above the dotted line correspond with above-average levels of involvement in CAPS Activity Factors.

** The six organizational characteristics below the dotted line correspond with below-average levels of involvement in CAPS Activity Factors.

report the highest level of CAPS involvement in this fashion, 91 percent. The column on the far right side of Table 3 gives the overall number and percentage of organizations citing each characteristic.

The overall rank column in Table 3 averages the rankings across the three CAPS activity measures. Organizational characteristics above the dotted line were linked to above-average involvement; those below the line were associated with below-average levels of involvement.

Although there is some variation in the rankings, Table 3 highlights the great consistency with which features of these organizations were related to CAPS involvement. The Use of CAPS column includes a level of involvement ranging from as high as 91 percent (for organizations reporting a crime prevention mission) to a low of 60 percent (for cultural and/or religious mission and religious affiliation). There was a clear split in "Use of CAPS" between organizational factors at about the average of 77 percent, with neighborhood-oriented, membership-based, informal and economic development-oriented organizations clearly falling in the high-involvement category.

These rankings were virtually duplicated in the Promotion of CAPS and Turf-based columns, and thus in the overall rankings. Organizations with a crime prevention mission tended to have the largest percentage of involvement across the three CAPS Activity measures. Organizations with an economic mission were second highest, and membership-based organizations were third highest. Orga-

nizations with a cultural/religious mission fell at the bottom of the rankings each time; organizations with a religious affiliation were second to last.

The high level of activism among organizations espousing a crime prevention mission undoubtedly reflects the fact that CAPS could easily be viewed as a vehicle to further their goals. Economic development organizations are also extremely concerned about crime, which erodes the value of commercial real estate and threatens their customer base. The CAPS turf-based approach to policing and the avenues for participation at the neighborhood level created by beat meetings apparently appealed to organizations with a strong local focus and a membership constituency. The low level of involvement by church-affiliated organizations and those having a cultural and/or religious mission may reflect their relatively insular, self-sufficient character and their appeal to a more closed circle of constituents.

To review the findings, there are six organizational characteristics that correspond with higher than average reported percentages of involvement on the three CAPS Activity Factors. These are, in order:

1. Crime prevention mission;
2. Economic mission;
3. Membership-based;
4. Neighborhood mission;
5. Informal organization; and
6. Local geographic focus.

The six organizational characteristics that correspond with lower than average involvement in CAPS are, in order:

1. Cultural/religious mission;
2. Religious affiliation;
3. Family mission;
4. Social service mission;
5. Formal organization; and
6. Client-based.

This pattern suggests the following conclusions:

The types of organizations that are likely to have high involvement with CAPS tend to be proactive in their missions and to have more of a grassroots orientation in that they are informally organized, locally oriented and membership-based. These organizations tend to take on locally oriented missions such as addressing crime, developing their neighborhoods or expanding economic opportunities. In most cases, these missions are not oriented toward serving individuals, but rather toward the benefit of the community as a whole.

The types of organizations that are likely to have less involvement with CAPS tend to be more reactive in their missions and more bureaucratic in their organizational style. These organizations are more likely to be focused on serving the needs of individuals. These needs might be cultural, such as providing services for immigrants needing to acclimate to a new environment, providing support for individual families or serving religious needs.

The next section explores whether these two general organizational profiles can be used to describe the types of organizations that were active in the five prototype districts. Because organizational characteristics are strongly linked to involvement in CAPS, differences in the distribution of organizations by type across the five prototype districts may help us understand variations between them in terms of organizational involvement. It may be possible to predict how involved an area is in CAPS based on the types of organizations that dominate community life there.

District Organizational Life

This section examines the types of organizations active in each of the CAPS prototype districts. Table 3 documented how characteristics of these organizations were positively or negatively correlated with involvement in CAPS activities. Identifying varying patterns of organization types in the five districts may aid in understanding why there were differences between the districts in the involvement of organizations in CAPS.

Table 4 (p. 61) presents the distribution of organization types by district. The right hand column reports the overall or average distribution of organizational characteristics across all five areas. The organizational characteristics listed in Table 4 are ordered by ranks presented in Table 3, so factors predicting high levels of CAPS involvement are listed above the dotted line, while those related to lower levels of involvement are presented below it.

There was considerable variation in the profile of organizations active in the districts. For example, while 26 percent of the organizations we examined pursued crime prevention goals, that percentage ranged from a high of 47 percent in Morgan Park to a low of 9 percent in Marquette. The scattering of organizations by geographic focus was just as extreme. While in Morgan Park and Rogers Park more than 80 percent of organizations were locally oriented, in Englewood and Austin that percentage stood at just more than 40 percent, and in Marquette it was 26 percent.

The percentages of involvement in the organizational characteristics in Table 4 revealed patterns of involvement for the five districts. In two of the five districts the distributions above and below the dotted line were particularly consistent and supported high levels of CAPS involvement; two districts featured a mixed pattern of organizational life; one district was dominated by organizations that consistently were less involved in CAPS.

Organizations active in the Marquette District were the kind that were least likely to be involved in CAPS. Four of the six kinds of organizations that commonly reported high levels of CAPS involvement (a crime prevention mission, a membership base, an informal organization and a local geographic focus) were very rarely found there. On the other hand, organizations that were active in Marquette were among the least likely to be involved. Four out of six organizational features that fell below the line (organizations that were client-based, highly formal and had family or cultural and/or religious missions) were the most heavily concentrated there.

Englewood featured a mix of organizations predicting only a moderate level of involvement in CAPS in that district. It had very few organizations actively promoting economic development and few that were informally organized. Englewood fell below the mean in terms of organizations with a membership base, a local geographic focus and a neighborhood mission. Below the dotted line, Englewood was mostly above the mean. It featured the largest number of church-affiliated organizations, 27 percent

of all those we found active there; this is a factor predicting almost the lowest level of CAPS involvement.

Although similar to Englewood in terms of demography and crime, Austin enjoyed the participation of somewhat more organizations of the type that generally were attracted to involvement in CAPS. Though scoring low on four of six high-involvement characteristics, Austin had many more organizations with a neighborhood or economic development mission than did Englewood. Below the line, Austin had a disproportionate number of client-based, formally organized, service-providing organizations — the types of organizations that are generally less often involved in CAPS.

Morgan Park and Rogers Park organizations were much more likely to be the kinds of entities that got involved in CAPS. Morgan Park stood atop the list on all six high-involvement characteristics. It also featured comparatively few of the kinds of organizations not often involved in CAPS, except those with a family mission. Rogers Park also scored high on organizations likely to be involved in CAPS, except for those with an economic mission. There were very few organizations active in Rogers Park that displayed several of the characteristics predicting low levels of involvement, including having a client base or a social service or family mission.

In summary, it appears that some of the prototype districts were endowed with an organizational life that meshed with the structure and mission of CAPS. In those areas, organizations found it easy to support the program, to promote it and to engage in neighborhood patrols and other turf-based efforts that took advantage of its visibility and credibility in the community. This was most clear in Morgan Park and Rogers Park, where CAPS involvement was highest. In those districts, many more organizations were membership-based, locally oriented, informally organized and focused on crime prevention.

On the other hand, the organizational milieu in Englewood, Austin and Marquette did not mesh so easily with the new policing program. Organizations in those districts had other agendas. They served clients, rather than a citizen membership base, and they provided clients with services, often supported by grants and contracts from foundations and government agencies. As a consequence, they were formally organized and blessed with staff members and office space. In Marquette, organizations were distinctively focused on family issues and on serving a burgeoning Hispanic constituency. However, CAPS seemed somewhat irrelevant to many more of these kinds of organizations, and levels of participation in the program were much lower there as a consequence.

The Impact of CAPS: A View from the Trenches

This section examines our informants' impressions of CAPS, and the impact they think it is having on the community. Not surprisingly, districts where activists report that CAPS is having a "positive impact" are those where levels of involvement in CAPS are higher.

The informant survey included several questions probing respondents' judgments about CAPS. Two items focused on the relationship between their organization and the police. Respondents were asked if their organization's relationship with the police had become more or less satisfactory or remained about the same since CAPS was implemented. Another question asked if they felt their organization's interactions with police had become more or less frequent, or remained the same, since CAPS was implemented. There were also five questions asking them to assess the impact that "... the CAPS project is having on the community." Informants were asked if they felt CAPS was having an

Table 4
Distribution of Organization Types by Districts*

	Englewood	Marquette	Austin	Morgan Park	Rogers Park	Total
Crime prevention mission	23.1	9.4	14.3	46.7	37.9	26.4 **
Economic mission	3.8	9.4	21.4	22.2	8.6	12.4
Membership based	11.5	5.7	10.3	50.0	45.5	23.2
Neighborhood mission	38.5	45.3	54.8	77.8	70.7	57.2
Informal organization	5.8	1.9	4.8	68.9	44.8	25.2
Local geographic focus	42.3	26.4	40.5	82.2	81.0	54.8
Client-based	75.0	75.5	66.7	31.1	29.3	55.2 ***
Formal organization	61.5	83.0	66.7	13.3	31.0	51.2
Social service mission	57.7	54.7	78.6	33.3	31.0	50.0
Family mission	28.8	49.1	31.0	28.9	12.1	29.6
Religious affiliation	26.9	22.6	23.8	11.1	15.5	20.0
Cultural/religious mission	17.3	32.1	14.3	6.7	12.1	16.8
	(n=52)	(n=53)	(n=42)	(n=45)	(n=58)	(n=250)

* Column percentages sum to greater than 100 because organizations can fall into more than one category.

** The six organizational characteristics above the dotted line correspond with above-average levels of involvement in CAPS.

*** The six organizational characteristics below the dotted line correspond with below-average levels of involvement in CAPS.

impact on:

- Reducing fear;
- Increasing willingness to participate;
- Increasing citizens' belief they can make a change in their neighborhood;
- Decreasing crime; and
- Improving the community's relationships with police.

To capture the positions of the 250 organizations we examined, the responses of each pair of informants to these judgmental questions were averaged. It is important to note that there was less agreement on these issues among the informants representing each organization than there was on more descriptive or factual matters, so the averages harbor a great deal of variation that should somewhat weaken the results of the data analysis. (For a discussion of agreement between organizational informants, see Project Paper No. 11.)

Table 5 (p. 62) presents the percentage of organizations reporting that CAPS was having a positive impact. These percentages were calculated by converting the average responses of each pair of respondents back into the original response categories. Table 5 presents both district-level data and averages for all respondents. CAPS was defined as having a positive impact when organizations reported it was having either some or a large impact.

Table 5
Assessments of the Impact of CAPS, by District

Percent Some or Large Impact

	Englewood	Marquette	Austin	Morgan Park	Rogers Park	Total
Improved relationship between community and police	75.0	54.7	57.1	91.1	79.3	71.6
Increase in participation	61.5	41.5	59.5	82.2	69.0	62.4
Increase in citizens' belief they can make a change	59.6	43.4	54.8	75.6	74.1	61.6
Increase in interactions with police	50.0	35.8	47.6	80.0	70.7	56.8
Impact on reducing fear	61.5	35.8	50.0	73.3	62.1	56.4
Organization's relationship with police	55.8	45.3	38.1	75.6	62.1	55.6
Decrease in crime (Number of cases)	51.9 (52)	26.4 (53)	28.6 (42)	71.1 (45)	58.6 (58)	47.6 (250)

Overall, CAPS was seen as having the largest impact on police-community relations; 72 percent of the organizations rated CAPS a success on that dimension. At the low end, 48 percent of organizations thought CAPS had an impact on crime. The five districts varied somewhat in their ratings, but there was a great deal of consistency in this pattern.

Organizations in Morgan Park were the most positive about CAPS. Their ratings ranged from a high of 91 percent for "improved community relationships with police," to 71 percent for "decrease in crime." Morgan Park's organizations were two to 14 percentage points more positive than those in the second-highest district, Rogers Park.

Ratings in Rogers Park ranged from a high of 79 percent for improved relationships with police to a low of 59 percent for combating crime. Rogers Park was followed by Englewood, where those percentages ranged from 75 percent for improved relationships with police to a low of 50 percent, for the extent of their organization's increased interaction with the police.

Respondents representing organizations in Austin and Marquette were less positive about the program. Those from Austin ranked fourth on most of the measures, and came in last in terms of its organizations' relationships with the police. Organizations in Marquette reported the lowest ratings of CAPS impact on six of seven items.

Conclusion

The organization survey revealed that there was a great deal of variation in levels of involvement in CAPS-related activities in the five prototype districts, and almost as much variation in the impressions

that organization activists had of the impact of CAPS in their communities. Organizations in Morgan Park and Rogers Park scored high on both dimensions, while those in Marquette scored lowest. Englewood and Austin fell somewhere in between.

Many organizational factors were related to levels of CAPS involvement. Local organizations with a crime-prevention mission or an economic development focus that were membership-based tended to be much more involved than their counterparts with a citywide focus, a client-oriented social service focus, or cultural or religious goals.

The five prototype districts featured varying mixes of organizational life that facilitated or inhibited levels of involvement in CAPS. Organizations active in Morgan Park shared factors that predicted high levels of involvement in CAPS, followed by Rogers Park. At the other extreme, organizations in Marquette fell the most consistently into a profile associated with low levels of CAPS involvement. These results were consistent with our informants' judgments about the impact of CAPS on their organizations and on the community.

District Advisory Committees

One of the general principles of a community policing strategy is that it calls for police to be responsive to citizen demands when local problems are identified and when priorities are set. A key vehicle for accomplishing this in Chicago is the district advisory committee, composed of citizens and police personnel who meet on a monthly basis to discuss conditions in the area and, ideally, actively work toward solutions to some of the problems.

A Chicago Police Department special order was issued in April 1993 that specified district advisory committees were to . . . "appoint subcommittees to identify and address the needs and problems of the community and advise the district commander of possible solutions and strategies; advise the district commander of the current matters of concern to the community; and assess the effectiveness of implemented solutions and strategies and inform the district commander of the progress or lack thereof of the solutions and strategies."

Membership in the prototype advisory committees was mainly determined by the commanders, with individuals chosen on the basis of standing in the community, previous service to the community, willingness to participate and geographical representation, among other factors. In some districts, personnel from the park district and city and state government agencies are also on the committee, though by October 1994 it was mandated that these individuals would serve in an ex-officio capacity, with no voting privileges.

We observed 43 advisory committee meetings during 1994. Generally, one evaluation team member attended meetings, and that individual usually sat on the periphery of the group, unless doing so would have attracted more attention than sitting amidst the group. An observation guide was developed early in the evaluation to ensure that basic information would be captured, but the evaluation team member mainly recorded in detail the activities and discussions that took place. On rare occasions, observers would be addressed during meetings, but usually they maintained silence and kept a very low profile during proceedings. On the whole, committees seemed quite accustomed to the presence of an evaluation team member; the one exception was a community organizer in Austin who was obstructive in his opposition to the evaluation project.

General Overview

Prototype district advisory committees have met on a consistent basis since shortly after the launch of CAPS. Membership in the committees has remained relatively stable, though district leadership has not — four of the five original prototype commanders have changed. The change has not seemed to appreciably affect the two districts whose commanders left early in 1994. The effect of a third commander's promotions in late 1994 could not be assessed at the time this report was prepared, but it bears watching, because this commander often seemed to be the glue that held the committee together, if not its driving force. And, the fourth prototype commander, promoted in January 1995, was an avid participant in the advisory committee, so effects of this personnel change will also be interesting to observe.

While the prototype advisory committees maintain a certain diversity, there was a shared set of activities in 1994. Each of the advisory committees devised bylaws, each either elected officers or began to pave the way for elections, and several worked to write proposals for a youth network project, which would bring more services to the young people of the various districts. Several committees also began making application for 501(C)(3) status, which would allow them to begin fund-raising efforts and acquire drug forfeiture assets, though it was later decided by the Chicago Police Department that only organized groups within the advisory committees would apply for 501(C)(3) status. (At the time this report was prepared, each of the district advisory committees was to receive \$4,000 of drug forfeiture monies to be used for operating expenses.) Each advisory committee has recently begun recording minutes, and reading of the previous month's minutes is a regular part of the meetings.

In September 1994, a set of CAPS district advisory committee organizational guidelines was distributed by the CAPS management team which gave specifics on such subjects as purpose, organization and composition, selection of members and terms of office, officers, attendance, department support, subcommittees and steering committees. While this document was ostensibly created to give a certain uniformity to the nonprototype districts that were beginning to implement community policing, it gave direction to the prototypes in some subject areas where there may have been some questions, such as selection of officers, term limits and voting rights. Furthermore, it mandated that each district would have a court advocacy subcommittee.

The September 1994 guidelines restated the purpose of the district advisory committee: "The District Advisory Committee (DAC) will help the district commander identify key issues, set broad priorities, verify problems and advise on solutions, including forming partnerships with community business and government agencies. The Committee is an independent extension of the City of Chicago Department of Police. Committee members work closely with the district and other police personnel but do not have direct control over police operations."

Bylaws were also referred to in the organizational guidelines. Though never addressed directly in either the special order or the guidelines, their existence was implied in the statement on terms of office: "Members will be elected during the first Police Period of each year by Committee and subcommittee members according to DAC bylaws and procedures." Each prototype advisory committee developed bylaws in 1994; however, by year's end, only one of the five districts' bylaws had been approved by the Chicago Police Department.

Another definitive effect of the guidelines was that it was unequivocally stated that members of the Chicago Police Department or city government could not serve as elected members of the commit-

tee. As a result, civilian chairpersons were not only elected in all but one district, but control of the meeting was handed over to the duly elected individual. While commanders or designated stand-ins continue to attend meetings, it is clear that civilians maintain order and run the proceedings. Even in the one prototype district where a chairperson has not been elected, guest chairs orchestrate and officiate with poise.

One other subject that was finally acknowledged in the guidelines, but that still remains ambiguous, was that of pre-existing steering committees, which has been an area of confusion and ill will. Steering committees were formed in 1981 as part of the now-defunct Beat Representative Program. The steering committees' original function was to serve in a capacity that was similar to that of the advisory committee, and after the Beat Rep program disbanded, each of the district's steering committees remained intact — at least until CAPS was launched. The one function steering committees served that was never actually assigned to the advisory committees was that of fund-raising for various district events, like seminars about crime- and safety-related matters.

Because the descriptions of the two committees were remarkably similar, some of the prototypes disbanded their steering committees. Those that did not often found that the steering committee felt usurped by the advisory committee. The guidelines finally stated that the steering committees could operate autonomously or as a subcommittee of the district advisory committee, with the tacit understanding that fund raising activities continue under the purview of the steering committee.

A program milestone that seemed to coincide with the guidelines was the issuance of service awards for community members who had been involved in the program/advisory committee since its inception. Lapel pins and certificates were given to subcommittee heads and tireless participants, while certificates were awarded to residents who had consistently volunteered their time and ideas.

District Profiles

Englewood. Advisory committee meetings have been held consistently on the third Wednesday of each month in Englewood. This district has an open attendance policy that allows all members of the subcommittees to take part in the general monthly meeting, though non subcommittee members are restricted from speaking. Attendance at this district's advisory committee meetings has reached as high as 70 at various times.

Until it was torn down during stationhouse remodeling, the courtroom was the site of these gatherings. Subsequent meetings were held in various park houses located throughout the district until station renovation was completed, when advisory committee meetings began to be held in the newly built community room.

Englewood Advisory Committee meetings are quite spirited and spiritual. Meetings generally begin and end with prayer. The meetings have a very informal, grassroots feel, and they are quite positive. Committee members seem to feel that if people work together, they can effect real change in the community. Helping youths is high on this district's agenda, and often young residents make presentations or give performances. This is the only prototype district where youths consistently attend.

Another significant contribution to the mood of the meeting was the exuberance of the individual who was commander of the district until the end of 1994 and of the woman who was named chairperson in September of that year.

The much-admired Englewood commander attended most sessions and kept the meetings on track. He offered encouragement for ongoing efforts in addition to sometimes making unpopular decisions without apology. The chairperson of the advisory committee is a local religious leader, and her unrestrained enthusiasm has her often lauding accomplishments and stirring up the assemblage whenever things start to tone down.

Englewood meetings we observed were often used as an opportunity to announce positive things taking place in the area. There were lots of fairs, marches and programs offered through churches. A very trusting and cooperative spirit was obvious among the police and the citizens at these meetings.

Seven subcommittees comprised Englewood's advisory committee: Community Block Organization, Business-Economic Development, Court Advocacy, Ecumenical Pastors of Englewood, Seniors and Disabled, Environment and Housing, and Youth and Family. The district's steering committee operates autonomously.

Englewood Advisory Committee bylaws were devised by the committee officers and heads of the subcommittees. After examining samples of other district's versions, the group composed its own rendering. The bylaws were approved and returned in early 1995.

The format of Englewood Advisory Committee meetings is as follows: The chairperson starts by giving a general update of recent events that had an effect on the district and then the heads of the subcommittees deliver reports of the activities of their groups. Often special guests are introduced, and they generally provide overviews of their role and impact on CAPS. Guests of this type include the commander of the Gang Crimes Unit, the City Hall CAPS liaison, an attorney who provides pro bono services, a local banking executive who describes services available, and so on.

Little talk about specific crimes in the district takes place at Englewood Advisory Committee meetings, which is a sharp contrast to some of the other prototypes. Rather, progress of the ambitious social projects that each subcommittee has undertaken is generally the focus of the meetings, and frequent reminders of the importance of community members being active in at least one of the various subcommittees is a part of every gathering.

The activities that the subcommittees in Englewood are involved in are definitely noncrime, quality-of-life types of things. The police have joined with the citizens on numerous long-term civic and social problems/programs, with little attention to addressing the crime conditions that threaten the lives of Englewood residents on a daily basis. Nonetheless, the district can point to numerous examples of solid accomplishment.

Notable projects or achievements of Englewood's advisory committee include a complete survey of the properties that comprise the district; the development of a proposal for a federal Enterprise Zone grant that, because Englewood was not selected, lives on as a local redevelopment project; the creation of several self-help workshops and first- and second-offender programs, and the installation of an automated teller machine in the lobby of the police station to ensure that residents can have access to their funds without exposing themselves to the robbers who are known to stalk the currency exchanges in the district (for more information see Project Paper No. 10).

Some shorter-term issues that have been identified and addressed by the committee are the cleanup of an abandoned Chicago Transit Authority garage that posed environmental hazards; the

demolition of a shuttered YMCA whose swimming pool loomed as a disaster for mischievous children; participation in the decision-making process about the renovation and reopening of area stations on the elevated transit line; and the lack of supermarkets in the Englewood community. The committee dealt with these issues by persistently contacting the various city agencies that would clean up the abandoned building sites, maintaining representation at CTA hearings, and identifying and negotiating with a supermarket chain that would agree to set up a business in Englewood.

Two of Englewood's subcommittees have been somewhat slow in getting their activities underway. At the end of 1994 Court Advocacy had still not identified a case to track, perhaps due in part to the ongoing frail health of the chairperson. And, in spite of executing a door-to-door survey to gauge citizen interest in CAPS, the Pastors Subcommittee had only held strategy-planning board meetings by year's end. General subcommittee meetings were expected to begin in 1995.

Marquette. Advisory committee meetings have been held consistently on the first Thursday of each month in Marquette. While there is an open attendance policy specified in the proposed bylaws, usually only members of the advisory committee and special guests were present. The committee was made up of beat representatives — or presidents as they were called — and heads of the subcommittees. There were also plans to include the student council presidents from the two high schools in the district.

Meetings were held in the auditorium of a local hospital, and while the atmosphere was business-like, committee meetings were generally friendly and somewhat relaxed. It was interesting to note, however, that when the meeting room was arranged in rows divided by a center aisle, the African-American committee members generally sat on one side of the room while the Latino members were on the other. Similarly, the African-American neighborhood relations officer generally spoke to and for his ethnic group, as did a Latino officer for his or her group. This ethnic schism became increasing evident early in 1994 when one of the two groups held an exclusive meeting at which officers were elected. (The election results were nullified when the entire committee convened at the next regular monthly meeting.)

Meetings began with a reading of the previous month's minutes which, because no secretary had yet been elected, were recorded by the district's administrative manager or a neighborhood relations officer. On at least two occasions, significant contentious occurrences from the previous month's meeting were not mentioned in the minutes, but when there was a call for acceptance of the minutes, no objections were raised to the revisionist version. Crime maps and arrest data generally were distributed to committee members, and a variety of printed materials about upcoming events and city services was usually on hand for attendees to take at their discretion.

A special guest generally attended the meetings, and information on the guest's area of expertise and how it would affect the district was presented. Guests included the liquor license commissioner, who spoke of ways to vote a district dry, the chief of CPD's Organized Crime Division, a building commissioner and an abandoned vehicle officer. One of the district's aldermen attended meetings occasionally.

There were five subcommittees of Marquette's advisory committee. Four were considered ad hoc and could be formed and disbanded as necessary by a vote to meet the overall purpose of the advisory committee and address issues of community concern. The four ad hoc subcommittees were Schools/Education, Youth Alternatives, Public Information and Bylaws. Court Advocacy was considered a standing subcommittee. The steering committee of the Marquette District remained an autonomous

committee by its own desire, though it seemed at one meeting that there were some factions of the advisory committee that preferred to see the two working in unison.

This district's meetings underwent a considerable format change in 1994. The commander or the neighborhood relations staff had historically run the meetings, but since September 1994, the meetings have been led by beat presidents who serve as guest moderators on a rotating basis. This arrangement is intended to provide the committee members with information on which to base the eventual election of an advisory committee chair.

Another change that came about in autumn 1994 was that meetings, which had always gotten underway very late, were begun at precisely the time they were slated. As a result, the number of attendees was generally much higher at the end of a meeting than it was at the start, as community members continued to straggle in throughout the meeting.

The most significant change in meeting proceedings, however, is that reports by the beat presidents were discontinued as a regular part of the meeting. Often these reports were a listing of problems on the beat that were more appropriate for airing at a beat meeting. The decision to terminate beat reports appeared to be unilateral, and by the end of 1994 several beat presidents expressed frustration at the restriction, saying that they found it helpful to compare and contrast problems and solutions.

Issues that have been identified by the committee include 911 (lack of response, lack of Spanish-speaking operators); drug dealing; gang intimidation/recruitment; excessive public drunkenness due to an inordinate amount of liquor stores/taverns in the district; and simmering after-school gang unrest at a public transit stop. The citizens' way of addressing these problems varied.

In terms of 911 dissatisfaction, at the time of this report, the process had not progressed beyond the complaining stage. Gang recruitment and drug dealing, however, had been addressed more aggressively and effectively by the police and the citizens: Citizens have acted as informants, police have carried out reverse sting operations, and citizens have recognized the importance of comparing and contrasting problems and solutions experienced by various beats. The committee also looked into voting precincts dry to impact public drunkenness/nuisance liquor stores. Finding that to be an extreme step that would negatively affect responsible premises, citizens learned that calling for hearings with the liquor license commissioner on individual businesses was an alternative. In spite of undergoing this effective problem-solving process, fear of retribution eventually made this an impractical option for many citizens in Marquette. (A police officer was beaten outside of a bar where he was making arrests based on information gleaned from a beat meeting.) To deal with volatile after-school gang unrest, citizens met with police, the alderman and Chicago Transit Authority representatives to reroute buses so rival gangs would not be crossing paths (for more information, see Project Paper No. 10).

This prototype advisory committee got off to a very promising start. It was among the first to propose and investigate seeking not-for-profit status to be eligible for drug forfeiture funds, and it devised and executed a problem-solving workshop with CAPS training officers at the academy. By the end of 1994, however, nonprofit status had not been granted. The Chicago Police Department also had mandated that advisory committees could not seek 501(C)(3) status. The problem-solving workshop was not looked upon favorably by the CAPS project managers, because they wanted to have more input a program they perceived as hastily conceived and somewhat chaotic.

Creation of bylaws appeared to be the only viable project in which the committee was involved in 1994, and officers had yet to be elected (though their duties are clearly defined in the proposed bylaws distributed in December 1994). This is not to say that the various subcommittees did not meet or show signs of getting involved in some projects — there was talk of involvement with local schools and mention of development of activities for the district's youth. But advisory committee meetings had been so burdened with beat reports and bylaws filibustering that accomplishments of the subcommittees were not at all clear to the evaluator, and perhaps many committee members as well. Additionally, the Court Advocacy Subcommittee had not really gotten underway by the end of 1994.

There is a cultural dynamic that distinguishes this district's committee from the other four prototypes. The two ethnic groups that have joined together on this committee had not previously worked with one another in this district, and the melding of these two factions is viewed with a sense of understandable achievement. Nonetheless, there is a linguistic component that may prove to be an ongoing challenge. A significant amount of meeting discussion is carried out in Spanish, with translation provided by a member of the neighborhood relations staff. There has been at least one instance when an African-American committee member voiced concern that something she said was not translated accurately, based on the intensity of a Latino committee member's reaction to one of her statements.

Another challenge facing this committee is that there is little top-level guidance. The commander, who is relatively new to the district, rarely attends meetings, and when he does, he seems unfamiliar with many of the matters under discussion. Though the neighborhood relations staff is apparently very attentive and invested in both CAPS and the advisory committee, a compassionate and engaged commander could provide a stable, unifying force.

Austin. The Austin Advisory Committee has been meeting consistently on the last Monday of each month. This is the only advisory committee that holds its meetings during the day on a regular basis. Until autumn 1994, the group met in the roll call room of the station, and as a result there was a constant bustle of activity in the room as well as a fluidity to the attendance as district personnel wandered in and out of the meeting. Meetings were moved to the auditorium of a local branch library, and in this new and dignified setting, advisory committee meetings seemed to become more focused.

Austin's meetings often begin and end in prayer, and a goodly number of the community leaders are ministers. There is a grass-roots atmosphere, but there is also a greater presence of police officers at these meetings than at any of the other prototype meetings; beat officers and tactical team members are often called upon to provide details about recent successful missions or projects in the works.

The committee is composed of beat facilitators (one per beat), subcommittee chairs and community leaders. The Austin district's subcommittees are Business, Court Advocacy, Schools, Youth, Senior Citizens, Ministries and Churches and General Enforcement. Subcommittee updates are not a regular part of the advisory committee meetings in this district and, with the exception of Court Advocacy, it is difficult to discern whether any of the subcommittees are involved in particular projects. Rather, in Austin, many of the programs or projects seem to be undertaken by individuals from across the district, with little regard for which subcommittee they might belong to. These efforts include a positive alternatives program that focuses on youth empowerment; a program in which adults escort children to and from school to ensure their safe arrival; and the development of block grant proposals.

Some matters that are handled by committee in other districts are dealt with individually in Austin. For example, no apparent group effort took place in the composition of the bylaws. A set that was devised by a member of the neighborhood relations staff, based on Robert's Rules of Order, was submitted to the Chicago Police Department for approval in late 1994.

The Court Advocacy Subcommittee in Austin is quite active and believes it has successfully affected the outcome of several cases that were important to the community. There is a problem with the proliferation of recovery houses in the community, and the committee has traced the ownership to one entrepreneur. His efforts have been seriously hampered by the continuous presence of the Court Advocacy group at court proceedings relating to this irresponsible owner's properties. Another successful case pursued by the subcommittee involved a resident of the Austin YMCA who was dealing drugs from his room. He was eventually evicted by court order, in large part because of the group's persistence.

Austin's commander is very involved with the advisory committee, and until the election of a chairman toward the end of 1994, he carefully orchestrated the meetings, including randomly calling on police officers to speak to the assembly, deciding how long certain subjects would be discussed, and determining exactly when and how advisory committee officers would be elected. He did relinquish control of the meetings when a civilian chairperson was elected; however, this action was so uncharacteristic and abrupt that the chairperson appeared stunned when he was suddenly controlling a meeting that he had begun as a participant.

The election of the advisory committee chairperson in Austin was a bit tenuous. After speaking to the committee about the need to finally come to closure on this, the commander asked for nominations. Neither of the two individuals who were nominated accepted, and the matter was reslated for the following month's meeting. There was some concern on the part of at least one of the nominees about involvement in community policing having a potentially negative effect on his business. A chair was finally nominated and elected at the next meeting. Nominations for other positions went a little more smoothly, but at year's end a secretary had not yet been elected.

A distinguishing feature of the Austin District Advisory Committee is that it is regarded by many to be a titular committee; the work is believed to be done by the facilitators, who meet on a biweekly basis. (The facilitator group is made up of residents and professional community organizers, one of whom appears to wield considerable power.) It is thought that the advisory committee is "a committee of special interests;" that is, the business subcommittee only cares about business, the schools subcommittee consists of teachers and principals who live outside of Austin, and so on.

Regardless of this sentiment, two successful undertakings that fall under the aegis of the advisory committee are that of the city's Youthnet project, which will bring programs and services to Austin's young people and the federally funded Empowerment Zone, for which the Austin area was selected to receive substantial grants that provide economic incentives for new businesses to start up in the community or expand existing concerns.

Morgan Park. Morgan Park's Advisory Committee meetings take place in the meeting room of a local bank. Sessions are guided by Robert's Rules of Order, and despite the somewhat formal nature of the meetings, there is an easygoing, friendly atmosphere. Attendance is taken at the start of each meeting, and though it is not specified in the bylaws, there is an understanding that consistent attendance is a requirement. Each month, a plethora of information is distributed to committee members, including crime maps, beat meeting attendance graphs and beat meeting logs.

Until December 1994, the membership roster consisted of subcommittee chairs and vice chairs, the district commander, the neighborhood relations sergeant and officers, the tactical lieutenant and officers, watch commanders, beat officers, aldermen from the four wards that fall within district boundaries, a representative from the Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information and other city agency employees as deemed necessary. A contingent of elected beat delegates was to join the group in 1995, though they were not to be afforded voting rights.

A good portion of the Morgan Park Advisory Committee consists of community leaders who have worked together for years on issues facing the district. In addition, a number of the committee members are acquainted with influential people in city government and are adept at drawing attention to their concerns. A criminal courts judge who resides in the district attends on a fairly regular basis, and he proved to be a helpful resource for Court Advocacy Subcommittee issues. Aldermen attend this district's advisory committee meetings more consistently than in any other prototype, and they are often active participants. Each made funds available for a CAPS-related function aimed at celebrating the one-year anniversary of the program and garnering new interest within the community.

The commander, who was promoted out of the district in early 1995, provided strong leadership to this committee. He was quite comfortable with the members, and he was obviously admired by them. The commander was a resident of the district and had worked with a good number of the individuals on the committee for many years. He seemed to be knowledgeable about most endeavors of the advisory committee and his officers, and he was reputed to be very accessible to all residents of the district.

Morgan Park was among the first of the prototype advisory committees to appoint a civilian chair to run the meetings, though in the chair's absence, the commander would officiate. Other officers were not elected until after the city-generated guidelines mandated it. Elections were held at the District Advisory Committee's last meeting of 1994.

Eleven subcommittees comprise the advisory committee in Morgan Park: Business, Civic Organizations, Clergy, Court Watch, Legislative, Neighborhood Watch, Parks, Schools, Seniors, Steering Committee and Youth. (Though the Steering Committee is listed in the bylaws as a subcommittee of the advisory committee, at the end of 1994 it continued to declare itself a separate committee with its own bylaws and officers.) For several months there was some consternation about the fact that several subcommittees had chairs but no apparent membership. Since that time, subcommittee chairs have worked to increase the rolls of their respective committees. Subcommittees that have established membership are Court Advocacy, Youth, Neighborhood Watch, Steering and Seniors, though the Seniors subcommittee had no active involvement in any projects. Subcommittee chairs were also assigned to compose mission and goal statements.

The Morgan Park advisory committee grappled over bylaws, which were finally submitted for approval in late 1994, for several months. Painstaking deliberation ensued over the structure of the body, voting rights, reporting responsibilities and the very phrasing of the bylaws. Comment and opinion was sought at numerous successive meetings.

In spite of the substantial amount of time devoted to the bylaws, the committee did identify several key issues affecting the district, and took appropriate and effective action to address them. Among the core issues identified in this district were slow police response time on the main business strip, ineffectual sentencing for youth crimes, lack of beat meeting interest, the complex, user-un-

friendly computer system purchased for crime analysis, and the lack of a lock-up in the Morgan Park District police station.

Because business owners were concerned that calling 911 was not yielding timely help in emergencies, an arrangement was struck with Ameritech to supply pagers for the beat officers assigned to the Western Avenue business district. Those proprietors who participated in the pager program reported decreased response time and a greater feeling of security. To address the youth sentencing issue, an alternative consequences program was set up with the state's attorney that sentenced youths to community service in the district (for more information on these two programs, see Project Paper No. 10). Beat meeting interest and participation has been addressed by arranging rallies and launching an aggressive marketing campaign. The committee demanded meetings with and explanations from the data systems department when they believed that the SUN computer system was unmanageable and time-consuming. The absence of a district lock-up and what to do about it was in the discussion stage at the time this report was prepared.

A particularly noteworthy aspect of the Morgan Park District Advisory Committee is its Court Advocacy subcommittee. Its roots predate the CAPS program; nonetheless, it has grown to include representation from the entire district (at least one person per beat is a member of the subcommittee), and four people from the district generally attend cases that are being tracked. It is a highly organized, ongoing operation.

Rogers Park. Rogers Park's District Advisory Committee was one of the first to get underway, and it has met consistently since April 1993. From the start, a community member directed Rogers Park meetings; however, after her unexpected death, the then-district commander took over until a member of the committee criticized this "top down" arrangement several months later. A new civilian chair was appointed in 1994, and he appears to be a prudent, independent leader.

At the beginning of 1994, the leadership of the district changed due to the retirement of the original prototype commander, and a younger, dynamic commander came in. Though there were never complaints from the advisory committee about the previous commander (many mentioned how they had learned to work with him), the new one has an obvious attitude of cooperation and interest.

Advisory committee meetings take place on the third Thursday of each month, and the group generally alternates between daytime meetings, which are more convenient for a number of the business people who do not live in the district, and evening gatherings, which accommodate the work schedules of Rogers Park residents. Meetings are held in the auditorium/meeting room of the district police station.

This District Advisory Committee is quite large. Non-Chicago Police Department members include elected officials as well as representatives from city agencies (none of whom are permitted to vote), and citizens. Beat representatives were added to the advisory committee in September 1994, and at the end of that year, membership numbered 47, according to the membership list.

The Rogers Park District Advisory Committee was the first of the prototypes to tackle bylaws, beginning the writing process in early 1994. The finished product was approved in autumn of that year.

Subcommittees comprising the committee are Beat, Resources, Court Advocacy, Youth/School, Business and Finance; each subcommittee is headed by a chairperson. The Beat Subcommittee is quite

active, as is the Court Advocacy Subcommittee, which has achieved positive results in several court cases. The remaining groups appear to still be in the formative stages.

Meetings are generally amicable, and a good working relationship between the committee and the dedicated and effective neighborhood relations team is evident. Nonetheless, there is often an undercurrent of tension — a verbal sparring among various citizen blocs — though the roots are not evident to the observer. This area has a history of community activism, and many of the key players are members of the advisory committee.

The level of sophistication and experience among the members, which has allowed them to accomplish several noteworthy things, has also served to complicate and draw out the decision-making process. Deliberations about seating arrangements, which in this district are correlated with status, took several months. A written statement prohibiting local candidates from aligning themselves with the CAPS advisory committee also took several months to come to fruition because of jockeying about who should write and distribute it. Development of bylaws took three-quarters of a year, with the document finally being accepted in October 1994. By the end of that year, however, officers had yet to be elected.

Notable accomplishments of this advisory committee are a self-imposed day-long problem-solving retreat to help the committee gain form and direction; civilian training sessions devised and executed by the Beat Subcommittee to help prepare the community to take an active role in the CAPS program, and a mock trial conceived and executed by the Court Advocacy Subcommittee that involved an actual judge and court personnel to educate the community about court proceedings.

Key issues facing the district that have been identified by the committee include panhandling, public drinking and an increase in robberies in a commercial district, and numerous decrepit buildings and delinquent landlords. To address the problem of disorder in the business district, community members formed a positive loitering program called Beat Feet, in which citizens formed volunteer foot patrols coordinated with beat and foot patrol officers. Unsafe buildings have been cleaned up and boarded up by citizen groups, while court cases involving negligent landlords have been steadfastly tracked and attended by the Court Advocacy Subcommittee (for more information about these programs, see Project Paper No. 10).

A challenge that continues to face this advisory committee is that it consists mainly of whites, which is at the very least an inaccurate representation of the diversity of the community, as well as a lost opportunity to involve all segments of the community in this empowerment enterprise.

Conclusions

At the end of 1994 — 19 months into the CAPS program — the citizen forum for participating in the program was well-established. Because the purpose of the district advisory committee, as stated in the Chicago Police Department-issued guidelines, is broad, the prototype advisory committees can be considered successful at some level, both as a whole and individually. Each of the five districts has an active, impassioned group with stable membership that meets on a regular basis with their respective commanders or neighborhood relations staff, or both, to help identify key issues, set priorities and work on solutions. Each committee has some impressive achievements of which to be proud, though each faces some challenges in terms of the effectiveness of some of their subcommittees.

For Marquette and Morgan Park, getting disparate community segments to work together on an ongoing basis can be deemed a preliminary success. For Englewood and Austin, the sustained grass roots effort represents an initial success. Rogers Park has maintained an ongoing effort despite potentially divisive political agendas. These types of triumphs are appropriate for the beginning stages of a large program like this; however, as the CAPS program ages, judging the success of the prototype advisory committees shall justifiably become more accomplishment-based.

The advisory committees that seem to be experiencing the most success have citizens who have come to a consensus about the most important issues facing their districts, in addition to enjoying strong commander leadership in terms of committee involvement, understanding the committee's mission and directing that mission in a proactive manner.

Advisory committees that are experiencing less success have citizens with divided opinions about issues that need to be addressed, and they have a less positive relationship with the police as well as less clear police/citizen roles.

Each of the committees has risen to the level of being able to bring problems to the table for discussion, but no problem-solving model has emerged. There have been ample distractions in 1994 for the advisory committees — writing bylaws, electing officers and police relinquishing control of the monthly meetings to citizens. With these procedural matters settled, committees shall have to focus on problem solving. Joint citizen-police training, scheduled for 1995, may be of help in this daunting, but cardinal, undertaking.

Court Advocacy In Action

A unique element of Chicago's community policing program is its Court Advocacy component. Court Advocacy is a program of volunteers who work to identify crime problems in their district that negatively affect quality of life and actively follow those cases through the criminal justice system.

In principle there is a Court Advocacy unit in each police district, for it is the only mandated subcommittee of the district advisory committees. Its unique status as a "required" volunteer component in Chicago's community policing program is attributed to the mayor's tenure as state's attorney, at which time he recognized the need for the community to be heard in the courtroom, because crime and disorder and the disposition of these cases have a great impact on the community.

The roots of the program predate CAPS — a mayoral assistant had a number of meetings with the current state's attorney to begin setting up a formal program in early 1993. Upon recognizing a natural connection to another community empowerment undertaking — community policing — the mayor urged that court advocacy become a component of CAPS.

Despite these roots, however, Court Advocacy was not addressed in the CAPS special order, the first CAPS brochure, or the Chicago Police Department's mission statement, "Together We Can." Prototype districts were to begin Court Advocacy recruiting efforts at the time CAPS was launched in April 1993, with little or no attention from City Hall or 11th and State (police headquarters).

Three of the five prototypes — Austin, Rogers Park and Morgan Park — had begun court advocacy efforts in varying degrees before CAPS. In Austin, a successful letter-writing campaign was aimed

at a judge overseeing the case of a reputed gang leader's parole violation; the Rogers Park and Edgewater community councils had monitored housing court proceedings involving irresponsible landlords in their community; and in the Morgan Park District, a citizens' group had formed and sustained a presence in a number of criminal cases, and had established an alternative consequences program for youth offenders (for more information, see Project Paper No. 10). The remaining two prototype districts had no such program underway, and they made some preliminary attempts at establishing viable court advocacy subcommittees when CAPS was launched. But their grassroots efforts have been slow to evolve.

In March 1994, City Hall named a liaison with a working knowledge of the Cook County court system as a project manager for Court Advocacy Services. This came about perhaps because of the difficulties that some of the prototypes were experiencing and almost certainly because of the remaining 20 districts that would soon be coming on-line, some of which would need assistance.

The project manager began meeting with the prototype Court Advocacy Subcommittee heads, and with other districts' leaders as they began their efforts. By autumn 1994, a draft mission statement was devised for the subcommittees: "The mission of the Court Advocacy Subcommittees is to identify crime problems within their police districts — especially those crime problems which negatively impact upon the quality of life — and to follow those cases in court in order to actively participate in and have an effect on the criminal justice process. The intended outcomes of the Court Advocacy Subcommittees efforts include: encouraging police/citizen participation in fighting crime; sending a strong message to judges, prosecutors and others in the criminal justice system that the community is involved and watching; sending a message to criminals that crime won't be tolerated; encouraging a respect for the law; raising community self-esteem; and providing support for witnesses and victims of crime."

The project manager eventually became aware that, while some of the prototype groups were holding regular meetings, they were not getting to court to track cases. In addition, in some districts volunteers did not even know how to begin the effort. An operational model was devised that specified three positions (chair, tracker and coordinator) within each subcommittee, and information gathering forms were distributed so that volunteers would have a basis for selecting and tracking cases. (The completed forms also served as a database of interested district residents.) Neighborhood relations officers were instructed to begin uniform recordkeeping via the forms, and district representatives from the Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information were assigned to become involved in the program.

Another early accomplishment of the project manager was arranging for computer terminals to be installed at the district police stations, enabling citizens and police officers to access court records and scheduling information. Police officers were trained to use the program, Production Customer Information Control System (PRODCICS), and citizens were informed that they could direct inquiries to desk personnel who would forward them to the neighborhood relations office.

Court Advocacy Services sponsored a series of training events for volunteers of varying experience. Orientation meetings at the criminal courts complex at 26th and California that included a tour of the Cook County Jail were designed to pique interest and familiarize volunteers with the courtroom environment and criminal justice system. To advance the knowledge of the more experienced volunteers, training sessions were also held in each Chicago Police Department Area Center featuring speakers who provided in-depth explanations of various aspects of the criminal justice system (Housing Court, the Safe Neighborhoods Bill, Narcotics Court and so on).

In August 1994, the Chicago Police Department finally underscored its commitment to the program by issuing a special order that set forth the department's policy regarding the subcommittee and specified district personnel responsibilities. According to the order, "the Department will provide support and staff resources to assist citizens in addressing issues of community concern." The district commander was given responsibility for general oversight of the activities of the Court Advocacy Subcommittee; neighborhood relations sergeants were charged with coordinating training needs of district personnel; and neighborhood relations officers were to provide staff resources and work closely with the subcommittee chairperson.

At the end of 1994, the Court Advocacy component of the CAPS program was still very much in the developmental stage. Two of the five prototypes had not made much headway in recruiting on-going membership. And, while there are three viable prototype subcommittees with records of solid accomplishment, these are groups that were established prior to CAPS and that are supported by sophisticated community organizers who are involved in the subcommittees' activities. It must be noted that these accomplished Court Advocacy subcommittees have availed themselves of and benefited from the aid of the City Hall-provided Court Advocacy Services; nonetheless, the level of activity and success that has been reached by each seems more attributable to their previous experience and the presence of savvy community groups in the district.

The foundations that Court Advocacy Services has laid are considerable, especially in view of the late date at which it was established. It makes this component one that bears watching in 1995.

Building Partnerships: Community And Police Joint Training

Joint training of police and community residents is scheduled to begin during spring 1995. It will be the first large-scale attempt in the country to train neighborhood residents to conduct problem solving in a community policing context. Since many failed attempts to implement community policing have lacked a training component for civilians, police officials throughout the nation will be watching the results closely.

Planning for joint police-community training began in earnest in summer 1994, when it became apparent that the City Council would approve a contract for the Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety (CANS) to conduct training operations. CANS was given nearly \$3 million from a community development block grant and corporate funds to cover a 14-month period beginning in November 1994 and a commitment for funding to extend the training four additional months. The entire training program will be evaluated after 12 months, and if city officials deem it effective, funding may be extended to a total of three years.

Involved in the planning process were the executive director and the program director of CANS, the CAPS manager, the director and deputy director of research and development, other research and development staff, and the city's CAPS liaison. Initial planning meetings with Chicago Police Department personnel and CANS staff were amicable, but at times there was some tension from differing philosophies about how community members should be included in training and who should be encouraged to participate. There were also tensions relating to contract issues, such as health care coverage and liability. The executive director of CANS wanted to ensure that CANS was not liable for police involvement, and that CANS was in control of the contracted CANS staff. Though these issues were ultimately resolved to mutual satisfaction, the CANS director expressed eagerness to get other

community representatives involved because he felt outnumbered by Chicago Police Department representatives in the planning process, and he often did not find support for his positions.

A Joint Training Oversight Committee was established to supervise training development. The committee's primary responsibility is to approve the content of training materials for civilian participants. One of their goals is to make sure that the Chicago Police Department training materials and CANS materials stay "on the same page." But one CANS staff member noted that the oversight committee would not have final say over the content of CANS materials.

The oversight committee has six voting members: the CAPS manager, the director of research and development, the city's CAPS liaison, and three members of the CANS board, including the executive director. Other people involved in CAPS training attend and participate in meetings. The CANS project manager (who is also the direct supervisor of community training), though not a voting member, is responsible for setting the agenda for each oversight committee meeting and makes all arrangements for the meetings.

After some deliberation, CANS decided to start recruiting staff members and developing training materials before receiving notification of final approval of the contract by the City Council. Advertisements were run in local newspapers and distributed to local colleges. Soon after the contract was approved, CANS hired two organizing directors and two training directors to work on development with the CANS project director who is managing the joint training.

CANS anticipates hiring 14 trainers and a crew of 50 community organizers to work in teams to assess training needs and recruit interested residents for training sessions in the 25 police districts. This hiring is scheduled to be completed by mid-March 1995. There has been a great deal of discussion on how CANS manpower should be allocated; as of this writing, two organizers will be assigned to each district; there they will work with one or two trainers also assigned to the district. The 14 trainers will be assigned in one of two ways: in three districts (those deemed more difficult to manage) one trainer will be responsible for the entire district; the remaining 11 trainers will each take on 50 percent responsibility for two of the remaining 22 districts.

Though CANS believes there should be some overlap between the role of trainer and organizer in the training teams, the trainers will be primarily responsible for imparting more formalized information relating to training while organizers will be primarily responsible for supporting community groups in their process of working together.

To cut down on travel time, two satellite offices are being opened for the training staff — one on the North Side and the other on the South Side. Safety issues also are being addressed, and in some areas organizers and trainers will be strongly encouraged, or perhaps required, to work in teams. Organizers will have one week of orientation and two weeks of training, while trainers will go through two weeks of each.

CANS was hoping that staff would be fully trained and in the field by March 1995 — a tentative deadline that has already been reset several times. Organizing is to begin in sections of the five prototype districts (Englewood, Austin, Marquette, Morgan Park and Rogers Park) as well as sections of five nonprototype districts (South Chicago, Chicago Lawn, Monroe, Town Hall and Grand Central) by the end of March 1995. Training will progress through the 279 police beats of Chicago on the basis of need and preparedness; it is anticipated this will take approximately 18 months. This length of time may also

be variable because CANS and the Chicago Police Department have discussed the possibility of delivering further training to beats that request it or seem to require it.

While plans to train community members are still fluid due to CANS' commitment to include new recruits in the planning stages and training material development, it is anticipated that citizen training will take place in a series of sessions conducted at the beat level. Originally there had been plans to kick off training with a districtwide introduction of the program, but members of the oversight committee decided that the meeting would be unwieldy and add too much time to the training process.

Currently the first planning step is for outreach workers to determine the degree of need for training on individual beats. CANS and the Chicago Police Department believe that a few beats (most likely those in the prototype districts) may already have police and citizens engaged in effective problem solving and won't require the same level of training effort. It is anticipated that the vast majority of beats will participate in two training sessions. Even well-organized beats that seem to be active in joint problem solving will go through both basic workshops, because the sessions will provide an opportunity for citizens to ask questions and improve problem-solving skills as well as an opportunity to train new community residents who are not yet active in CAPS or problem solving.

A third workshop will focus on the practical application of problem solving and will include district officers and 14 police trainers. It is designed to be more flexible than the first two sessions, in that trainers will be given discretion in gathering input about what citizens need, and they will use their judgment in putting together the third session. For some very organized beats, the third session may be combined with "toolbox training," a set of specialized training modules that will be based on citizen interest or need, and that will address problems specific to a beat. Beats requiring more support might set up independent sessions covering a range of toolbox topics. Toolbox modules include:

- Running an Effective Meeting/Agenda Setting;
- Block Watch;
- Block Club Organizing;
- District Analysis;
- Profiling a Beat;
- Developing Strategies for Action;
- Conflict Resolution/Mediation;
- Nuisance Abatement;
- School/Parent Patrols;
- Gangs: What Can the Community Do;
- Working With Volunteers;
- Outreach: How to Access Resources;
- One-on-one Interviewing;
- Door-to-door Canvassing; and
- Organizational Development.

Training will begin in particular areas when organizers believe neighborhood residents are mobilized. In general, organizers are planning to have 15 to 30 residents make a commitment to attend the citizen component of joint training before that beat's training will be scheduled.

The basic training sessions will be led by one or two CANS trainers, and the CANS organizers assigned to a particular beat will be expected to attend. It is anticipated that each session will take two to

three hours. These sessions will not take place at beat meetings; rather, they will be held separately. Eventually participants will bring their newly acquired skills to beat meetings and continue to strive for interactive problem solving with police.

Problem-solving instruction will be included as part of the CAPS training of 9,000 Patrol Division officers. It remains unclear how the police perspective will be presented by citizen trainers at the first two community training sessions.

An important component of citizen training is that it is meant to be self-perpetuating, or as CANS calls it, "capacity building," which means that citizens are supposed to share the problem-solving skills they have acquired with other residents. An expected outcome of joint training is that after CANS' efforts to train the community have been completed, residents will be able to rally and train additional residents independently. CANS is also hoping to encourage residents across the city to network to solve collective problems. CANS hopes to imbue training with the precept that it should be "inclusive, democratic, and ongoing." The consortium plans to collect a variety of evaluation data on this and other aspects of the training program.

Program Impact

This section of the report examines the impact of CAPS in the prototype districts. It details overtime changes in program recognition, popular assessments of the quality of police service and trends in neighborhood problems. It appears that the program has not marketed itself effectively, for there has been little increase in recognition of CAPS as a special police-community program. On the other hand, many prototype district residents detected positive changes in policing during its first year of operation, and residents of most of the prototypes thought the police had grown more responsive to community concerns. There was also evidence that the program lead to a significant decline in crime-related problems in three prototypes, drug and gang problems declines in two districts and significant decreases in levels of physical decay in two areas. Many of the changes in perceptions of crime problems in the prototype areas were mirrored by declines in officially reported crime and survey measures of victimization.

The Surveys

Data collection for the CAPS evaluation took place during April and May 1993, before the program began. To prepare for the evaluation, 1990 Census data were used to select sections of the city which closely matched the demography of the five newly announced prototype areas. Conditions in these comparison areas were used to represent (roughly) what would have happened in the prototype districts if there had been no CAPS program, for it was not put in motion in other parts of the city until the end of the prototyping period. Two of the prototype districts, Englewood and Austin, shared a comparison area to reduce survey costs; this was possible because of their very similar demographic profiles and crime rates.

The first evaluation survey ("Wave 1") was conducted in the five prototype districts and four matched comparison areas in spring 1993, before the program began. Residents of four areas — Morgan Park, Rogers Park, and their comparison districts — were then reinterviewed ("Wave 2") in June 1994. Residents of the remaining areas were questioned again in September 1994. The period between the two waves of interviews thus varied, from about 14 months in Morgan Park, Rogers Park and their comparison areas, to 17 months in the remaining districts. All of the interviews were conducted by telephone in

English and Spanish. The first survey used a combination of sampling techniques to reach respondents who were living in these relatively small areas. The re-interview rate was about 60 percent. A total of 1,506 people were interviewed both times, an average of 180 each in the prototype districts and 150 in their comparison areas. (For more details about the evaluation areas and the surveys, see Project Paper No. 7.)

The analyses that follow compare the results of the two waves of surveys in pairs, contrasting any "before-and-after" changes in each prototype district with what happened over the same time span in the comparison areas. When there is a change in a prototype but no comparable shift in the comparison area — or vice versa — it can be evidence that the program made a difference. We also occasionally report on the apparent impact of the program on subgroups in the population, principally those defined by race and class. For this, respondents in all of the analysis areas were combined, and the data examined statistically for evidence of differences between those living in the prototype and comparison areas after taking into account their Wave 1 responses. Statistical tests of the impact of the program were conducted using repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance.

Visibility of the Program

Although CAPS did not officially begin until after the conclusion of our first neighborhood survey, there had already been a series of public meetings about the program as well as media coverage. In the first survey, 32 percent of those interviewed indicated that they had heard of the program. A year or more later, this figure had not increased by much, to only 38 percent. Program recognition was somewhat higher in the prototypes than the comparison areas (41 percent vs. 34 percent), but there had been about the same difference a year earlier. After more than a year of operation, knowledge of the program was still relatively low in Englewood, Marquette and Austin; in these districts, less than a third of residents were aware of CAPS. In the lower-crime districts (Morgan Park and Rogers Park) nearly half the residents had heard about CAPS, but this did not represent any increase in program visibility over time. In parallel citywide surveys in 1993 and 1994, we found that recognition of CAPS actually dropped by nine percentage points, and declined more among blacks than among whites. Within most prototype districts, owners were more likely than renters to know about the program, and whites were more familiar with CAPS than were blacks. Program recognition was also linked to higher levels of education and income, and it was more frequent among older respondents. Together, these results suggest that the program has not effectively marketed itself, even in the prototypes. As we saw above, awareness of organizing efforts increased significantly in three of the five prototypes, but in the eyes of many this has not been clearly connected to a new policing program.

Assessments of the Quality of Police Service

Some components of the survey asked about aspects of routine police activity. These did not point to any dramatic change in the policing of the city's neighborhoods. For example, compared to the first wave of the survey, residents in almost every area reported seeing more police activity. This included seeing them driving or walking by, checking buildings, or having a conversation with someone more frequently. This general increase may have been seasonal, reflecting the fact that the Wave 1 survey was conducted earlier in the spring. On the other hand, fewer respondents reported being stopped by police in their neighborhood while they were driving or on foot, despite all this activity. This was also a general trend, although police-initiated stops did go up significantly in Austin. Across all areas, about 9 percent of those we interviewed reported being stopped by police while they were in their

neighborhood during the past year. The survey also monitored potential police aggressiveness by asking respondents if the police stopped too many people, were too tough on people they stopped, or were verbally or physically abusive to people in the neighborhood. We found no changes in these measures over time except in Englewood and Austin, where there was a decline in perceived police aggressiveness. There was no difference in the rate at which people anywhere contacted the police to report a crime or for any other reason. About half of those we interviewed had contacted the police for some reason in the course of the past year.

However, there was evidence that CAPS had some impact on people's optimism about trends in policing in Chicago. To gauge this, respondents were asked if the police in their neighborhood had gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same during the past year. Figure 5 (p. 82) indicates that in four out of five prototypes there were significant increases in optimism after the first year or more of the program.

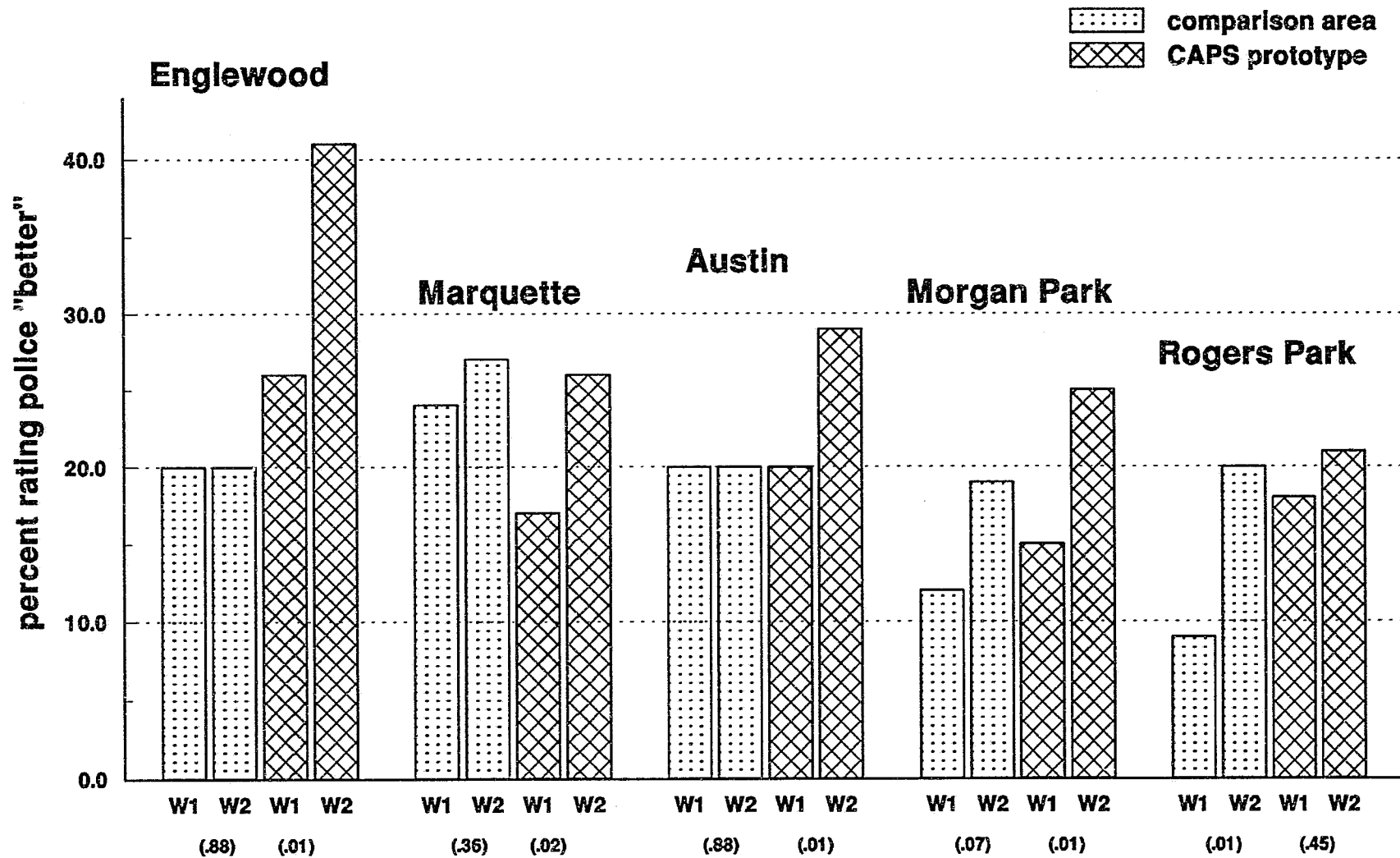
The format employed for Figure 5 will be repeated in several figures below. It presents Wave 1 and Wave 2 survey results (labeled W1 and W2) for the prototype districts and their comparison areas, to facilitate comparisons between any over-time changes in those results. The values in parentheses near the bottom of the figure present the statistical significance of the W1-W2 changes within an area; a figure of .05 or less is generally accepted as a reliable change, although we will also pay attention to patterns of results that lie within the .05-to-.10 range as well.

Figure 5 depicts visible increases in optimism in Englewood, Marquette, Austin and Morgan Park. The percentage of residents who thought policing had gotten better over the first year or more of CAPS was up by about one-third in each case. For Englewood and Austin there were also no parallel changes in the comparison areas, and the differences between the two were statistically significant. However, for Morgan Park and Marquette optimism was also up in the comparison area, and the comparison area for Rogers Park was the only area of that pair that changed significantly. In these three cases it is not clear that CAPS had as much impact on this aspect of public opinion. Analysis indicates that optimism was generally up among blacks, but not much among whites or Hispanics.

Why were many people more optimistic about policing? The surveys examined three specific aspects of policing, and found substantial shifts of opinion along one of them: police responsiveness to neighborhood concerns. One of the central tenets of CAPS is that police must become more responsive to neighborhood priorities, to reflect the great differences in the problems that each faces. The survey included four questions to assess perceived changes in police responsiveness:

- How responsive are the police in your neighborhood to community concerns?
- How good a job are the police doing in dealing with the problems that really concern people in your neighborhood?
- How good a job are the police doing in working together with residents in your neighborhood to solve local problems?
- When dealing with people's problems in your neighborhood, are the police generally very concerned, somewhat concerned, not very concerned, or not concerned at all about their problems?

Figure 5
Trend in Policing Last Year



Value in parenthesis is significance of W1-W2 change

Responses to these four question were single factored, and a scale constructed by summing them had an Alpha reliability of .86.

Figure 6 (p. 84) depicts average responses to this measure in each of the evaluation areas. It indicates that a year or so after CAPS implementation, police responsiveness was more widely visible in four of five areas. There were no significant changes in perceived responsiveness in the Englewood, Morgan Park and Austin comparison areas, and the CAPS-comparison differences were significant in those cases. Opinion also grew significantly more favorable in Rogers Park, but parallel changes took place in its comparison area, making it more difficult to attribute them to the program. Only in Marquette were public assessments of police responsiveness unchanging. To be sure, the successes wrought by the program were not overly dramatic; in Austin and Englewood those changes drove public opinion barely over the "neutral" mark, but at least moved it out of the negative range. Residents of Rogers Park and (especially) Morgan Park were more positive even before the program began, but there was still room for improvement in their ratings of police service.

Figure 7 (p. 85) examines the same data, but divides respondents by demographic category. Hispanics were concentrated in the Marquette District but, otherwise, people of different backgrounds could be found in several districts, so Figure 7 paints a fairly general picture of the impact of CAPS on groups in the city. As it indicates, perceived police responsiveness went up significantly among whites and blacks who lived in the prototypes, but stayed virtually stable or declined in areas of the city still served by traditional policing. The attitudes of both renters and owners were significantly affected as well. Only Hispanics concentrated in Marquette — and black residents of the same district — did not change significantly during the course of the program.

Other changes in people's views of the police did not contrast so sharply between the prototype and comparison areas. Measures of how effective people thought police were at fighting crime were up very slightly in every area, including the comparison neighborhoods. In two areas (Englewood and Austin) there were significant improvements in how effective people thought police were at keeping order on the streets and sidewalks, coupled with corresponding significant decreases in their control areas. Finally, there was no clear pattern to small changes in perceptions of police demeanor. This includes beliefs about the fairness with which police treat people in their neighborhood, which went up significantly in Englewood and Austin (and did not in their comparison areas). However, parallel questions about police politeness and helpfulness did not change much by area.

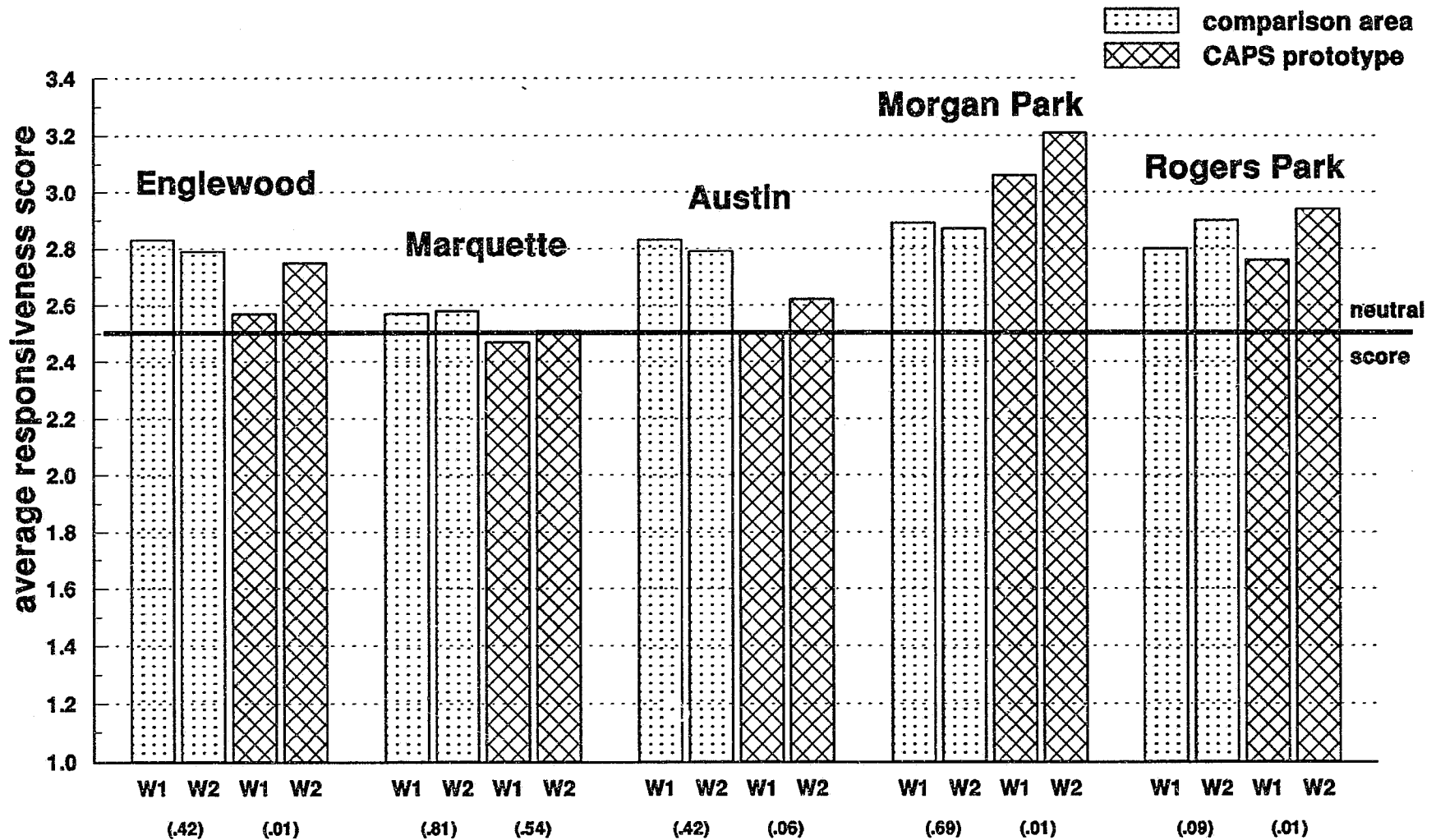
Impact on Neighborhood Problems

This section examines the impact of the program in two ways: first by describing Wave 1-Wave 2 changes in specific problems in each area, and then by summarizing clusters of problems and examining general patterns of change across all of the districts. In some problem categories it is possible to examine parallel changes in levels of reported crime and survey measures of victimization.

Serious Neighborhood Problems

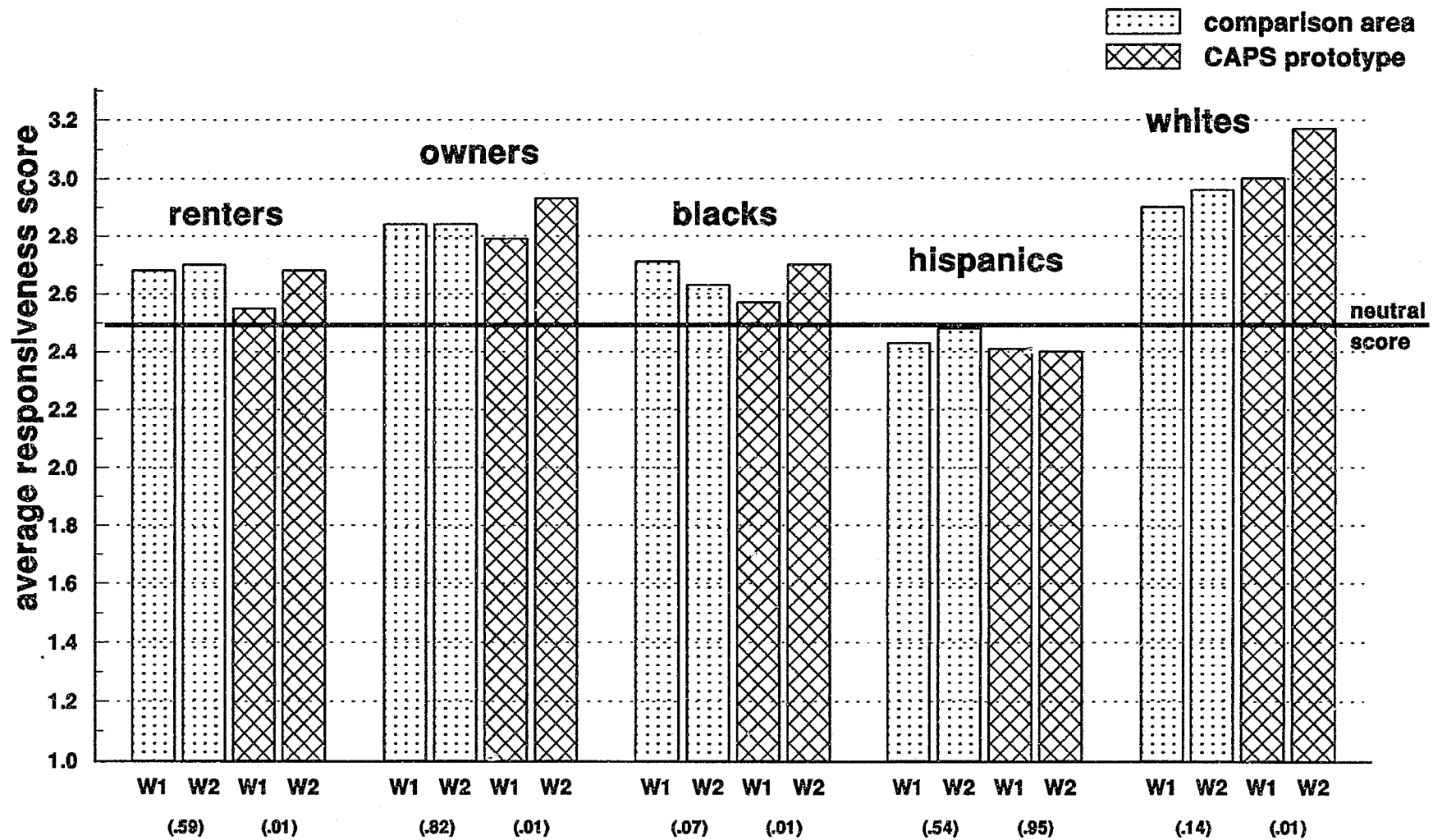
The first approach focuses on the issues advanced by neighborhood residents as the most serious problems facing their communities. In the surveys, respondents were quizzed about 18 specific issues that the evaluators thought — before the program began — might be problems in various parts of the city. Neighborhood residents were asked to rate each of them as "a big problem," "some problem" or

Figure 6
Changes in Police Responsiveness by District



Value in parenthesis is significance of W1-W2 change

Figure 7
Changes in Police Responsiveness by Group



Value in parenthesis is significance of W1-W2 change

“no problem.” The figures that follow illustrate the magnitude of the four biggest problems that residents of each area nominated in the first interview, and track the ratings given these issues a year or more later when we reinterviewed them. This analysis lets residents set the agenda for the evaluation through their expressions of concern about neighborhood conditions.

Two problems on the list were of virtually universal concern. “Street drug dealing” was one of the top-ranked problems in every area we studied, and “shooting and violence by gangs” was one of the leading problems in four of the five prototypes (with the lone exception of Rogers Park). These are both challenging issues that lie near the core of the city’s crime problems in the 1990s. Otherwise, a wide range of problems was identified as particularly vexing. In two areas car vandalism was near the top of the list, and in two others household vandalism ranked high. Problems with “people being attacked or robbed” were also rated high in two areas. Auto theft, burglary, disruptions around schools, abandoned buildings and “vacant lots filled with trash and junk” each stood near the top of the list in one district.

It is important to note that the initial level of these “biggest problems” varied considerably from district to district. For example, street drug dealing was rated a big problem by 60 percent or more of residents of Englewood, Marquette and Austin. On the other hand, only about 13 percent of the residents of Morgan Park and 20 percent of those we interviewed in Rogers Park thought this was a big problem, even though it was one of the areas’ top-ranked issues before CAPS was initiated. In Morgan Park, burglary was a top-ranked problem, but only 10 percent of residents gave it a high rating. In Morgan Park in particular, there was not as much room for improvement on many dimensions, and expectations about the impact of CAPS there should be tempered by this.

The findings reported in Figures 8 to 12 (pp. xx — xx), and a statistical analysis of differences in Wave 1–Wave 2 survey changes in the prototype and comparison areas, can be summarized as follows:

- Englewood: Compared to the comparison area, all four of the community’s biggest problems declined. These included drugs, gang violence, abandoned buildings and trash-strewn lots;
- Marquette: graffiti, the area’s second biggest problem, went down; a decline in street drug dealing was not significant;
- Austin: gang violence, drug dealing, and assault and robbery went down; a decline in school disruption was not significant;
- Rogers Park: assault and robbery went down; declines in the area’s other problems (drugs, graffiti, and car vandalism) were not significant;
- Morgan Park: every problem in this area declined at least slightly, but none of the declines can be clearly attributed to CAPS: problems in Morgan Park were already lower than anywhere else, and reductions in several problems were paralleled by declines in the comparison area.

Some of the changes in crime problems that are reported in Figures 8 through 12 were paralleled by changes in officially recorded crime, and in survey measures of victimization. Table 6 (p. 87) summarizes these changes for crimes that fell in the top four problems list and have analogues in official crime statistics. In Morgan Park, burglary and auto theft were among the top-rated problems. The average monthly auto theft count there declined 25 percent after the inauguration of CAPS, and victim-

Table 6
Changes in Problems and Survey and Official Measures of Crime
For Top-Rated Neighborhood Problems

Area and crime type	Percent big problem	Crimes per month	Percent victims	Area and crime type	Percent big problem	Crimes per month	Percent victims
Morgan Park Auto Theft				Morgan Park Burglary			
Before	15	146	8.0	Before	10	107	10.1
After	10	108	3.2	After	8	102	6.0
	p=.02	-26%	p=.02		p=.11	-5%	p=.11
Austin Robbery				Austin Assault			
Before	32	197	9.0	Before	combined	169	4.0
After	18	181	4.0	After		168	2.0
	p<.01	-8%	p=.03			-0.6%	p=.48
Rogers Park Robbery				Rogers Park Assault			
Before	25	97	2.8	Before	combined	83	1.7
After	8	78	0.5	After		84	1.1
	p<.01	-20%	p=.10			+1%	p=.66

Note: Crimes per month were officially recorded for a 17-month period before CAPS and 17 months following CAPS; percent victimized in the neighborhood was measured using sample surveys of the prototype areas; test of significance is for before-after changes in problem ratings and percent victimized; percentage change is given for average monthly recorded crimes.

ization declined significantly; there were no parallel changes in Morgan Park's comparison area. Both recorded burglaries and burglary victimization went down slightly in Morgan Park. In Austin and Rogers Park, robbery and assault were highly-ranked problems. Robbery victimization went down significantly in Austin, and recorded robbery went down 8 percent. Neither measure of assault changed much in Austin. In Rogers Park, recorded robbery went down 20 percent and robbery victimization went down somewhat (the statistical significance of the change was marginal). As in Austin, there were no parallel declines in assault. An analysis of the victimization component of our neighborhood surveys indicates that CAPS had no effect on the rate at which crimes were reported by victims to the police, a problem that has limited the use of officially recorded crime statistics in other evaluations.

In districts where physical decay loomed near the top of the list of neighborhood problems, there was also a clear correlation between the city's clean up efforts and survey measures of their effectiveness. Before the program began in Englewood, the second most highly ranked neighborhood problem was abandoned buildings, and trash and junk problems ranked fourth. Englewood residents and police were extremely successful at mobilizing city services to respond to both of those problems. During the 16 months ending in August 1994, they generated 1,314 CAPS service requests to attend to abandoned buildings and 2,379 requests for special service from the Department of Streets and Sanitation. In both cases Englewood's service requests ranked number one among the five prototype areas, both absolutely and relative to the size of their populations. There was one request to deal with an abandoned building for every 85 Englewood residents. As Figure 8 (p. 90) illustrates, perceptions of the extent of both problems went down significantly in Englewood during that period. Graffiti was the second-ranked problem in Marquette, and residents and police there generated the largest number of service requests in

that category, both absolutely and per capita. Graffiti problems also went down significantly in Marquette during the evaluation period. On the other hand, Rogers Park residents did not succeed in mobilizing support in dealing with graffiti. That was the third-ranked problem there, but residents and police in Rogers Park came in last in terms of generating CAPS service requests; they filed one graffiti service request for each 2,250 residents. As Figure 12 (p. 94) documents, perceived graffiti problems did not decline significantly in Rogers Park.

General Problem Clusters

The second approach to gauging the impact of CAPS on neighborhood problems is more conservative, but avoids a technical issue (the threat of regression artifacts) raised by only examining an area's worst problems, which might appear to decline for other reasons.¹ The figures that follow examine the impact of CAPS on summary scales that combine assessments of several closely-related issues into measures of general problem clusters. Three clusters of neighborhood problems were identified: major crimes, gang and drug problems, and signs of physical decay. While this generic analysis of the impact of CAPS is useful for drawing general lessons about the impact of community policing, these summary scores take into account issues that were lower-rated as well as highly rated, and may not have been a focus of public concern. This is also a tougher test of the CAPS program than in the figures presented above, for problems which were not very large in the first place (and Morgan Park and Rogers Park had several of them) do not have very much room to show improvement, biasing the findings a bit against identifying any program effects.

The problem clusters and their specific components were as follows:

- Major Crimes: car vandalism, auto theft, burglary, people being attacked or robbed, and rape or other sexual assaults;
- Gangs and Drugs: drug dealing in the streets and shootings and violence by gangs;
- Physical Decay: vacant lots filled with trash and junk, abandoned cars in the streets and alleys, abandoned houses or other empty buildings, and graffiti.

Major Crimes. Figure 13 (p. 95) depicts the average major crime scores in each area before CAPS began and 14 to 17 months later. By this measure, crime problems declined significantly in each of the five prototypes during that period. The decline was smallest in Morgan Park, where issues on the list presented above already ranked relatively low in intensity (averaging about halfway between "no problem" and "some problem"). Statistically, the apparent decline of major crime problems in Marquette and Morgan Park did not outpace parallel shifts in their comparison area, so it is chancy to attribute these declines to CAPS. In the three remaining areas, statistical analyses confirm that declines in major crime problems in the prototypes outweighed any changes in their comparison areas, and they could well have been a consequence of the program.

Changes in reported crime figures parallel these findings, for they also mostly declined relative to levels of crime in closely matched police districts. To make this comparison we utilized 34 months of district-level robbery and burglary reports for each prototype and the two nonprototype districts that together most closely matched the demography of the CAPS area. The first 17 months of each series spanned a period before the program began, while the second 17 months came after the program was launched. Robbery and burglary figures for the comparison areas were used to make a statistical predic-

tion of what crime in the prototypes "should have been" if it followed the same seasonal, cyclical and trend patterns in the matched areas. In every case there was less robbery than predicted in the prototypes and in three of five areas there was less burglary. There was slightly more burglary than predicted in Marquette and more burglary than predicted in Rogers Park.

Drugs and Gangs. Figure 14 (p. 96) depicts area-level changes in drug and gang problems. This index declined significantly in two areas, Englewood and Austin (in fact, both individual problems were down significantly in each area). In those areas there were significant increases in their comparison neighborhoods, lending more credence to the inference that the program made a difference in those two prototype districts.

Physical Decay. Figure 15 (p. 97) illustrates trends in physical decay in all the survey areas. Decay was down significantly in three areas, Englewood, Marquette and Austin, but a parallel decline in decay in Marquette's comparison area makes it difficult to attribute the trend there to the program. Three of the four physical decay measures were down significantly in Englewood, but none were down in its comparison area.

Summary

Our examination of the impact of CAPS in the five prototype districts found evidence of success along several important dimensions. Unless noted, these changes were not paralleled by changes in the evaluation's comparison areas, lending support to the inference that they were a result of CAPS. First, there were changes in many residents' views of the quality of police service. Residents of Englewood, Austin and Morgan Park perceived that police were growing more responsive to their concerns and were working with them to solve neighborhood problems. In Englewood and Austin they were more optimistic about future trends in policing as well. Improvements in attitudes toward police were also registered in Rogers Park and Marquette, but there were changes for the better in their comparison areas that makes it risky to attribute these changes just to the program.

It is also important to note that, in the aggregate, the views of both African-Americans and whites grew more positive over time. Our Hispanic respondents were concentrated in Marquette, where the fewest changes occurred in anyone's views. The perceptions of both homeowners and renters changed for the better as well.

Second, there was some evidence that CAPS improved the lives of residents in virtually every area. A survey-based measure of the extent of major crime problems went down in all five prototype districts, although they declined in the comparison areas for Marquette and Morgan Park as well. The victimization survey pointed to decreases in the two biggest crime problems in Morgan Park — burglary and auto theft. Street violence dropped in Rogers Park, by several measures. An analysis of 34 months of recorded crime figures found that there was less robbery than predicted in all five prototypes, and less burglary than there "should have been" in three areas. Reports of drug and gang problems declined in Englewood and Austin, where the widest range of decreases were recorded in the area's top problems. Perceptions of the extent of physical decay declined in those two areas, and in Marquette and its comparison area. Graffiti, a big issue in Marquette, was down significantly there. The fewest program impacts were recorded in Morgan Park, but it is important to note that crime and most problems measured in the surveys were already low there, so there was less room for improvement than in the other districts.

Figure 8
Neighborhood Problems in Englewood

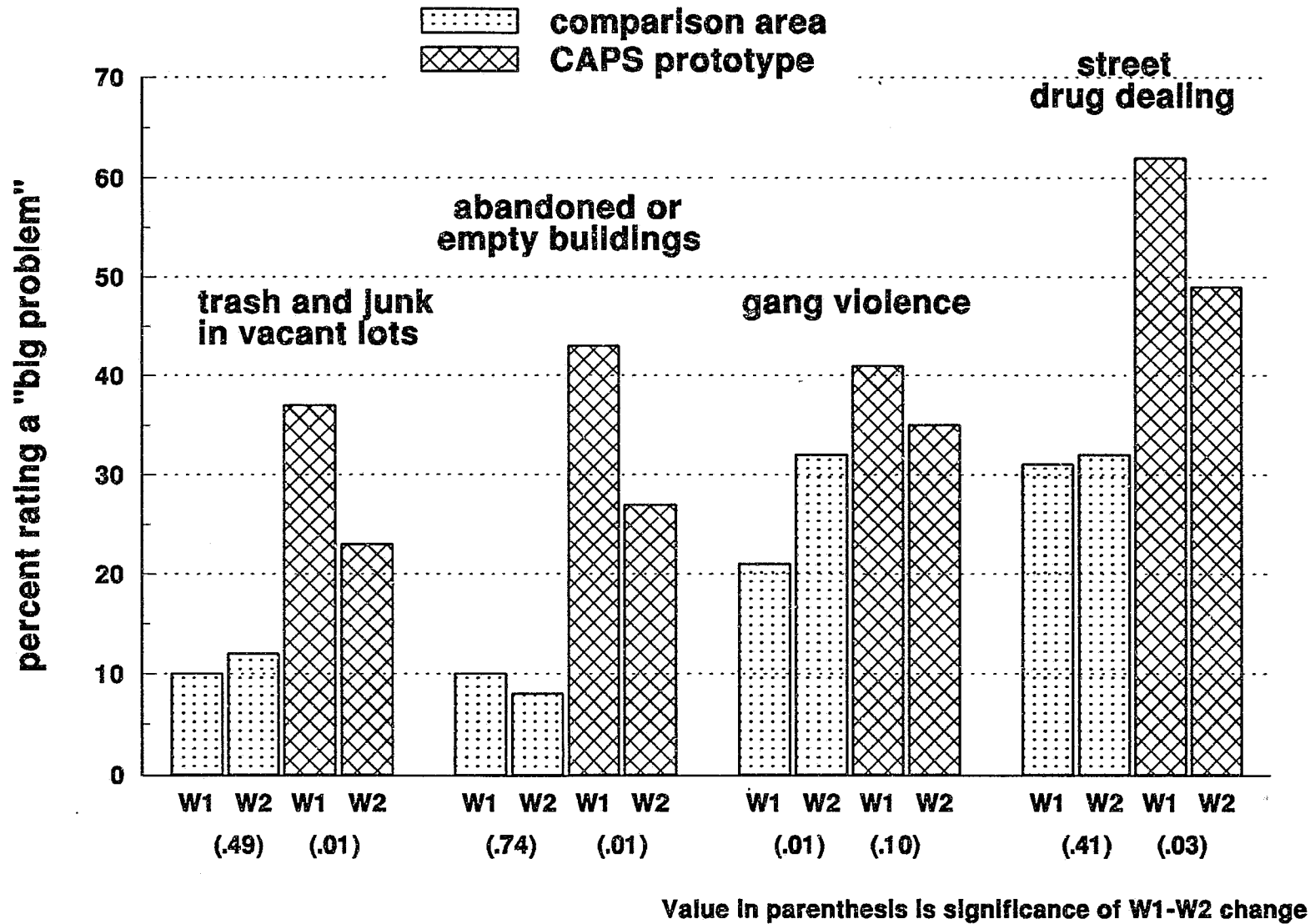
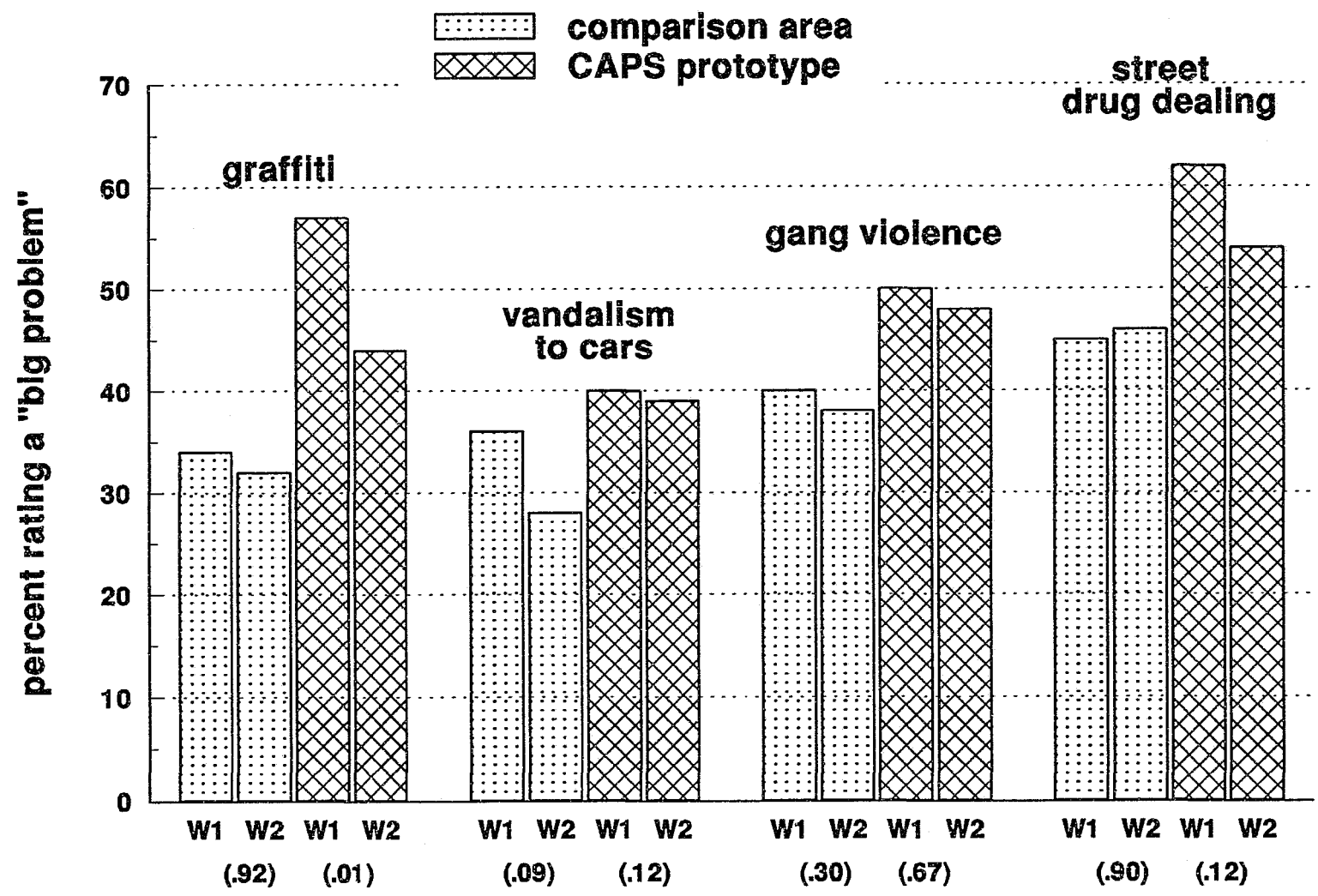


Figure 9

Neighborhood Problems in Marquette



Value in parenthesis is significance of W1-W2 change

Figure 10
Neighborhood Problems in Austin

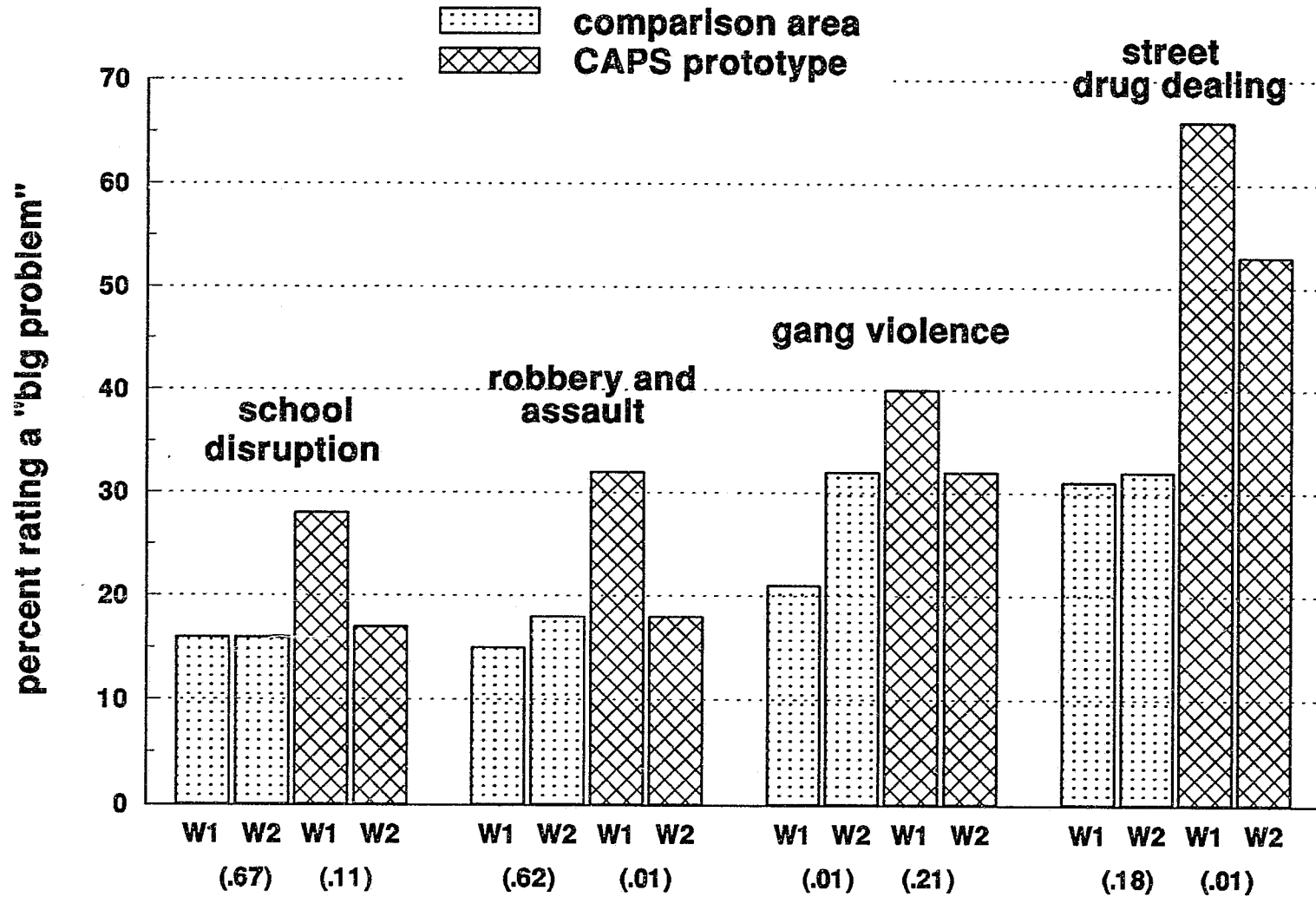
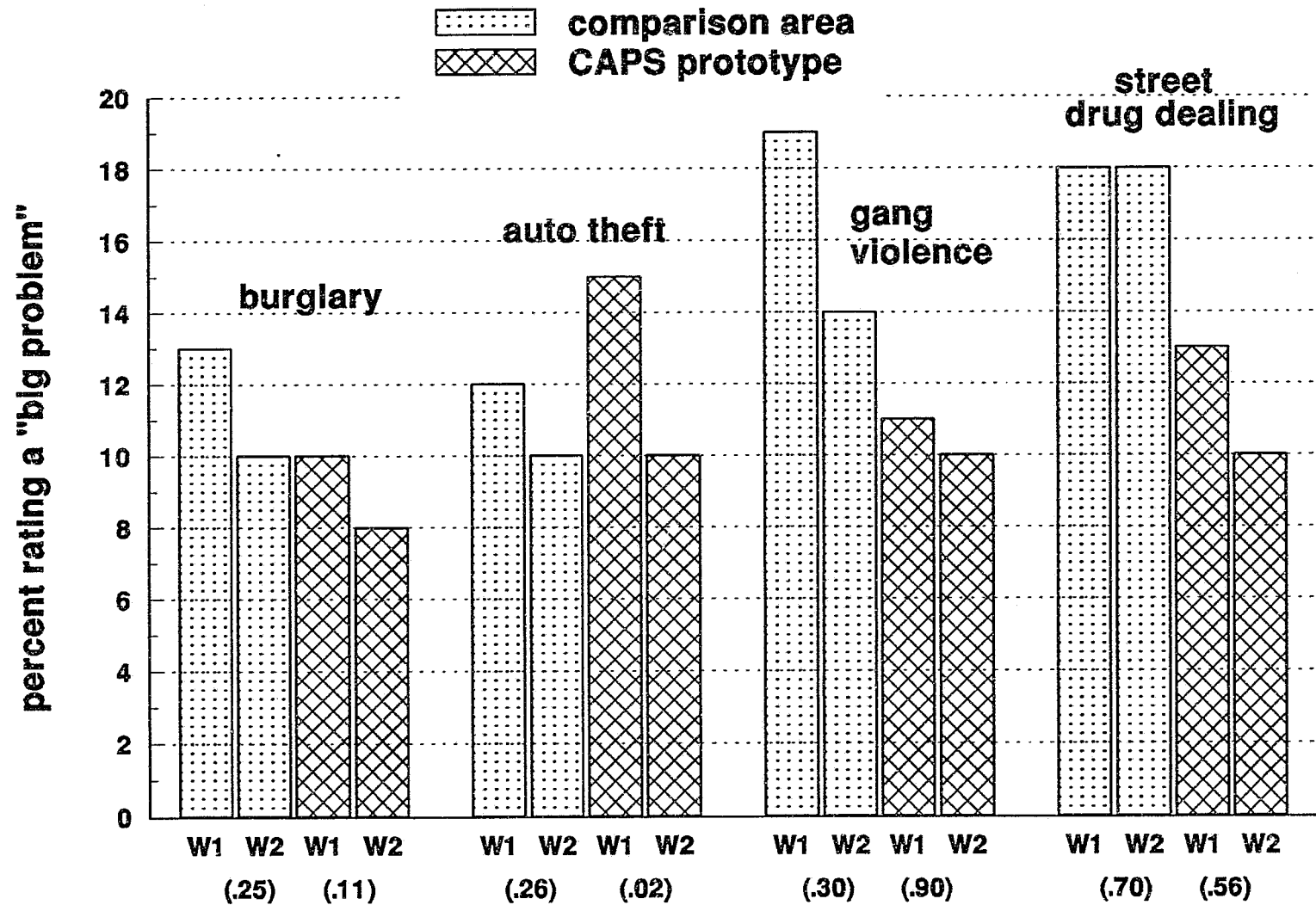


Figure 11
Neighborhood Problems in Morgan Park



Value in parenthesis is significance of W1-W2 change

Figure 12
Neighborhood Problems in Rogers Park

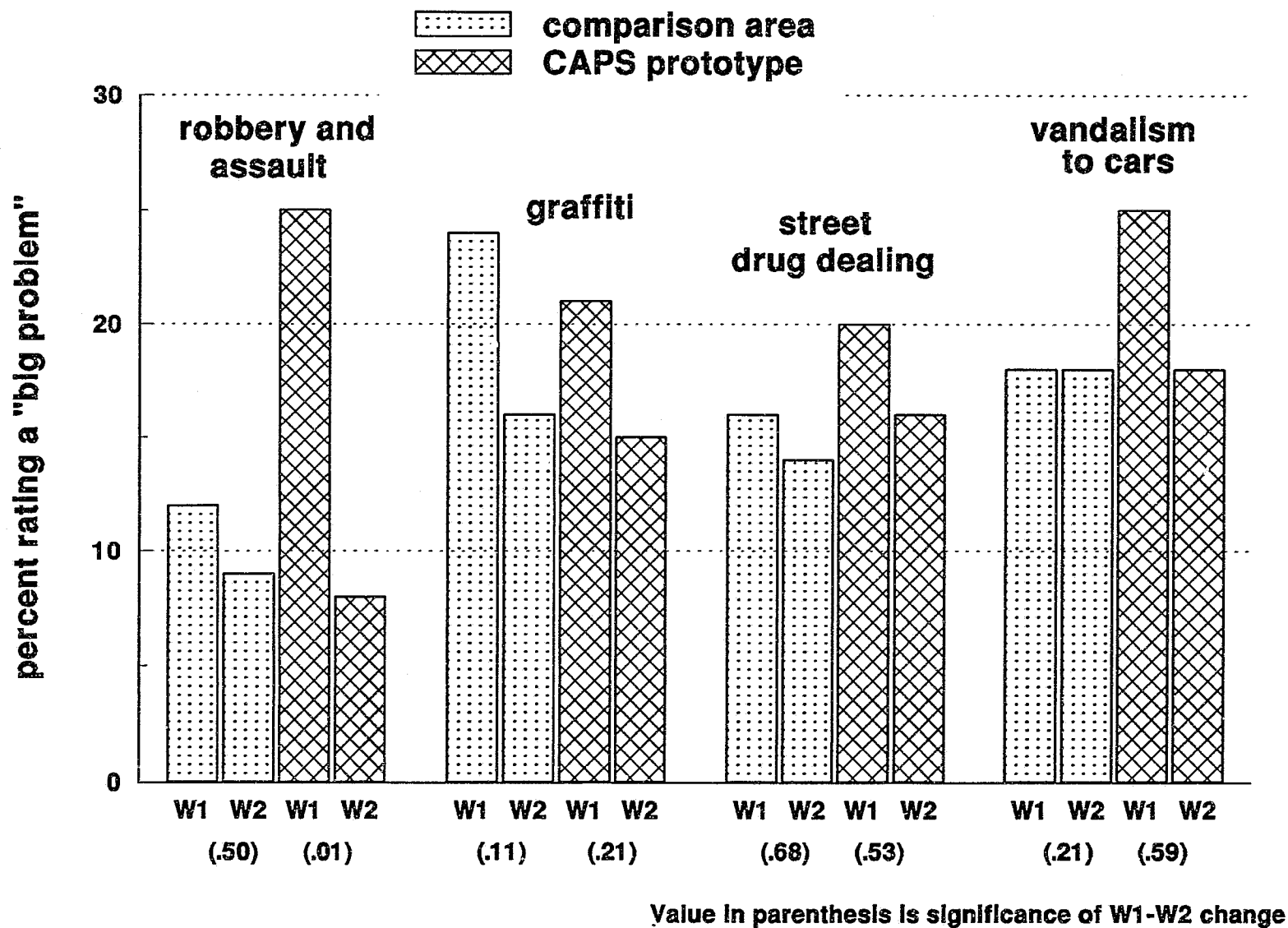
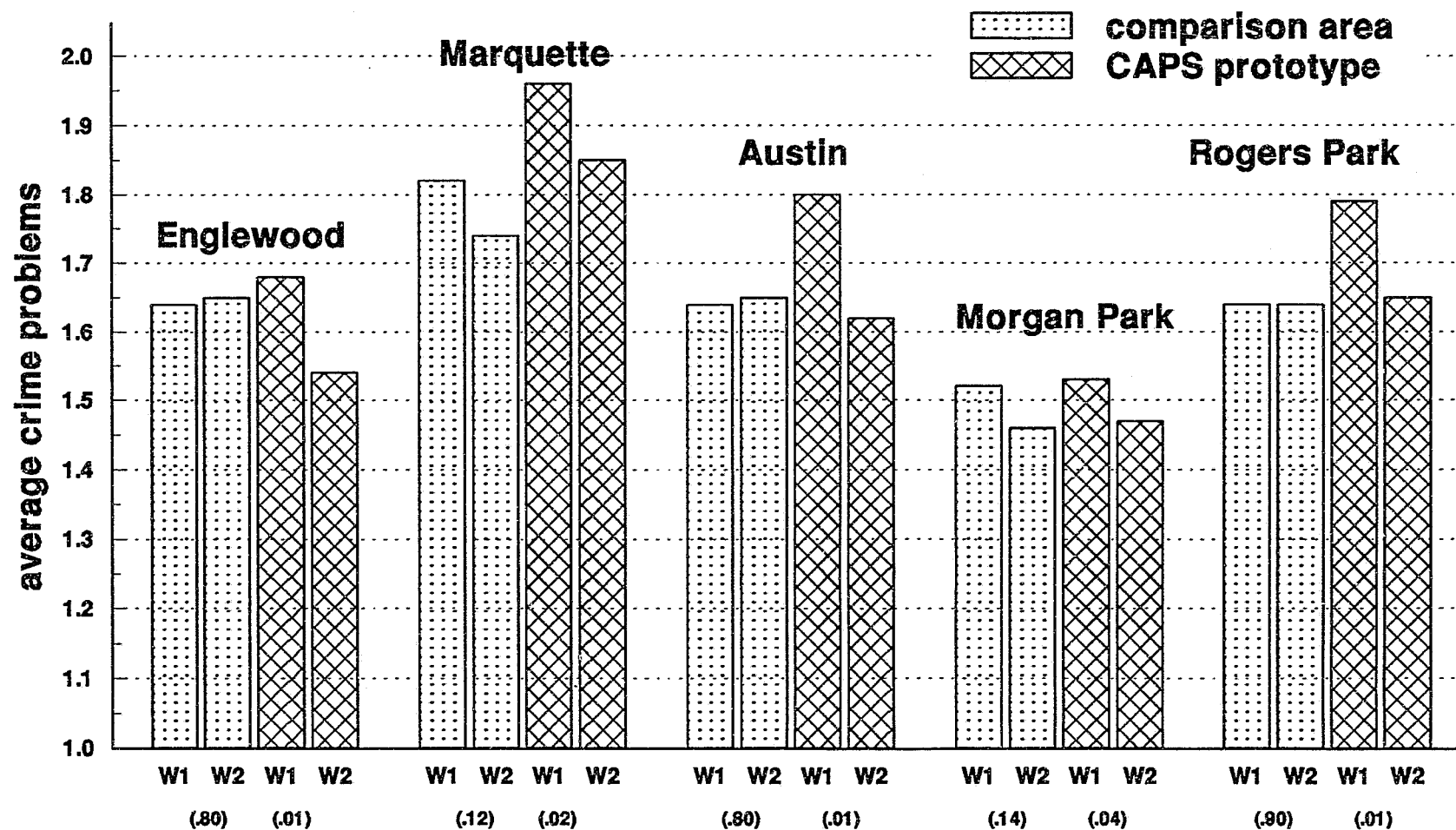
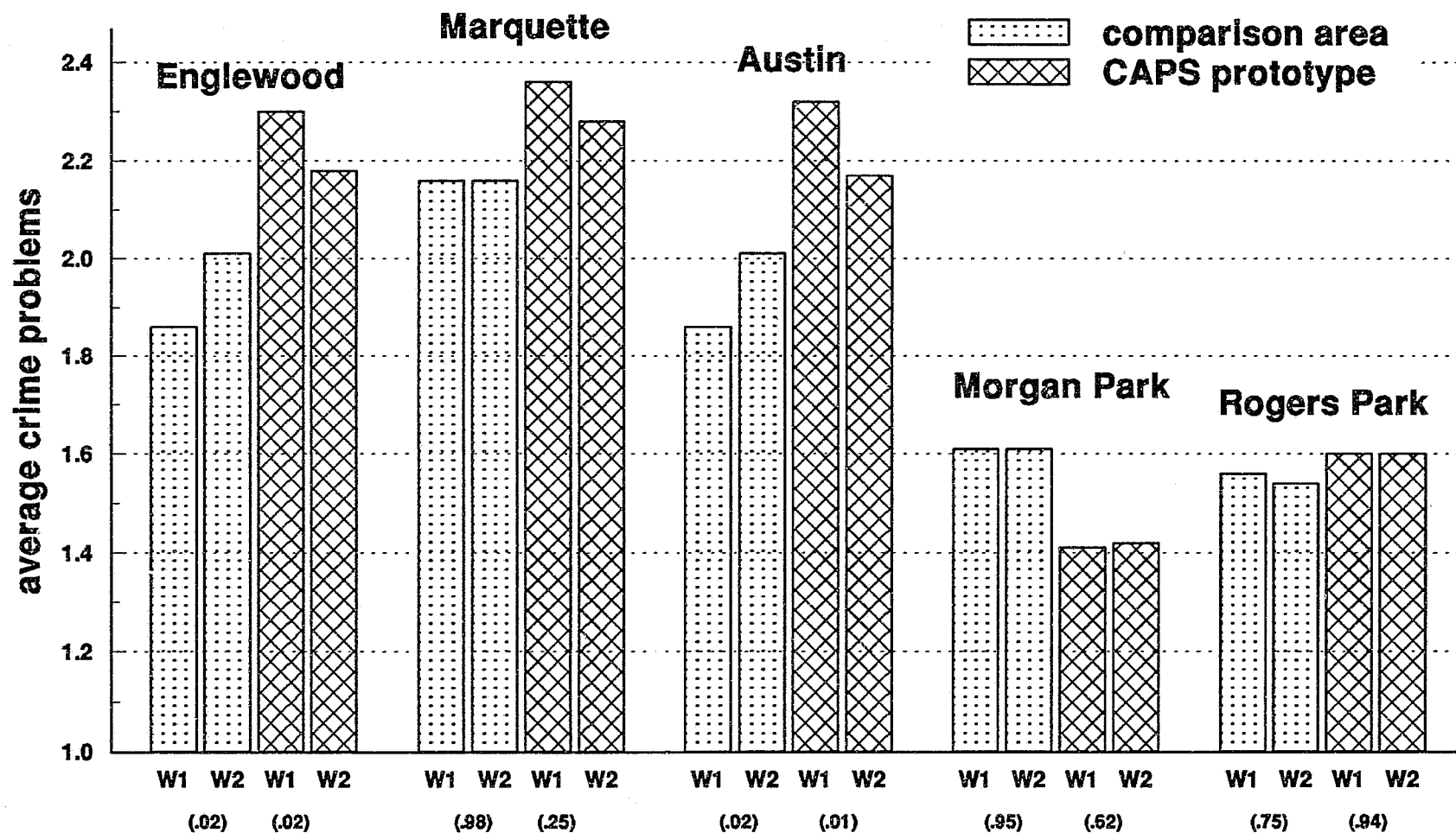


Figure 13
Changes in Crime Problems by District



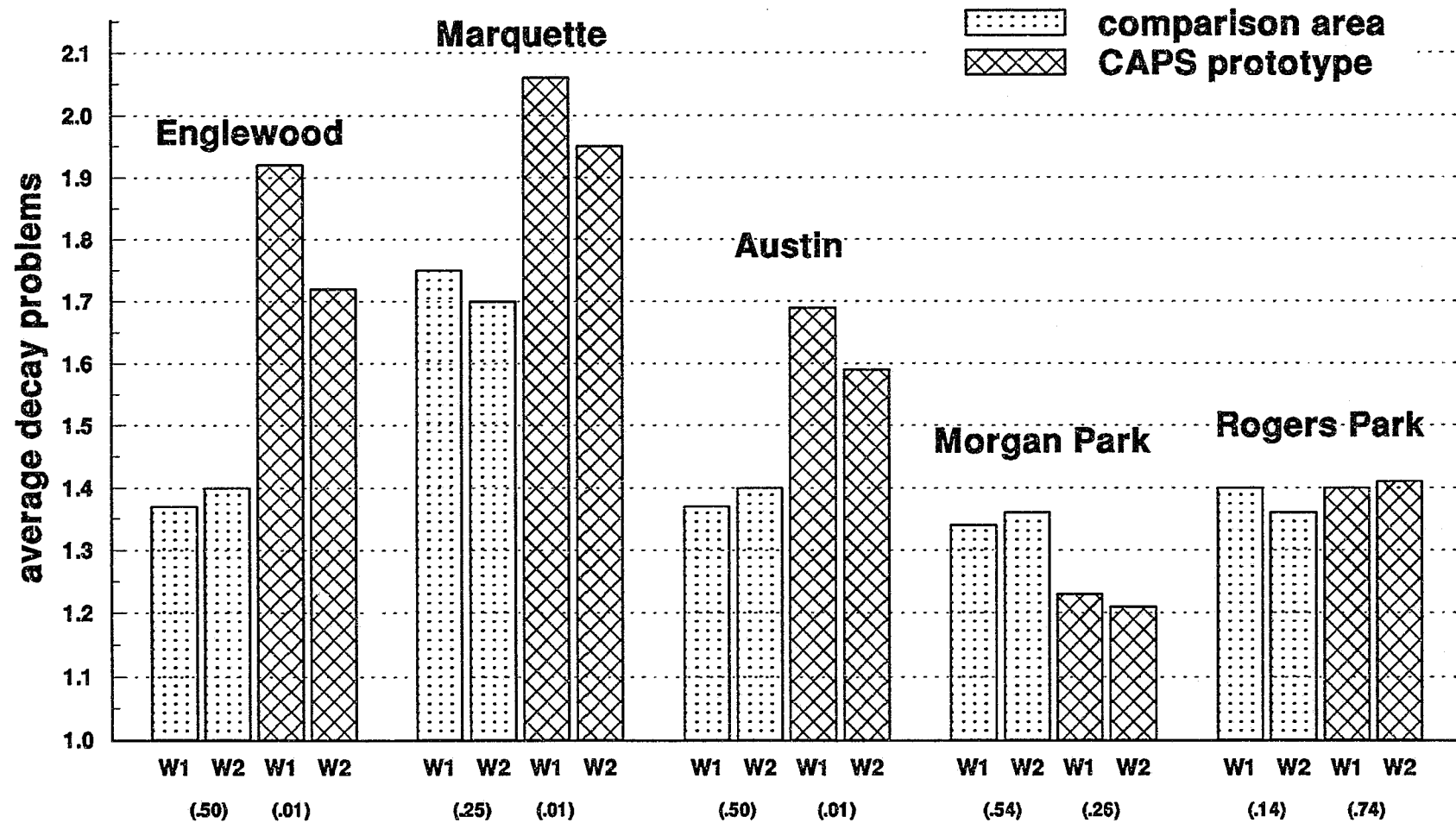
Value in parenthesis is significance of W1-W2 change

Figure 14
Changes in Gang and Drug Problems by District



Value in parenthesis is significance of W1-W2 change

Figure 15
Changes in Physical Decay by District



Value in parenthesis is significance of W1-W2 change

Looking Toward Year Three

Most of this report focused on the operation of the program in the original CAPS prototype districts, and on the impact of the program on the lives of those who live there. Now CAPS has become a citywide program and the philosophy of policing which guides the entire department. This presents new challenges and opportunities for the police and the community, and during CAPS' third year we will be closely watching how those challenges are met and opportunities are acted upon.

The first of them are raised by the expansion of the program to encompass all 25 police districts. At this point, every district has formed an advisory committee, and civilian administrative managers will begin to coordinate activities in every stationhouse. Officers have been identified who will be committed to beat work, and new officers must be hired and trained to supplement their numbers. Beat meetings are beginning to be held all over the city. Other municipal agencies are being called upon to provide expedited services to every city neighborhood, not just special areas. In addition, there will be an effort during the third year to connect CAPS with city and county social service agencies, to augment the contribution to date by departments such as streets and sanitation, buildings, transportation, and sewers. The effort to encompass the entire city will push the resources of the department to the limit and will stretch further the very thin administrative layer struggling to coordinate this now much larger effort.

An ambitious training program is just underway that promises to support the development of more effective police-civilian partnerships for problem solving. Groups of citizens will be trained in how to identify and analyze problems, and how they can most effectively work with police to tackle those calling for joint action. Trainers will work in tandem with community organizers, who are charged with stimulating broad participation in training workshops and working with community organizations to foster problem-solving efforts. There also may be workshop sessions for beat officers to refine their problem solving skills. These sessions would augment the massive training effort directed at the entire Patrol Division during winter and spring 1995.

Organizational changes are planned within the police department. Special units are being examined to determine what their role could be in CAPS, and how their efforts can be more closely coordinated with those of beat officers. Prominent among them is the Detective Division; general orders are being crafted to bring their activities more fully under the umbrella of the program. Captains are being phased out as district watch commanders as part of the department's move to flatten its hierarchical structure and press responsibility for decision making further down in the organization. A series of special training programs is being planned for detectives, sergeants and district commanders. There will also be an assessment of the role of neighborhood relations officers in a department that is now committed to community policing as its standard operating philosophy. Plans are also afoot to begin developing new performance appraisal measures that more accurately reflect the skills required by community-oriented officers.

The third year should also see the adoption by the department of several important technological innovations. Each of the city's 279 beats will have a unique voice mail box which can be contacted directly by citizens. Beat cars will carry cellular telephones that can access these mail boxes, as well as a set of preprogrammed numbers connecting the beat teams to city and community agencies and programs. Each district will be assigned a few cellular phones that can be allocated to community groups so they can easily reach beat voice mail boxes and agency numbers. The beeper program pioneered in the Morgan Park District may be expanded to enable more "eyes and ears" to directly contact their beat

officers. The city's new high-technology communication and dispatch center will open during the third year as well. The facility should produce important management data on the workloads of officers and units, beat integrity and crime patterns. The third year also should see the widespread use of the new, easy-to-use computerized crime mapping system that was developed during 1994-95.

Finally, the city plans to mount a new effort to promote awareness of CAPS. While it has registered many documented successes, the program is still not widely recognized. Now that CAPS encompasses the entire department and serves the entire city, recognition of the program should spread along with awareness of its contributions.

Project Papers
Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium

1. The Public and the Police in the City of Chicago, by Tabatha R. Johnson.
2. Winning the Hearts and Minds of Police Officers: An Assessment of Staff Perceptions of Community Policing in Chicago, by Arthur J. Lurigio and Wesley G. Skogan. *Crime & Delinquency*. Vol. 40 (No. 3). July 1994:315-330.
3. Partnerships for Prevention? Some Obstacles to Police-Community Cooperation, by Wesley G. Skogan.
4. Community Participation and Community Policing, by Wesley G. Skogan.
5. Spring 1994 Supervisor Training Evaluation Report, by Arthur J. Lurigio, Sheila Houmes and Sigurlina Davidsdottir.
6. Preparing Police Officers for Community Policing: An Evaluation of Training for Chicago's Alternative Policing Strategy, by Gail Dantzker, Arthur J. Lurigio, Susan M. Hartnett, Sigurlina Davidsdottir, Kristin Donovan, and Sheila Houmes.
7. Evaluation Design and Survey Methods Report, by Wesley G. Skogan.
8. An Analysis of Beat Meeting Participation and Activity, by Scott Althaus.
9. District Advisory Committees: The Prototype Experience, by Jill DuBois.
10. Partnerships in Action, by Dominique Whelan.
11. Community Organization Survey Methods Report, by Justine H. Lovig and Robert VanStedum.
12. Community Organization Study, by Justine H. Lovig and Wesley G. Skogan.

Project Papers can be ordered for \$4.50 each from: Police Evaluation Consortium, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, 2040 Sheridan Road, Evanston, IL 60208. Please pay only by a check made out to "Northwestern University."

¹To learn more about regression artifacts, readers should consult Thomas D. Cook and Donald T. Campbell, *Quasi-experimental Designs for Research*. Rand McNally, 1979.



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