Research and program evaluation in Illinois: Studies on drug abuse and violent crime

Community Policing in Chicago, Year Seven: An Interim Report

November 2000

**ILLINOIS
CRIMINAL JUSTICE
INFORMATION AUTHORITY**

Community Policing in Chicago, Year Seven:
An Interim Report

Wesley G. Skogan   Aimee Fagan
Lynn Steiner   Jinha Kim
Jill DuBois   Richard Block
J. Erik Gudell

November 2000

Contents

Figures

Executive Summary

This is the sixth in a series of reports on Chicago's community policing program, known as "CAPS" (for Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy). CAPS was announced in the spring of 1993, and during the next two years the program's operational details were developed based on the experiences of five prototype districts. The program was instituted citywide by the spring of 1995. This report was prepared in the summer of 2000, after CAPS was well into its eighth year. It examines Chicago's progress in implementing selected components of the program.

Introduction

Chicago's initiative shares many of the features of community policing programs around the country while adding a few distinctive elements of its own.

Decentralization. Community policing almost inevitably involves assigning teams of officers and their supervisors to police small areas so that they can more effectively identify and respond to local conditions. Chicago created units of about nine officers for each of its 279 beats, where they work as a team with their sergeant. The dispatching system was reengineered to direct 911 calls from their beat to the beat team and to keep officers there at other times so that they have time to engage in community work.

Problem Solving. Community policing requires adopting a problem-solving orientation to beat work, and it stresses focused prevention to deal effectively with chronic concentrations of crime and disorder. Community policing thus demands an expansion of the police mandate to include a broad range of concerns that previously lay outside its purview. Chicago launched its program by training officers in its own five-step problem-solving model, supporting it with new computerized crime analysis capabilities. Beat officers from all shifts meet regularly as a team to review their strategies and progress, and their sergeant is responsible for maintaining a set of operational plans that outlines the beat's priority problems and what is to be done about them. Officers can easily trigger the delivery of a broad range of city services in response to public complaints and to support problem-solving projects. Their managers are to use beat plans to set priorities and allocate resources at the district and area levels.

Public Involvement. Community policing also requires departments to open themselves to public input and oversight. Neighborhood residents need to help set policing priorities for the beat and get involved in their own prevention projects. In Chicago, regular meetings are held between residents and beat team members in each beat. They are to be co-led by a civilian resident and police, and they are supposed to provide a forum for identifying problems and strategizing about solutions. In addition, they provide a venue for police and residents to report on their activities since the last meeting. At the district level are committees that were formed to advise the commander and to help identify priority issues and shape district policies. These committees also sponsor subcommittees, including a court advocacy program that brings residents to court in support of prosecution efforts. Public involvement is facilitated by a cadre of

1

full-time community organizers, who promote participation in beat meetings, court advocacy, neighborhood marches and prayer vigils, and action against troublesome businesses and landlords. An extensive publicity campaign has pushed levels of public awareness of CAPS to a high level.

This report examines these components of CAPS. The first section summarizes what we have learned about citizen involvement in the program through an analysis of beat meetings and the district's advisory committees. The next section describes changes over time in Chicagoans' assessments of the quality of police service, and presents long-term trends in many of the evaluation's measures of crime and neighborhood problems. Next is an analysis of the effectiveness of the district advisory committees. The report then describes the efforts of the city's community organizers to mobilize neighborhoods around CAPS and problem solving. Another section examines the link between community policing and community prosecution. The report concludes with a description of new management initiatives within the police department aimed at enhancing the implementation of CAPS.

Beat Community Meetings. These monthly meetings are one of the most distinctive features of CAPS. Total attendance has remained stable at almost 6,000 residents per month. About 250 meetings are held each month, and each is attended by about seven officers and between 20 and 30 residents. Participation rates have been highest in poorer and high-crime areas. The most important factor sustaining participation is the development of a core of regular attendees. These regulars are satisfied with what goes on at beat meetings; they are disproportionately involved in their own problem-solving projects, and they are linked to the rest of their community through their heavy involvement in block clubs and other community organizations.

Beat meetings provide a forum where residents and police can identify and discuss neighborhood problems. Our observers found that they most frequently discussed social disorder problems, ranging from gang loitering and public drinking to noise and bad landlords. Drug problems came up at two-thirds of the meetings. Next in line were complaints about physical decay, including abandoned buildings and cars, graffiti, and trash and junk. Parking and traffic problems came up at more than half the meetings, especially in better-off areas. Gang violence and property crime were also discussed at almost half the meetings. Complaints about policing were frequently voiced, especially concerning slow response to 911 calls, and there were frequent calls for greater police presence in the neighborhood. However, while residents' concerns were being registered at beat meetings all over the city, many had strayed from their role of prioritizing and acting on problems. Police frequently reported on what they had been doing, but residents rarely did so. Most of the solutions to problems were contributed by police, and few by residents. Few beat meetings concluded with a clear action agenda.

The report also examines the extent to which beat meetings represent the views of neighborhood residents. Only a small percentage of residents attend even the largest gatherings. It is important that those who do attend reflect the interests of the community. Comparing beat

2

residents to the composition of beat meetings reveals a consistent "middle class bias" in representation: older, better-off and better-educated members of the community were more likely to attend. Latinos were significantly under-represented in most places. A comparison of the views of participants with those of the broad spectrum of neighborhood residents revealed that attendees, in the main, reflected the priorities of residents of their beat. But there were exceptions. In beats where homeowners were particularly overrepresented, meeting participants were excessively concerned about physical decay in the community, and meetings that over-represented older residents did not adequately reflect community concern about street crime and burglary.

Beat meetings also provide a forum for residents to voice their concerns about the quality of police service in their community, and representing the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of residents with policing should be one of their most important functions. A comparison of the views of residents and beat meeting participants found that those who attended were more positive about the police. There were large racial differences in this "optimism gap," and the distance between the views of African-Americans and Latinos who attend and those of their neighbors who do not attend was particularly noticeable.

Trends in Satisfaction with Police Service

The evaluation conducted yearly surveys monitoring trends in public assessments of the quality of police service in Chicago. The surveys measured changes in three clusters of opinion. The first was perceived police demeanor. This included questions about the politeness, helpfulness, fairness and concern evidenced by police serving the area. A second set of questions assessed police responsiveness. They covered perceived responsiveness to community concerns, working with residents and dealing effectively with priority problems. The last measure tracked perceived police performance. It was based on responses to questions about police effectiveness at helping victims, preventing crime and keeping order. In general, police in Chicago fared best in terms of demeanor; even before CAPS began, large majorities felt they treated residents of their neighborhood well. They received their lowest ratings on the performance measures, especially for providing service to victims.

The surveys revealed significant changes over time on all three measures. In the eyes of the public, police became more responsive, they more often treated residents well, and more Chicagoans felt they did a good job at their core tasks. To be sure, there remained room for improvement: even after five years of citywide community policing, just half thought that police were performing well, and under 60 percent perceived they were doing a good job responding to community concerns. However, a comparison of the views of whites, African-Americans and Latinos revealed that these were across-the-board improvements. Latino and African-American perceptions of police demeanor, which began at a much lower level than among whites, improved by about 10 percentage points. Whites began the period with fairly negative views of the on-the-job performance of police, but grew more positive—as did African-Americans and Latinos—by about 10 percentage points. Perceptions of police among African-Americans and

3

Latinos changed the most on the responsiveness dimension, improving by about 20 percentage points between 1993 and 1999.

Trends in Neighborhood Conditions

Under CAPS, police are to move beyond simply responding in traditional fashion to individual calls to 911 concerning crime. They are to adopt a proactive, prevention-oriented stance toward a wide range of neighborhood problems, which are defined as chronic concentrations of related incidents. And while both police and residents are vitally interested in crime, an important feature of Chicago's program is that the problems it addresses do not have to be serious criminal matters. Chicago adopted a five-step model to guide the problem-solving efforts of police and residents. Because systematic thinking about chronic conditions was new in a city accustomed to reactive policing, it was necessary to train both police and neighborhood residents on how to implement the model. Between 1995 and 1997, most patrol officers and thousands of civilians were taught to analyze how offenders and victims collide at particular locations to create crime hot spots. Both police and residents were also given new tools for solving problems, ranging from computerized crime analysis to the expedited delivery of city services. A task force was created that coordinates the efforts of various city departments to tackle troublesome buildings. Prosecutors later become intimately involved in the CAPS program as well.

Beginning in 1994, the evaluation surveys monitored the public's view of neighborhood problems. Respondents were asked to rate the extent of a list of potential problems. Responses to questions about abandoned cars and houses, graffiti and junk-filled vacant lots were used to assess physical decay. Questions about problems caused by public drinking, loitering and disruption around schools gauged the extent of social disorder. Two questions about neighborhood gang and drug problems drew strongly consistent responses, so they were combined to form an index of gang and drug problems. Finally, a measure of property and street crime problems was formed from responses to questions about car vandalism and theft, burglary and street crime.

In 1994, residents rated drug and gang problems as their biggest concern, and they held that position through the remainder of the decade. The perceived seriousness of both declined over the period, and the combined index dropped by 7 percentage points. Questions about problems in the social disorder category generally took second place, and, over time, the summary index declined by 7 percentage points. The property and street crime index went down by 9 percentage points, and the physical decay index declined by just 6 percentage points.

Taken as a whole, these were not spectacular improvements. However, when examined in detail it was apparent that the citywide figures disguised wide variations in the experiences of Chicago residents. The bulk of the improvements registered in the surveys were reported by African-Americans. Crime-problem ratings among African-Americans dropped by about one-third between 1994 and 1999, and over the same period, reports of serious drug and gang

4

problems plummeted, from 50 percent to 30 percent. Physical decay and social disorder tracked a similar course. Whites had relatively few problems to begin with, and they reported only small gains. Because they are the largest group, this set a significant upper limit on measures of overall improvement for the city. Among Latinos, many things got worse. Over the period, reports of crime problems went up among the city's Latinos, as did the view that street drug sales were a problem. Unlike other groups, concern among Latinos about gang problems remained unchanged. In the social disorder category, Latinos saw none of the declines in school disruption reported by other groups, nor did they observe improvements in the physical condition of their neighborhoods.

As a result, by 1999, the balance of concern about neighborhood problems in Chicago had shifted dramatically. From the point of view of residents, conditions in African-American neighborhoods improved considerably, while those in Latino areas too often deteriorated. The significance of these diverging trends was reinforced by another: Latinos are the only big group in the city that is growing in numbers, largely through immigration, and soon they will be the second largest demographic group in Chicago. Conditions in the city's burgeoning Latino neighborhoods will play an increasing role in determining the future of the city.

The report also examines trends in officially recorded crime since 1991, several years before CAPS began. Crime has been declining in many American cities, and Chicago is no exception. Between 1991 and 1998, robbery was down 47 percent in Chicago, auto theft was down 33 percent, and homicide 24 percent. Rape declined by 33 percent, and burglary went down 31 percent. The smallest decline in standard crime categories was registered by aggravated assault, which dropped by only 13 percent. Overall, street crime declined noticeably, but crime in commercial locations was down only a bit. Personal crimes in and around residences actually increased in frequency, but property offenses there went down in number. These declines resemble the drop in crime that has occurred in other large cities, with the exception of homicide, which has declined much less sharply in Chicago than it has elsewhere.

The report also examines crime trends for areas of the city, and they painted a somewhat different picture than did the surveys, perhaps because of differences in how survey and official measures of crime are counted. In general, recorded crime was down in all areas, but it declined most dramatically in African-American communities. Crime declined the least in predominately white areas, but it was not very high there to begin with. Latino areas fell between those groups on measures of the amount of crime, but unlike trends revealed by the surveys, official figures declined somewhat in many categories during the course of the decade. Homicide rates were stable in Latino areas—not going down as elsewhere—and assaults were up sharply in Latino areas but lower elsewhere.

District Advisory Committees

District Advisory Committees are composed of residents, business owners and other members of the community who meet regularly with the police to identify and discuss crime and

disorder issues in their district. The committees are charged with assisting the commander in establishing the district's priorities, developing strategies to address them and, when possible, discovering the underlying causes to their most chronic problems. They also have their own action arm, in the form of subcommittees that take on various tasks or problems on their own. They focus special attention on issues that the committee has recognized as important to the district's interests. The evaluation examined the effectiveness of District Advisory Committees and their ability to represent district interests to the police and to the community.

The committees operate in every district in the city. All are holding regular meetings with civilian chairpersons present. Court advocacy and seniors subcommittees are also in operation in every district. Some committees have concentrated on becoming information brokers for their communities—arranging speakers, training and presentations for residents—while others have focused on finding new and better ways to assist the police in fighting crime on their beats. Still others have ventured farther away from a purely advisory role, creating or supporting a variety of activities and initiatives for the elderly, youth and indigent within their district. The effectiveness of these advisory bodies is largely dependent on the quality of civilian leadership available to them. In many districts they have shed valuable light on areas of concern within their communities, bringing police and resident attention to undetected or unresolved problems. Some have also succeeded in translating their good intentions into timely solutions, offering resources, volunteers and other forms of assistance when called upon.

However, after seven years, confusion about the mission of the District Advisory Committees persists. Beat-level concerns regularly dominate their discussions, diverting them from larger issues. Subcommittees are failing in many districts because of a lack of attention from their committee. They are to be the action arms of the committees, but many founder due to low membership, poor or insufficient direction and irregular contact with their parent body. Advisory committees across the city have not been able to make effective use of the funds that have been placed at their disposal. They noticeably under-represent Latinos, even in heavily Latino areas. Too many are dominated by long-established leaders with an insular view of their functions who focus on a limited set of concerns and fail to reach out to new members of their community. Rather than actively representing the views of the community, in several districts the committees allow their commander or officers from the district's Community Policing Office to make their plans, set their agenda, allocate their money, run their subcommittees and, in effect, run the meetings of the advisory committee itself. Not surprisingly, most chairs have been excluded from their formal role on the district's management team, and almost none has been in on drafting district plans, even though their participation was specified in the general order.

Community Mobilization

Communities vary in their ability to solve problems independently and to form partnerships with police and other agencies. Beginning in 1998, the city's civilian CAPS Implementation Office deployed a troop of organizers to rebuild the capacity of some of its most troubled communities. Some worked directly under the supervision of the city, while others were

on the staff of partner neighborhood organizations. A preliminary description of this project was presented in the May 1999 CAPS evaluation report. This year's update on this effort includes recent survey findings and conclusions about a number of questions, including: What do community organizers do to build community capacity? What were the impediments to their organizing efforts? What projects did they succeed in bringing to fruition? Were there differences in practice between city hired organizers and those working through partner agencies? Were there any changes in neighborhood conditions that might be tied to their efforts?

Organizers spent a great deal of time trying to increase beat meeting attendance by canvassing their beats, posting flyers and attending local meetings. They worked through existing organizations or tried to establish new ones. One strategy was to help neighbors living near drug houses shut them down. They also used liquor ordinance enforcement and "vote dry" referenda to generate political involvement. They organized marches and prayer vigils, which engaged pastoral support all over the city. They helped run local neighborhood festivals and staffed booths at larger events. Organizers also ran public education programs on the CAPS court advocacy program, parent patrols and safe school zones, citizen patrols, city services, landlord training and the adopt-a-street program. Many were actively involved in supporting projects sponsored by their districts' advisory committees. They also worked to build support for neighborhood safety legislation, including the city's gang loitering ordinance and the state's Safe Neighborhoods Act, and turned out busloads of residents for rallies supporting these initiatives and the police.

One impediment to organizing was that the work was hard and unrelenting. Much of it necessarily took place at night and on weekends, and organizers had to deal with crises as they emerged. Once they built a solid base in one area, they were expected to take on another. The city demanded a careful accounting of their time and activities, so "paperwork" plagued their day as well. Some found themselves caught up in conflicts between police and residents with high expectations—especially expectations that something be done about street drug dealing. They also found themselves taking sides in conflicts over economic development and gentrification. There were perhaps inevitable bureaucratic snafus during the start-up phase of the program, and staff turnover made it difficult to keep familiar faces on the beat in some areas.

An important policy question is, What kinds of organizers are more effective—city-hired staff organizers or those working through partner agencies? The evaluation found no clear answer to this question, for actual practice varied greatly among organizers and across areas. The best partner organizations demonstrated a capacity to hire, train and manage organizers. They were staffed by experienced professionals in close touch with local issues. They were attractive partners because they represented dedicated constituencies who were willing to turn out and work on problems. Some of the city's partner agencies also had special expertise in specific areas (community redevelopment, youth, elderly, schools) and relationships with civic associations. But not all were so capable, and some focused their efforts on the interests of their organization rather than CAPS. Some ignored parts of their beats or groups of residents who were not their traditional constituents. While advocates argue that only independent organizations can act in the

best interest of the community, we found wide disagreement over how that was defined. Not many of these groups had experience with crime prevention, and there was a great deal of variation in what organizers did under that rubric.

The city-hired organizers received much more formal training, met regularly to exchange information and were monitored closely by their managers. They adhered to an agenda that was coordinated with the police department, and they spent more time attending beat and district meetings to facilitate CAPS projects and work on improving relations between residents and police. City organizers helped create organizational structure in beats through the development of new block clubs. They also promoted neighborhood safety in schools by encouraging parents to participate in CAPS-sponsored activities. They had great success bringing city services to communities that had long suffered from neglect. But there were problems on the city-organizer side too. Many organizers, especially those with previous experience, felt they were being micro-managed. Turnover was a problem as organizers grew frustrated with their bureaucratic responsibilities. Like the police, few organizers managed to implement resident problem-solving projects in targeted communities, and even after two years a great deal remained to be done in their original beats.

The evaluation identified a number of positive improvements in the targeted areas. Residents reported improvements in the quality of police service. They also become more aware of the opportunities for involvement presented by beat meetings, and attendance rates went up over time. By many measures neighborhood conditions improved as well. Fear went down, informal social control strengthened, and many serious neighborhood problems declined. Some of these changes exceeded improvements that were taking place citywide, but others could not be clearly attributed to the efforts of the mobilization project staff.

Community Prosecution

Like police departments of the 1980s, public lawyers in the 1990s began to adopt a community-oriented problem-solving approach to their work. Traditional case-oriented and community-oriented approaches differ on several dimensions. With a community-oriented approach the unit of work shifts from individual offenders to chronic problems that need solving. Success is measured by reducing the severity of problems and improving the quality of community life rather than by convicting individuals. The community becomes a partner that influences priorities and solutions sought for problems, rather than simply serving as complainants and witnesses. Not only are community members active in this process, but collaboration between prosecutors and other agencies is common. Finally, in addition to the traditional tools of prosecution—investigation, negotiation and litigation—community-oriented prosecutors utilize civil remedies, and they actively encourage communities to support them in court. Involving the people who caused the problem in solving it is a frequent outcome.

In Chicago, the trend toward community-oriented prosecution is manifested in programs at the city and county level. The Chicago Department of Law (the city's attorney) has a Drug and

Gang House Enforcement Section that uses the Drug and Gang Housing Ordinance to prosecute negligent property owners. The Community Prosecutions Division of the Cook County State's Attorney's Office focuses on felony and misdemeanor cases that are selected on the basis of community concern. Both programs are marked by their efforts to involve the community, including seeking advice in identifying priority cases. Their lawyers spend a substantial amount of time in the community, attending beat, district and community organization meetings. They also follow cases from start to finish, rather than passing them from lawyer to lawyer. Community prosecutors are regularly involved in problem-solving and prevention efforts.

The city attorneys are assigned five police districts each, focusing on crime in and around gang or drug houses, vacant lots and abandoned buildings. They use municipal code violations and crime patterns to target property owners, who are legally responsible for the physical conditions and criminal activities in and around their buildings. The city's Strategic Inspections Task Force helps them build cases. They may seek a fine, increased security measures at the building, building code violation repairs, eviction of tenants and businesses or building board-ups. Landlords are often required to attend beat meetings or go to landlord training classes provided regularly by the city. This program makes extensive use of the city's Administrative Hearings Department. Less formal and able to act more quickly than the circuit court, its decisions are based upon findings of liability. A case can be dismissed if the parties agree to a resolution plan, and they usually do.

The county attorneys work out of storefront offices that serve specified areas. They target repeat offenders and locations of concern, as well as "quality-of-life" cases that visibly impact the community. They also handle cases that fall under the state's hate crime statutes. Staff members regularly attend beat meetings and receive referrals from district Community Policing Offices or directly from citizens. They also assist police and residents who bring problems to them by providing information, making phone calls to mobilize resources, or setting up meetings for specialized training or facilitation of communication between groups. Finally, the program emphasizes prevention, in the form of public education around public safety and legal issues. Staff prevention coordinators organize forums, marches, seminars and training programs, and make presentations and lead seminars and informational events on behalf of the division.

Management Initiatives

A police department task force was established in 1999 to conduct an assessment of problem-solving efficacy and to gauge the true level of CAPS implementation. It concluded that important aspects of community policing had been assimilated into the department's routine operations but that many were not being implemented effectively because a clear line of accountability for making CAPS work had not been established at the district level. No one was really in charge, and there were no clear CAPS-related roles for many key district managers.

The task force became a regular unit, the CAPS Project Office, which recommended a number of reforms that were quickly adopted. As a result, each district now has a CAPS

manager—a lieutenant responsible for making sure that CAPS-related activities are taking place. New roles were crafted for watch commanders, who run districts on a 24-hour basis. The districts' Neighborhood Relations Offices were renamed (known now as Community Policing Offices) and their functions redefined. The Project Office also produced a manual delineating CAPS responsibilities of each district officer and provided training for managers in each district.

New energy has been injected into the department's planning process. There is renewed emphasis on beat plans, which are to guide the efforts of beat teams in addressing priority problems. The districts' CAPS managers are to hold units accountable for their progress in solving the priority problems identified in their beat plans. At the next level, districts are now responsible for amalgamating beat plans and creating operational action plans that specify what officers will do to address the district's priority problems; the partnerships that will be formed with city agencies and residents to help solve them; and how their progress will be measured. Districts report to area deputy chiefs, and the chiefs are expected to find the resources that their districts need to tackle large-scale problems. This should increasingly include the coordinated efforts of other units in the department, for CAPS is not just the patrol division's mission. The department's most senior managers will be involved in overseeing these planning and resource allocation tasks.

Significant changes were also announced for beat community meetings. New rounds of training will be conducted for beat team sergeants and civilian beat facilitators to increase the sophistication of problem-solving efforts coordinated through beat meetings. Residents and beat team officers are to identify, analyze and design specific strategies to be undertaken by community members, the beat team and city agencies to address local problems. New guidelines have been drawn up to ensure that beat meetings hew closer to the official model, including requirements for the preparation of written agendas and informational materials. A study was also conducted on the effectiveness of district advisory committees, which may result in future changes in their role and structure.

To solidify these initiatives, the department created a new Office of Management Accountability, directed by a deputy superintendent. It is responsible for ensuring that the department remains focused on its core missions, particularly when it comes to mobilizing the resources required to address chronic crime and disorder problems. The Office of Management Accountability monitors district and area planning and resource allocation. It will generate management data highlighting the effectiveness of each district, and gather information on issues of public concern that should be addressed by the districts. A new analysis unit will seek to identify emerging crime patterns. The unit's mission also includes identifying organizational changes that could enhance the department's effectiveness. In addition, a recent realignment united several units under the umbrella of the Office of Management Accountability: the CAPS Project Office, the civilian CAPS Implementation Office, and the department's Auditing and Internal Control Bureau. This move is aimed at ensuring that these key units effectively coordinate the department's efforts.

Community Policing in Chicago, Year Seven

Introduction

This is the sixth report on Chicago's community policing program, known as "CAPS" (for Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy). CAPS was announced in the spring of 1993, and during the next two years, the program's operational details were developed based on the experiences of five prototype districts. The program was instituted citywide by the spring of 1995. This report was prepared in the summer of 2000, after CAPS was well into its eighth year. It examines Chicago's progress in implementing selected program components. The first section summarizes what we have learned about citizen involvement in the program. The next describes changes over time in Chicagoans' assessments of the quality of police service and presents long-term trends in many of the evaluation's measures of crime and neighborhood problems. The third section presents an analysis of the effectiveness of the district advisory committees. The report then describes the efforts of the city's community organizers to mobilize neighborhoods around CAPS and problem solving. Another section examines the link between community policing and community prosecution. The report concludes with a description of new management initiatives within the police department aimed at enhancing the implementation of CAPS.

Citizen Involvement in Beat Meetings

Beat community meetings are one of the most unique aspects of Chicago's community policing program. They began on a citywide basis in 1995, and hundreds are held each month in every corner of town. Beat meetings provide an important link between residents and police who work in their neighborhood. The meetings are to be forums for exchanging information and for prioritizing and analyzing local problems. They also provide occasions for police and residents to get acquainted and a vehicle for residents to organize their own problem-solving efforts.

Trends in Participation

Beat meetings are generally held at a regular time and place, and most beats meet monthly. Attendance varies by season, as illustrated in Figure 1, which charts monthly meeting attendance and a cumulative attendance total since January 1995. In 1997 about 5,400 persons attended each month; in 1998 the figure was about 5,800, and in 1999 it was 5,600. Attendance is chronically low in December and January, and reaches its maximum in July or September (peak attendance each year is presented in Figure 1). Through the end of 1999, Chicagoans attended beat meetings on a total of about 322,000 occasions.

Figure 1 is based on data from 13,465 regular beat and sub-beat meetings held between 1995 and 1999. Because the city's beats vary widely in size (the boundaries were drawn almost a decade ago to equalize police workloads), rates of attendance that take the adult population into account shed the most light on variations in involvement from area to area.

11

Figure 1
Trends in Beat Meeting Attendance 1995-99

includes estimates for meetings held with data missing
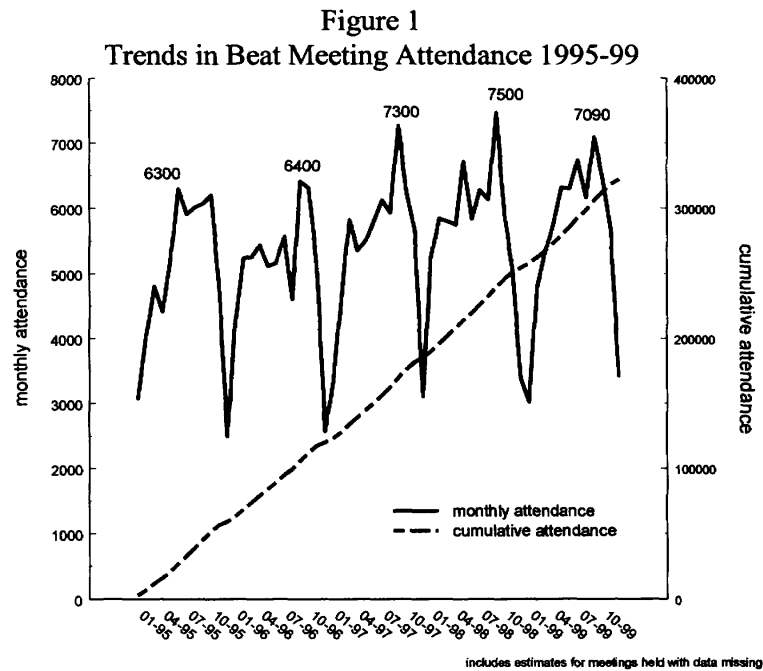
Combined with information about the beats, ranging from crime rates to demography and housing styles, the meeting data enable us to draw a portrait of attendance throughout the city.

- Attendance rates are highest in predominately African-American beats and lowest in white areas. Rates in heavily Latino communities lie between the two and are highest in areas where the Latino percentage of the population exceeds about 60 percent.

- Attendance is higher in low-income areas and in beats where few people have college degrees. Attendance is not strongly related to area levels of home ownership, although within beats homeowners are over-represented among those who do attend. Residents of beats with concentrations of high-rise buildings are difficult to attract to beat meetings.

- Attendance is driven by crime. Statistically, local rates of violent crime are the strongest correlates of beat meeting attendance. Property crimes such as burglary or car theft are only weakly linked to area attendance rates, but vandalism is strongly related to meeting participation.

- Attendance at beat meetings is strongest where other institutions have failed to make much headway. A larger proportion of residents turns out in places where measures of school performance such as attendance rates and achievement scores are low, and truancy is high. Attendance is also high in beats where residents report serious health problems: it is correlated with high rates of tuberculosis and gonorrhea and with high infant mortality.

12

- Attendance rates are extremely stable over time. As Figure 1 indicated, season is a strong determinant of participation, but otherwise beats are high- or low-turnout, year in and year out. The factors that are correlated with attendance rates, including those described above, are quite stable over time as well.

Over time, residents who come frequently contribute disproportionately to attendance totals. Citywide surveys indicate that about half of those who report attending come only once or twice during the year, while about 15 percent report attending seven meetings or more. But over the course of a year, the 15 percent who are frequent participants make up almost 50 percent of attendees. More than a third of the yearly attendance at beat meetings is contributed by 11 percent of those who come, because they show up faithfully. The faithful are most likely to be African-Americans, and they are least likely to be Latinos. Developing a cadre of loyal participants is the surest route to high attendance rates at beat meetings.

What Happens at Beat Meetings

During 1998, the evaluation team conducted an intensive analysis of what goes on at beat meetings. Observers attended 459 meetings in 253 beats and distributed questionnaires to the residents and police officers who were present. They completed an observation form that systematically recorded important aspects of what took place at the meeting. They also counted the number, race and gender of residents and police who were there and took note of city service representatives, local politicians and other non-residents who attended. The resulting data can be used to draw a profile of the "typical" beat meeting and the problems that were discussed there.[1]

Beat meetings usually start at 7 pm and last two hours. A third of the beats meet in church basements, 20 percent in park buildings, and the remainder in schools, libraries, hospitals, apartment building hospitality rooms and the neighborhood offices of nonprofit organizations. Depending on the season, between 20 and 30 residents attend, along with seven police officers. The police contingent usually includes the beat's sergeant, beat team officers who are on duty, and a few team members from other shifts. The latter are paid overtime, at a yearly cost of almost $1 million. The meetings also frequently feature appearances by police from special units or detectives. Each beat is supposed to have a civilian facilitator—someone identified by local police who can help them plan and conduct the meeting. Most do, and one was present at two-thirds of the beat meetings we observed.

Others are there as well. Meetings in almost 25 percent of the beats we observed were attended by people who were introduced as representing block clubs or community organizations. CAPS trainers or community organizers working for the city were there 34 percent of the time.

---

[1] Some beats that were involved in a parallel study were observed more than once. Of the 253 beats observed, 172 were visited once, while 81 were observed a total of 287 times. Data for beats with multiple observations were weighted so that all beats are represented equally, and the unit of analysis for this discussion is the police beat.

The local alderman or an aldermanic representative attended almost one quarter of the sessions. Among the agencies that sent representatives were the city's Department of Environment, the Law Department, the Park District, the Commission on Human Relations and the Chicago Housing Authority. The observers also noted representatives of the city's Fire, Buildings, Streets and Sanitation, Planning and Human Services Departments, and from the Chicago Public Schools, the 911 Center and the State's Attorney's Office. In 45 percent of the beats, someone from a group or agency made a presentation to the group, and police made a formal presentation about some matter at one quarter.

A large percentage of the meetings were well-organized, with materials prepared in advance. Beat meetings are supposed to provide a venue for interested residents to learn more about police activities and crime problems in their area, and either crime maps or printed crime or arrest reports were distributed at meetings in 70 percent of the beats. There was a clear agenda, usually in printed form, for two-thirds of the sessions.

Beat meetings are to provide a forum for identifying and discussing neighborhood problems. This proved universal; not a single meeting went by without some problem being debated. To profile what was discussed, the observers were armed with a checklist of 72 issues and concerns. It was based on the findings of our past observation studies of beat meetings. The observation form also provided space to make note of other, usually more detailed, discussion points. Figure 2 combines observations of what was discussed into nine broad categories of problems and indicates the percentage of beats at which each came up. It also presents the most common specific concerns that fit within each general problem category. The percentages add up to more than 100 percent because multiple problems were discussed at every meeting.

A long list of concerns that generally fall in the social disorder category topped the table, discussed at 88 percent of the beats. Concern about groups of people loitering in the streets was expressed in meetings in 50 percent of the beats, followed by problems associated with alcohol and with noise. The social disorder category also included a large, catch-all list of diverse concerns that ranged from gambling to skateboarding and bicycle riding on sidewalks. Drug problems were brought up at two-thirds of the beats. Discussion of physical decay problems was also frequent. Abandoned buildings were discussed in 30 percent of the beats, and there was frequent mention of graffiti, trash and junk, loose garbage and abandoned cars. Parking and traffic concerns were also high on the list, discussed in 57 percent of the beats. Concern about parking, speeding and reckless driving (frequently motorists ignoring stop signs) came up often. Gang problems and property crimes were discussed about half the time. Gang violence, fear of intimidation by gangs, burglary and theft were brought up at about one in five meetings. Concern about personal crime followed closely, at 47 percent. At about a third of the meetings there was discussion of problems with citizen involvement in CAPS. Beat meeting turnout, a lack of police-citizen cooperation and the need for more follow-up on problems that were discussed headed that list, and there was also frequent discussion of the issue of retaliation against residents who become visibly associated with the police.

14

Figure 2
Topics Discussed at Beat Meetings

Percent of Beats Where Major Problem Categories and Most Frequently Mentioned Specific Issues Were Discussed			
social disorder	**88%**	**physical decay**	**58%**
loitering, congregating	50	abandoned buildings	30
public drinking	25	graffiti	17
liquor outlets	24	trash & junk	16
noise	24	loose garbage	12
suspicious persons	18	abandoned cars	11
bad landlords	16	sidewalks, street repair	5
"other" problems	39		
gang problems	**51%**	**parking and traffic**	**57%**
violence	22	parking	32
intimidation	18	speeding, reckless	
gang graffiti	15	driving	22
		traffic congestion	9
personal crime	**47%**	**drug problems**	**66%**
shootings	20	sales & use	55
street crime	16	drug houses	23
domestic violence	10	gang involvement	17
property crime	**51%**	**citizen involvement**	**31%**
burglary	23	turnout problems	21
theft	18	not working together	15
garage break-ins	14	need for follow-through	15
car theft	13	discuss fear of	
		retaliation	12
complaints about police	**47%**	**criticize public services**	**11%**
911 call response	31	**criticize public officials**	**8%**
not enough police; low			
police visibility	21		
criticize CAPS			
implementation	12		

What was discussed at beat meetings was related to the character of the neighborhood. This was examined by linking the observer's reports to social, economic and demographic data about each area. In general, residents of poor African-American beats talked about drugs. Concern about drugs was also closely linked to family disorganization, poor schools and bad health. Residents of heavily Latino beats discussed gangs, especially in areas with a high concentration of recent immigrants. Property crime came up most frequently in better-off, predominately white areas. The other frequent topic of conversation in those beats was traffic and

15

parking problems. Physical decay issues came up in lower-income areas where the housing stock is older and in poor condition, and where buildings sit vacant.

Complaints about police also came up frequently; these were discussed at meetings in 47 percent of the beats. (There was also specific praise for police at a third of the meetings, sometimes the same ones.) The most commonly cited concern (voiced at more than 30 percent of the meetings) was dissatisfaction with responses to 911 calls. Residents reported that officers came slowly, or not at all, in response to their calls. The observers noted:

> *A woman described how she had called 911 because she saw a man passed out on the sidewalk. She explained that it had taken half an hour for the squad car to arrive and that the officers had not even gotten out to see what was wrong with him. The beat officer present explained that such individuals are "usually drunk."*

> *A Hispanic woman indicated that she had called 911 when a group of kids were harassing one of her neighbors; she complained that the call had been assigned low priority because she had indicated that they did not have weapons.*

Other residents complained how 911 call takers spoke to them.

> *The women who complained about response time when people were jumping on her roof added that when she called 911, she felt that the operator had been snotty to her.*

The "911 response" category also included reports that officers had violated the department's commitment to protecting the anonymity of callers when they requested it.

> *One man from the ____ block club yelled that he's tired of getting "set up" by police who come to his door, based upon his reporting of activity. He said calls are seldom anonymous, as police almost always walk up to his door. He said he was too old to get shot...*

> *A female resident stood up and angrily complained that the police officers who had responded to a call she placed anonymously had approached her and loudly called her by name. Another woman indicated that the same had happened to her.*

> *One citizen said that calling the police to report crimes had led to retaliation where her car was vandalized because police came to herbboor based upon the report.*

The perception that there are not enough police on patrol, or that they are not visible enough in troubled areas came up in about one in five beats.

*Residents asked police for a foot patrol post there. They explained they have
resources only for one and the businesses farther south have it. The residents
were angry that the businesses with more money and less crime had a foot patrol
and they couldn't get one where they wanted one.*

Dissatisfaction with the implementation of various aspects of CAPS came up in about 12
percent of the beats.

*The residents, who had not been trained in CAPS principles before, were arguing
for things like a more organized agenda, clear problem-solving steps and civilian-
oriented solutions, with no promoting from any CAPS people. The beat facilitator
and the sergeant were actually arguing against these things, and for more
traditional policing roles.*

However, while beat meetings were mainly well-organized and featured the discussion of
a diverse range of community concerns, the accountability and action components of the plan for
the meetings were less often met. Police reported to the group on what they had been doing in 60
percent of the beats, but residents did so at only 35 percent. Solutions were proposed for at least
some of the problems that were discussed at 77 percent of the beats, but most of them were
contributed by the police who were present, with few contributed by residents. Finally, beat
meetings are to provide a venue for organizing residents to deal on their own with some of these
problems. To monitor this, observers made note of whether volunteers were called for during
each meeting or sign-up sheets were distributed for a specific activity; they found that this
occurred in only 39 percent of the beats. Observers were also trained to make a judgment of
whether or not residents left each meeting with a commitment to taking some clear action before
the next meeting. Observers thought this was the case in only 34 percent of the beats they visited.

Thus, the 1998 observation study found that, while beat meetings were being conducted
on a regular basis all over the city, many had strayed from their role in prioritizing and acting on
problems. Some were essentially "slow 911 sessions" at which residents aired individual
grievances. One CAPS trainer characterized these as "laundry" meetings, where residents "drop
off the shirts, come back in a week and they're done." Others were "show and tell" sessions at
which police or agency representatives talked and residents listened. Police frequently promoted
the expectation that the role of residents was to be their "eyes and ears," calling them for fast
assistance when something bad happened; statements to this effect were made by police at 75
percent of the meetings that we observed. Few of the meetings were focused on action.

Beginning in 1999, top managers in the police department developed a plan addressing
the limited role that problem solving was playing at beat meetings. New guidelines prescribe that
participants prioritize crime and disorder problems, hold preliminary discussions about them,
identify tasks and a timetable, and seek volunteers and assign them tasks. Also developed were
requirements for the preparation of written agendas and informational materials, as well as lists
of community-based solutions and strategies that have proven effective in various parts of the

17

city. Plans for these sessions are to be approved by the district's community policing (formerly neighbor-hood relations) sergeant and the lieutenant now responsible for CAPS implementation in each district. They are also responsible for ensuring that relevant police personnel and city-agency representatives are present and that issues discussed at meetings are translated into action plans. New guidelines were also drawn up to ensure that ordinary beat meetings hewed closer to the official model, including requirements for the preparation of written agendas and informational materials. The lieutenants who are responsible in each district for CAPS implementation have been reminded of the importance of the action components of these meetings as well. The evaluation team will monitor the impact of these new guidelines.

Representation of Interests

Figure 1 tracks trends in beat meeting attendance because the number of residents attending is an important feature of beat meetings. A healthy turnout signals to police and citizens alike that people in the community care about the program and are concerned about area problems. Observations reveal that when more people are there, beat meetings work better: they are more likely to feature reports by police and residents about problem-solving efforts, and there is more discussion about solutions to the problems identified at the meeting.

But inevitably, only a small percentage of beat residents will attend even the largest meeting. Although in 1998 the average beat was home to about 7,060 adults, a large meeting by Chicago standards draws 30 residents. As noted above, meeting attendance varies with the season. The average turnout in good weather (the half year between May and October) was about one-quarter higher than in other months, but even then less than 30 percent of the meetings drew more than 30 residents. So, while sheer numbers are important, it is also important that beat meetings reflect the interests of residents. Even a small meeting can do this effectively, if those who attend adequately articulate the concerns of the general public. This section of the report addresses three questions about beat meetings. Do they reflect the composition of the beat? Do they represent the problems facing the beat and residents' views of the quality of police service? And, does the pattern of "middle class bias" that emerges while answering the first two questions affect the representation of problems and criticisms of police at the meetings?

Data to address these questions were gathered in 1998. Three sources of information are available to assess how well participants represent their neighbors. One is demographic information from the 1990 census, updated where possible using alternative estimates of the composition of each beat. Another is results of citywide surveys conducted during 1997-99. Almost 8,000 residents were interviewed in those surveys, and their views can be compared to those of people who attended beat meetings. More importantly, the combined city surveys were sufficiently large to include respondents who lived in most of the city's 270 residential police beats. The third source of data is questionnaires completed by participants attending the 253 beat meetings we observed. Questions asked of both meeting participants and beat residents, as well as the demographic composition of the two groups, can be compared directly to assess the link between beat meetings and the community. The analyses presented here are based on 187 beats

18

where at least 10 meeting participants completed questionnaires and 10 residents were interviewed in the 1997-99 city surveys. The responses of 2,100 beat residents and 4,521 meeting attendees were aggregated to represent these 187 areas.

The first question is, To what extent do those who attended beat meetings reflect the demographic composition of the community? Answering this involved comparisons like those made in Figures 3 and 4. They describe the relationship between two features of beats—the percentage of residents and beat meeting participants who were homeowners and Latinos.

As Figure 3 indicates, homeowners were significantly over-represented at the beat meetings we observed. On average, 75 percent of the participants reported owning their home, while the average for all beat residents (based on updated census estimates) was about 40 percent. Homeowners made up a majority of those in attendance at almost 90 percent of the meetings. The over-representation of homeowners is apparent even at a low level of beat home ownership. This is signaled by the decelerating curve (the dashed line) that is the best statistical description of the relationship between the two measures. As the arrow in Figure 3 illustrates, beats that averaged about 30 percent homeowners were represented by meetings where about 70 percent of the participants were homeowners.

Figure 3
Representation of Homeowners at Beat Meetings

beats with 10+ beat meeting participants and survey respondents

19
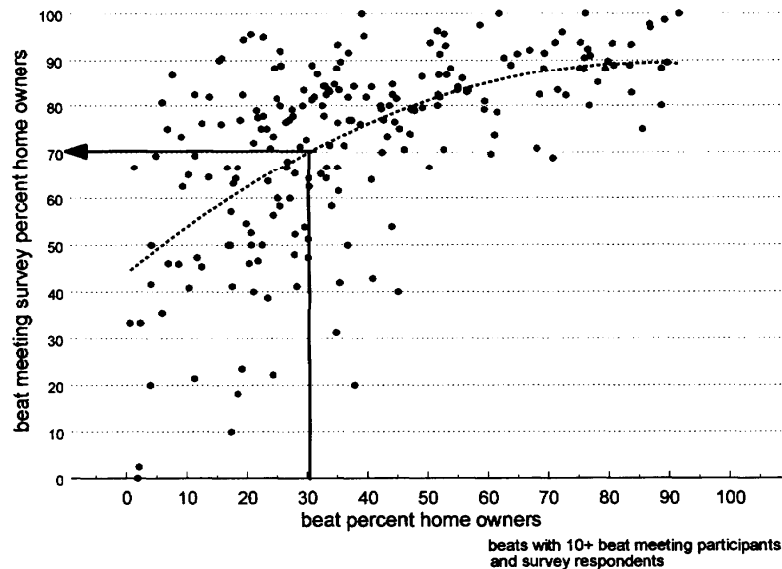
Figure 4 presents similar data for representation of the city's Latinos. In this case, the left axis presents the results of the observer's head counts at each meeting, which matched closely racial data collected in the questionnaires. Figure 4 explains the observation made above about Latino participation in beat meetings. It tends to be quite low except in beats where a "critical mass" of Latinos live, but there it skyrockets, as illustrated by the rapidly accelerating line in Figure 4. However, there are relatively few concentrated Latino beats in the city above the "take-off" point (only about 34 beats in the city are more than 60 percent Latino), so gross under-representation of Latinos is the norm. As Figure 4 illustrates, even at 70 percent Latino, the proportion of Latinos at beat meetings is less than half their fraction in the population.

Figure 4
Representation of Latinos at Beat Meetings

beats with 10+ beat meeting participants
and survey respondents
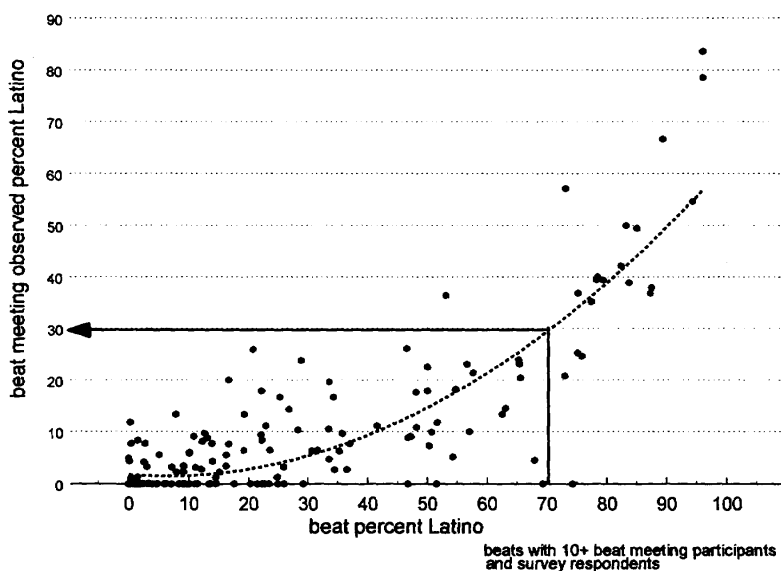
Chicago has certainly made efforts to involve Latinos more deeply in its community-policing effort. The publicity campaign supporting the program features a component aimed at Spanish-speaking residents. It includes paid promotional announcements and a police-staffed talk show on Spanish-language radio; booths at festivals held in Latino neighborhoods; and wide distribution of posters, flyers and newsletters in Spanish. Spanish-speaking community organizers work for the city to generate involvement in beat meetings and problem solving. The city's emergency communication system is staffed to handle foreign-language calls, and the police department itself has about 800 Spanish-speaking officers. Beat meetings held in

20

predominately Latino areas routinely are conducted in both languages, although the translators are almost always police or resident amateurs and the meetings run at a slow pace. The department's cadet diversity training includes some role-playing exercises revolving around linguistic issues. But despite these efforts, integration of the city's Latino residents into CAPS has proven difficult. Later sections of this report also document that, by many measures, they have reaped fewer of the benefits of declining rates of crime and improving conditions during the 1990s.

Beat meetings over-represent other groups as well. Within beats, residents with more education turn out more heavily. For example, in beats where about 30 percent of residents have a college education, almost 75 percent of beat meeting participants reported having a college degree, and college graduates made up a majority at 70 percent of the meetings. Older residents were also over-represented. In the 187 areas examined here about 12 percent of the population was over age 65, but beat meetings there averaged 25 percent over age 65, double the population figure. Like home ownership, the link between the two leveled off at higher figures; for example, based on the kind of analysis that underlies Figure 3, in beats where residents over age 65 make up about 20 percent of the population, about 35 percent of meeting participants reported being in that age range. Residents over age 65 were the majority at only 8 percent of the meetings the observers surveyed. On the other hand, women were the biggest group at about 75 percent of the meetings. The meetings attended by observers ranged from 25 percent to almost 90 percent women and averaged 60 percent female. Women were more over-represented in African-American areas, in poor beats and in public housing areas.

The second question is, To what extent did those who attended beat meetings represent the views of residents concerning the problems they faced? The data indicate that meeting participants were more concerned about problems than were the residents of their beat. As noted in an earlier section of the report, the level of officially recorded crime in a community is related to beat meeting turnout rates. In addition, the resident and participant surveys indicate that those who attend give higher ratings than do their neighbors to a broad range of problems. Second, the data indicate that those who come to the meetings broadly represent the views of beat residents, but do so more accurately for some problems than for others.

These comparisons could be made for seven neighborhood problems included in both surveys.[2] The largest gap between meeting participants and residents concerned street drug sales. Almost half of those who attended beat meetings reported that street drug sales were a big problem in their neighborhood, compared to 32 percent of residents. Gang violence and graffiti came next; the gap between residents and participants was about 12 percentage points for both problems. Other gaps were smaller, but those who came to meetings were more concerned than were run-of-the-mill residents about all seven problems.

---

[2] The wording of questions addressing neighborhood problems and perceptions of police are described in detail in later sections of the report that focus on those topics.

Three panels in Figure 5 address the extent to which residents' perceptions of beat problems were reflected in the level of concern that participants brought to beat meetings. Beat by beat, they compare ratings of problems gathered in the city surveys with ratings of the same problems supplied by meeting participants. Responses to questions about three forms of physical decay—abandoned cars, abandoned buildings and graffiti—were combined to form a neighborhood physical decay index. Questions about the extent of problems with burglary and street crime formed a personal and property crime index, while questions about gangs and drugs constituted a measure of their own.

Figure 5
Representation of Interests at Beat Meetings

beats with 10 participant and survey respondents
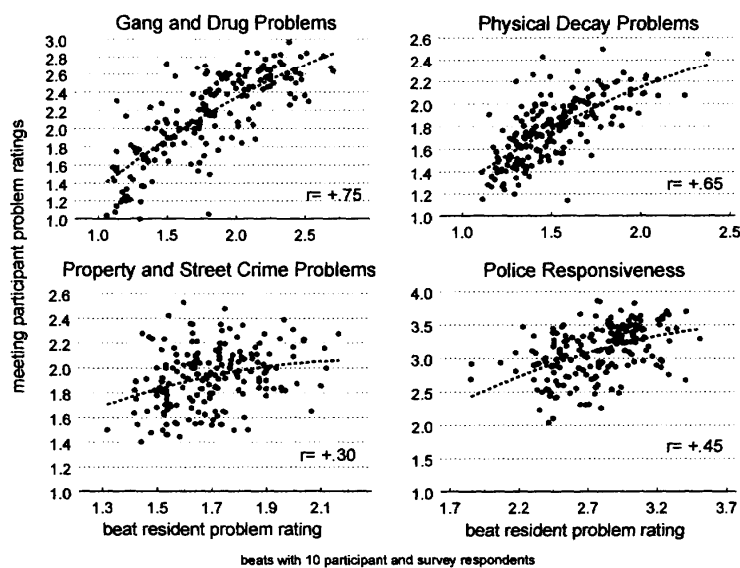
The strong relationship between resident and participant ratings of gang and drug problems is apparent in Figure 5, as is the link between beat and participant assessments of the extent of physical decay in their area. In beats where residents are concerned, so are those who show up at meetings. In these domains, Chicagoans can feel fairly confident that those who attend meetings in their beat reflect their views about the seriousness of these two categories of problems.

The link was weaker between beat meeting participants' views of crime problems and what the general public thought about burglary and street crime. As Figure 5 indicates, the two were correlated only +.30. Public concern about street crime translated to the meetings a bit more directly, but not impressively so. Also, in the case of burglary and robbery, beat meeting participants did not over-represent the views of residents: the ratings of the two were more

22

similar than they were for physical decay and the drug-gang index. For example, 11 percent of residents and 20 percent of those who attended beat meetings thought burglary was a big problem in their neighborhood. Careful inspection of Figure 5 also reveals that there was less variation across beats in the views of both groups when it came to crime.

One explanation for this relatively weak link between residents' views of crime and those of beat meeting participants is representational. The third evaluation question was, To what extent do biases in the representation of groups account for any lack of correspondence between the views of the general public and those that are carried into beat meetings? Does demographic imbalance have an impact on the correspondence between the general public's priorities and the issues that concern those who show up? To examine this we contrasted imbalances in the representation of various groups at the meetings with the fit or lack of fit between the views of meeting participants and their neighbors. Two of the groups that made a difference were homeowners and older people. In beats where the "excess" of homeowners was particularly large, participants were more concerned than were their neighbors about physical decay in the community. The imbalance was largest for building abandonment and graffiti. There were only slight effects of racial imbalance in participation on the problem-solving agenda of participants; where there was an excess of whites at the meetings there was less concern about gangs, while more African-Americans in attendance led to more concern about drugs.

The effect of an imbalance of older participants was stronger: it was linked to an under-representation of concern about street crime and burglary. For example, the citywide surveys found that 59 percent of the residents of the beats thought that burglary was to some extent a problem in their neighborhood. The parallel figure for older beat meeting participants was scarcely different, 65 percent, but it was 79 percent among younger attendees. The varying mix of younger-versus-older participants at the meetings had a substantial effect on the gap between beats and meetings, the strongest effect of any demographic factor. In contrast, there were only small differences between older and younger people when they were asked about neighborhood physical decay or social disorder, so age—and other demographic factors—had a much smaller effect, and the match between the views of residents and CAPS participants was much closer.

The lower-right panel in Figure 5 illustrates the relationship between resident views of the quality of police service in their neighborhood and the views carried into beat meetings by those who attended. The index of opinion about police presented in Figure 5 is based on responses to questions about how well police dealt with problems of concern to residents, worked with residents to solve local problems and responded to community concerns. Beat meetings provide a forum for residents to voice their concerns and try to hold police accountable for working on them both separately and in partnership. Representing the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of residents with policing in their area should be one of their most important functions.

Figure 5 suggests that beat meetings provide this link in the most general sense. The correlation between beat and participant attitudes was +.45, providing a direct but not particularly clear link between the two. There are at least two reasons for this tenuous linkage. First, meeting

participants were more optimistic than their neighbors about the quality of police service in their neighborhood. For example, about 70 percent of those attending meetings in these beats thought police were doing a good or very good job at dealing with problems that concern beat residents, but the comparable figure for residents was 60 percent. The divide was greater—15 percentage points—in terms of the proportions who thought police were doing a good job working with residents to solve problems. While we have noted earlier that those who attend the meetings are more concerned than are their neighbors about a broad range of local problems, they are less concerned than is the general public about the police. Second, there were large racial differences in this "optimism gap." The distance between African-Americans who came to meetings and their neighbors was particularly noticeable when it came to views of the police.

One reason for the uncertain representation of resident concern about the quality of local policing among beat meeting participants is that racial minorities who attended—particularly African-Americans—distanced themselves considerably from the communities from which they came. The gulf between residents and participants was almost as great for Latinos. On the other hand, whites who showed up more accurately mirrored the views of their neighbors, which were also more favorable. The differential gap between beat residents and CAPS participants, depending on their race, disrupted the general link between the meetings and the community.

This can be seen in Figure 6. It presents the percentage of respondents who on average rated the police as doing at least a good job on the three measures of perceptions of the quality of police service. The difference between each pair of bars represents the gap between neighborhood residents and beat meeting participants of the same race in the 187 beats where both were well-represented in the data. The gulf between the two groups was greatest—17

Figure 6
Race and Representation of Views of Policing

percent averaging at least a "good job" on three questions about local policing

data for residents and participants from 187 beats

24
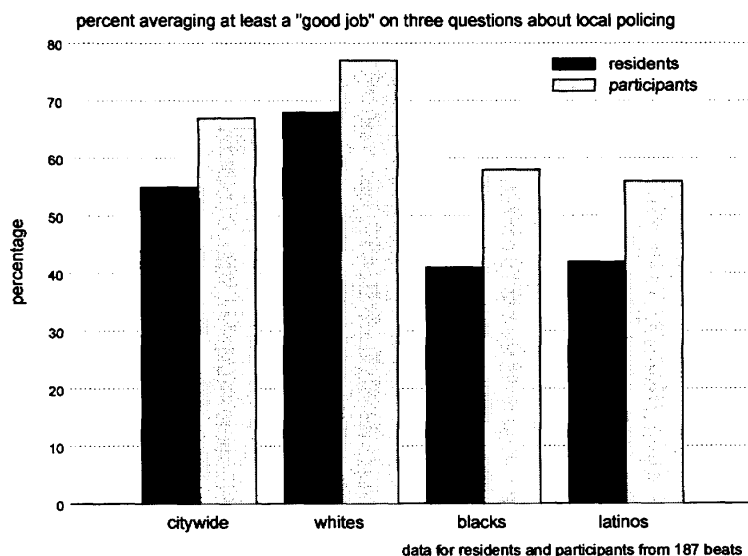
percentage points—among African-Americans. It was smallest—9 percentage points—among whites. The gap between residents and CAPS participants was 14 percentage points for Latinos, close to the divide for African-Americans.

In short, there is substantial "bias" in the transmission of resident concern about police service to beat meetings. We suspect this has several sources. Those who choose to attend in the first place may be more optimistic about police, while those who are not favorably inclined toward the police stay away. The gap may grow because those who attend and have a bad experience do not come back, and critics who speak up may feel unwelcome to return. Their voices are less likely to be heard. Alternately, those who attend may come to know and appreciate the concern shown by police who are there and any positive accomplishments that stem from the meetings, thus becoming more positive in their views. All of these are consistent with the finding that the frequent attenders described earlier in this section of the report are more positive about the police than are those who attend only once or twice, and light attenders are in turn more optimistic than those who do not come at all. The gap between participants and the general public is also consistent with the extremely high levels of satisfaction reported by participants on what takes place at the meetings. In citywide surveys, 85 percent or more routinely report that they learn something at the meetings, that action has taken place in their neighborhood as a result of the meetings, that they are useful for finding solutions to problems and that they improve the community's relationship with the police.

But whatever the mechanism, a consequence of this selection-and-learning process is that beat meetings provide a more favorable venue for police than they would if the views of the public were directly represented. Large, less satisfied segments of the public stay away. The representation of residents' views of police service is less effective in African-American and Latino communities, where things may appear to be rosier than they really are.

Public Confidence in the Quality of Police Service

One goal of CAPS was to increase popular confidence in the effectiveness of police service. Nationwide surveys find that police generally have the confidence of the public, and they are held in higher esteem than many other public officials. But support for the police is not as high among residents of the nation's largest cities, and Chicago is no exception to this pattern. Opinion about the police is also deeply divided by race, and in the past, Chicago has come off badly in comparisons of the views of whites and African-Americans. During the 1970s, the Census Bureau conducted surveys of residents of 26 of the nation's largest cities. In these surveys, the opinion gap between white and African-American residents of Chicago was the largest of any city, and as a whole Chicago stood near the bottom in terms of public confidence in policing. As the aftermath of the Rodney King episode that opened the decade reminds us, these opinions can have consequences.

Distrust of the police threatened the viability of CAPS in the very neighborhoods where it was needed most. Concern about police misconduct, civil rights abuses and residents' negative

perceptions of police led savvy activists to worry about the ability of beat meetings to attract participants, or whether residents could be convinced to form partnerships with police around problem-solving projects. More widespread in the community was the perception that police were not very effective at their work. In the early 1990s, crime rates were at their highest in decades. The public linked this to the persistence of open-air drug markets and drug-related shootings, and police seemed incapable of doing anything about them. At the first beat meetings held in the prototype districts, residents frequently complained about slow or nonexistent responses to 911 calls, and they recounted tales of police indifference to their concerns and disregard for the plight of victims. They wanted more frequent, visible patrols, and they wanted patrol cars to stop when they flagged them down on the street.

Some of the best evidence of the impact of CAPS on resident perceptions of the quality of police service comes from the first two years of the evaluation, when research could be conducted in the prototype districts where CAPS was being developed and in comparison areas where policing was being conducted as usual. In the prototype districts, the largest changes in opinions about the police were confined to perceptions of their responsiveness to community concerns. The evaluation found that perceived police responsiveness improved significantly in four of the five experimental districts, but not at all in three of their four comparison areas. Perceptions of police effectiveness and demeanor also improved in predominately African-American districts but not in their comparison areas. Combining all of the residents of the prototype districts, attitudes toward the police changed most favorably among African-Americans, who began with fairly negative views on most dimensions. Views of policing also improved among whites, but they were quite positive to start with, and they also grew more positive among both renters and homeowners. The greatest shortcoming of the program in the prototype areas was among Latinos, who started out even more dissatisfied than the city's African-Americans. Their views did not improve at all. The district in which Latinos involved in the development of CAPS were concentrated was the one district where opinion of the police did not improve significantly.

To examine what happened when the program grew to encompass the entire city, the evaluation conducted yearly surveys monitoring public opinion.[3]

The first was a measure of perceived <u>police demeanor</u>. It is based on responses to four questions asking how well people living in the area are treated by police. Like all of the measures in this section, respondents were given four response categories to choose from; the best and worst ratings are reported below.

---

[3]All of the surveys were conducted by telephone using random-digit-dialing procedures to ensure that unlisted households would be included in the sample. The most conservative survey completion rates ranged from 40 to 60 percent, declining somewhat over time. The 1993 survey was small and conducted only in English, so discussion of the Latino population of Chicago in this report begins with the 1994 survey. During 1994-96 the surveys included 1300 to 1800 respondents; during 1997-99 they included 2800 to 3000 respondents.

In general, how polite are the police when dealing with people in your neighborhood? Are they [very polite to very impolite]?

When dealing with people's problems in your neighborhood, are the police generally [very concerned to not concerned at all] about their problems?

In general, how helpful are the police when dealing with people in your neighborhood? Are they [very helpful to not helpful at all]?

In general, how fair are the police when dealing with people in your neighborhood? Are they [very fair to very unfair]?

Before CAPS was launched, police in Chicago rated best on this dimension. In 1993, fully 86 percent of the city's residents thought their neighborhood police were very or somewhat helpful, as opposed to not very helpful or not helpful at all. Police came off worst in terms of politeness, for only 71 percent of those who were interviewed granted them a positive rating on that question.[4] Responses to these questions went together consistently in every yearly survey. In 1996, near the mid-point of the evaluation, they were correlated an average of +.57. In analyses that combine them into an index, the resulting police demeanor measure had a reliability of .83.[5]

A second measure was created of perceived police responsiveness. It was based on responses to three questions:

How responsive are the police in your neighborhood to community concerns? Do you think they are [very responsive to very unresponsive]?

How good a job are the police doing in dealing with the problems that really concern people in your neighborhood? Would you say they are doing a [very good job to poor job]?

How good a job are the police doing in working together with residents in your neighborhood to solve local problems? Would you say they are doing a [very good job to poor job]?

There were large differences in how Chicagoans rated police on these three measures. In 1993, the police came off best on the first question asked in this sequence—more than 80 percent of residents reported that they were responsive to neighborhood concerns. But less than half thought the police were actually dealing with problems that concerned them, and only 39 percent reported that police were doing a good job working with neighborhood residents to solve

---

[4] On the demeanor questions, some respondents (3 to 5 percent) volunteered a response like "some are and some aren't." In this discussion they were included in the negative category. There are always a significant number of respondents who reply "don't know" to specific questions about police activity; for the questions discussed in this section this fraction ranged from 2 to 17 percent. Those respondents are excluded from consideration on a question-by-question basis.

[5] The reliability of an index is its internal consistency, or the extent to which positive or negative responses to the questions in the index are consistent. An index should include only items that consistently contribute to high or low overall scores. The reliability measures reported here are quite good for measures based on three or four questions.

problems. Despite these differences in ratings, responses to these questions also went together consistently every year: in 1996, for example, they were correlated an average of +.65. The combined police responsiveness index had a reliability of .85.

The last measure that can be tracked over this seven-year period is of perceived police performance. It was also based on responses to three questions:

> How good a job do you think the police in your neighborhood are doing in helping people out after they have been victims of crime? [very good job to poor job]

> How good a job do you think they are doing to prevent crime in your neighborhood? [very good job to poor job]

> How good a job are the police in your neighborhood doing in keeping order on the streets and sidewalks? [very good job to poor job]

In 1993, Chicago police did not rate highly on any of these aspects of their performance. They did best in terms of keeping order; 56 percent gave them positive marks on this. But only 36 percent reported that they worked well with victims, and only 45 percent gave them passing marks on preventing crime. Responses to these items were correlated an average of +.63 in 1996, and the combined police performance index used later in this section had a reliability of .84.

Trends in Public Confidence

Figure 7 illustrates trends in these measures over most of the 1990s. It charts the percentage of respondents who averaged a positive rating (the two best of four rating categories) on each index. As noted above, police scored best on their personal relations with the public. Even at the outset, a majority of Chicagoans believed that their neighbors were treated well by police, so there was not much room for improvement on this measure. Before CAPS began in 1993, almost two-thirds averaged a positive score on the police demeanor index, and that figure rose to 75 percent by 1999. The biggest increase in this category was the percentage who thought police treated residents of their neighborhood politely, which increased from 71 percent to 80 percent over the period. The percentage who thought police were helpful went up by only four percentage points, but that was from 86 percent to 90 percent. By 1999, fully 86 percent of Chicagoans thought police were very or somewhat fair in their dealing with their neighbors.

On the other hand, before CAPS was launched less than 40 percent of Chicagoans had an optimistic view of police responsiveness to community concerns. Responding to this perception was a most important goal of CAPS. By 1995, beat meetings were held regularly throughout the city, and each police district had formed an advisory committee. City services had been reorganized to support police problem-solving projects by fall 1994. As Figure 7 illustrates, perceptions of police responsiveness to community concerns improved steadily with time; overall, the responsiveness index rose nearly 20 percentage points. The largest increase in this group of questions was the percentage who thought police were doing a good job working with residents to solve problems, which rose from 39 to 59 percent over the period. The measure

recording the widest recognition asked about police responsiveness to neighborhood concerns: positive ratings on this dimension rose from 81 percent to 88 percent between 1993 and 1999.

Figure 7
Trends in Assessments of Police Service Quality
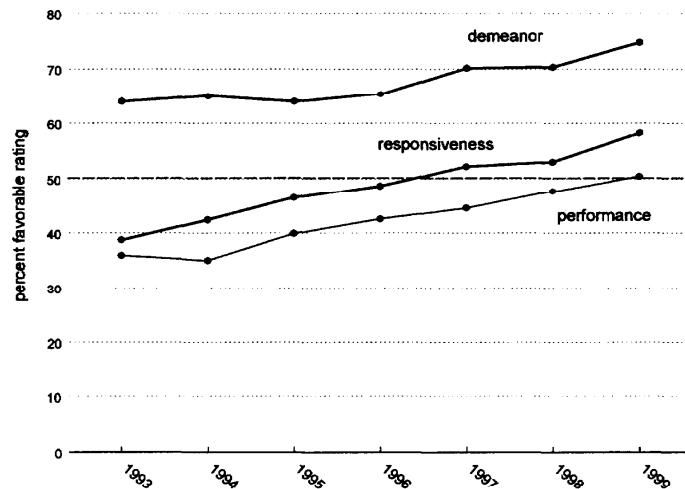
Before CAPS began, Chicagoans were most negative in their views of how well police did their job. When he attended community meetings, the mayor heard constantly about unanswered calls to the city's 911 emergency number and complaints that patrol cars would not stop when anxious residents flagged them down on the street. But over time, the index measuring this aspect of police service improved significantly, rising from 36 to 50 percent. This trend is also depicted in Figure 7. In this category, new police efforts to prevent crime were most widely recognized. Between 1993 and 1999 the percentage granting them a positive rating on this aspect of their work rose from 45 to 60 percent. Reports that police were doing a very good job or a good job assisting crime victims increased from 37 percent to 57 percent. Police got the highest marks for keeping order; positive scores on this measure hit 66 percent by 1999, up from 56 percent in 1993.

These were solid gains. The dark horizontal line highlighting the 50 percent mark in Figure 7 emphasizes that a majority of Chicagoans moved into the positive range on all three measures. But the 50 percent mark also emphasizes that there was ample room left for improvement on these dimensions. After more than five years of community policing, just half the public thought that police were doing a good job at preventing crime, helping victims and maintaining order, while under 60 percent thought they were doing a good job responding to community concerns. "Helping victims" was their lowest-rated form of service; by this measure, police were not seen as responding to the needs of a core-customer group. One summary of

29

Figure 7 is that "the glass" representing the views of city residents about police went from being "less than half full" to "a little more than half full."

Race and Views of Policing

Another important goal of CAPS was to mend the breach between police and city residents. The first CAPS evaluation report documented how wide it had grown. Chicagoans were divided along class lines, with homeowners and better-off residents sharing more positive views of the police than their counterparts. They also split sharply along age lines, and city residents under age 30 were dramatically less enamored with the quality of police service than those in older categories. But the largest cleavage over policing was along racial lines. In the original prototype police districts where CAPS was developed, African-Americans and Latinos were two-and-a-half to three times more likely than whites to report that the police were unfair, impolite, unconcerned and unhelpful. Surveys of police attending beat meetings conducted in 1998 found that white officers did not feel well-received in predominately African-American beats. From the outset of CAPS, many anticipated that dissatisfaction among the city's African-Americans and Latinos would make community policing a tough sell in many neighborhoods.

Figure 8
Race and Perceptions of Police Service 1993-1994

surveys conducted 1993-1994
bar height indicates percent with a positive rating
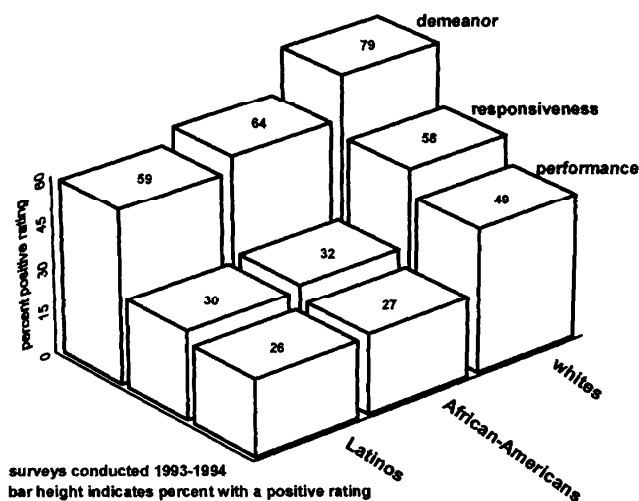
Figure 8 examines the depth of racial division around policing at the outset of the program. It is based on responses from the 1993 and 1994 surveys, which were combined to increase the sample size for Latinos. Both surveys were conducted before CAPS became a citywide effort, and combining them increases the accuracy of the data for racial subgroups. Figure 8 presents the percentage of respondents averaging in the positive range on each of the

30

policing indices described above, divided by race.[6] The differences are dramatic. In terms of perceived police responsiveness, whites were more likely to give police an overall favorable rating by 25 percentage points. The largest gap between the races was for dealing with problems that really concern people; in 1993-94, 64 percent of whites, but only 38 percent of African-Americans and 39 percent of Latinos, thought police were doing a good job at that. More than half of whites thought police were working with residents to solve problems, but only 36 percent of Latinos and 38 percent of African-Americans thought that.

Racial differences in ratings of police performance were almost as large, narrowing only because more whites did not think police were doing a very good job. Overall, almost half of whites thought police were doing a good job, contrasted with about one-quarter of Latinos and African-Americans. Among the components of the index, while 57 percent of whites indicated that police were doing a good job preventing crime, the comparable figure for African-Americans was only 36 percent; among Latinos it was 34 percent. Among African-Americans, the highest-rated police activity—at 43 percent—was keeping order, but the comparable figure for whites was 68 percent.

On the other hand, satisfaction was highest among all groups with regard to how police were perceived as treating individuals with whom they came in contact. This index—which was based on questions about their politeness, concern, helpfulness and fairness—gathered much more positive evaluations, and a majority of Latinos and African-Americans gave police passing marks on the demeanor index. Racial differences in perceptions of how police treat city residents persisted, however. Almost 80 percent of whites also gave them positive reviews on this dimension, and thus the gap between whites and others was still in the 15 to 20 percentage point range. Police came off worst in terms of politeness, with 82 percent of whites, 68 percent of African-Americans and 61 percent of Latinos giving them positive marks on this dimension.

Trends in Opinion by Race

The yearly tracking surveys conducted by the evaluation also can be used to gauge trends in group opinion over time, and the findings are presented in Figure 9. It presents trend data for racial groups on each of the three evaluation dimensions described above. To simplify matters, Figure 9 also combines the three measures of police service quality into a single index that weights them equally in calculating a total score. Those who gave police a positive rating on one of the dimensions also tended to give them a favorable rating on the other two, so this summary index provides a fair representation of people's overall opinion of the police. Figure 9 divides respondents by race (excluding the smallest categories) and presents the percentage of respondents in each group who each year averaged a positive rating on the survey questions.

---

[6] Responses by the small number of persons of other races who were involved in the survey are omitted here and in the next figure, for they were a heterogeneous group and their numbers were too few to reliably describe their views or to track changes in their perceptions over time.

Figure 9
Race and Assessments of Police Service Quality
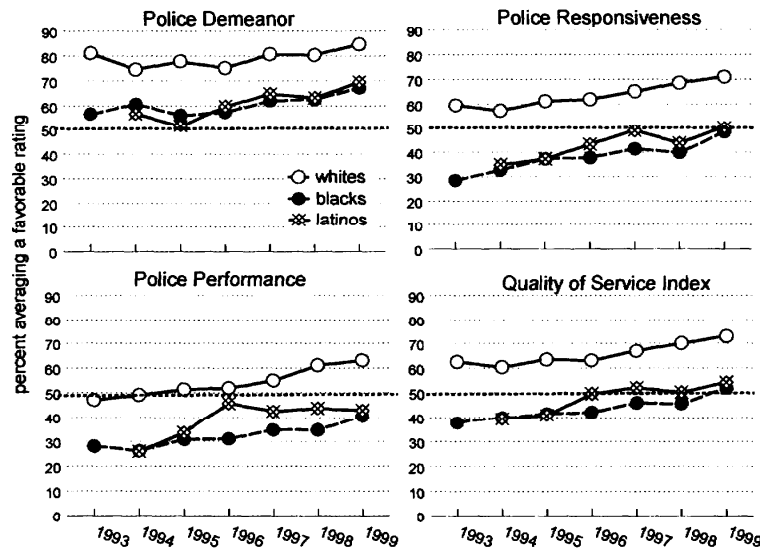
As Figure 9 documents, there were across-the-board improvements in residents' views of the quality of police service.[7] The level of opinion varied from topic to topic, but the trend did not. Whites perceived that police treated people well even at the beginning of the evaluation, and there was not much room for improvement there; Latino and African-American perceptions of police demeanor improved by about 10 percentage points and ended on a high note. Whites began the period with relatively negative views of police on-the-job performance, views that shifted—like those of African-Americans and Latinos—by about 10 percentage points. Perceptions of police among African-Americans and Latinos changed the most on the responsiveness dimension, improving by about 20 percentage points between 1993 and 1999.

The summary index presented in the lower-right quadrant of Figure 9 captures most of these patterns. It points to an improvement of white opinion by 10 percentage points, while among African-Americans and Latinos support grew by about 15 percentage points. At decade's end, the views of all of these groups had moved into the positive range. But as these percentages indicate, at the end of the decade the gulf between whites and others was almost as great as it was near the beginning. Based on the summary index, about 20 percentage points separated whites from other city residents, compared to about 25 percentage points six years earlier. The views of many city residents grew more favorable, but the gulf between whites and racial minorities hardly shrank at all.

---

[7] The 1993 city survey was small and conducted in English only, so responses by Latinos are not presented for that year. The 1993-1999 shift in the overall index of opinion about police, and shifts in all three of its component indices, were statistically significant for each racial grouping.

32

Comparison to Other Cities

Another way to assess Chicagoans' views of the police is to compare them to those of residents of other cities. In 1998 the Bureau of Justice Statistics surveyed residents of 12 large and middle-sized cities about their views of the quality of service and community-oriented programs by police serving their neighborhoods. An average of about 1,540 respondents 16 years of age and older was interviewed by telephone in each city, using random-digit-dialing sampling procedures to ensure that households with unlisted numbers were included in the study. Some of the cities were in Chicago's size range, including New York, Los Angeles and San Diego. Others were smaller, including Savannah, Tucson, Springfield (Massachusetts), Knoxville and Spokane. Residents of each city were quizzed about neighborhood crime problems, their views of the quality of police service, and about community-oriented activities by police serving their neighborhood. The rankings produced by these surveys illustrate where residents of Chicago stood on these dimensions in relation to others around the country.

Figure 10
Comparative Measures of General Satisfaction with Policing

	Percent who feel "very satisfied" with the police who serve their neighborhood				Percent who feel "very satisfied" or "satisfied"			
	Total	Whites	Blacks	Latinos	Total	Whites	Blacks	Latinos
Madison	31	32	–	–	98	97	–	–
San Diego	25	30	28	11	93	95	88	88
Kansas City	24	28	14	–	89	90	86	–
Springfield, MA	23	28	13	9	87	91	77	79
Knoxville	22	23	13	–	89	91	63	–
Savannah	21	21	21	22	86	88	82	80
Los Angeles	20	25	16	16	86	91	82	79
Tucson	19	21	–	15	87	90	–	77
Spokane	19	19	–	–	87	88	–	–
New York	16	21	11	14	84	91	78	75
Chicago	**16**	**21**	**10**	**13**	**80**	**90**	**69**	**74**
Washington, DC	14	15	13	17	78	81	74	74

'Total' column also includes responses by persons of other races; '–' indicates less than 40 respondents with an opinion.

To assess their general satisfaction with policing, residents of each city were asked, "In general, how satisfied are you with the police who serve your neighborhood? Are you very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?" Figure 10 ranks the 12 cities using the proportion agreeing they were very satisfied. It also presents the combination of very satisfied and satisfied ratings, which point to the same general conclusions. While differences in the ratings of nearby cities on the list are often small, the general pattern is clear: even after years of experience with community policing, residents of Chicago still ranked their police near the bottom.

Among the 12 cities surveyed, Figure 10 places Chicago only above the District of Columbia on either satisfaction measure. Only 16 percent of the city's residents reported they were "very satisfied" with police who served their neighborhood, while in most cities that figure was above 20 percent and peaked at 31 percent. Six cities stood above Chicago when only the views of whites are examined, while the city's African-American population logged in one of the lowest rating among all of the cities. Most cities with significant Latino populations stood above Chicago in their rankings as well.

The 1998 survey also illustrates the continued gulf between white and African-American residents of Chicago over policing. Even though white Chicagoans were comparatively negative about their police, the gap between white and African-American residents of Chicago—11 percentage points, based on the "very satisfied" criterion—was still third worst in the group. This is scarce improvement over the city surveys of the 1970s, which placed the city last in this regard.

The survey addressed specific issues as well as this general rating, and on many of those identified issues residents of Chicago often gave police high marks. Respondents from each city were asked, "How much work are police doing with the residents of your neighborhood to prevent crime and safety problems?" Based on the percentage who replied "a lot" (the highest rating) Chicago stood in a virtual tie with New York City for first place. The city also did well on perceptions of community policing and awareness of anti-crime efforts involving neighborhood residents. To measure the former, respondents were given a brief definition of community policing (in Chicago the question included a reference to CAPS), and then they were asked, "Based on the definition, do you think the police in your neighborhood practice community policing?" With 62 percent responding "yes," Chicago stood at the top of the list. Survey respondents were also asked if they had attended a neighborhood meeting concerning crime. On this measure, Chicago was tied for first position among the 12 cities included in the Bureau of Justice Statistics survey. However, the satisfaction measure presented in Figure 10 suggests that awareness that police were trying to conduct a community policing program and work with residents did not directly translate into satisfaction with how well police were doing their job.

Some of the trends reported here run counter to those revealed by many surveys of the public's confidence in institutions of government and public officials. In the United States, the belief that elected leaders care ". . . what people like me think," or that the common man ". . . can

34

trust the government to do what is right," has been on the decline since the 1950s. Yet during the 1990s, Chicago bucked the tide. There were substantial positive shifts in views of policing, and support for the police grew among all major population groups. To be sure, there remained plenty of room for improvement. After a half-decade of community policing, public perceptions of police performance had just hit the 50-percent mark, and perceived responsiveness did not stand much above that level. And compared to residents of other cities, Chicagoans of all backgrounds were still disgruntled. But a large and still-growing proportion of residents in all groups reported that police were helpful, concerned and fair, and the trend line on other aspects of their job was in the right direction.

Neighborhood Conditions

Under CAPS, police are to move beyond simply responding in traditional fashion to individual calls to 911 concerning crime. They are to adopt instead a proactive, prevention-oriented stance toward a wide range of neighborhood problems. Because systematic thinking about chronic conditions was new in a city accustomed to reactive policing driven by 911 calls, it was necessary to train both police and neighborhood residents on how to implement the model. Between 1995 and 1997, most patrol officers and thousands of civilians were taught to analyze how offenders and victims collide at particular locations to create crime hot spots. Both police and residents were also given new tools for solving problems, ranging from computerized crime analysis to the expedited delivery of city services.

In the CAPS model, problems are defined as chronic concentrations of related incidents. The linkages between incidents can arise from their common victims, offenders or methods of operation, but most are defined by their concentrations in specific locations. Because problems are persistent, the incidents probably share causes, and dealing with these underlying conditions prevents future problems. Chicago adopted a five-step model to guide the problem-solving efforts of police and residents: 1) Identify and prioritize problems; 2) Analyze them; 3) Design response strategies; 4) Implement them; and 5) Assess their success.

While both police and residents were vitally interested in crime, an important feature of Chicago's program is that the problems it addresses do not have to be serious criminal matters. Community policing inevitably involves an expansion of the police mandate to include a broad range of concerns that previously lay outside their competence. By the time CAPS began, everyone understood that crime is rooted in a range of neighborhood conditions and events, and that it was necessary to address both criminal and criminogenic problems in practical fashion if the city was to take its mission of preventing crime seriously. A department publication noted,

> CAPS recognizes that graffiti, abandoned vehicles and buildings, malfunctioning street lights and other signs of neighborhood disorder do have an adverse effect on both crime and the public's fear of crime. By addressing these relatively minor problems early on, police and other government agencies can prevent them from becoming more serious and widespread crime problems.

An expansion of the police mandate was also required by the department's commitment to open itself to public input and scrutiny. If officers responded to community concerns with remarks like, "that's not a police matter," no one would show up for another meeting. So, police found themselves involved in orchestrating neighborhood weekend clean-ups and graffiti paint-outs. The districts named "problem-buildings officers" who inventoried dilapidated and abandoned structures and tracked down the owners of the property. Police stood with residents at prayer vigils and guarded barbeque "smoke-outs" on drug-selling corners. They also distributed bracelets that would identify senior citizens if they were unconscious and took note of street lights that were out and trees that needed trimming. They were steered toward problems like the sale of loose cigarettes and individual cans of beer, as well as toward the open-air drug markets that plagued too many neighborhoods.

Mobilizing Services for Problem Solving

But to make this work, community policing could not be solely the police department's program; it had to have the assistance of other city agencies. So, from the beginning, Chicago envisioned that the delivery of city services would be an integral part of community policing. The mechanism at first was a quick and easy service request procedure involving only one sheet of paper. Figure 11 presents the form. Officers' service requests triggered a prioritizing and case-tracking process that increased the responsiveness of other city agencies. Making this function smoothly was difficult. An interagency task force worked on the logistics of coordinating agency efforts against problems, while programmers developed a software system that logged in, tracked and recorded the final disposition of police service requests and generated user-friendly reports that could be double-checked in the field. District commanders and agency troubleshooters met weekly to iron out interagency communication problems. Changes were made in city ordinances to facilitate expedited building demolitions and car tows. More recently the city's civilian CAPS Implementation Office has stationed service coordinators across the city to see that problem-solving projects have the support that they require. Beginning in early 2000, service requests could be entered directly into the city's service tracking system using computers located in police district stations. The system allows station personnel to check the status of individual requests and print out reports on service requests for distribution at beat meetings.

During the program-development period the service-delivery component was one of the most successful elements of CAPS. The evaluation found that, in contrast to matched comparison areas, physical decay went down in all three of the most troubled prototype districts. Where building abandonment, graffiti and trash were ranked among the most serious problems, they declined substantially in comparison to trends in comparison areas. Several districts made effective use of the new service delivery emphasis to target specific problems, including abandoned buildings and autos, trash and graffiti.

In addition to improved access to the standard menu of agency services, Chicago developed a number of new tools for addressing chronic problems. One was crime analysis,

Figure 11
City Service Request Form

CITY SERVICE REQUEST
CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT

DATE _____

DISTRICT _____ BEAT _____ LOCATION ___ ___ ___ _____
(NUMBER)   (DIR.)   (STREET NAME)

SERVICE DESCRIPTION:		GRAFFITI REMOVAL:	WAIVER SIGNED: ☐ YES
☐ LIGHT ☐ WATER LEAK		MATERIAL: ☐ BRICK ☐ PAINTED BRICK	☐ NO

SERVICE DESCRIPTION:
☐ LIGHT   ☐ WATER LEAK
☐ HOLE   ☐ CLEAN
☐ CAVE IN   ☐ BULK
☐ CART   ☐ HYDRANT
☐ SIGN   ☐ HEAT
☐ TREE
OTHER _____

☐ STREET   ☐ VACANT LOT
☐ CURB   ☐ PARKWAY
☐ CHA   ☐ MIDDLE OF STREET
☐ CORNER   ☐ SIDEWALK
☐ ALLEY   ☐ VIADUCT
☐ HOUSE   ☐ SEWER BLOCK

☐ ALL   ☐ ONE   ☐ TRAFFIC
☐ OUT   ☐ CUT   ☐ TRIM HIGH
☐ NEW   ☐ OPEN   ☐ TRIM LOW
☐ PLANT ☐ STUMP ☐ DAMAGED
☐ REMOVE ☐ RESTORE
☐ MISSING ☐ REPLACE
☐ INSUFFICIENT
OTHER _____

GRAFFITI REMOVAL: WAIVER SIGNED: ☐ YES
MATERIAL: ☐ BRICK ☐ PAINTED BRICK   ☐ NO
SIDING (SPECIFY) _____
OTHER _____
OWNER (IF KNOWN) _____

ABANDONED BUILDINGS: ☐ VACANT ☐ OPEN ☐ BRICK ☐ FRAME
                     ☐ GARAGE ☐ SECURED FLOORS ___

ABANDONED AUTOMOBILES: MAKE _____ YEAR _____
LICENSE PLATES: ☐ YES ☐ NO # _____ STATE _____ YEAR ___
CITY STICKER: ☐ YES ☐ NO # _____
HAZARDOUS AUTO: ☐ YES ☐ NO   FLOAT: ☐ FULL ☐ PARTIAL
COLOR _____ (TOP/BOTTOM)
VIN _____
OTHER INFORMATION _____

CRIMINAL HOUSING TASK FORCE:
BUILDING LOCATION _____
NUMBER OF UNITS _____ OWNER'S NAME _____
COMPLAINT _____

NUISANCE PAY PHONE:
☐ REMOVE
☐ HUMAN SERVICES REFERRAL
☐ LIQUOR CONTROL REFERRAL

COMPLAINANT INFORMATION:
NAME _____ ADDRESS _____
APT NO. ____ HOME PHONE _____ WORK PHONE _____
ORGANIZATION _____
NARRATIVE: _____

NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIONS OFFICER ONLY

PRIORITY (CHECK ONE)
☐ EMERGENCY
☐ NON-EMERGENCY

REPORTING OFFICER _____ STAR NO. _____
R.D. NO. _____ I & I NO. _____
(INITIALS)

CPD - 21.208 (REV. 1/96)

WHITE COPY - SEND TO MAYOR'S OFFICE OF INQUIRY AND INFORMATION, CITY HALL, ROOM 100
BLUE COPY - RETAIN IN NEIGHBORHOOD RELATIONS OFFICE

which is considered a key component of community policing in Chicago because it is to provide the "knowledge base" driving problem solving and traditional tactical operations. An easy-to-use crime mapping system was developed that runs on familiar personal computers at each district station, using data that is constantly updated via a network. Crime maps and offense data are routinely distributed at beat meetings and accessible to the public at each station. Figure 12 presents a typical map of thefts for a short period in one police district and beat.

37

Figure 12
Theft Patterns in District 15 and Beat 1522
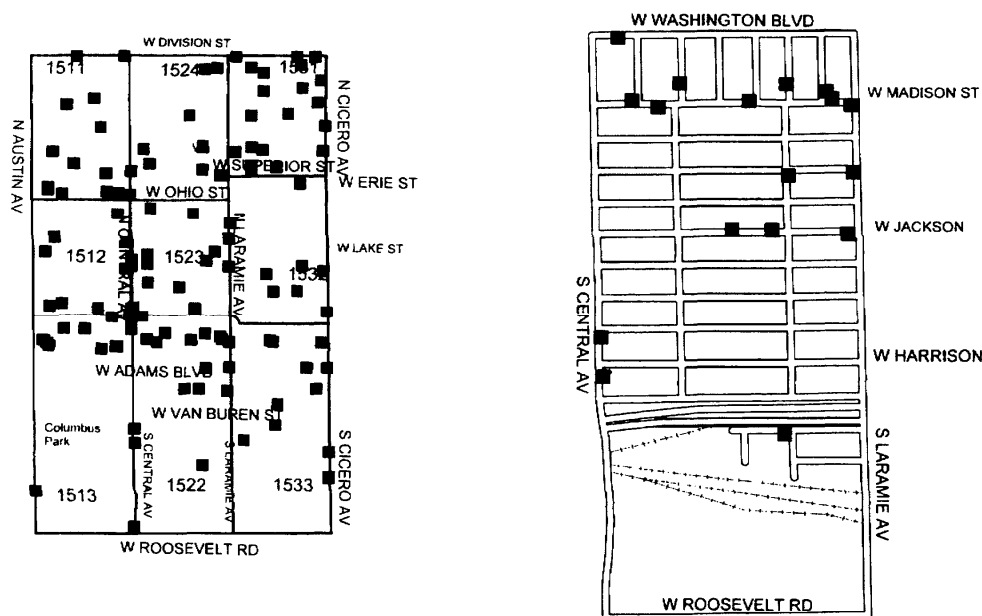
In another move, the city's Department of Buildings in 1996 created the Strategic Inspections Task Force (SITF), a roving task force that enforces its anti-gang and drug house ordinances. Prior to its formation, each department handling building inspections acted independently, following its own inspection schedule and using its own personnel. The task force was to be responsible for coordinating the efforts of the individual departments by forming teams of inspectors to work together, focusing on a targeted list of buildings. SITF teams are composed of inspectors detailed from the departments of Buildings, Fire, Health, Police and Revenue. There are four to five teams of inspectors in the field at any time, though due to a shortage of electrical and plumbing inspectors, only two teams may be complete. A general inspector (also known as a "conservationist") accompanies all teams. In the beginning, the SITF was in charge of "identifying, inspecting and investigating buildings which are being used as gang/drug houses or places of ongoing activity" as well as "buildings located on main arterial streets which are beginning to deteriorate or are already blighted." Over time, however, the workload has gotten so great that the SITF no longer handles the latter types of buildings; these are now identified and inspected by the Department of Buildings.

To facilitate its efforts, the SITF works with Department of Law attorneys (whose responsibilities are described in detail elsewhere in this report) and with district police officers to identify buildings for inspection. They focus on buildings that have a documented connection to crime and others of concern to police or district residents. The SITF inspects on a rotating

38

schedule, conducting physical inspections every six weeks in each police district. Inspectors do a crime-abatement survey, looking for signs of gangs and illegal activity, as well as building code violations; in addition, they make recommendations on how to fix the building beyond making citations for code violations. The results of the inspection are given to city attorneys, who then initiate certain actions depending on whether or not the building owner is cooperative. The Department of Buildings itself can also file cases in the Department of Administrative Hearings or in circuit court. Reinspection and continual follow-up are also among the SITF's responsibilities. Through the reports it generates, the SITF keeps its city partners and the community apprised of the status of the buildings it inspects.

SITF staff handle a large volume of inspections. In 1999 alone, they inspected almost 6,000 buildings, including 2,110 reinspections. Of the total number of inspections, 27 percent were crime-abatement-related and 20 percent were narcotics-related. By the end of May 2000 the SITF had inspected more than 2,200 buildings; of these, 1,062 were reinspections. Twenty-nine percent of the inspections were crime-abatement-related, while 17 percent were narcotics-related. They imposed fines on building owners of $593,185 in 1999 and $465,624 by May 2000. SITF staff may be required to testify at hearings or in court about their findings. Pictures of the conditions they find during their inspections are often included in their reports. The city attorneys and district police all have their specific roles to play in the crime-abatement process. For example, one South Side two-flat was referred to attorneys by the district police, who had records showing a narcotics arrest on the property. An SITF inspection revealed 11 building code violations. The city proceeded to file a case in the Department of Administrative Hearings, and the owner agreed to an order of abatement with terms including correcting the violations, attending local beat meetings and paying a fine. The job of the SITF was not complete, however. It reinspected the building a short time later and found substantial compliance on fixing code violations. Not all inspections proceed as easily. In one case, a five-unit residential building was targeted due to a recent tenant's arrest for firing a gun out of a window and guns recovered on the property. When SITF came to inspect the building, the inspectors found that they could not gain access to the whole building. The partial inspection documented more than 30 building code violations. After a discussion with attorneys, the owner agreed to give SITF access to the entire building a few weeks later. At that time, the team was able to do a full inspection.

From November 1996 to February 1998 an evaluation was conducted by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority on a pilot program that later became the Department of Law's gang and drug house program. In this report, evaluators also studied the SITF, which predated the pilot project but was to be a partner with it. The study found that crime decreased where SITF and city attorneys operated, not only in the targeted building, but in the half-block area around the property as well; furthermore, this effect was lasting, continuing even after inspection teams had left the area. The SITF also has had success in getting building owners to comply with bringing their buildings up to code. One administrator stated that, when cited for building code violations, most owners fully comply or make attempts to fix the problem; when cases go on to a hearing, he estimated that close to 50 percent of those buildings are brought into compliance.

Based on SITF investigations, city attorneys can bring both criminal and civil cases against owners who refuse to negotiate or comply with an abatement plan that brings their buildings under control. An extensive program was developed to assist landlords in screening and evicting tenants. Building owners who refuse to comply can be brought before a new administrative code enforcement board and forced into compliance. The board has special authority over cases involving violations of the building code, unlicenced businesses, and sanitation and health regulations. Resolution of such violations can be used to attack neighborhood decay problems.

Prosecutors, like city attorneys, have become more intimately involved in the program as well. The county attorney, who handles criminal cases, opened storefront offices to facilitate working with residents on cases of interest to the community. These offices also assist the police with complex or recurring problems; they prosecute all hate crimes; and they conduct seminars and education projects promoting crime prevention. The city's law department, which has more expertise in civil cases, stationed attorneys in selected district headquarter buildings. There they work directly with beat officers on problem buildings, as well as on gang and drug house abatement projects. They often use civil statutes, including building and health codes, that are unfamiliar to most beat officers.

Before CAPS got off the ground, officers were trained (somewhat sketchily) in the department's five-step problem-solving model. During 1995, 7,500 officers assigned to the uniformed patrol division of the department received two days of problem-solving training. They reviewed the key organizational elements of CAPS, the five-step problem-solving model, how to document problems in their beat's action plan and how to work with the community. Since then, there has been yearly training for sergeants in crafting beat plans and managing beat meetings, and more recently there have been training sessions for selected officers assigned to beat teams and for civilian beat facilitators.

Beginning in 1995, large numbers of residents were also trained in problem solving. Pairs of police and civilian trainers conducted training sessions that introduced the general public to the concepts of community policing and problem solving. The training taught residents how to identify, prioritize and analyze problems; strategies for mobilizing the community around problem-solving projects; and how to evaluate their accomplishments. Trainers tried to hold an orientation meeting and three follow-up training sessions in every beat in the city, and while they fell a bit short of that goal, more than 12,000 residents attended some training. There is evidence that many got involved in problem-solving projects afterwards. A follow-up survey found they tried to do something about 63 percent of the priority problems identified in their neighborhood, and three-quarters of the trainees reported they urged others to attend beat meetings.

Since the prototyping period, the evaluation has continued to monitor the delivery of two high-volume services that are of concern to the public and are widely discussed at beat meetings: graffiti clean-ups and the removal of abandoned cars. A 1998 citywide survey found that more than half of Chicagoans thought graffiti was either some problem or a big problem in their

neighborhood, and 32 percent expressed similar concerns about abandoned cars. Residents who turned out for beat meetings were more emphatic; in the same year, 76 percent of residents who attended beat meetings thought graffiti was a problem in their neighborhood, and 59 percent were concerned about abandoned cars.

Figure 13 examines one measure of how effectively the city targeted services in response to these concerns. A "service need" measure was created by combining responses to citywide surveys conducted in 1996, 1997 and 1998. About 8,000 city residents were interviewed in those surveys—enough that there were at least 10 responses from 222 of the city's 270 residential police beats. The neighborhood problem questions described above were averaged within beats to calculate an estimate of the extent of graffiti and abandoned car problems in each. City data banks contributed indicators of the distribution of the relevant service responses for 1997 and 1998. In those two years there were almost 180,000 graffiti-site clean-ups and 83,000 car tows, and the data revealed that over the period, the average beat was cleaned 646 times, with 225 cars being towed away. Since beats vary greatly in size (they were drawn to equalize police workloads rather than population), <u>rates</u> of service per 10,000 residents were calculated using updated estimates of the population for each beat. Figure 13 illustrates the relationship between these need measures and service delivery rates.

Figure 13
Beat Needs and Service Delivery

41
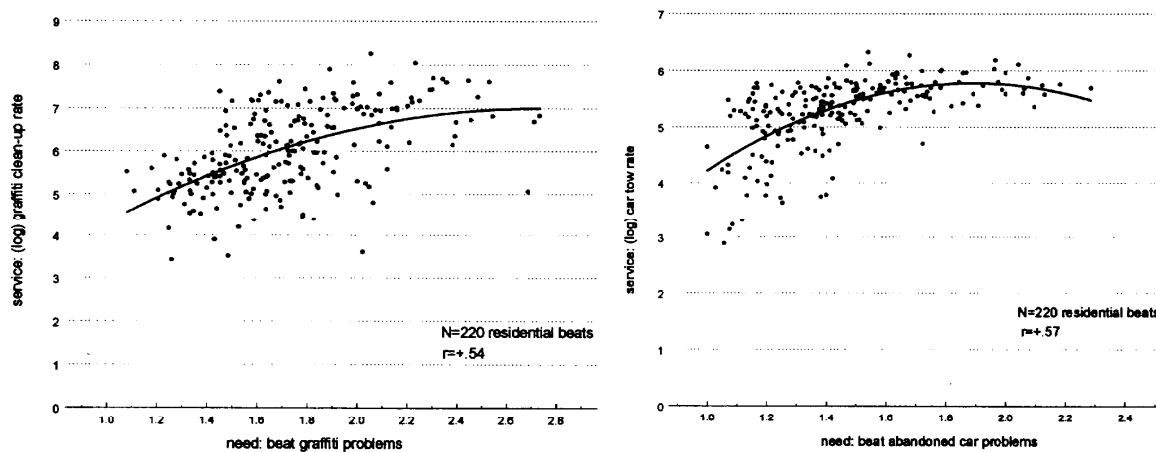
Citizen involvement seems to have played a role in steering service delivery as well. In both examples, service delivery rates were higher—controlling for need and other factors —where beat meeting attendance was high. In addition, during 1998 the evaluation surveyed more than 5,200 beat meeting participants about their concerns, and in beats where residents who came to the meetings were especially concerned about a problem, the services addressing it were delivered more frequently than expected.

Extent of Neighborhood Problems

Beginning in 1994, the evaluation conducted yearly surveys monitoring the public's view of the extent of neighborhood problems. This was a year after CAPS was announced and began development in the prototype districts, but a year before it expanded to encompass the entire city.

In the surveys, respondents were requested to rate a list of things ". . . that you may think are problems in your neighborhood." They were asked to indicate whether ". . . you think it is a big problem, some problem or no problem in your neighborhood." Responses to four of these questions were used to assess the extent of neighborhood physical decay:

Vacant lots filled with trash and junk.

Abandoned cars in the streets and alleys.

Abandoned houses or other empty buildings in your area.

Graffiti; that is, writing or painting on walls or buildings.

Physical decay problems were most likely to be rated highly among residents of poorer neighborhoods where many buildings are officially rated as being in bad condition. The most common problem on the list was graffiti. In 1994, graffiti was the number-one-ranked problem in the city, with 65 percent of Chicagoans indicating that it was at least some problem in their neighborhood. Graffiti problems were most likely to be identified by the city's Latinos. On the other hand, building abandonment was the least highly rated problem, with only 29 percent of respondents indicating that it was a problem of any significance in their community. Building abandonment was heavily concentrated in the poorest areas of the city, and there it was a much more highly rated concern. Responses to questions about physical decay were consistent in every yearly survey. In 1994 they were correlated an average of +.45, and for analyses in which they were combined to form a single index the resulting measure had a reliability of .76.

Responses to three questions assessed the extent of neighborhood social disorder. Unlike the others, the question about the extent of public drinking was not included until the 1995 survey:

Public drinking.

Groups of people hanging out on corners or in the streets.

Disruption around schools, that is, youths hanging around making noise, vandalizing or starting fights.

42

Social disorder was most likely to be a highly rated problem in low-income areas that were home to large female-headed families and concentrations of youths age 15 to 24. The most commonly cited problem on the list was loitering, with 59 percent of respondents reporting it was at least some problem in their neighborhood. The other two problems were cited by just over half of those interviewed. In 1995, responses to these questions were correlated an average of +.52, and had a combined reliability of .76.

Two questions about neighborhood crime drew strongly consistent responses, and they were more closely linked to each other than any of the remaining questions. Combined they formed an index of neighborhood gang and drug problems:

Shootings and violence by gangs.

Drug dealing on the streets.

A total of 55 percent of Chicagoans indicated that gang violence was a problem in their community, and 53 percent cited drugs. Reports of the magnitude of the two problems went together strongly (responses to these questions were correlated +.71), and they were distinct from other crime-related measures, so they are examined separately in the analyses presented here. At the area level, these problems had by far the strongest relationship with race, for African-Americans were far more likely than others to report that gangs and drugs were problems in their area. Gangs and drugs were also most likely to be highly rated concerns in poorer areas, where residents have less education and where they are more likely to be living in disrupted families and receiving public aid.

The final measure of the extent of neighborhood problems combined responses to four questions concerning property and street crime:

Cars being vandalized—things like windows or aerials being broken.

Cars being stolen.

People breaking in or sneaking into homes to steal things.

People being attacked or robbed.

Responses to these questions were correlated an average of +.56, and when they were used together in an index of decay problems they had a combined reliability of .84. All were rated a problem by at least half of those who were interviewed in 1994: 52 percent were concerned about car theft, 56 percent thought that car vandalism and burglary were a problem in their area, and 58 percent were concerned to some degree about street crime. While not often included in discussions of crime, vandalism to cars is a visible problem in older, denser areas of town where streets are narrow and off-street parking is generally unavailable. The property- and street-crime-problem index was not as strongly related to social factors as were the other indices that are described here. The robbery component of the index was somewhat more strongly linked to poverty than the remainder of the items, but as a group the components were highly

43

intercorrelated and recognized as problems by people living in a wide spectrum of neighborhoods.

Figure 14 presents the frequency of each of the problems discussed above. They are ranked from low to high by their overall rating, but it also depicts how the percentage of Chicagoans divided their problem ratings between "some problem" and "a big problem" in the 1994 survey. This distinction illustrates the potential importance of including an intensity component to measures of popular perceptions of problems, for the seriousness with which they were rated varied from issue to issue. For example, while graffiti was the city's most frequently cited problem in 1994, others near the middle of the list—notably street drug sales and gang violence—had higher proportions of city residents reporting that they were big problems in their neighborhood. Graffiti got a top rating from 22 percent of residents, while drugs and gangs were put in the most troublesome category by 28 and 26 percent, respectively; loitering also received more serious ratings.

Figure 14
Ratings of Neighborhood Problems
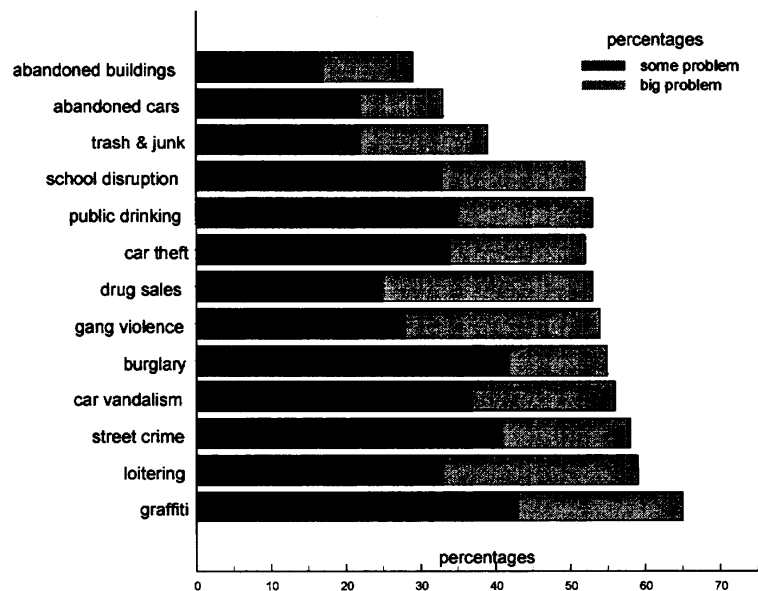
Most of these were the problems of the poor. Figure 15 illustrates the strong link between the extent of neighborhood problems and poverty in Chicago during the early years of CAPS. Like the beat "service need" measures described above, it is based on responses to citywide surveys that were aggregated at the beat level, in this case combining 1994-96 surveys so that a large number (177) of beats were represented by at least 10 respondents. Figure 15 plots the beat-level mean for the four problem indices described above—decay, disorder, crime and the drugs-

44

gangs nexus—against the percentage of households in each of those beats that reported incomes of less than $15,000.[8] As it indicates, decay, disorder and the drug-gang measure were strongly linked to poverty, and through it to a long list of measures of neighborhood misfortunes ranging from bad schools and poor health to depopulation and family disarray. Concern about neighborhood property and street crime was more widely dispersed. The robbery component of the measure was more closely aligned with poverty than the remainder, and burglary also bothered residents of somewhat better-off areas of the city. However, offenses in this problem category were of concern to residents of a broad spectrum of communities; fewer areas were impacted by social disorder, physical decay and the difficult-to-crack gang-drug nexus.

Figure 15
Poverty and the Extent of Neighborhood Problems
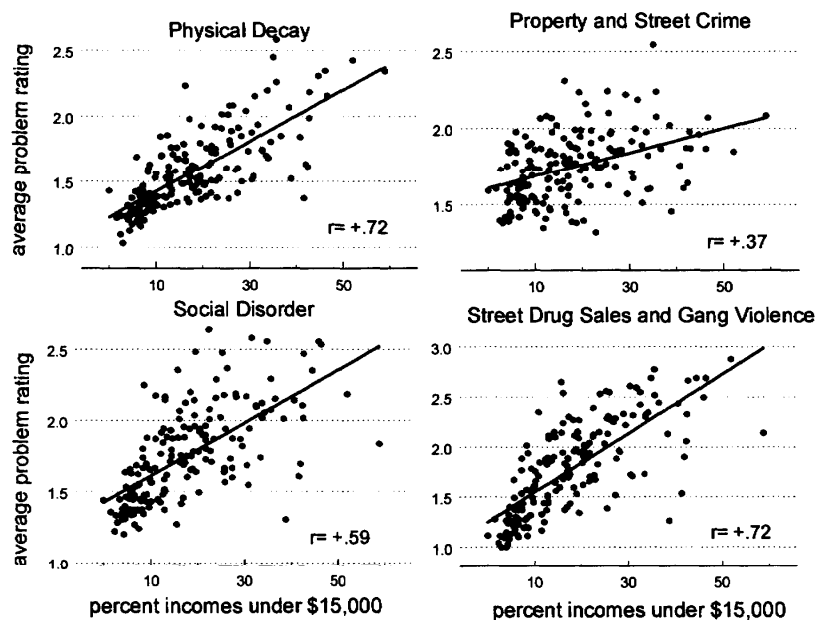
Trends in Neighborhood Problems

The repeated administration of these surveys during the 1990s enables us to examine trends in these measures of neighborhood conditions over time. Figure 16 summarizes survey reports of the perceived magnitude of the neighborhood problem clusters. It presents the percentage of respondents who thought the issues in each cluster rated either some or a big problem in their neighborhood. In general, the problem measures declined about 7 percentage points over the period.

----

[8] All of the social and demographic indicators discussed in this section are for 1995, based on post-census estimates from the Claritas Corp.

45

In terms of the magnitude of the issue, the drug and gang cluster took first place in 1994 and held that position through the remainder of the decade. Both drug and gang problems declined over the period, and the combined index dropped by 7 percentage points. The percentage of Chicagoans who reported that gang violence was a problem in their community declined from 55 to 45 percent, but the drug measure dropped only slightly, from 53 to 50 percent.

Questions about problems in the social disorder category were only fully available beginning in 1995, but they generally took second place. The biggest drop between 1995 and 1999 was in school disruption; the percentage of residents rating this at least some problem in their neighborhood declined from 51 to 36 percent over the period. Reports of public drinking and group loitering went down by only about three percentage points, on the other hand. Over time, the summary index declined from 40 percent to 33 percent.

Figure 16
Trends in Neighborhood Problems
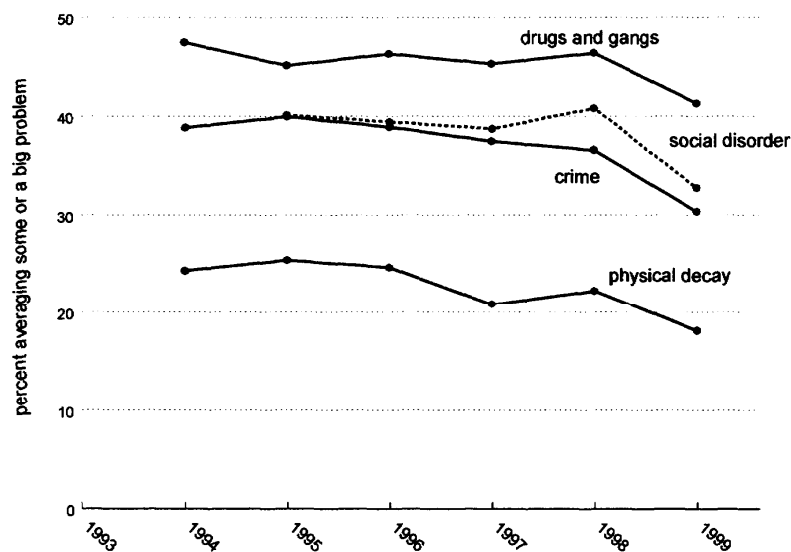
The property and street crime index also started at about 40 percent and by 1999 was down to 31 percent. The biggest decline was in reports of problems with robbery and assault on the street, which dropped from 58 to 46 percent between 1994 and 1999. Burglary, car theft and automobile vandalism all declined by 7 to 8 percentage points over the same period.

The physical decay index declined by just 6 percentage points. The biggest component of the decline was contributed by graffiti, which was cited by 65 percent of those interviewed in

1994 and 47 percent in 1999. But other components of this measure changed minimally over time.

Taken as a whole, these were not spectacular improvements. The surveys assessed neighborhood conditions in categories that are readily understood by the public, and they included many concerns that are not easily gauged by police statistics. But overall figures for the city did not adequately represent the fate of the city's major communities. When racial groups were examined in detail, it is apparent that some got better off than others. In general, the bulk of the improvements registered in the surveys were reported by African-Americans. Whites had relatively few problems to begin with, and they reported much smaller gains. Because they are the largest group, this set a significant upper limit on measures of overall improvement for the city. Among Latinos, many things worsened.

Figure 17 illustrates these patterns, using the same topology of neighborhood problems. It presents separate tabulations of the percentage of respondents reporting that the problems in a cluster constituted a "big problem" in their community, the most severe rating. As Figure 17 documents, little changed in the city's predominately white neighborhoods over this period. Few whites reported serious neighborhood problems before CAPS was announced. For example, none of the problems in the social disorder cluster were mentioned by as many as 10 percent of whites, and abandoned cars were cited by less than 5 percent of them. In 1994, the biggest crime-related concern among whites was vandalism to parked cars, followed by burglary. One important

Figure 17
Race and Trends in Neighborhood Problems

47
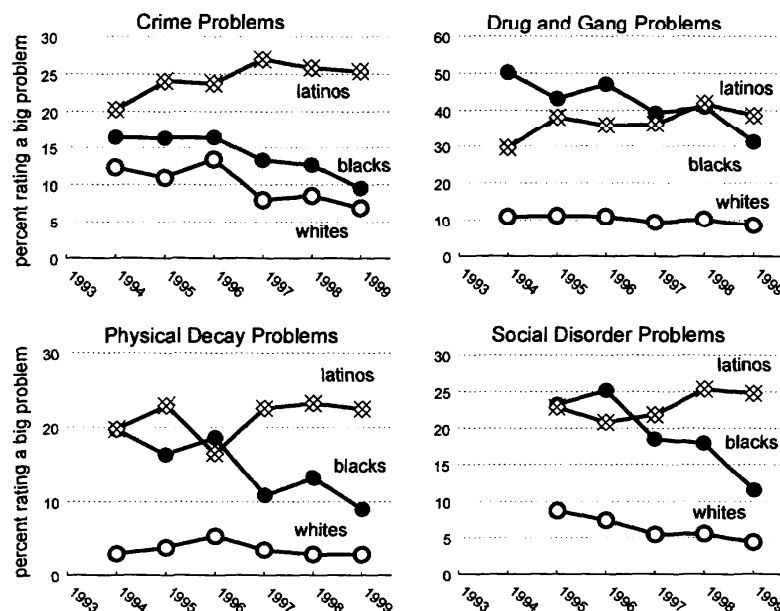
concern among whites was vandalism to parked cars, followed by burglary. One important explanation for the limited citywide declines registered by most of the problem measures presented in Figure 17 is that, by-and-large, the large group of white Chicagoans had relatively few serious problems needing solving. This is in sharp contrast to their views of the quality of police service, where there was plenty of room for improvement even in the city's white neighborhoods.

On the other hand, ratings for many problems in the African-American community were initially very high, and then dropped noticeably. Commensurate with the data on recorded crime, the crime-problem ratings offered by African-Americans dropped by about one-third between 1994 and 1999. The components of the crime problem index for African-Americans all dropped by one-third to one-half. Over the same period, reports of drug and gang problems plummeted among African-Americans, from 50 percent to 30 percent. The measures of physical decay and social disorder tracked a similar course. Reports of graffiti problems declined from 60 percent to 37 percent—a 23 percentage point drop. Concern about trash-filled lots and abandoned building problems was down by about 12 percentage points. In the social disorder category, the percentage of African-Americans expressing concern about school disruption dropped from 55 to 34 percent over the period.

But while in 1994 African-Americans and Latinos reported about the same level of neighborhood problems, by 1999 the experiences of the two groups diverged dramatically. Over that period all of the components of the crime-problems index went up among the city's Latinos. The percentage of Latinos giving the most serious rating to burglary rose from 15 to 25 percent, for example. Reports that street drug sales were a problem went up among Latinos, and concern about gang problems remained unchanged over the five-year period. In the social disorder category, Latinos saw none of the declines in school disruption reported by other groups, nor did they observe improvements in the physical condition of their neighborhoods. The only significant decline was in reports of graffiti problems, which declined from 74 percent to 64 percent.

As a result, by 1999, the balance of concern about neighborhood problems shifted dramatically in Chicago. From the point of view of residents, conditions in African-American neighborhoods improved considerably, while those in Latino areas too often deteriorated. The significance of these diverging trends was reinforced by yet another: Latinos are the only big group in the city that is growing in numbers, and soon they will be the second largest in Chicago. Based on the evaluation surveys, by 1999 they constituted 27 percent of the city's population. Much of this growth is fueled by immigration, increasing the difficulty of finding ways to involve them in city programs. This is signaled by the percentage of Latino respondents to the surveys who had to be interviewed in Spanish rather than English; by 1999, that reached 58 percent. Concomitant with this has been a decline in the education and real income level of the city's Latino population—two factors that are closely associated with most of the problems considered here. To be sure, this is countered by other forces, including the Latino community's high level of employment and strong traditional families, factors also documented by the

evaluation surveys. But conditions in the city's burgeoning Latino neighborhoods clearly are the "wild card" that make future city trends difficult to forecast.

Neighborhood Safety

The evaluation surveys also monitored people's reactions to crime and associated neighborhood conditions by including several measures of fear of crime. In the last three decades there has been increased interest in fear of crime as it has become defined as a "problem" in its own right. Starting in the 1960s, American cities felt the consequences of white family flight to the suburbs, propelled in part by concern about mounting center-city crime. Later whites were followed by middle-income African-Americans and others who could afford to move. By the 1970s, fear of crime had become a familiar component of the nation's political rhetoric. Opinion surveys indicated that many more people were fearful of crime than actually were victimized, and that this fear undermined the quality of their lives and the stability of their neighborhoods.

As a result, there was interest in employing measures of fear of crime to assess the effects of crime prevention projects and—later—policing programs. One of the first experiments in community policing (conducted in Houston and Newark) was titled "The Fear Reduction Project," reflecting a focus on citizen perceptions and behaviors as one of the "bottom line" measures of its success. The idea was that the citizenry—as tax payers, voters and people who might choose to live and work elsewhere—needed to feel that their lives are better as a result of the new program.

However, research on fear points to some limitations on its utility as an evaluative tool. It is deeply rooted in factors that no project or program can affect, including age and gender. Women and older people are vastly more cautious than their counterparts about the risks they face, and the effects of programs appear always to be slight in comparison to the effects of their personal vulnerability to victimization. Rooted in that vulnerability, fear does not change easily or quickly. Fear is also affected by a broad range of environmental conditions as well as specific events. The sight of roaming youths or glimpses of gang graffiti may resonate as strongly as a personal experience with crime, and the effect of reducing one problem may be lost by the impact of another. Fear is affected by subcultural expectations about normal and deviant behavior, and those vary widely in the population. It is also affected by the mass media, and they are unlikely to stop sensationalizing coverage of crime and justice issues. Finally, fear is a multifaceted concept. It can be manifested in behavior and in perceptions. It can have physiological symptoms, including increased heartbeat rate and pupil dilation. Any but the most elaborate set of measures will overlook significant aspects of fear, and perhaps the factors that affected them.

So, it is important to have modest expectations about the malleability of fear, about our ability to detect shifts in it and about our ability to account for any changes that we may observe using a few simple fear measures. That said, there is evidence of a modest increase in neighborhood safety in Chicago, a trend that parallels declining crime and decreases—in many communities—in a wide range of neighborhood problems.

The evaluation surveys included three measures of safety from crime:

How safe do you feel or would you feel being alone outside in your neighborhood at night? [very safe to very unsafe]

How often does worry about crime prevent you from doing the things you would like to in your neighborhood? [very often to never at all]

Is there any particular place in your neighborhood where you would be afraid to go alone either during the day or after dark? [yes or no]

The "how safe do you feel . . ." question is the most commonly used measure of safety. The somewhat convoluted construction ". . . or would you feel . . ." is designed to forestall the tendency of many respondents—especially the elderly—to reply that they "don't go out." By posing the question as a hypothetical situation it becomes a measure of what people fear <u>might</u> happen if they were exposed to an unnamed risk. In 1993, 19 percent of adult Chicagoans indicated they thought they would be very safe outside alone at night, 47 replied they would be somewhat safe, another 18 percent thought they would be somewhat unsafe, and 11 percent stated they would feel very unsafe. Inevitably, 5 percent did not accept the proffered categories and insisted that they did not go out. This fraction declined over time (to 1 percent), but to be conservative they are counted here as expressing fear.

The ". . . prevent you from doing things . . ." question does make explicit reference to crime, and it was asked later in the questioning sequence. It inquires about current behavior rather than hypothetical threats, but because many behaviors are so firmly rooted in jobs, school, family and other important features of daily life, we should expect activities to be less influenced than attitudes. This may be signaled by the finding that fewer Chicagoans report being affected by crime than feel threatened by its potential risks. In 1993, 12 percent of those we interviewed were very often affected and 23 percent somewhat often affected, while 40 percent reported they were rarely affected and 25 percent said they were never affected at all. Responses to the safety and behavior questions were correlated +.46, and an index created by combining them will be used below to trace patterns of safety by race.

The final measure of neighborhood safety in the evaluation survey asked about dangerous places nearby. This question was included in the surveys beginning only in 1995, so it does not precede the introduction of CAPS on a citywide basis. In that year, 45 percent of Chicago adults reported there was a place nearby where they would be afraid to go. Responses to this question were correlated +.28 with the threat measure and +.34 with the behavior measure of fear.

Because of their close association with personal vulnerability factors, the over-time analyses presented in this section are based on survey data that have been weighted so that yearly fluctuations in the percentages of the samples that were female or over age 60 would not be confused with changes in levels of safety. Other demographic factors , including race, also are closely associated with safety, but trends in fear by race will be examined in detail below.

Figure 18 tracks the course of these neighborhood safety measures over time. The two measures that were included in the 1993 survey registered higher levels of safety than in 1994,

50

but the sample for the first survey was much smaller than in ensuing years, which may account for the fluctuation. Focusing on the series beginning in 1994, when Chicagoans were least likely to report that they felt safe, it is apparent that there were steady, if unspectacular, decreases in fear of crime through the remainder of the 1990s. Feeling safe outdoors while alone after dark increased by almost 10 percentage points, while being unaffected by concern about safety went up by just five percentage points. From 1995 to 1999, reports that there were no unsafe places nearby increased from 45 to 56 percent.

Figure 18
Trends in Neighborhood Safety
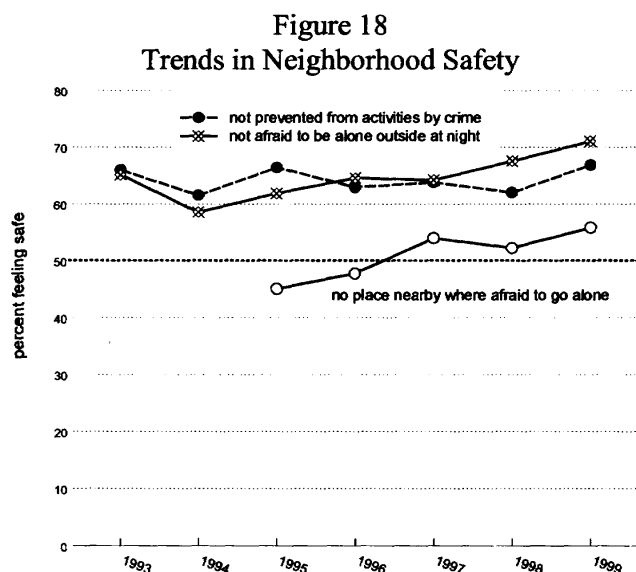
Figure 19 presents trend measures separately by race. It also includes a safety index that combines responses to the threat and behavior questions described above. The most notable shifts are apparent in the percentages who reported not feeling threatened by being alone in their neighborhood at night. Between 1994 and 1999, that fraction rose from 65 to 80 percent among whites and 50 to 69 percent among African-Americans. On the other hand, it changed not at all among the city's Latinos. Reports that there were unsafe places nearby grew less common among all groups. This indicator of safety increased by 8 percentage points among African-Americans, 11 percentage points among whites and 13 percentage points among Latinos, in their case from 40 percent to 53 percent. While there were large differences between whites and others in terms of the impact of crime on behavior, no real trends were apparent on this measure of neighborhood safety.

Recorded Crime

The department's 1993 "strategic vision statement" describing the city's new community policing program was not soft on crime. It reiterated the importance of good traditional police work and effective crime fighting. It praised the current efforts of the force: "The men and

51

Figure 19
Race and Trends in Neighborhood Safety

Not Afraid to Walk Alone at Night

No Unsafe Places Nearby

-O- whites
-●- blacks
-※- latinos

Not Prevented From Doing Things

Safety Index

'1993 '1994 '1995 '1996 '1997 '1998 '1999   '1993 '1994 '1995 '1996 '1997 '1998 '1999
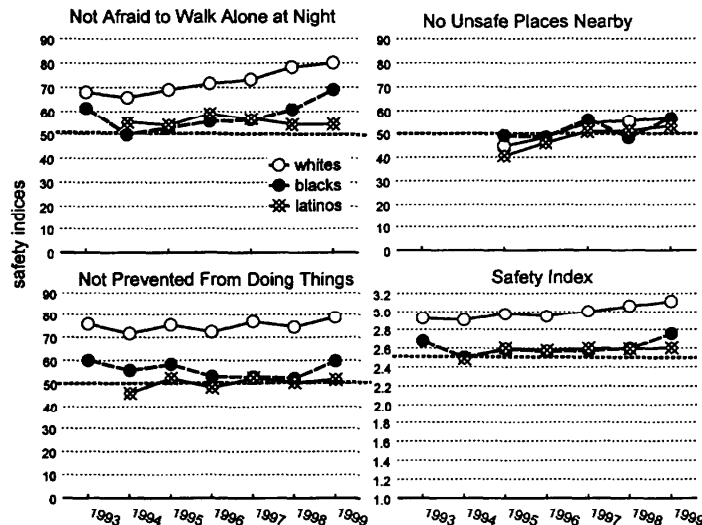
women of the Chicago Police Department have established the pace with respect to rapidly responding to calls for service, arresting offenders, and carrying out other elements of the traditional policing strategy." The report also noted, "Solving crimes is, and will continue to be, an essential element of police work." These points were important, for the department's senior managers knew that the perception that adopting community-oriented policing would turn officers into "social workers" had sunk organizational change efforts in a number of cities. In defense, in print and at public gatherings they repeated the position that effective traditional police work was still required, and that it would be respected and rewarded by the department. CAPS was presented as a strategy for allocating resources and focusing the effort of officers on each community's worst problems, beginning with crime.

This section examines trends in crime data extracted from police department databases. Figures like those presented here are usually described as representing "verified crimes," or "founded incidents." This means that they were reported to police, often by victims or their friends and relatives, and that the officers who responded determined that a criminal offense had actually taken place. The police record what happened at the scene, and this information is used to place each incident in a category for later statistical reporting.

There are advantages and disadvantages in using this data for evaluation purposes. One disadvantage is that a large percentage of victimizations—as many as 50 percent in some categories—are not reported to the police. As the Chicago Police Department's own annual

52

report notes, "Annual changes in [crime] may therefore reflect a real change in the incidence of crime, a change in victims' reporting behavior, or a combination of the two." Little is known about changes in victim reporting patterns, especially in relation to the impact of changes in policing styles, but research in a few jurisdictions in the United States and abroad suggests that effective neighborhood-oriented policing may encourage more reporting, while the perception that the criminal justice system is not taking reports seriously discourages it. The size and growth of Chicago's Spanish-speaking population might also impact crime reporting, but whether crime reporting in the city has changed or remained stable over the time period examined here remains an unknown factor.

Following victim reporting, the second step in the process that produces official crime statistics is police recording. This is also highly variable. One study found that police decisions not to record reported robbery incidents as "founded" ranged from 2 percent to more than 60 percent, depending on the city. During a period in the early 1980s, police non-recording of reported robbery in Chicago stood at about 35 percent; for rape it was 50 percent, and for assault, 20 percent. Like victim reporting, it is clear that variations in police recording can have a large impact on apparent trends in the final numbers that flow out of this process. But (again like victim reporting), the magnitude of the impact of decisions by Chicago police on trends in recorded crime remains unknown.

Finally, the way in which offenses are categorized affects the final figures in each. Sometimes this is a close call, like whether a strenuous purse snatching should actually be counted as a robbery (due to use of force). The division of assaults into "aggravated" or "minor" categories based on the extent of victim injury can also hinge on fine distinctions that need to be made at the scene. The burglary category is supposed to include attempted break-ins that failed, but those may be written in the vandalism column instead, if they are reported at all.

The resulting figures still have advantages, however, and this section utilizes all of them. Police crime reports are available for small areas, and here they are examined separately for beats of different types in order to track how general declining rates of crime really are. The reports filed by officers can be broken down into detailed categories, and some of the discussion here is based on data that have been combined in new ways that have advantages over traditional crime categories. It is practical to reconstruct past trends from official databases, and this section examines recorded crime since 1991—several years before the evaluation actually began. Some offenses appear to be better reported and recorded than others, and this section includes a focus on several of those, including homicide, robbery, auto theft and all crimes involving guns.

Trends in Recorded Crime

Any decline in crime is welcome news, and the magnitude of the decline that has occurred in American cities during the past decade has also been unexpected news. Researchers and practitioners have puzzled over crime patterns and debated where the credit should go. Chicago is no exception; many categories of crime peaked in 1991 and have since dropped

53

noticeably. The rate of decline in Chicago has lagged behind that of some cities, but it is ahead of others. Some crimes have evidenced an across-the-board retreat, while others have gone down only in selected communities. And in Chicago, like in many cities, the drop in crime began before community policing was even on the drawing board.

Figure 20 depicts this trend in Chicago for most of the standard crime categories that make up the FBI's Uniform Crime Index. It excludes only high-volume property thefts and low-volume arson. Murder and rape, the least frequent of the offenses that are depicted, are graphed on a separate scale on the right side of Figure 20 so that their trends are visible.

The largest percentage decline documented in Figure 20 is for robbery, which was down 47 percent in Chicago between 1991 and 1998. Robbery has long been considered a bellwether urban crime, combining weapon use, risk to life and limb, and premeditated and predatory intent. A related indicator—offenses involving a gun—was down 44 percent over the same period. Auto theft, an offense that is fairly accurately reported by victims and recorded by police, was down by 33 percent and homicide by 24 percent. Rape declined by 33 percent, and burglary—the highest-volume offense depicted in Figure 20—went down 31 percent. The smallest decline was registered by aggravated assault, which dropped by only 13 percent. Assault is an extremely heterogeneous and difficult-to-interpret crime category that includes (among other things) domestic violence, gang battles, bar brawls, violence in schools and disputes among neighbors.

Figure 20
Trends in Recorded Crime

murder and rape scaled to the right axis
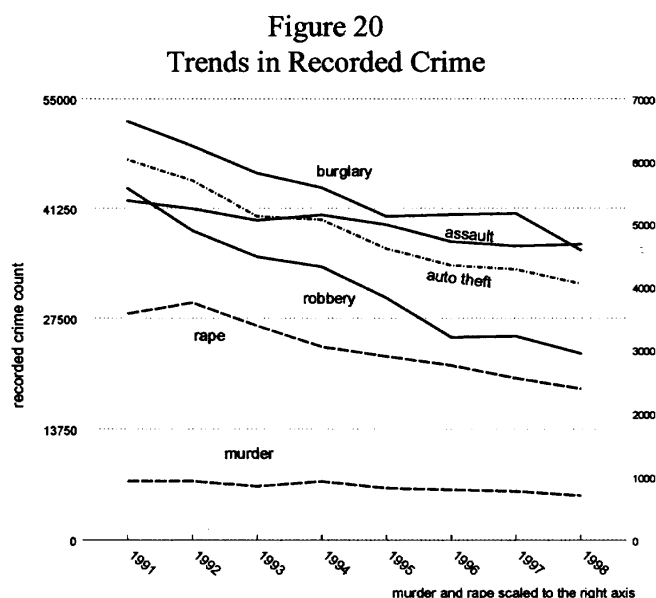
Figure 21 presents detailed breakdowns of trends in these and other offense categories. In addition to the crime classifications discussed above, it presents separate accounts of assaults and robberies involving a gun. It differentiates burglaries that were successful rather than merely attempted and those that targeted residences (including garages) rather than commercial

54

establishments. Other new analytic categories are based entirely on the locations at which incidents occurred. The street crime category includes personal and property offenses that took place on the street, in alleys or parks, or along the lakefront. Another trend comparison examines crimes that took place at commercial establishments, ranging from offices and barber shops to department stores, savings and loans, news stands and factories. There is also a breakout of offenses that took place in and around people's homes.

Most of the categories of crime detailed in Figure 21 declined between 1991 and 1998. Robbery went down the most, and there were substantial declines in sexual assault, auto theft and burglary as well. The frequency of recorded "threats" (personal incidents involving verbal intimidation and other threats that did not lead to actual violence) went up, but with fewer crimes involving guns in other categories we should expect the displacement of some incidents into this potentially less lethal category. This is consistent with the discrepancy between trends in gun and non-gun assaults, for the latter went down much less (only 8 percent) than did aggravated assaults involving guns (22 percent, as indicated in Figure 21). Street crime declined noticeably, but crime in commercial locations was down only a bit. Personal crimes in and around residences actually increased in frequency, but property offenses there declined. The number of incidents of vandalism recorded by police declined, but due to non-reporting they probably represented only a small fraction of the offenses in this category.

Figure 21
Trends in Detailed Crime Categories

Offense	1991	1998	Percent Change	Offense	1991	1998	Percent Change
homicide	928	703	- 23%	vandalism	77,413	66,326	- 14%
gang & narcotics*	196	172	- 12%	residential	30,207	25,313	- 16%
sexual assault	3,575	2,387	- 33%	auto theft	47,396	31,826	- 38%
all commercial	58,105	54,385	- 6%	burglary	52,234	36,009	- 31%
property	47,524	43,846	- 8%	successful	48,658	33,726	- 31%
personal	10,581	10,534	—	residential	37,680	27,303	- 28%
robbery	43,783	23,117	- 47%	aggravated assault	42,237	36,740	- 13%
gun robbery	25,438	14,018	- 45%	gun assault	14,476	11,244	- 22%
all street crimes	198,502	149,188	- 25%	all residential	157,658	153,058	- 3%
personal	81,780	58,715	- 28%	personal	68,208	79,547	+ 17%
property	116,722	90,473	- 22%	property	89,450	73,511	- 18%
all "threats"	11,324	20,086	+ 77%	theft	131,688	121,537	- 8%

* The first year available is 1993.

Race and Trends in Recorded Crime

In most categories, the largest declines in recorded crime occurred in Chicago's African-American communities. Figure 22 presents selected trends for beats that have been grouped by their racial composition. To create these trend lines, the city's 270 residential police beats were divided into 63 predominately white areas, 121 heavily African-American areas, 56 areas where Latinos account for an average of 60 percent of the population, and 30 diverse areas. Because the city changed its beat boundaries during the early 1990s, crime incident reports were individually geocoded to place them in a consistent set of beats. The aggregated groups differed in size, so Figure 22 presents rates of selected types of crime per 100,000 residents in each. Like Figure 20, trends presented in Figure 22 begin in 1991, the first year that it was practical to geocode the crime data.

Figure 22
Race and Trends in Recorded Crime

56
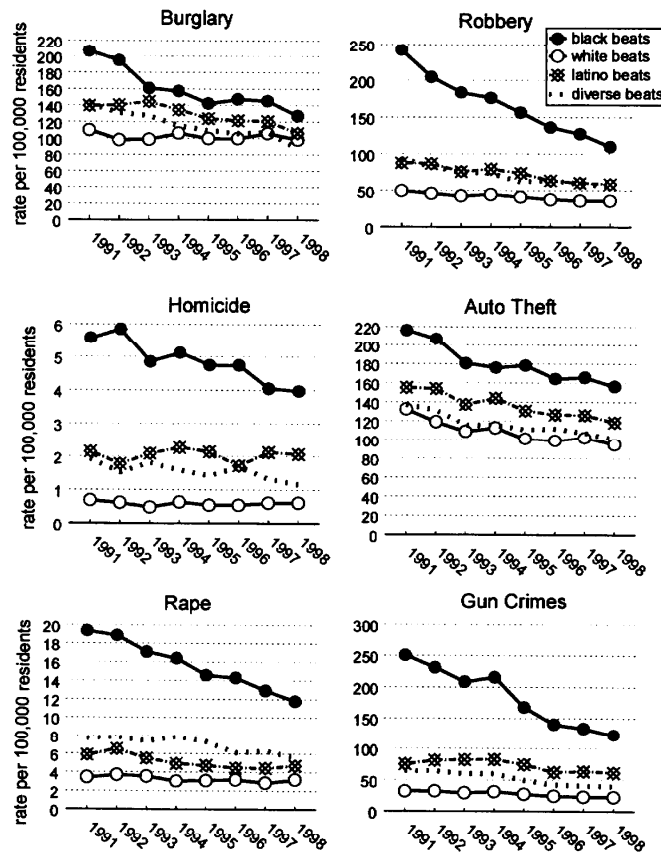
In general, recorded crime was down in all or most areas, but it declined most dramatically in African-American communities. Crime generally declined the least in predominately white areas, where it was not very high originally. Latino areas fell "in the middle" on measures of the amount of crime, and in trends over time.

Figure 22 presents trends for burglary, robbery, homicide, auto theft, sexual assault and gun crimes. The large decreases in crime registered by residents of predominantly African-American beats are apparent: robbery was down by 55 percent (from 242 per 100,000 to 110), and sexual assaults (39 percent) and gun crimes (51 percent) followed suit. Burglary in African-American areas declined by 38 percent, murder by 29 percent and auto theft by 28 percent. The greatest across-the-board decline was in auto theft, which was down about one-third among all groups.

The city's predominately white beats saw small percentage declines in almost every category. As Figure 22 illustrates, except for auto theft, crime counts there often began at a much lower level at the beginning of the decade. The murder rate there dropped by 10 percent, for example, but it was already so low (0.69 per 100,000, or only 12 percent the rate in African-American areas) that it did not have much room to fall. While rates declined in every category in predominately white beats, the low level at which they began set a significant lower boundary on how far crime could drop in Chicago, because whites were the largest population group.

Figure 23
Concentrated Robbery Beats 1991-92 and 1997-98

Concentrated Robbery 1991-92

Beats with rates above 300

Concentrated Robbery 1997-98

Beats with rates above 300
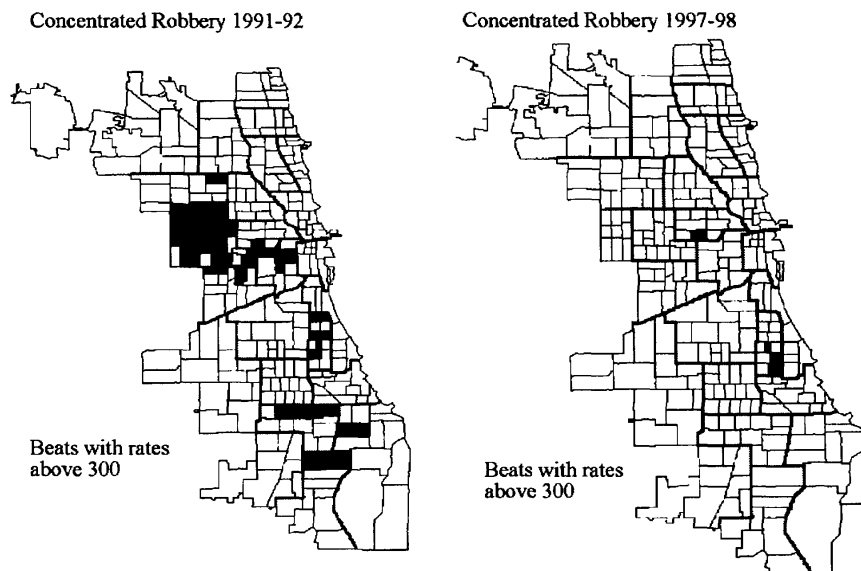
The consequences of this decline for the level of safety in Chicago's African-American neighborhoods was dramatic. To illustrate this, Figure 23 presents two maps of the city. The left-panel of Figure 23 identifies 52 residential beats with the highest rates of robbery in 1991-92; two years of data were used to even out year-to-year fluctuations in crime in these small areas. The high-crime beats all exceeded 300 robberies per 10,000 residents in 1991-92. During that period African-Americans accounted for just 12 percent of the population of the city, but the 28,200 offenses there accounted for 35 percent of the robbery in residential areas of the city. At the median these beats were 98 percent African-American, and more than a third of the households were headed by single women. In contrast, the right panel of Figure 23 presents the three residential beats where the robbery rate exceeded 300 in 1997-98. Two were above the 300 threshold in 1991-92 as well, but the third beat is dominated by a large park that attracts crime and has relatively few residents, so the high rate there is an artifact of its low residential population. The remaining 50 high-robbery beats had dropped below the cut-off by 1997-98. The top 52 beats reported more than 28,000 robberies during 1991-92, but they were home to less than half that number—just 10,447—in 1997-98, a 63 percent decline.

And what of the consequences for crime in the city's Latino areas? Figure 24 illustrates the police beats that are home to heavy concentrations of Latinos. They are located in three areas of the city: the near Northwest Side, the near Southwest Side and the far Southeast Side. Long ports of entry for immigrants, these areas are home to dense concentrations of the city's only large population group that is growing in size. As Figure 24 indicates, crime conditions also improved dramatically in these areas during the 1991-1998 period. Robbery reported to the police was down 58 percent where rates were initially the highest and by a third in the lowest-crime Latino areas.

Figure 24
Robbery Trends in Concentrated Latino Areas

Area Percent Latino	Robbery Incidents		Percent Change
	1991-92	1997-98	
40-49%	1903	1276	-33%
50-69%	5980	2898	-51%
70% plus	6226	2596	-58%

40-49% Latino

50-69% Latino

70% Latino or more
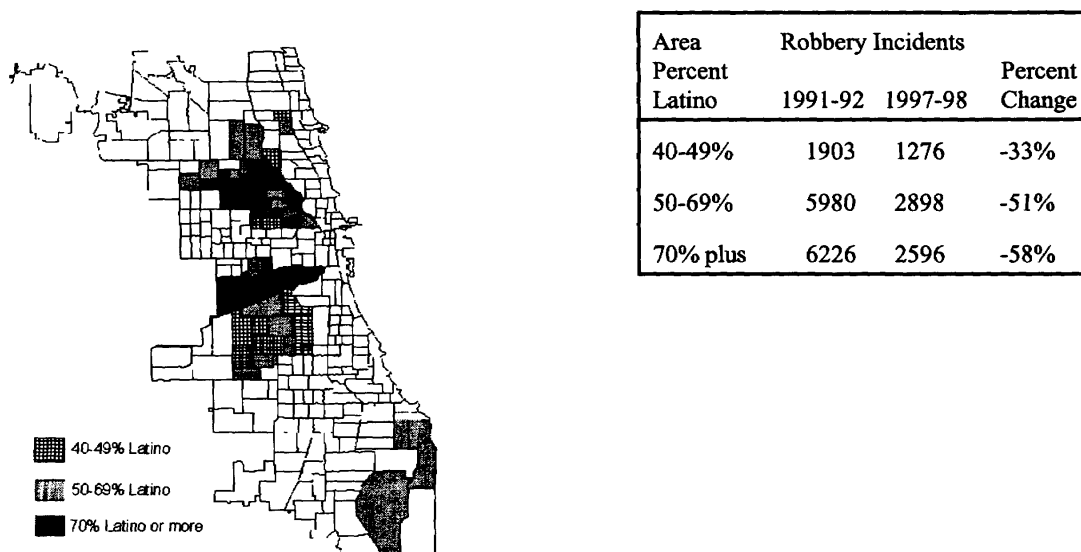
Can these declines be attributed to Chicago's community policing program? The answer is not clear because the declines began before the introduction of CAPS. The evaluation of the impact of CAPS in the original prototype districts indicated that the program reduced crime, including burglary and auto theft in one district, street crime in another, and gang and drug problems in two other districts. Research in other cities has suggested that increasing the number of police on the street may affect crime, and Chicago added several thousand officers to staff CAPS. However, they did not appear in significant numbers until 1996.

As data from the 1990 census grow more outdated, it becomes difficult to gauge trends in many other important factors influencing crime, including immigration and suburban flight, the strength of families, income inequality and even the number of people living in the city. While Chicago has shared in the nation's improving economy, the declines in crime reported here began during a recession. Incarceration rates are at an all-time high in Illinois, and they certainly play an important role. Gun seizures by the Chicago Police Department, which have long been among the highest in the country, have gone down during the period, which is consistent with declining gun use and (perhaps) availability. Prominent criminologists have suggested that declining rates of crime during the mid-1990s might be due to the maturation of drug markets, which possibly reduced the level of drug-related violence and heavy weapon use. Drug-related homicides have also declined more quickly than the overall homicide count in Chicago. Research in other cities has found that homicide rates rise and fall with indicators of the extent of crack cocaine use, and urine analyses of arrestees in Chicago point to a noticeable decline in cocaine use since early 1994 and a very modest decline in opiate use since late 1993.

How does Chicago compare to other places? As noted earlier, crime has declined in a number of American cities. In comparison to those, trends in Chicago have been close to the norm—except for homicide. One benchmark against which to compare Chicago is trends in the 10 U.S. cities with a population of more than 1 million. Among the other nine cities, robbery declined 52 percent, auto theft 50 percent and murder 55 percent between 1991 and 1998. An alternative baseline would exclude New York City from the list, for crime has dropped much more precipitously there than it has in other large cities. Among the remaining eight cities with populations over 1 million, robbery declined 45 percent, auto theft 39 percent and murder 46 percent. Comparable figures for Chicago were 47 percent, 38 percent and 23 percent, respectively. The slower pace of homicide decline in Chicago is a puzzle, in part because of the general decline in other manifestations of gun violence in the city, and it led to one of the city's biggest crime headlines of 1999—that despite having only 40 percent of New York City's population, Chicago had more murders.

The Role of District Advisory Committees

District Advisory Committees (DACs) are composed of residents, business owners and other members of the community who meet regularly with the police to identify and discuss crime and disorder issues in their district. The difference between a beat meeting and a district advisory committee meeting lies in the latter's intended focus on district-level concerns. Early

59

plans for the DACs gave them an ambitious directive: members are charged with assisting the commander in establishing the district's priorities, developing strategies to address them and, whenever possible, discovering the underlying causes to the most chronic problems. Implicit in this mandate is also the responsibility to help bring these recommendations to fruition. To achieve that purpose, the enforcement arm of the DACs is to be their subcommittees. They are to focus special attention on the areas that the DAC recognizes as important to the district's interests.

While this vision of the DACs is seemingly clear, the committees themselves have struggled from their inception to live up to their broadly stated purposes. The DACs were intended to be groups of civilian volunteers, operating above the beat level, whose membership had the ear of the commander and possessed the ability to marshal residents and resources within the district. But it was not long before the theory behind the DACs foundered on the rocks of practice. In 1993, prototype DACs were created in five districts around the city, and a year later, they were expanded to each of the 25 districts. These first DACs were given little more than their lofty mandate to guide them and, predictably, each suffered a lack of direction. The will to do good was there, but the framework was not. During those first experimental months, the need for more explicit guidelines for DACs became apparent.

Those changes came in early 1996, when the CAPS management team devised a set of general rules within General Order 96-3. The new guidelines clarified the organizational structure of the DACs, including the purpose and composition of the subcommittees, selection of members, terms of office, rules governing civilian officers, attendance guidelines and police roles. The general order specified that the DAC should "reflect the district's social, ethnic and racial make-up, and include residents, youth, business people, representatives of community, educational and religious organizations, and other stakeholders in the district." Subcommittees were to "address needs and issues of concern to the community as identified by the DAC, identify and explore potential solutions, and mobilize resources to address those needs and concerns." Each DAC would be required to operate a court advocacy subcommittee to track the progress of criminal cases and judicial hearings affecting the quality of life in the district, as well as a seniors subcommittee to focus attention on the safety and well-being of the local elderly population.

The general order provided for formation of other subcommittees, at the DACs' discretion, to address an infinite range of local concerns, including youth and family issues, business and economic development and domestic violence. The DAC itself would monitor subcommittee progress and enforce accountability, as well as approve all subcommittee recommendations. In turn, it was made clear that DACs did not have any authority to determine police operations. These basic guidelines ensured that there was some uniformity among DACs around the city, while allowing each to address local needs via the number and variety of their subcommittees.

While the general order cleared up some confusion surrounding the DACs, it did not alleviate it altogether. Previous evaluations found that differing community dynamics have resulted in varying interpretations of the order, and despite the general order, members continued to report difficulties translating their mission into practice. Though qualifications were placed on DAC membership, the composition of the DACs also remained greatly varied, sometimes by design. Increasingly, however, frustration over lack of direction was a familiar refrain among DAC members as committees struggled in 1998 over many of the same issues they did in 1993. Since our last CAPS evaluation report, another plan to standardize more of the DACs' functions and internal processes was introduced. That effort will be addressed later in this report.

This section will consider the effectiveness of DAC activities as well as their ability to represent district interests to the police and to the community. In the nearly seven years since the DACs were first created, have these groups of concerned citizens found a means to their purpose within Chicago's community policing model? Or is the advisory committee an inherently flawed mode of community involvement? Would CAPS be better off without them, or with some radically different representational process?

To answer these questions and thereby gauge the viability of the DACs, the evaluation considered the quality of both DAC activities and community representation. The effectiveness of DAC activities was measured with reference to five criteria. They included:

- *District mobilization.* The constituents of the DAC are the residents who live within its district. The number and types of projects that the DAC or its subcommittees organize for those constituents form the basis of district mobilization. Traditionally, DACs have planned events such as anti-crime marches, prayer vigils and community picnics. Other activities undertaken by DACs range from senior safety seminars to scholarship drives for local college-bound teenagers. The district mobilization criterion considers the relevance of DAC activities to the fulfillment of their mission, including the uniqueness or inventiveness of their solutions. The members' ability to collectively recognize problems, find resources to address them and then organize solutions for them reflects their level of district mobilization.

- *Court advocacy.* This subcommittee performs a unique DAC activity. It is one of two subcommittees that each DAC is required to have, and the only one staffed and monitored centrally by a downtown director with access to city resources. Given these advantages, this section will examine the court advocacy groups operating out of the districts, including the types and volume of cases they track, their ability to find volunteers and the degree to which their foci are determined by police or officials outside the district. Do the residents choose the cases independently? Have they had any notable successes in court?

- *Viable subcommittees.* Subcommittees are the channels through which DACs take action. Considered here are the number and type of subcommittees and the range of activities they sponsor. Subcommittee missions, leadership and available resources will be

compared, as will their success in addressing the issues or populations they purport to serve. For instance, does the youth subcommittee actually engage the youth of the district? This criterion will also examine the existence of domestic violence subcommittees around the city. Almost two years after domestic violence was cited as an issue that DACs should address, are those subcommittees operating in most districts?

- *Resource allocation.* DACs had unprecedented access to funds during this evaluation period. In addition to a yearly $5,000 discretionary budget from the CAPS Implementation Office, each DAC had a one-time $15,000 grant from the Allstate Corporation's Safe Neighborhoods Program. Following a brief review of the spending process, the DACs' ability to make effective use of this money will be considered, including how they set monetary priorities, what they purchased and how much of the money went unspent. Were the DACs able to spend all of their allocation? And were the funds spent on parties or long-term projects? This criterion will also take into consideration any additional grant-writing and solicitation of donations by the DACs.

- *Collaboration/Partnerships.* DACs were designed to encourage partnerships among the police, civilians, and community groups and institutions within the district. The hope was that DAC members could cultivate or bring with them the connections necessary to implement their own projects. The role of partner groups—with emphasis on collaborative efforts organized by DACs and the schools, hospitals, social service agencies and churches with which they have paired—will be examined in detail.

The success of DAC activities, however, provides only half of the story. As an advisory body, perhaps the most important role that a DAC performs is enacted at the monthly meetings held with the police. Standards for judging the effectiveness of these meetings included:

- *Representation.* Does the membership of the DAC reflect the district, both demographically and in terms of the concerns of district residents? Are all areas of the district represented on the DAC?

- *Role in planning.* Is the DAC chair an active member of the District Management Team—the body that determines the strategies the police employ to combat crime in the district? This criterion will consider the contribution made by the DAC chairs to district planning and the efforts made to include them in the process.

- *Independent voice.* Does the DAC, as an advisory body, express the opinions of the community, or does it echo more closely those of the police with whom it works? The relationship between the commander and the civilian chair will be examined, as will the extent of the community policing (formerly neighborhood relations) office's involvement in planning and guiding the DAC's efforts.

Methodology

Field work for the DAC evaluation was conducted from August 1999 through May 2000. The evaluation team attended at least one full DAC meeting in all 25 districts and gathered archival information on DAC membership, subcommittees and budgets. Because DAC meeting schedules often overlapped, it was apparent that we could not adequately evaluate all of the city's advisory committees, so we selected a sample of nine districts on which to focus intensively. These districts, known in this report as IDACs (intensely studied **DACs**), are interspersed throughout the city and reflect its diverse communities. Meetings of each of the IDACs were observed on at least four separate occasions; in total, 52 DAC meetings were observed. One individual from the evaluation team attended meetings, normally sitting at the periphery of the group, unless doing so would have caused more distraction than sitting within it. An observation guide was developed to capture consistent information about each meeting, and the evaluator recorded the activities and discussions that took place there as well. To augment this effort, personal interviews also were conducted with each IDAC chair and at least one additional committee member.

In addition, a survey was conducted of current and recent members of DACs and subcommittee members. Between October 1999 and March 2000, 527 current and recent members were interviewed by telephone as part of a larger study of CAPS activists throughout the city. DAC activists were queried about their CAPS role, DAC activities, district events and the effectiveness—from their vantage point—with which CAPS was being implemented in their area.

Typical DAC Meeting

District Advisory Committees are as varied in character as the 25 police districts they represent. At first glance, some DACs appear to share a name and little else. For example, in one district, the committee in practice consists of two local residents, a community policing officer and a city services representative, who talk casually over coffee about the district's problems. In another, the field house of a park in the district can barely contain the nearly 100 residents who participate in the meetings. DACs gather in libraries, community centers, church basements and university auditoriums, or in the roll call room at the police station. Meetings are held in the evenings and during the day, ranging in duration from 45 minutes to more than three hours. The members may be mostly beat facilitators or subcommittee chairs, or in rare instances, simply residents or business owners who claim no other CAPS affiliation. Perhaps the greatest variance is found in the number and rank of police officers who attend the meetings and the degree to which they participate in the meetings as active members.

In the face of this variety, a typical DAC meeting is difficult to describe. As advisory bodies, the quality of their interaction—with one another and with the police—is ultimately the factor that determines each group's progress. The monthly task of running an organized and efficient meeting is perhaps the single universal challenge faced by DACs. Despite their great

variety, some common characteristics provide a template for how DACs operate and what rules they follow. Each DAC has a civilian chair, who usually runs the meetings. If the chair is not in charge, that duty normally falls to the district's commander or a member of the Community Policing Office. Whoever is acting as emcee is responsible for keeping discussion flowing and ensuring that all opinions are heard. Each DAC follows, to some degree, what it understands to be Roberts' Rules of Order, and each also has a set of bylaws approved by the membership. The bylaws are intended to codify decision-making procedures, election guidelines and the exercise of the DAC's responsibilities.

DAC meetings generally begin with the chair's welcome and introductions. Often joining residents and police are civilian CAPS organizers from the Implementation Office, city services representatives and guest speakers. Following any introductions, many DACs pause for a short prayer, after which they read and approve the previous month's minutes. Though this record-keeping formality is observed by each DAC, the length and detail of minutes varies greatly. In most cases, the secretary of the DAC is in charge of taking and preparing the minutes, though it has become increasingly common for both tasks to be delegated to a community policing officer. To their credit, many DACs have started mailing minutes to the membership before the meeting so that corrections can be proposed quickly. The business of passing the minutes, therefore, is in most cases a perfunctory affair, but at a handful of DAC meetings, members must first carefully read and consider the document before a motion is made for approval. The time spent on this process can range from five to nearly 20 minutes, depending on the penmanship and fastidiousness of members.

The minutes having been passed, the chair usually invites the commander or a member of the Community Policing Office to present a crime report. Many commanders are inordinately fond of this phase, papering the tables with comparison charts and line graphs, clarifying every statistic from murders to moving violations. Others will simply read to the group a summary of recent increases or decreases in major categories. Often these reports are an opportunity for the commander to highlight the achievements of district officers, but in some parts of the city, distribution of crime statistics without explanation or analysis serves only to discourage them. A few DACs are not presented with their districts' crime statistics, but for most, that information forms the bulk of the commander's report. The commander may then invite questions, and DAC members often probe for more detailed explanations of trends. If the DAC is mostly composed of beat facilitators, questions tend to be more numerous and detailed; crime patterns are particularly likely to be given attention. Often a detective will be on hand to answer questions and distribute community alert flyers. Most commanders recognize the DAC members' hunger for details surrounding higher profile crimes. Following a raid of the house occupied by a ring of burglars, one commander thoughtfully anticipated the residents' interest and brought along photographs of the spoils from the bust. In another case, a commander detailed a recent arrest of a homicide suspect, thereby giving them the information well in advance of their reading it in the newspapers.

After the commander's remarks, the chair may invite the CAPS management team leader or community policing sergeant to give a progress report. They may promote an upcoming activity or raise issues broached at beat meetings. Sometimes their remarks take the form of a solicitation, either for volunteers or supplementary funding for some activity from DAC coffers. On occasion, community policing officers answer questions by the membership on other issues, such as enforcement of the anti-gang loitering ordinance. The flow of information from the police to the DAC members varies widely. In some districts, this portion of the meeting constitutes the DAC's *raison d'etre.* "[The commander] brings everyone," one chair explained. "The community policing officers come in and talk, while we listen." By contrast, other districts limit officer input by restricting their remarks to approximately the amount of time that would be devoted to a guest speaker. Their remarks are confined to updates on activities open to the public and organized by their own office or other parts of the police department.

The chair may resume after the community policing officers' remarks by calling on representatives of city services agencies or the CAPS Implementation Office attending the meeting. Representatives from agencies such as Streets and Sanitation or the Department of Transportation may take service requests at that time, passing out forms for the residents to complete or simply jotting down the information as it is given. There is usually opportunity for following up on previous requests. DAC members may also hear advice from the representatives on topics like how to best use the 3-1-1 system, how to request an alley sweep from Rodent Control, what the 50/50 Sidewalk Repair Program entails, or where to pick up Clean and Green supplies. Implementation Office staff may offer similar information, as well as promote various city-sponsored events. Transportation requests for citywide activities like the Neighborhood Assembly are also often handled by them at DAC meetings. Depending on the size and composition of the DAC crowd, Implementation Office staff may promote activities happening at the beat level around the district.

If no guest speakers are on the agenda, the next item of business is generally either beat-facilitator or subcommittee reports. The chair may call on the head of each subcommittee or a facilitator from each beat to update the DAC on its group's activities. In several districts, these reports constitute the new-business portion of the meeting. They announce recent accomplishments, describe challenges and often seek the DAC's opinion on any particularly worrisome issues. During this part of the meeting, the real work of the DAC is laid open for observation. Do civilians or police officers make the reports? Are there projects underway in the district? Is the DAC capable of competently troubleshooting the problems brought before it? Are the residents of the district becoming involved and volunteering for CAPS activities? Is the DAC fulfilling its mandate?

Answers to these questions are best found by moving from the general to the specific. In the following section, examples from DACs around the city illustrate the effectiveness of a variety of formats, providing additional clues on distinguishing a high-performing DAC from one that struggles to find an effective role.

Effective and Ineffective DACs

District A is one of the busiest and most populous in the city. Residents tend to be middle or working class; they are predominantly white, but there is a sizeable number of Latinos and African-Americans among them. Street life there is lively, at times hectic. Even the side streets of the district seem to bustle with activity. The main thoroughfares are jammed with all manner of traffic. Along the district's arterials are stretches of storefronts selling every imaginable service and ware—each with a sign in English and Spanish—and supermarkets and restaurants often advertise Mexican or Caribbean fare. District A typifies what everyone imagines urban neighborhoods to be: noisy and crowded, grimy but vibrant. People live, work, buy their groceries and raise their children there.

According to statistics, burglary is a frequent occurrence in District A. Property crimes form the bulk of the district's reported crime index. With so many homes and so much commerce, it is a thief's paradise. In terms of violent crimes, assaults and robberies are the most frequently reported. Gangs, drugs and prostitution are also matters of concern to the district residents. With its large population, the police face a large number of calls for service.

Fittingly, this busy district is also home to one of the busiest DACs in the city. Composed of 14 beat facilitators and nine subcommittee chairs, District A's DAC routinely fills the community room of the district police station. Its chairman prides himself on running a detailed and well-mannered meeting. His jocular style is nicely offset by its somewhat more reserved commander. The two manage the meeting in tandem, with the commander giving the police reports and the chairman acting as emcee. Participation from all DAC members is expected and invited. Everyone is given an opportunity to report, ask questions and make suggestions. Indeed, regular reports are expected of each of its subcommittee chairs. It is not uncommon for the DAC to spend more than two-and-a-half hours in each other's company, revisiting old business and planning new activities.

One of this DAC's defining characteristics is its willingness to tackle large projects. Over the course of the evaluation period, the group began a peer jury program for the district's youth; distributed garage numbers throughout their many alleys; conducted a free health fair at a public park and organized several parties, charity drives and marches in the meantime. The DAC was also instrumental in planning and participating in a massive clean-up effort in one corner of the district. It assisted the district's officers in removing graffiti, abandoned cars and trash that littered one of its more troubled neighborhoods. Throughout the period the DAC demonstrated its ability to mobilize the community toward a common goal—bringing together large numbers of residents to participate in its activities.

This DAC derives a major advantage by virtue of its relationship with the district police. The cooperation between the DAC members and their officers was evident throughout their meetings, and there is clearly a high level of mutual respect. The commander is eager to elicit DAC members' input on the district plan, promising to show them an early draft. The

commander also made certain that officers followed through on residents' requests for assistance or information. When the housing subcommittee chair was having difficulty getting details of a specific case, the commander assigned a community policing officer to respond to her request. The police also arranged for rolling roll calls[9] at the DAC's behest and for guest speakers from the Detective and Youth divisions.

While much of their meetings are devoted to positive developments in the district, DAC members are not hesitant to bring up areas of concern. A defining difference between this DAC and many others is its willingness to address problems on its own, through its subcommittees. When prostitution was found to be on the rise in one neighborhood, the DAC members discussed the matter with the commander and the officers, suggesting a series of rolling roll calls, and investigated the possibility of erecting signs warning about fines and imprisonment for those caught soliciting. Beyond those measures, the DAC's court advocacy subcommittee also turned its attention to prostitution cases. The DAC also addressed the district's high rates of property crime by conducting burglary prevention workshops and encouraging stores in the area to send representatives to court to follow through on their shoplifting cases.

If this DAC has a weakness, it is that the district's Latinos are significantly under-represented. In recent months, however, the DAC initiated outreach efforts to that community. Flyers were distributed with Spanish translations, and one subcommittee invited a prominent member of the Latino community to act as a master of ceremonies at a DAC-sponsored event.

District A's DAC is also intent on collaborating with major institutions of the district. Their schools subcommittee chair is the principal of a local high school, and its clergy subcommittee includes pastors from several area churches. The DAC chair described the membership: "We have high-profile people, politically active people, confronting high-profile incidents." When a subcommittee began a youth apprenticeship program, the group elicited the participation of several union presidents. In addition to its connections, the DAC was also able to make effective use of its resources: it was one of the few districts to disburse nearly all of its Allstate funds.

District B is a smaller conglomeration of neighborhoods, some of which have seen their fair share of trouble. Many parts of B are prosperous, quiet, and well-maintained; the streets are neatly lined with single-family residences, and signs posted on corners mark the territories of block clubs. Large churches with accompanying schools and playgrounds show evidence of a strong, faith-based community. Other sections of B are not so pastoral. Buildings appear partly abandoned, with boarded-up windows and cracked, broken porches; homes seem in need of a paint job. Larger apartment complexes are interspersed with occasional trash-strewn vacant lots, and loitering and street drug dealing are often observed by residents in nearby alleys. But along the district's main streets, flickers of promise can be seen where once there were only rundown

---

[9] Rolling roll calls are routine shift kick-offs, but they take place out of doors at various locations where a police presence may be useful.

warehouses and liquor stores. Some newer businesses and restaurants have begun to stake out places among the dilapidated storefronts. And nowhere are the signs of life more apparent than around the new police station.

If there is an epicenter for CAPS in District B, it is the community room of its station house. Children roam through freely on their way to a party, to visit with friends or simply to do their homework. Adults are also likely to congregate at the station for a symposium or a community meeting. The glass-walled room is typically filled with residents and police, and after dusk the room is aglow and clearly visible on the otherwise dark stretch of road. This bright patch of life on an otherwise desolate strip serves as a powerful symbol to the residents.

District B's residents are almost entirely African-American, as are its DAC members. Nine subcommittee chairs, including the four DAC officers, make up the group. This district is one of the more crime-ridden in the city, and no one is more aware or concerned about that situation than the nine DAC members. That knowledge makes them channel their energies toward producing tangible solutions for the district's problems.

The District B DAC works collectively and through its subcommittees to sponsor many projects and activities. One member captured the subcommittee's working philosophy when she said, "We're always up to something." Among the DAC's notable achievements are its bimonthly protests outside problem businesses; regular subcommittee-sponsored symposiums; a districtwide Safe Night celebration; a block club convention; scholarship drives; an active cellular patrol; and a district awards ceremony. The DAC has also helped organize innumerable parties and forums for local youth. If there is a role that takes precedence above the others, it is the group's intention to act as the unifying force for CAPS in the district. The community policing sergeant commented, "The DAC is the starting point for spreading information throughout this community."

These accomplishments are all the more impressive in light of the fact that this DAC is perhaps the most civilian-driven in the city. The chair runs the meetings and writes the agenda. Subcommittee chairs propose and organize their own activities. The police in District B play a purely supportive role, and while the commander enjoys a good working relationship with the DAC members, he has a limited hand in their affairs. Though a regular presence at the meetings, his contribution never goes far beyond a recitation of crime statistics. The chair believes the DAC's success to be deeply rooted in the commitment and character of the members: "We have very good and strongly committed members. The nine subcommittees are all headed by people with strong opinions who care deeply about the direction of the DAC."

In terms of partnerships, this DAC has proven adept at finding financial sponsors for its activities and representatives from community organizations to act as guest speakers. It regularly invites city officials to give presentations at symposiums. The district also benefits from a well-connected network of block clubs and civic groups. One DAC member noted, "Our mailing list of people active in the community is three pages long." Still, there is an occasional reminder that

this DAC is fighting an uphill battle against crime. Resources are often tight. And one subcommittee found that its recruitment drive had faltered, not in the face of community apathy, but rather because many of its new volunteers had failed to pass a routine criminal record background check. Violent crimes are also frequently mentioned at meetings, and its court advocacy group has been limited to tracking only murders and rapes.

This DAC is very mindful of the procedural aspects of its meetings. It treats its bylaws as a living document, observing its rules and amending them when the need arises. Recent debates over bylaws included discussions of an amendment to limit the number of offices a DAC member could hold; an increase in the amount of its subcommittee allowances; and a proposal requiring each beat to hold one anti-crime march per year. Exchanges over these topics were lively, passionate and prolonged; members clearly respect the weight of a group decision, taking pains to ensure that each vote was prefaced with a full consideration of the issue. Similarly, its treasurer reports are given regularly, and the sums involved are publicly debated and critiqued. Each meeting includes requests and proposals for spending by subcommittee chairs or DAC officers. Not surprisingly, District B was also one of the few districts to use almost all of its funds.

The one area needing improvement lies in this DAC's apparent inability to play a strong role in district planning. While the commander's restraint at the meetings is laudable, the police and residents at times seem to be running parallel, rather than joint, courses when it comes to setting district strategy. The district plan is not discussed at DAC meetings, and though the chair and the commander have cordial, respectful interactions, collaboration between them is limited to DAC-sponsored events and activities. There is, however, hope that this situation will soon change. With the passage of the anti-gang loitering ordinance, the commander has sought the DAC's assistance in identifying areas of the district where they would like to see the new law enforced. This step may be the first in leading to cooperation in district planning.

While its meetings have occasionally been contentious, and its activities widely diverse and disparate, the District B DAC seems to have found a formula that works. Its success serves as a reminder that DACs in more challenged districts are not necessarily doomed to failure. Its level of accomplishment represents good news for CAPS and better news for the residents of District B. The chair noted, "I'm just very happy for the opportunity to learn from the inside, to see how partnerships between the police, residents, organizations and city departments can make an impact. If we all come together, it will be something remarkable."

District C is not a success story. The area is small, but densely populated. Within District C's boundaries, there is both gentrification and decay, and more diversity in terms of resident income level, race, and age than can be found in districts twice its size. Corners of District C can rightly be described as impoverished, whereas a short drive away are neighborhoods of two-car garages and six-figure incomes. It is a curious mix of upscale boutiques and scattered-site public housing, long-standing ethnic neighborhoods and condominium developments. There is no typical District C resident; they are as likely to be a housewife, a downtown businessperson

wanting to live near public transportation, a senior-citizen homeowner or an artist renting a basement studio. Forging a unified voice in a district so diverse is a challenge that falls upon the shoulders of District C's DAC.

Regrettably, the District C advisory committee has not proven itself capable of carrying that burden. Consisting of 12 members from around the district's beats, the DAC meets regularly in the conference room of a local business. The malaise which has befallen this DAC is, unfortunately, neither unprecedented nor uncommon in the history of the CAPS program. District C's DAC has fallen into the trap of conducting a "meta-beat meeting" rather than tackling the challenge of creating and staffing subcommittees for the district. Residents gathered around the table are primarily beat facilitators. When called upon to report, they raise issues and concerns that are pertinent to their beats. The district's police in turn try to address their questions, and the DAC meeting degenerates into a series of conversations about specific incidents throughout the areas, all of which are most appropriately handled at a beat meeting.

There are currently three subcommittees in operation in District C, six fewer than three years ago. The current subcommittee chairs only sporadically attend DAC meetings. In fairness, one of their groups is rebuilding and the two others seem to be meeting and occasionally submitting written reports to the DAC. By and large, however, activities that are usually taken on by subcommittees in other districts are delegated here to officers from the Community Policing Office. Officers compose the agendas for meetings, create the flyers, and plan, staff and promote events. They also give reports on subcommittee progress to the DAC, a duty that would otherwise be handled by subcommittee chairs.

District C's chairperson ruefully conceded that its DAC has seen better days, saying, "We have our meetings, but we don't do much. Frankly, I dread even those. We're just going through the motions." To be more exact, they are going through only half of the motions, and therein lies the trouble. If the DAC succeeds at any part of its mission, it is in the area of identifying community concerns. The group consistently brings bad buildings, negligent liquor store owners and troublesome corners of the district to the attention of the police who attend DAC meetings. What they fail to complete is the latter part of the equation, which is to devise and implement solutions to those concerns.

For example, some time ago this DAC identified the disorder problems associated with weekend bar crowds as an issue of concern to the district, complaining about littering, double-parked cars and public drunkenness. In a properly functioning DAC, subcommittees would have worked with the police to find a means of addressing the problem. But after the problem identification step, District C DAC ceded its mission to the Community Policing Office. In response to the DAC's complaints, the police put together a workshop for the owners of bars and restaurants in the area, given by a staff attorney at the liquor commission. They described the purpose of the gathering as a discussion "about the best ways to minimize neighborhood problems and run a profitable business." The police hoped bar owners would learn to share ideas on how best to control crowds and avoid violent, rowdy incidents where the police must become

70

involved. It was a good solution, but one in which the DAC members should have, and could have, taken a more active part.

District C officers, and especially their commander, seem very keen on following up on resident concerns and their own reports from previous meetings. Their willingness to take up the slack for the DAC members is laudable, but their contributions, however well-intended, fall short of what DAC members in other districts accomplish for themselves. One indicator is the use of the Allstate grant. The District C advisory committee ended the year with more than $10,000 remaining unspent in its account. DAC members do not appear overly troubled by the situation and are very eager to cooperate with the police on these limited terms. DAC members do seem to have hammered out an amicable relationship with the police, but this accomplishment might be even more impressive if there were more Latino residents around the table. While it would be much to expect the body to perfectly reflect the vast diversity of its district, this DAC falls far short of a more modest goal. The current membership of the DAC is predominantly composed of older white residents. Moreover, their geographic representation is also skewed. Some of the beats do not have facilitators, and these neighborhoods are thereby denied a voice on the DAC. Scattered-site housing residents are also not represented. One member admitted, "If we're going to be the voice of the people in the district, we need to get more of the people."

A final area for improvement is also one for which there seems reason to believe the DAC shall soon seek remedy. For several years, the District C DAC has been ignoring, or on hostile terms with, many of the community organizations in the neighborhood. The Community Policing Office successfully recruited many representatives from those groups to participate in a recent youth fair. The DAC chair has also embarked on an effort to bring in the non-profits that work with subsidized-housing residents, as well as business owners affiliated with the chambers of commerce.

If true change is to happen in District C, however, the DAC will have to finally wrest back its mandate from the Community Policing Office. Until then, whichever residents join the effort will find themselves merely listening, as most of the thinking, talking and problem solving in the district is done by their officers.

District D is a predominantly African-American community that includes some pockets of white and Latino residents. Like District C, parts of District D stand on the precipice of gentrification, while others are facing tougher battles. Last year, the fortunes of the entire district began to look up when long-promised plans for new investments came closer to realization. The announcement of an important restoration effort nearby was a welcome development in the economically depressed segments of this community, where the infusion of money from a tourist attraction would greatly help neighborhood businesses. This large district could also use a shared success to bind together the separate neighborhoods within its boundaries. Income levels and crime rates vary widely by block, and the situation is compounded by the fact that district beat boundaries divide, rather than delineate, true neighborhoods because of the changing population. On one side of a particular beat, there are residents who regularly complain only about lighting

71

and holes in fences, while on the other side of that beat, murders and violent assaults occur regularly. Their DAC chair admitted to the many challenges facing his community, but remains hopeful that District D will soon experience a boom. He said, "We've got a lot of problems here, but there's also a lot of amenities. We've got three or four different public transportation routes, and once the museum opens, you won't be able to beat this neighborhood."

Where District C's DAC suffered from a lack of resident participation and a surfeit of direction, the District D advisory committee has been afflicted with the opposite problem. The DAC has a number of subcommittees, with chairs who regularly attend the meetings. Members, however, have waged a losing battle to have substantive conversations about the problems plaguing the district. Difficulties in following funding guidelines and bylaws, reigning in members' personal agendas and making decisions in a timely manner repeatedly derailed the progress of their meetings. District D is fortunate to have a room full of eager, purposeful and intelligent residents ready and willing to serve on the DAC. Thus far, however, their participation has been thwarted by disorganization and misunderstanding.

During the latter part of 1999, the DAC's effectiveness fell victim to an absence of leadership. A huge power vacuum became apparent when its elections consumed the better part of two months and ended with the commander appointing the committee's officers. Over the course of the process, it was clear that none of the members wanted to serve as an officer, yet each was rightfully frustrated with extant leadership. During one disastrous meeting, the DAC members watched as the vice chair left early, the secretary arrived disgracefully late, the treasurer and financial secretary were absent (apparently for several months) and the soon-to-be-former chair proved particularly ineffective. Confusion over who could vote, who could be nominated for office and which duties came with each position resulted in long and winding debates between the members—none of which was ultimately resolved by the DAC.

These election struggles were compounded by the fact that the DAC was unclear as to whether it was bound by its own bylaws or the new set then being distributed by police headquarters. No one actually had copies of either, further frustrating any resolution of the matter. The incident highlights another ongoing problem in the district, which is the tendency of key paperwork to disappear. Agendas, minutes, flyers and sign-in sheets were haphazardly distributed at some times and not passed around at all at others.

In addition to paperwork snafus, personal conflicts between residents and community policing officers or public officials consumed an inordinate amount of the DAC's time. The eventual chair admitted, "Some residents have a tendency to think there is only one problem—theirs—and that personal focus has derailed a lot of our meetings." The chair was hopeful that under his stewardship the advisory committee would begin to focus on districtwide problem solving rather than "little, petty stuff." He said, "We're there to strategize and solve problems. It's not about bashing people or holding our attention hostage to different personal issues." A recent change in the Community Policing Office and the appointment of the new DAC

chairman are positive developments for District D. With new leadership and police liaisons, the DAC may find its channels of communication improved and its meetings run more smoothly.

Because of its procedural difficulties, this DAC found very little time to devote to projects. Its major undertaking last year was the submission of proposals for the use of its Allstate funds. The meetings devoted to that effort were illustrative of the incompetence thwarting its productivity. After some confusion over whether Allstate funds were part of the DAC's discretionary budget, proposals were presented to the committee for signatures by the Community Policing Office and the former DAC chair. Two proposals were asking for identical items, and another requested a purchase outside the grant's scope. A long debate ensued, during which the DAC decided to hold off submitting the proposals to seek other ideas. At the next meeting, another pack of proposals was distributed to the DAC by the Community Policing Office, though the DAC itself had neither suggested nor initiated any of them. The fruitless and often contentious arguments eventually ground down the members' resolve, and proposals were ultimately submitted with appropriate signatures. In the end, District D was able to access approximately half of its Allstate money, though at considerable cost of time and energy.

The District D subcommittee chairs form the core of DAC membership, but they rarely are given an opportunity to report at the meetings. Of the five groups, two are active in the district, one is just getting started, and the remaining two are of questionable effectiveness. As one goal for this year, the new DAC chair has expressed his intention to revitalize subcommittee membership by means of a recruitment drive. He also hopes to make the DAC a conduit for information throughout the district, promoting beat-level activities and publicizing police initiatives. If the DAC is able to shift its focus back onto projects, meetings may be used to better ends than procedural wrangling.

Another positive development concerns the DAC's relationship with the district police. The commander often attends DAC meetings, but he tends not to participate after reading the crime statistics. The DAC now has more interaction with the CAPS management team leader and community policing sergeant, both of whom come to DAC meetings and act as the committee's secretary. Police officers tend to perform meeting chores for them, sending out mailings, typing minutes and collecting signatures, as is common in other districts as well. Aside from those duties, however, the officers follow the lead of the commander and maintain a low profile at the meetings. Ironically, District D is one of the few DACs in the city in which the DAC chair has been invited to play a role in district planning. This effort to include DAC representation in district planning may signal the beginning of a more productive relationship.

Effectiveness of Activities

These brief sketches of two effective and two ineffective DACs reveal a small cross-section of their common successes and failures. Every DAC in the city can point to at least one instance in which it mobilized residents for CAPS-related purposes, but what separates a committee like District B's from the struggles in District C is the number and variety of projects

it undertakes. The key difference lies in the level of ambition found within the DAC. For a closer examination of DAC effectiveness, the place to begin is with its activities. This section considers its various efforts at district mobilization, court advocacy, outside collaboration and budgetary spending.

District Mobilization. District mobilization is measured by the DAC's ability to jointly recognize a problem, find resources to address it and then organize a solution. Ideally, the solution will involve engaging residents of the district. The number and types of community activities that a DAC sponsors are good indicators of its capacity to mobilize the district. DAC activities generally fall into one of five broad categories: 1) marches or rallies; 2) information forums; 3) charity drives; 4) youth activities; and 5) social events. These efforts may be undertaken by the DAC or by one of its subcommittees. The Community Policing Office is often involved in either the planning or promotion of such events.

For a working example of district mobilization, one need look no further than District B. Twice a month during the spring, summer and early fall, residents conduct "stand-ups" in front of problem businesses in the district. On a chilly Saturday morning in mid-April, a group of 20 residents huddled outside a corner liquor store. The crowd included members of the DAC and other residents who were part of the district's community network subcommittee. The liquor store was targeted because of the garbage that was perpetually strewn around its sidewalk. "We have to crack down on these businesses, and stop thinking that we don't deserve better," explained one of the DAC members.

Stand-ups are a DAC activity that directly enlists resident participation to address a district-level problem. They fall on the more modest end of a broad scale of marches and rallies, which include locally based positive loitering efforts along with citywide parades. Such marches and rallies are sponsored regularly by some DACs, but only rarely by most. They form the most obvious and visible manifestation of district mobilization, and they may also be the most well-supported type of activity that the DACs undertake for the community. In the activist survey, 82 percent of DAC members reported that they had attended a local march, rally or community night-out during the last year. Almost 90 percent indicated that a prayer vigil, "smoke-out," positive loitering project or a CAPS-related march had taken place in their district. Only one district did not see this kind of action. These events, however, are seldom organized by the DAC alone. Normally a specific beat, neighborhood church or the CAPS Implementation Office will work closely with the DAC to organize a march or rally within the district. In some cases, one of the DACs' own subcommittees will take the lead. A handful of DACs have subcommittees that actually specialize in organizing residents for public demonstrations, such as District B's community network subcommittee.

For the vast majority of DACs, district-specific marches and rallies are once- or twice-a-year occurrences, often motivated by a negative development in the community. One of last year's largest rallies occurred in a district that seldom sponsored such events. It was held in support of local CAPS volunteers who were the unfortunate victims of retribution for their

cooperation with police. Another DAC with a similar history began a positive loitering campaign after watching crime skyrocket along a river-front walkway in the district. Other districts organized anti-prostitution and anti-drug-use marches in response to increased incidences of those crimes.

The small group of districts that frequently schedule marches and rallies also tend to aim their efforts at alleviating a certain type of crime. One district—scene of a well-publicized series of hate crimes last spring—now sponsors "church walks" around the various houses of worship in the area on religious holidays. Another district conducts "emergency outreach prayer vigils" at the sites of drug-related shootings. District officers notify vigil participants of an incident, and they converge on the scene to pray as soon as the police clear it. The same DAC also sponsors weekly prayer vigils held wherever the residents request their presence on a corner.

Celebration marches and rallies are rarer than those organized solely to combat a specific problem, but they do occur. Many DACs have combined their parties and picnics for CAPS Appreciation Day, National Night Out, or Police/Community Partnership Day with anti-violence or anti-crime rallies and parades. One district plans on culminating its series of domestic violence seminars with an awareness march. One of the city's more diverse districts holds an annual Unity Fair to bring together its many communities, and last New Year's Eve, a Year 2000 Prayer Vigil was sponsored by one DAC's pastoral subcommittee. Community walks, prayer marches, and issue-centered rallies are often begun or ended with a picnic, barbeque or free concert during the summertime. According to the activist survey, 12 districts organized a positive loitering campaign or smoke-out during the past year, and 13 districts hosted a prayer vigil.

During the past year, the fight to pass the anti-gang loitering ordinance spurred a number of marches and rallies throughout the city. The largest were arranged and promoted by Implementation Office organizers, but DAC members participated and promoted the events throughout their districts. Our survey revealed that 70 percent of DAC members attended a citywide rally during the previous year. At meetings, DAC chairs frequently encouraged residents to sign petitions supporting the ordinance and to call their state and city representatives before key votes. DAC members were also among the many CAPS volunteers who attended hearings at City Hall, in Springfield and in Washington, D.C.

Information forums, which compose the second mobilization category, are perhaps the most popular option among DACs because they are easier to organize and promote. They are often the type of event DACs propose when beginning to address a problem. During the latter part of 1999 and the beginning of 2000, virtually every DAC sponsored or co-sponsored at least one informational workshop, seminar or training event for the public. Within this popular category, the most frequent type of forum was a safety seminar for the district's senior citizens. Either the DAC or the Community Policing Office typically invited a guest speaker from the police department, a city agency or local hospital to address safety issues relevant to the senior population. Some of the topics included identity theft prevention, Y2K preparedness and recognizing telephone scams. Four districts also addressed various health topics.

In three districts, informational forums were offered as part of a series sponsored by the DAC. One required each of its subcommittees to organize at least one symposium, held at the district police station and featuring a panel of guest speakers on a given topic. During a four-month period, the symposiums included a court advocacy training session, a police brutality seminar, a discussion of AIDS in the African-American community and a workshop on domestic violence prevention. Their chair considered the symposiums to be "a way to educate and inform community members" about the subcommittees and their pertinent issues. Another district concentrated its series of forums exclusively on domestic violence, holding four separate seminars, with each covering a specific aspect of that issue. One month participants focused on self-protection, the next they covered domestic violence in gay/lesbian relationships, and the following month they discussed the effects of domestic violence on children. The final seminar tentatively features the topic of stalking.

In another district, the advisory committee concludes its information forums with a discussion of how it might apply its newly acquired knowledge. Members invite local agency representatives to explain the problem, and then as a group, they consider projects, activities and partnerships the DAC might undertake to address the issue in greater detail. Recent topics included gang activity in the district as well as panhandling and homelessness. In contrast to other districts' symposiums, however, this district restricts attendance to DAC members. By doing so, the conversation stays focused on application of the information by the DAC itself.

Most districts prefer to host one-time events. One district sponsored a health fair, offering free blood pressure, glaucoma and diabetes screenings. Another district, mindful of its rising rate of retail theft, held a "Retail Summit" to which the committee invited local business owners to hear theft-prevention strategies. Following a spate of highly publicized murders of women on the South Side, another district held a town hall meeting to address the subject of women's safety and self-defense, open to women citywide. Other DAC-sponsored forums concerned census education, summer youth programs, holiday safety and senior benefits eligibility.

DACs have served as information conduits between residents, and between the police and the residents. One district devised and staffed an information booth at a local drug store at which patrons could pick up flyers and notices about CAPS-related events in the district. DACs around the city also sponsored newsletters, crime pattern notices and sector meetings to encourage communication between the police and the community. A few DACs also hosted beat fairs and block club conventions, inviting representatives from the various subgroups of the district to discuss ways of working together. Another district created a resource guide, listing the contact names and numbers for community groups, city services, aldermen and police serving its neighborhoods.

Many of the DAC chairs cited information dispersal as the primary role of the DAC. One chair noted, "Basically we are an information highway. We make sure the information that is brought to us is distributed to beats." Another echoed that sentiment: "The DAC is a communication tool, an educational vehicle. We disseminate information throughout the

district." Many chairs considered information dispersal the main form of outreach for which the DAC was best suited because it naturally jibes with its duty to "pinpoint issues of importance to the district." Another chair noted, "(W)e can't solve all of the district's problems, but we can try to present things that will affect everyone."

The third category of common DAC activities is charity drives. Many DACs sponsor direct efforts to alleviate poverty and/or assist certain segments of their districts' population. Some collect food and clothing for food pantries, domestic violence shelters and other charitable organizations. Most DACs, however, target their efforts more directly, working with the Community Policing Office to serve needy families or seniors living within the district. One DAC sponsors "Raise the Roof Day" in conjunction with its Community Policing Office. This project involves volunteers helping to complete a home improvement project for one of the district's invalid seniors. Relief efforts coordinated by DACs become particularly widespread around the holidays. Christmas food baskets, Meals-on-Wheels programs and Toys for Tots are popular DAC-sponsored projects. These forays into direct service can at times overwhelm the DAC agenda. In December in particular, it is not uncommon to attend DAC meetings in which crime statistics are shelved in lieu of discussions about how members will fit 160 turkeys into the backseat of the chair's compact car. For many DACs, holiday charity drives are the most concrete projects undertaken all year.

Many of the DAC charity drives center on the youth population—the focus of the fourth category of major DAC activities. All but one district reported that CAPS-related youth projects were underway in 1999. In most of the districts, however, DAC sponsorship for youth events and programs is largely indirect, taking the form of financial assistance. The Community Policing Office often asks for funds or volunteers to assist with its Explorer troops or the DARE program. One DAC member noted, "Any activity for youth that is sponsored by the Community Policing Office is also helped out by the DAC." Another DAC holds biannual "bowl-a-thons" to raise funds for the district police officers' children's fund. DACs have covered the costs, in part or entirely, for anti-violence curricula for local schools, catering for a police/youth forum, field trips, sporting activities and after-school programs operating in their districts. Last year, two DACs also sponsored summer job fairs for teenagers just out of school, and one DAC began promoting an apprenticeship program.

During the past year, DAC members in four districts also helped to begin peer juries in their communities. These are groups of high school students who volunteer to serve on a "jury" that hands down sentences to first-time juvenile offenders who agree to participate in the program rather than go to court. DAC members serve as adult monitors to the juries, helping the jurors and the community policing officers to handle the case load and oversee the fulfillment of community service sentences. Similarly, other DACs support Youthnet and the various parent patrols covering schools in the district. At least six of the DACs cited youth activities as an area that they would like to see their groups expand further in the near future. Two districts have begun to regularly invite the president of the district's Explorer troop to DAC meetings. Another district has a youth subcommittee that is entirely composed of teenagers who live or go to school

in the neighborhood. Other DACs are exploring the possibilities of beginning a program to address alternatives to gangs; starting up a truancy subcommittee; and coordinating efforts with high school students seeking to fulfill their community service requirements for graduation.

A final major category includes the social events thrown by DACs for their districts. Like efforts that concentrate on information dispersal, social events play on the strengths of DAC organization. DACs have ties to residents throughout the district by virtue of their membership. They also have access to a cache of funds and a meeting space large enough to accommodate a sizable group of people. Through the subcommittees, DACs maintain connections with special populations in the district, such as seniors and youth. Social events are, therefore, an obvious and popular means for the DAC to stay in touch with its constituents.

Many social events are volunteer- or police-appreciation events. CAPS Appreciation Day, district awards ceremonies and Police Recognition Week are often celebrated under DAC auspices, usually with complementary meals and plaques or certificates for honorees. Safe Night and National Night Out are also popular occasions for districtwide events, while the holiday season also provides an attractive excuse for festivities. Some DACs concentrate efforts on special groups of residents, sponsoring Christmas outings for seniors or hiring Santa Claus to attend a children's party. To their credit, rarely are parties thrown only for the DACs' own enjoyment. More often than not DAC members will spend both the time and money to fund and staff the event, taking minimal part in it themselves.

Occasionally, social events are used for recruitment for the beats or subcommittees. Some of the DACs even manage to have their gatherings double as crime prevention projects. In one district, barbeques are held in vacant lots during the summer months to focus the community's attention on problem areas. In another district, a subcommittee hosts a picnic to celebrate its members' work during the year, but also to raise money for their scholarship fund. Open houses at police stations are other events at which DAC members introduce residents, police officers and beat facilitators to one another and to the DAC. Other districts sponsor festivals at which neighbors and CAPS participants can become acquainted. Over the summer, gospel festivals, street carnivals and block club nights will be held with the help of DAC patronage.

The work of the DACs is unfortunately not always so easily combined with entertainment. It is one thing to mobilize community members to come out for a free hot dog on Saturday, and quite another to convince them to attend court at 26th and California in the early morning. The latter task is the challenge facing the DACs' court advocacy chairs.

Court Advocacy. As one of only two mandated subcommittees, court advocacy provides a common basis on which to compare the DACs. Court advocates are groups of volunteers from each district who track the progress of selected court cases and hearings. The presence of court advocates at these proceedings is intended to both demonstrate support for victims and police officers, and also to convey the community's concern about the issue at stake. Court advocates

78

may consult with beat officers, community policing officers, CAPS organizers or local residents to pinpoint cases whose outcome will affect the quality of life in the district.

Court advocacy has the distinct advantage of enjoying the support and resources of the CAPS Implementation Office, which provides training, advice on the legal system, transportation and materials such as recruitment brochures and identification badges for volunteers. At times, advocates have also relied on the CAPS Implementation Office to be a liaison for them in matters related to court attendance. For instance, in 1999 the office forged an understanding with bailiffs and security guards at the county court house to provide parking in the jury lot for court advocates and escorts to take them to and from the building. Similar agreements were arranged for night narcotics court advocates. Earlier, the Implementation Office negotiated an extensive set of ground rules governing the admission and conduct of advocates in the courtroom. On occasion, the office also manages the coordination of citywide court advocacy efforts. The trial of the three men charged with murdering a CAPS volunteer was a case in point.

Most of the day-to-day business of court advocacy, however, is handled by the advocates themselves. Court advocates track their own cases from start to finish, in some instances following an issue for upwards of two years. It can be an arduous, tedious and demanding form of volunteer work— mostly done between advocates and prosecutors—with little involvement by the Implementation Office. Each subcommittee has a team leader or chair, who runs the group's meetings, fills out the designated forms for case recordkeeping and arranges the logistics of trips to court. The subcommittee chair is also responsible for informing prosecutors that court advocates will be attending a particular session. When speaking with prosecutors, court advocates may share with them their desired outcome of the case and concerns they may have about the particular crime's impact on their neighborhood. Court advocates also work closely with lawyers in the State's Attorney's Community Prosecutions Unit. Those prosecutors may actively follow a case with a court advocacy group, or simply discuss their progress and give advice on court procedures. There are currently three community prosecution offices, serving designated districts on the North, South and West Sides of the city.[10]

Court advocacy subcommittees have discretion to select cases they would like to track, but they are encouraged to follow cases that relate to the overall interests of the community. Court advocates often track cases that pertain to quality-of-life issues. One district selects its cases by first clipping newspaper articles to get a sense of what crimes are endemic to the community. Another group focuses its efforts on victim support. The chair explained, "When we have a shooting, the committee members will go to victims if they are reluctant to talk with police. They'll then relay that information to police and explain to the victims that they have support and they are not on their own. There are others in the community who will look out for them." Advocates follow through on that promise, and if the victim agrees to testify, they will see that case to its conclusion.

---

[10] More information on this initiative is available later in this report.

Most court advocacy groups track a mixed docket of felony and housing cases. According to one DAC member, their district's advocates choose their cases based on "which will have the greatest impact on the district's crime rates." At least one district concentrates exclusively on murder and rape cases, while another focuses on drug and prostitution cases. A third follows only those involving "crimes against the person." In a district with a large shopping mall, advocates have identified shoplifting and retail theft as community concerns, and they track those cases, even when store owners do not come to court. Some court groups concentrate on high-profile felony cases, but others steer clear of them because they believe they can be of best use in cases that are ignored by the media. Still others focus on cases involving chronic offenders.

Housing cases often constitute the bulk of the advocates' workloads. In seven of the city's 25 districts, housing subcommittees have actually been formed to specifically tackle housing-related cases, freeing the court advocates to follow only criminal matters. There are many explanations behind the popularity of housing cases, but one of the most obvious arises from the nature of housing court itself. Housing court and administrative hearings have proven to be venues where advocates can make an impression upon the judge, and therefore on the outcome of the case, more easily and readily than in criminal cases. As a matter of law, the judge may consider the effects of a poorly maintained property on its neighbors when making a determination in a case. Prior to the start of court advocacy, only lawyers and landlords came before the judge in housing court, but now an audience of community members may be present as well.

The impact of the court advocates on housing cases is difficult to measure, but in nearly every district around the city, there is a success story that epitomizes the reasons they pursue these cases. For example, at a recent meeting, a community policing officer told the DAC about a case their court advocates tracked for two years, resulting in a favorable outcome for the community. The officer helped them gather evidence against the landlord, including photographs and crime-map data involving the building. The advocates visited the site and recruited the neighbors from all sides of the building to testify in housing court. One resident told the judge that she had been afraid to use her bathroom because the window faced the building, and she feared stray bullets. The building was eventually demolished, and its landlord felt the full force of the law. The judge took away his building, forbade him from ever owning property in Chicago, fined him and gave him a community service sentence. "A bad building will keep producing criminals, so shutting one down will stop that process," one chair noted. "A criminal case may only put one criminal out of business, but tear down a building and you've probably gotten rid of a dozen." In addition to those factors, housing court's downtown location also makes it one of the more convenient options for advocates in terms of accessibility. One court advocacy chair explained, "We used to track only criminal cases, but we've moved into housing in a big way. It's easy to get to the Daley Center, whereas 26th and California is far away, creepy and confusing."

Since most court advocacy groups follow both housing and criminal matters, selecting the specific cases to track is often the part of the process that causes advocates difficulty. Many

districts have assigned community policing officers to act as liaisons to this committee. Officers keep advocates apprised of the bad buildings, career criminals and crime patterns affecting the local communities. In some districts, an officer will follow the progress of cases through their initial hearings (when advocates are most likely to grow disappointed by continuances), and inform them when a case is coming to trial. The Implementation Office has also encouraged court advocates and prosecutors to communicate frequently to prevent advocates from unnecessarily attending the preliminary hearings of a case.

Scheduling cases wisely can be a pivotal part of the process because time and volunteers are often limited resources in court advocacy. "Burn-out" is a common complaint among advocates, as is the difficulty of recruiting new members. In the survey of DAC members, court advocacy subcommittees received mixed reviews for their ability to recruit volunteers and promote court attendance. When asked how well the court advocacy subcommittee did at turning out enough residents for court sessions, nearly half (43 percent) of DAC members responded that their advocates rated only fairly or poor in that regard. In six districts, a majority of DAC members thought they were falling short in regard to courtroom attendance. Even greater was the percentage of members who believed their court advocacy subcommittee did not have enough volunteers to get its work done; 72 percent of DAC members considered court advocacy undermanned, and in only three districts did a majority of members think there were enough volunteers. The lack of volunteers, however, was not blamed on the kinds of cases advocates chose to track. Almost 86 percent of DAC members believed their advocates identified the important problems in their districts when selecting their cases.

DACs around the city are taking different approaches to recruitment. Pleas for new volunteers are frequently voiced during court advocacy subcommittee reports at DAC meetings, but they seem to be falling mostly on deaf ears. In the survey, half of the DAC members admitted they'd never gone to court with their advocates. A majority claimed to have done so in only nine districts. At least three districts have begun to publicize their court advocacy cases in the beats where they originated. They hope local cases will attract local support. "We are just now trying to get more people involved in tracking cases," one chair noted. "The beat facilitators are helping to find more volunteers." Another DAC identified one of its goals for the year: "to expand court advocacy and get some new bodies." Members ask beat facilitators to refer the advocates to interested residents when local cases are discussed at beat meetings.

Another court advocacy group has set guidelines on the amount of time that advocates will be required to give. Their recruitment flyers stress that new court advocates would only have to donate one hour a month, presumably for the subcommittee meeting, in addition to the time for whatever trials they decided to attend. All court advocates would be asked to attend sentencing hearings for the cases they track as a committee, according to the flyer. For any other important court dates, only two advocates are expected to come. Other districts have imposed less stringent parameters on court attendance. Many use calendars to list times and locations of hearings. They generally ask volunteers to sign up only for cases their schedules will allow. One

subcommittee operates on an ad hoc basis, phoning court advocates and arranging meeting times when the community policing office requests help on a specific case.

Recognizing these scheduling difficulties, other court advocacy subcommittees are focusing their recruitment efforts at specific populations within the district for whom day-time court sessions may not pose a problem—retired senior citizens, stay-at-home mothers, university students and other groups that may have flexible daytime schedules. A pilot program at a local university gives college credit to students in a course requiring court advocacy field work. Another district sends letters home with public school children, informing their parents of any cases the court advocates are tracking that involve crimes committed on or near school property.

According to figures gathered by the Implementation Office, attendance at court advocacy meetings and court dates increased in the first quarter of 2000. The numbers reveal that January and March saw higher rates of participation around the city. In January, nearly 461 advocates citywide reported tracking 147 cases; in March, there were 861 advocates following 412 cases. By comparison, in January 1999, only 281 advocates were tracking a total of 268 cases, and last March, there were 372 advocates following 276 cases. The likely explanation for the bump in attendance, however, is not an end to recruitment difficulties, but rather the tremendous interest in, and support for, the case of a murdered CAPS volunteer. Though the crime occurred in December 1997, the three men accused of the crime only came to trial in late January 2000. Court advocates around the city were outraged over the murder of one of their own, and the Implementation Office coordinated a massive turn-out of advocates to attend every session of the two-week trial, as well as the sentencing hearing a few months later. Many more volunteers arrived independently at the courthouse during the proceedings. Space within the chamber was limited, and the advocates were only allotted a certain number of benches. Those seats remained full for the duration of the case, and many advocates were turned away at the door. In the end, each of the defendants was convicted.

The safety of court advocates has been an ongoing concern since the program's inception in 1993. Court advocates carry ID badges issued by the Implementation Office, though they have been urged not to write their names on them. In many districts, court advocates go to court accompanied by community policing officers. Special parking agreements and group transportation are arranged whenever possible. The Implementation Office also tries to use court advocates from different districts in cases where the local court advocates run some risk of retaliation. Two districts on the far North Side have a standing agreement to track such cases jointly. They recently partnered to track a case involving a sex offender who had committed crimes in both districts.

In 1998, the Illinois criminal code was amended to include CAPS volunteers as a specially protected class of citizen. Under the new law, penalties are increased for offenders who intimidate, attack, or kill community policing volunteers. The bill was drafted and passed in the wake of the CAPS activist's murder, and it was intended to make crimes against CAPS volunteers carry the same punishment as crimes against police officers or other public

employees. The law has been used several times in the past year, and in each instance, court advocates have been present to keep watch over the proceedings. The publicity surrounding cases involving the harassment and intimidation of CAPS volunteers may have served to increase community involvement rather than dissuade court advocates from continuing with their work.

For all of the time, energy and risk that accompanies this activity, how effective is court advocacy at achieving its desired results? Statistics are not kept on the success rates of the court advocacy groups, nor are there figures available comparing the sentences handed down when court advocates are or are not actively pursuing a case. The Implementation Office primarily oversees the program to ensure that subcommittee meetings take place and keeps tallies of the number of cases tracked.

The participants believe that the presence of advocates in the courtroom does have an effect on the outcome of cases. One DAC chair related a story involving advocates' efforts to crack down on public drunkenness in the district. After a group of chronic offenders had been arrested on misdemeanor charges, "the whole group attended on one day, and the judge was shocked! He was forced to do something with all of those people there." With some show of community support in the courtroom, advocates have often expressed their belief that the decision would be more likely to go in favor of the prosecution. An official from the Implementation Office noted, "Effective judges want to know what's going on in the communities outside of their courtrooms." Others speculated that by showing support for victims in the courtroom, witnesses feel safer and more relaxed because of the advocates' presence. Another view holds that advocates tend to balance out the sympathy that a defendant might find in the jury by bringing family members to court.

In especially close cases, many advocates have speculated that their involvement is particularly crucial. According to one court advocacy chair, a case his group was following was somewhat weak, with only circumstantial evidence against the defendant. Advocates went to court five times for the case, and the prosecutors finally got the accused to plead guilty to a misdemeanor. The chair admitted that the punishment for that classification was minimal, but he stressed the fact that there was virtually no evidence in the case and opined that without the persistence of the court advocates, the charges might have been thrown out entirely. Another court advocacy group followed a domestic violence case over several months, until the offender was finally given some jail time. An assistant state's attorney informed the advocates that punishment of such severity was very rarely handed down in that type of case.

Some advocates have contended that plea bargains are more likely to be accepted by defendants when they find that the community is tracking their cases. This result is particularly likely to be observed in serious felony cases. One court advocate even claimed she overheard a defendant's lawyer telling his client, "Once CAPS gets involved, you've got trouble."

Viable Subcommittees. As noted, DAC subcommittees are charged with mobilizing community resources to address the issues of concern identified by the DAC. Beyond the mandated court advocacy and seniors subcommittees, the DACs primarily choose their subcommittees on the basis of district needs, and a glance at the roster should reveal something about the district's character. From 1999 to 2000, the number of subcommittees on the DACs ranged from a low of two to a high of 11 subcommittees. The vast majority of DACs, 17 of the 25, had between five and six subcommittees. In most of the districts, each subcommittee had a civilian chair—also a member of the DAC—as well as a community policing officer assigned to be its liaison.

In addition to seniors and court advocacy, most DACs tended to have groups devoted to business, domestic violence, youth and housing in their districts. Ten DACs also reported having a clergy or religious subcommittee; seven had either neighborhood watch or cellular patrol groups; and five sponsored beautification or environmental subcommittees. Curiously, only seven DACs created a separate beat facilitators subcommittee to report on progress around the beats. In terms of addressing highly specific issues, only five DACs established subcommittees entirely unique to their districts. Examples include an indigent issues subcommittee, charged with monitoring the homeless population in one district; a gay/lesbian subcommittee, which serves as a liaison between the police and that district's gay community; and a traffic safety subcommittee, which monitors the condition of streets and traffic signs in a particularly congested corner of the city.

To gauge the strength of DAC subcommittees around Chicago, the evaluation considered the condition of subcommittees on each of the nine IDACs. The IDAC subcommittees were assessed using three factors: 1) Sponsorship of projects and activities aimed at their specific problems or populations; 2) Ability to find and sustain memberships in the district; and 3) Participation on the DAC through regular reports of their groups' progress. Like the citywide average, most IDACs claimed a total of five to six subcommittees each, though three IDACs had 10 or more subcommittees and one had only three.

Most of the DACs devote a considerable portion of their meeting time to monitoring the work of their subcommittees. In some cases, these reports are cause for joy, and in others, for concern. Among the nine IDACs, three can boast highly functioning subcommittees, while two were considered to have subcommittees of average efficiency. An unfortunate plurality of four districts was struggling. Distinctions between these categories were fairly plain. A DAC with highly functioning subcommittees had all or most of its groups holding regular meetings, tackling projects related to its mission and reporting on progress at DAC meetings. A DAC with barely functioning subcommittees had groups that met sporadically or rarely, or that seldom or never sent a representative to DAC meetings. Struggling subcommittees were also extremely unlikely to sponsor projects. The few DACs whose subcommittees fell in the middle of these rankings displayed a mixture of high and low functioning groups.

A close look at the strong subcommittees reveals there is no easy recipe for fostering active and independent groups. Each found its own road to success, which is fitting, because each was formed to address problems specific to its district. Some commonalities, however, do become apparent when relationships between the DACs and their subcommittees are compared in highly rated districts. One major lesson is that having more subcommittees is not necessarily better. DACs that were not squeamish about reconfiguring themselves were better able to interpret and address the needs of their district. One of the DACs that fared well in the ratings began the year by eliminating its own unnecessary or failing subcommittees—trimming its list of 11 groups down to five. Its chair devoted an entire meeting to taking a serious look at each of the subcommittees—without reference to the individuals involved in each of them—and as a group, DAC members considered how well each one was performing, which committees might be folded together or disbanded, and how they might better organize themselves to accomplish specific goals. The result is that their DAC now has five subcommittees that address the five most important concerns of the district's residents. Each of the chairs attends DAC meetings regularly, updating the DAC on the events, activities and court cases with which their members are involved. This DAC also assigns sector facilitators to each of the district's three sectors—facilitators who report events in their area to the DAC.

In another district, a DAC with high-performing subcommittees is exclusively composed of subcommittee chairs, including the DAC's four officers. The divide between DAC members who listen and subcommittee chairs who report is not present in this district. The dual involvement of each of the members allows the group to spend all or most of its meetings exchanging advice and concerns. This DAC also has procedures to keep the subcommittee chairs attending and participating. Meetings begin with a roll-call, and the next item on the agenda is "Status of Subcommittees: major strengths, concerns and works in progress." They avoid becoming a loose federation of chairs by retaining a separate purpose and authority for the DAC. The body collectively decides when to combine, eliminate or create a subcommittee. Members also divide their discretionary budget into allowances for each of the subcommittees, and in return, ask that each of the subcommittees co-sponsor at least one informational symposium, open to the community and held at the district station. The DAC has found a balance of give-and-take with the subcommittees that allows it some oversight without hampering the independence of the smaller groups.

The range of projects sponsored by the highly functional subcommittees also varied considerably, but another common denominator among the subcommittees was their ability to find, independently or through the DAC, resources from the community. These resources were often, but not exclusively, monetary. In the case of one DAC, an ad hoc subcommittee formed to plan a specific event and was able to solicit donations totaling $9,000 from neighborhood restaurants, associations and businesses. In another district, one subcommittee's members sold candy to raise funds for an activity, and the chair convinced fellow DAC members to do so as well. The DACs with successful subcommittees also were better able to bring together other local agencies and institutions to participate in CAPS events. For example, one DAC helped its domestic violence subcommittee arrange speakers from area hospitals and agencies. Each of the

three DACs regularly pursued partnerships with community organizations, often inviting their representatives to DAC and subcommittee meetings.

For two DACs whose subcommittees were judged to be functioning adequately, at least half of their groups had regular meetings, sponsored occasional projects, and had a chair who attended DAC meetings. In both cases, however, these DACs also seemed unwilling or unable to acknowledge some obvious weaknesses in a few of their other subcommittees. These subcommittees consistently had community policing officers report for them at DAC sessions, and in one instance, an officer was forced to give the same information in three consecutive "updates" for a subcommittee. It was also apparent at the DAC meetings that these groups lacked membership, evidenced by their irregular meeting announcements and ongoing recruitment drives. The four DACs with the lowest performing subcommittees had most of their groups displaying the worst of these symptoms. Most of their subcommittees had the community policing officers present their reports to the DAC as a matter of course. Those reports consisted primarily of police-sponsored projects, suggesting that the subcommittee membership was at best assisting at these events and at worst allowing their police liaisons to provide both their agenda and their staffing. By contrast, the higher performing subcommittees were independent, requiring little support from even the DAC members, let alone the police. These subcommittees seemed better able to address their missions, tapping into resident and community resources as needed. They also benefitted from the oversight of a DAC that would not shirk its duty to investigate their effectiveness.

A critical part of the subcommittees' success stems from choosing issues that will resonate with the community, finding problems about which residents and business owners are concerned and willing to help with a solution. That many DACs started domestic violence subcommittees demonstrates this principal. Over the past two years, DACs were strongly encouraged by the police department to form domestic violence subcommittees in districts where the rates of that crime were high. It is not a mandated subcommittee for the DACs, but in many instances, encouragement was interpreted as a polite order. The result has been that domestic violence subcommittees have sprung up in 19 of the 25 districts, but many of those have been cited as among the weakest subcommittees on their DACs.

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

subcommittee consisted of "one community policing officer who now and then passes out flyers."

The absence of a clear mission for the domestic violence subcommittees has resulted in wide variance in terms of projects and foci around the city. Among the IDACs, the more successful domestic violence subcommittees have channeled their energies toward information campaigns, sponsoring poster contests, presentations by health professionals, and funding items like palm cards, which have the telephone numbers of domestic violence agencies for district police officers to give to women. Some of the groups have coordinated efforts with local battered women shelters as well. The least successful groups appear to stall in the planning stages, repeating pleas for new members during DAC meetings instead of reporting on progress. One of the domestic violence subcommittees has chosen to adopt a court advocacy role in the district, tracking local domestic violence cases and following legislative changes pertaining to that issue. The members of another built and entered a float in a local parade.

A vital difference between the success of the court advocacy and domestic violence subcommittees is the former's easy access to resources and assistance from the Implementation Office. Court advocates can call on help from downtown when they run into difficulties with a judge, have trouble finding transportation or need assistance interpreting a law. Similar troubleshooting for domestic violence was not nearly as easily found from the city, and the DACs were not always able to provide it. The troubles plaguing another popular subcommittee illustrate that this difficulty is not unique to domestic violence.

The lack of outside assistance is a frequent complaint among the youth and/or schools subcommittees, both of which were cited as the least effective on many DACs. The frequent complaint from their chairs was the difficulty of enlisting participation of principals, parents and local school council (LSC) members. "The one that needs the most help is [the] schools [subcommittee]," one DAC member admitted. "They need help getting cooperation from schools, and they're having trouble getting volunteers who don't need to be paid." Another youth chair described his dilemma: "I'm having a rough time with schools and youth. None of the principals live in the city. They don't give a damn about the neighborhood because it's not theirs." A DAC officer opined that LSC members have not responded to efforts by the DAC to get them involved in CAPS: "The LSCs would be a great resource if we could get one member of each [school's] to join the subcommittee . . . but in practice, its really hard to get them to participate in CAPS."

As was the case with domestic violence, some DACs have successfully solved these difficulties by their own devices. Two DACs appointed local principals or educators to act as subcommittee chairs, while another DAC is in the process of recruiting a local youth minister. Other DACs have focused their subcommittees on working more closely with members of the police department and agency representatives who are involved in youth initiatives in the district. The ability of the DACs to assist their subcommittees in finding either resources or partners in the community is a critical determinant of their success.

Another important factor for the success of a subcommittee is its chair's commitment to the DAC. If the subcommittee chair does not attend DAC meetings, then he or she is unable to report on the group's progress, and the DAC is subsequently unable to measure its effectiveness or assist in problem solving. For three of the IDACs, subcommittee reports were only rarely included on the agenda, and rarer still was the chairs' presence at meetings. The remaining six IDACs included subcommittee reports as part of their regular routine. In two of those cases, however, reporting was done not by the chairs, but by the community policing officers assigned as subcommittee liaisons. Of the remaining four DACs, three had civilian chairs routinely give their own reports, and one DAC had a mixture of officer and civilian reports for the subcommittees.

Subcommittee reports by civilian chairs tended to be more substantive than those given by community policing officers. Though the officers often had detailed notes from the subcommittee meetings, civilian chairs were more likely to bring active issues to the DAC, seeking input or advice. They might ask for help with recruitment or advertisement for a given activity. They were also more willing to admit that their subcommittee was foundering. In one instance, a neighborhood safety subcommittee chair informed the DAC that her group was concerned about loitering by day laborers waiting for rides on certain corners in the district. The subcommittee had been unable to think of an acceptable solution, but after some discussion, the DAC was able to bring its concern to the attention of an alderman who eventually sponsored a series of meetings with managers of companies who hire the laborers. A storefront center for day laborers is now being planned for the district.

When DAC chairs were asked to identify struggling subcommittees in their districts, many pointed to the subcommittees whose chairs often missed DAC meetings. One chair said he had to assume the weakest committees were "the ones I never hear from." Another chair pointed to the seniors subcommittee, commenting, "Well, I'm told they exist." One DAC member asserted, "We have good committees and the committees are chaired by people who want to make a difference . . . (but) communication is broken down in this district. There are all kinds of pieces of information that the community misses out on all the time."

Why are so many subcommittee chairs routinely absent from DAC meetings? The question raises a larger issue concerning sources of civilian leadership. One DAC member complained about the general quality of her DAC's subcommittee chairs: "There's no accountability, and the chairs are often not trained people. The Community Policing Office just finds a hot body and throws them in the position." There is currently no standardized procedure for appointing or electing subcommittee chairs. In many cases, chairs are elected by the membership of the individual subcommittees, but often the commander, the Community Policing Office or DAC members make appointments for those groups. Not surprisingly, the results are often mixed.

In one IDAC, the issue of elections for subcommittee chairs caused a clash between the DAC and the district commander. A cellular patrol subcommittee held its regular election of a

chair, and members voted into office a gentlemen whom the district commander found objectionable. Shortly thereafter, the subcommittee was disbanded by the commander, who claimed that the work of the cellular patrols was too dangerous for the civilians and too time-consuming for their police liaisons. Subcommittee members brought their case to the DAC, contending that their group had been abolished solely because of the chairman they had elected. Since the deed had already been done, the DAC was put in an impossible position in which the members could only lament the commander's heavy-handedness and empathize with the now-defunct group. One of the DAC officers said, "There were so many other ways to handle it, starting with the fact that [the commander] should have brought [the concerns] before the DAC."

But suppose for a moment that the commander had. What could the DAC have done? The answer would seem to lie in the DAC's own bylaws, and therefore, the solution would vary from district to district. This problem cuts to the heart of the matter, offering some insight into why four of nine IDACs have subcommittees not performing to their potential. The DACs' powers over their own subcommittees are not spelled out clearly or uniformly. In considering the overall health of the subcommittees, it should be noted that the place of subcommittees on the DACs, and their duties as conceptualized in the CAPS general order, are also not universally accepted by DAC members. In fact, the efficacy of using subcommittees as the primary problem-solving vehicle is currently under debate by several DACs.

Over the past year, three of the IDACs have begun to focus their meetings on reporting by subcommittee chairs, as opposed to beat facilitators from around the district. A former chair of one of those DACs complained that the subcommittees were "peripheral" to the real purpose of the DAC, which he believed was "to promote problem solving on the blocks, since committees come and go." Another DAC member echoed the belief that DACs should support beat-level initiative instead of districtwide subcommittees: "If people aren't interested in going to separate subcommittee meetings, if we can't get people to join subcommittees, why not do that work on the beats? Instead of haphazardly sending people around the district, we should filter local resources into solving local problems."

Should DACs be more focused on giving support to the beat facilitators, rather than setting up districtwide subcommittees? If so, how will districtwide problems be addressed? Are some DACs able to take such action of their accord? In some cases, the answer is clearly yes. It depends on community resources and the DACs' access to them. As DACs were originally envisioned, members were chosen for their ability to harness local resources. As it currently stands, the DACs are not always being used for that purpose. They are primarily being used to give advice to the subcommittees, in much the same manner in which they are charged with giving advice to the police. DACs are not able to set policy for the department, but in some cases, the DACs can impose their will upon the subcommittees. DACs that actually do so are, not surprisingly, also the DACs who have the most successful subcommittees.

Spending the Money. The DACs were handed a formidable, but unfunded, mandate when CAPS first began in 1993. After years of difficulty securing their own funds, DACs began

receiving an annual discretionary budget in 1997. Currently, the Implementation Office's DAC discretionary budget now totals $5,000 per district, and in addition to those funds, 1999 marked the first year each district was allotted a $15,000 grant from the Allstate Corporation's Safe Neighborhoods Program. With nearly $20,000 at their disposal, the DACs in 1999 had access to an unprecedented amount of money.

This money, however, was not given without preconditions. Both the discretionary budget and the Allstate grant were not automatically dispersed to the districts, but instead were held for the DACs downtown. To access discretionary money, DAC members were to submit requests and/or receipts for reimbursement to the Implementation Office. By contrast, Allstate funds could only be distributed by a grant committee composed of representatives from the Implementation Office and Allstate, along with the chief of patrol and the area deputy chiefs, who read and evaluated the DACs' proposals. In writing them, the DACs and the district commanders were to consider whether the projects or items they wished to purchase would "contribute to the enhancement of personal safety and security, home/neighborhood safety and security, at-risk youth programs and/or neighborhood revitalization efforts." The stated purpose of the Allstate funds was to "to promote the building of safer blocks and strengthen CAPS partnerships in each of the city's 25 police districts."

The purpose of the DAC discretionary funds was broader, and spending restrictions on those budgets were not so limiting. Discretionary funds were created to promote and support district- and beat-level participation in CAPS. These parameters can be interpreted as narrowly or as widely as the DAC chooses. The DACs may spend their $5,000 on subcommittee activities, districtwide projects, or other programs organized by themselves or in conjunction with Community Policing Offices.

Discretionary budgets have sometimes been referred to by DAC members as "juice and cookie money." The DAC or its subcommittees frequently use it to purchase refreshments for their meetings or for CAPS events. One district actually set aside a $100 food allowance for each of its subcommittees, while other districts gave a small cache of funds to each of the beat facilitators, who in turn used it to purchase refreshments for beat meetings. DACs also used the discretionary funds to cover the costs of food and beverages for districtwide holiday parties or award banquets. In the few districts that hold regular smoke-outs, vacant lot barbeques and picnics, the discretionary budget is often used to buy food for those events as well.

Many of the DACs parceled out their $5,000 into allowances for beat and subcommittee activities. In some cases, the subcommittees purchased t-shirts, CAPS jackets, or identification cards or badges for their members. Court advocacy groups and cellular patrols often used their portion of the money to cover transportation and equipment costs for their activities. In a few rare cases, neighborhood improvements were funded through the DAC budget, via the subcommittees or one of the beats. In one district, basketball hoops were erected in a park, and in another, plants were purchased for a neighborhood beautification project. Several DACs used the $5,000 for

charitable purposes, purchasing uniforms for their Explorer troop, toys for donation to children's organizations and food baskets for needy families.

In most districts, DAC members did not have a spending plan for their money. Instead, they would dip into their accounts to cover expenses as they arose, such as last-minute transportation to a rally, signs for marchers or rejected Allstate proposals. In at least one district, the DAC's money was also used to pay for the district's Safe Night activities after the city was unable to reimburse them in full.

Incidentals for CAPS meetings were also generally financed by the DAC's budget. The DACs approved requests for items such as microphones, detailed maps of the district and podiums, all of which were housed at the station and used by CAPS volunteers as needed. Printing costs were also often covered by the discretionary fund, though the DACs were urged to use the police department's printing facilities whenever possible. Flyers, newsletters and agendas were among expenses listed by each DAC. Six advisory committees used their discretionary budgets to purchase bigger ticket items such as scanners and fax and laminating machines for the Community Policing Office. One district used some of its budget to buy a TV/VCR unit so police and community members could watch training videos. Another district purchased a camcorder for videotaping CAPS events and drug transactions.

Many, if not most, DACs failed to take full advantage of their discretionary monies. In a few districts, nearly all of the funding lay untouched. The Allstate grants suffered a similar fate in many places. Each DAC was allotted $15,000, but only three of the 25 districts used all of this money, and seven DACs had $5,000 or more remaining at the end of the year. Many of the DACs attempted to take full advantage of their money but had proposals rejected because requested items were not covered by the grant or the proposals were inadequately prepared. Most of the DACs admitted that they delayed tackling the chore, resulting in some hasty and ill-considered proposals toward the end of the grant year.

Every district, however, was able to make some Allstate grant purchases. Approximately half used their money to fund four or more programs or items. Alley numbering was the most popular expenditure, with 16 of the 25 districts including it among their proposals. Two of the DACs chose to spend all or very nearly all of their $15,000 on that particular program, which provided for stencils or stickers to affix address numbers to garages. The addresses would assist police by clarifying their location in the alleys. Eight districts used a portion of the grant to begin police bicycle patrols in their neighborhoods, and five districts installed motion sensitive lighting in high-crime areas. Home safety equipment, such as fire extinguishers, smoke detectors and carbon monoxide detectors, were also frequently requested, as were personal security articles like whistles and emergency/medical alert bracelets. Bicycle and steering wheel locks were also purchased by many DACs for distribution as gifts or raffle prizes at beat or subcommittee meetings. Citizen patrols in four districts received new radios through the Allstate grant, and three districts installed burglary prevention materials, like dead bolts and security door braces, in the homes of at-risk members of their community. DARE materials and incidentals for the

91

Explorer program were purchased in 14 districts, though often these proposals took several months to be approved because they fell outside the grant's restrictions. Next year's guidelines specifically exclude them from Allstate-grant eligibility.

DAC members were grateful for the opportunities that the Allstate grant afforded them, but several complained about the amount of paperwork involved. Another frequent complaint concerned the slow turn-around time between proposal submission and receipt of the money. In most cases, the reason for the delay was the review committee's need for more details on the proposal forms. The DACs would have to resubmit proposals, after writing them to meet the committee's specifications. While the DACs were often slow in completing their proposals, the delays were compounded by vague proposal instructions, which were not entirely explicit because the drafters wanted to see what proposals the DACs would devise. After experience with the first year's grant, the next year's application forms contain more detailed explanations. Grant guidelines were also distributed in early February 2000, and DAC members were strongly encouraged to begin submitting their requests as soon as possible.

In terms of their discretionary money, DAC members voiced very few complaints compared to the early years of the CAPS program. At their meetings, some DACs mentioned they would prefer to have had easier access to the funds. One chair complained about the uncertainty surrounding certain expenditures saying, "(W)e don't know when or if the money is coming." She opined that in a relatively poor district, that hesitation can prevent them from taking on certain projects. For the most part, however, DACs have accepted the reimbursement policy, simply urging their members to turn in their receipts as quickly as possible. During the past year, DACs were advised by the Implementation Office that for prompt reimbursement, they should bill the office directly when purchasing from a vendor or have them send a copy of the invoice downtown, which relieves DAC members from the chore of sending a receipt, without which they cannot be reimbursed.

At the end of the fiscal year, a handful of DACs had used all or most of the funds with which they began, while a few districts had barely touched what they were allotted. Each of the districts was given equal amounts of money, without regard to population or the average income level of residents. The equity of this arrangement is questionable. In one sparsely populated district, the DAC completed the year with nearly $4,000 of its discretionary budget remaining. This situation stands in contrast to a nearby district that held fundraisers to cover its projects after the budget ran dry. When describing the distribution of their Allstate purchases, one commander of a relatively wealthy district noted the irony: "They took the $6 [ID] bracelets home but found they clashed with their Rolex watches."

DACs that were pressed for funds often actively sought other sources of funding for use on special events or to make specific purchases that exceeded or could not be covered by their regular budgets or the Allstate grants. For instance, several districts solicited the help of area businesses to underwrite the costs of districtwide celebrations. In one or two cases, DACs actually applied for outside funding from a philanthropic or government organization. When a

DAC does decide to venture into grant-writing, however, the job is often done by its treasurer or a special ad hoc committee, composed entirely of civilians. As one commander put it, he has to be "like Caesar's wife" when accepting or giving monetary gifts of any kind for the community.

Money is only one type of resource that DACs need to be effective. Cooperation that comes in the form of shared expertise, access to volunteers or a fresh perspective are of equal or greater value to a DAC. These collaborations are the final measure by which the effectiveness of DAC activities are judged.

Collaborations and Partnerships. As originally conceived, DACs were to be composed of community members with the ability to form partnerships and a talent for encouraging collaboration between diverse groups of people. DAC members were, therefore, to be picked for their connections to the district and for their willingness to make new connections as needs arose. The responsibility of DACs to "mobilize resources" to address the district's crime and disorder priorities reflects this, as does the general order's specification that members of the DACs include "representatives of community, educational, and religious organizations." With limited funding and no real legal authority, a DAC's gift for finding and keeping its friends could determine the group's effectiveness.

According to the activist survey, most DAC members are indeed established members of the community—heavily involved in organizations and block clubs serving their area. In three districts, the majority of DAC members served purely as representatives from community-based organizations such as neighborhood, ethnic or civic associations, churches, schools and social service agencies. Another handful of DACs allotted permanent seats for representatives from important organizations within their districts. One DAC designates two of its spots to representatives from a local hospital and a chamber of commerce. Another DAC reserves places for the heads of security from universities located in the district.

Because most DACs delegate collaboration responsibilities to their subcommittees, local institutions are often mined for subcommittee chairs. The prominence of business, clergy, schools and seniors subcommittees throughout the city are illustrations of that tendency. In four districts, neighborhood-association subcommittees were also started to keep track of the activities and events other groups sponsor throughout the district. Media, marketing, hospitality and parks subcommittees are other examples of groups headed by and targeted toward specific segments of the local culture and economy.

Partnerships with businesses are the most common alliances forged by DACs. Thirteen of the 25 DACs have business or economic development subcommittees in operation. On the IDACs, these groups coordinate their efforts in different ways. One district's business subcommittee consists only of a local business owner from each of its three sectors. Another DAC's group works primarily with owners of bars and restaurants in the area, discussing their common concerns and tracking police service requests at businesses around the district. When they identify a problem bar or restaurant, the subcommittee approaches the owner in an effort to

intervene on their behalf. Educating fellow business owners about crime trends and liquor license obligations were often cited as duties of the business subcommittee. One district's group alternates its meeting times and places to coincide with areas of rising crime to find ways of remedying it. Other business subcommittees focus on getting owners to attend court for cases involving crimes against businesses and to participate in local neighborhood watches.

Less formal partnerships are often formed by DACs on an ad hoc basis. They may send their chair or an officer to approach a local organization for help or information on a specific issue. Domestic violence subcommittees were often initiated in this way, following a visit from the DAC chair to a nearby shelter or women's organization. Other DACs have formed ad hoc subcommittees to apply for or distribute grant money. They often seek the participation of residents affiliated with non-profit organizations for their expertise with grant-writing and reporting.

Several DACs have had success in their efforts to forge long-term partnerships with specific groups within their district. One DAC has had particular success recruiting the participation of local churches. At least five ministers and clergymen serve on that DAC in various capacities, and others are active on the subcommittees. As a result of their involvement, a local church allows the district's court advocates the use of its van for transportation to and from court. Its domestic violence subcommittee benefits from collaboration with a ministers' alliance against domestic violence. One of its beat facilitators is a local pastor active in forming block clubs around her neighborhood. The district is also known for its emphasis on finding faith-based solutions to criminal problems, such as prayer walks and vigils. Connections between the DAC and the religious community are so numerous and long-standing that the two have become fairly intertwined. As one of the members noted, "If the church community doesn't stand up here, I don't know who will."

Another district has focused on improving relations with the local parks. In addition to vigorously promoting youth activities and events sponsored by the parks, the DAC also identified as a goal a commitment to stepping up the police presence in the parks. With the commander's help, the DAC settled on establishing mini-offices within the confines of the three major parks. The mini-offices would be small rooms set aside in the field houses for officers patrolling their beats. Officers could drop in and catch up on some paperwork before returning to their routes. Their hope was that the criminals who liked to invade the park after nightfall might be deterred by seeing the police coming in and out regularly. By last fall, they managed to gain the support of one park manager, arranging and stocking an office for the police in one of the three field houses.

In some situations, a DAC is required to form alliances that are temporary and conditional, usually in response to a problem within the district. In those cases, a DAC's ability to bring all of the players to the table to craft a solution to the problem can be counted as a collaboration success story. In one district, years of difficulties with the management company for local scattered-site housing were finally aired in a meeting between DAC officers, district police, Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) officials, a state congressmen and the ward alderman.

94

Residents had been following several of their addresses in housing court for a number of years. The district commander appreciated that the DAC had "been running into walls" and helped them gather statistics on police visits to certain sites. Those facts were brought to everyone's attention at the meeting, and as a result, the group identified three problem areas where the management company will work on abatement issues. They were also able to secure a promise from the managers to meet on a quarterly basis with the DAC chair and the district commander to monitor progress at the sites. The chair voiced her intention to make overtures to other management companies in the district.

For many DACs, however, instances of such successes are few and far between. The collaboration part of their mission has proven somewhat elusive, and any efforts to bring new partners onto the DAC are rare. The notion of conducting ongoing outreach to neighborhood associations and agencies would strike some as ridiculous, others as unnecessary. One DAC chair repeated the sentiments of many when he said, "Everyone in the district knows about CAPS, and they also know they can come in anytime. There's no one here who's stopping them." Another chair easily admitted that "all of the non-profits in this district are outside of CAPS," explaining that "none of them attend DAC meetings or beat meetings though they know they're welcome." One chair believed there simply were not any organizations worth inviting in his district: "In reality, we don't have a lot of community-based organizations. There are maybe one or two working in the district, but even they don't have a good base foundation. It's the residents that make CAPS work, and they aren't really involved in other organizations."

In at least four districts, the attitude of the DACs toward certain local organizations is more hostile than apathetic. Relations between the DACs and these groups often became contentious when the latter began to address crime and disorder issues independently of CAPS. One DAC member considered that the CAPS meetings often lost participation from residents because of these competing venues. He said, "Because [residents] were organized long before CAPS, it's hard to bring them into CAPS. They have their own organizations and block clubs that have been around a long time, so it's kind of hard to get them to participate when they have their own . . . resources." Another DAC member complained that some community organizations had a habit of "not sending representatives to beat meetings, and then they'd call the police, asking them to attend their own private meetings." One chair contended that a certain organization was responsible for sending outside agitators to the district. He believed they "come in here once or twice a year, make trouble, and then we don't see them anymore." Another believed local associations operated by a philosophy antithetical to CAPS. He said, "Many times these community groups don't like to solve problems. They let them fester, so that there will be something for them to complain about. That's not partnership or problem solving."

Organizations outside the CAPS fold are not necessarily barred from the DACs, but efforts to bring them into meetings are virtually nonexistent. Not all DAC members take satisfaction in their exclusion. One member lamented that "the basis of the program is that everyone works together." Another noted, "There's an inordinate amount of work to be done, and not working together on things only creates confusion . . . I find it very disturbing that we can't

95

work together. There are resources that they have that we could use, and resources that we have that they could use. The community would benefit so much."

Effectiveness of Representation

If well-connected and respected community organizations are not always being welcomed onto the DACs, who else is being excluded from participation? To answer that question, another must first be raised, Who is currently on the DACs?

The survey of DAC participants found that most are longtime observers of the program. More than half began to get involved by the end of 1993, the year that the program was inaugurated in the prototype districts. Most DAC activists are established members of their community and diverge in important ways from the population as a whole. More than 80 percent of those interviewed indicated that they own their home, in contrast to the citywide figure of about 45 percent. More than 50 percent reported living in their neighborhood for at least 20 years; in our 1999 citywide survey only 20 percent of residents reported living there that long. They are also heavily weighted toward middle age: more than 60 percent indicate they are at least 50 years old. The citywide survey for 1999 included residents 18 years of age and older, and among that group only 25 percent were over age 50. While about 55 percent of adult Chicagoans have some education beyond high school, the comparable figure for DAC members is about 80 percent. On the other hand, the male-female split in this group is close to 50-50. About 45 percent of DAC respondents are white, 40 percent African-Americans, and only 5 percent Latinos. As we will see below, under-representation of Latinos is a highly visible feature of the DACs.

In profile, DAC members are older, educated, likely to be homeowners and frequently long-term residents of their neighborhood. But DACs do not represent the city as a whole. Instead, their role is to provide a conduit through which residents of their police district can voice their concerns and aspirations, and a source of counsel for police officers searching for ways to act on behalf of the interests of community members. The critical question is, To what extent do DACs represent their own constituencies?

Surveys of DAC members illuminate the linkage between DACs and the communities they stand for. Like the earlier discussion of beat meetings, this section examines how faithfully each DAC mirrors the composition of the district it represents and how well it reflects residents' views. Like beat meetings, the DACs greatly over-represent established members of the community, and this "middle class bias" can affect the representation of interests at their meetings.

Two sources of data are available to assess how well DAC participants represent their constituencies. The 1999 survey of DAC members provides most of the necessary information about those bodies. But since it is important in this section to adequately represent each of the 25 police districts separately, the results of interviews with an additional 108 DAC members who

were interviewed in 1998 but not in 1999 were combined with those of the 527 respondents in 1999. The resulting number of current or recent members per district ranges from 12 to 41, and the median is 25. The district-level data on these 635 DAC members can be compared with the results of citywide surveys that were conducted in 1998 and 1999, involving 5,714 respondents.[11] They lived throughout the city, but here their responses to the survey are aggregated by police district. The average district is represented by 396 respondents. This ranges from a high of 841 respondents to a low of 32 (from the Loop; the next smallest district sample was 211).

Figure 25 closely resembles those presented in the section on resident representation in beat meetings. The horizontal axes describe the population of each district and are based on updated census figures. The vertical axes are based on the DAC surveys and present comparable profiles of the membership of each of the 25 advisory committees. The dotted line in each panel describes the statistical relationship between the two. The data points represent the districts.

Figure 25
Demographic Representativeness of District Advisory Committees

---
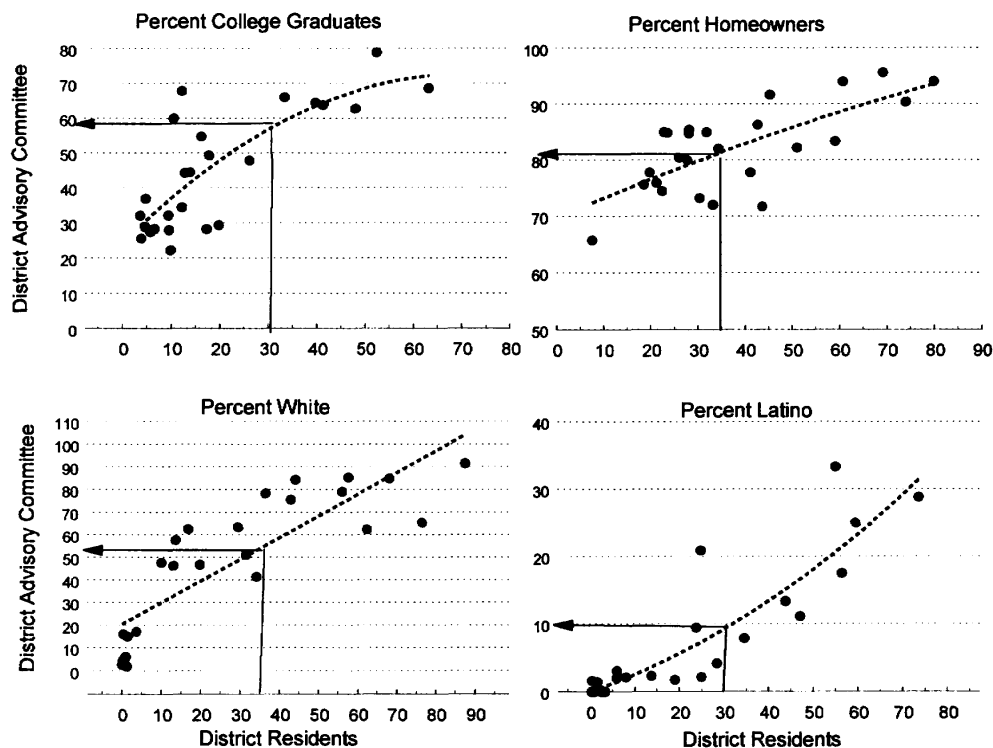
[11] Analyses of geographical areas based on the 1998 and 1999 city surveys used both the representative samples for each year and special supplemental samples of a total of 364 respondents who were over-sampled to better represent four lower-population police districts.

Two patterns can be observed in Figure 25. First, the demographic composition of the DACs varies in concert with the character of the districts. Districts with more homeowners, college graduates, whites and Latinos generally are represented by DACs with more of the same as well. In the district that topped the education list, 63 percent of residents and 69 percent of their DAC members have a college degree. About 80 percent of the residents of another district own their home, and 94 percent of the DAC representatives who were interviewed did so as well. Another district is 88 percent white, and its DAC is 92 percent white.

But second, the extent of "middle class bias" presented by the DACs is also clear. Although the DACs vary in response to the composition of their districts, in almost every instance their membership is noticeably better off. This is illustrated by the arrows in Figure 25 that link typical districts to typical DACs. As the upper-right panel illustrates, districts that are about 35 percent homeowners are represented by DACs that are more than 80 percent homeowners. In the most disadvantaged district in this regard, only about 8 percent of residents own their home, but among the DAC respondents, 66 percent are homeowners. Across the 25 districts, where about 30 percent of residents have a college degree, almost 60 percent of DAC members have a college degree. In one district that exemplified this, 34 percent of the population has a college degree, while the figure is 66 percent for the DAC. In general, where whites made up about 35 percent of the population, DACs are about 60 percent white. The mismatch between the Latino proportions of the districts and the composition of the DACs is the most extreme. As Figure 25 indicates, districts that are about 30 percent Latino tend to be represented by DACs that are only about 10 percent Latino. The district with the largest Latino population, at 74 percent, is represented by a DAC that is less than 30 percent Latino.

Another critical question concerns how representative DACs are of the views of residents. The district committees are an important "transmission belt" linking the interests of neighborhood residents to police policymaking. They provide a venue where residents can voice their concerns to managerial-level representatives of the department. They are the point in the department's planning process where civilian leaders are to be involved in identifying districtwide trends, setting priorities, debating strategies and crafting district plans that are then sent "upstairs" for review. The DACs thus provide the best forum for holding police accountable for working both separately and in partnership with the community to address chronic crime and disorder problems. Representing the satisfaction or dissatisfaction of residents with policing in their area should be one of the DAC's most important functions.

The city and DAC-member surveys included seven parallel questions about police service in respondents' neighborhoods. These were all discussed in detail earlier in this report: two questions asked about police fairness and concern, two about their job performance (at preventing crime and keeping order) and three about police responsiveness to local concerns and willingness to work with residents. Figure 26 compares the percentage of residents and DAC members from each police district who, on average, gave police a favorable rating on these seven measures.

Figure 26
Representativeness of DAC Views of Policing
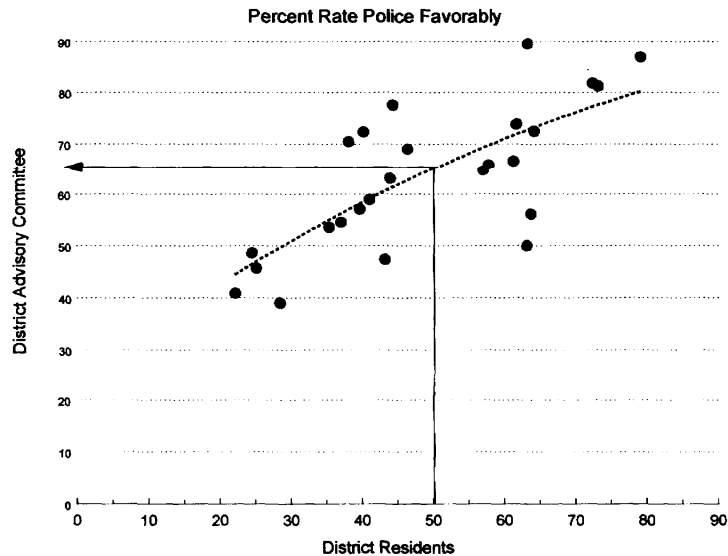
The data summarized in Figure 26 indicate that DACs are broadly representative of the views of their constituents. In general, districts where residents thought police were doing a good job and districts where they were more dissatisfied are represented by DACs that were more and less favorable in their judgments as well. As illustrated at the upper-right corner of Figure 26, the district where 79 percent of residents were positive about the job police were doing is represented by a DAC in which 87 percent took the same view. On the other hand, in the district where only 22 percent of residents gave police a passing grade, only 41 percent of the DAC thought they were doing a good job.

But Figure 26 also indicates that the transmission of resident's views through the DACs may be less than automatic. There are many exceptions falling on both sides of the line linking the two in Figure 26. The level of optimism about policing among DAC members is also much higher than in the general population. The arrows presented in Figure 26 illustrate the general pattern: where about 50 percent of the public is satisfied with the quality of police service, about two-thirds of DAC members are satisfied. The gap is largest at the bottom of public satisfaction and grows a bit narrower (illustrated by the decelerating statistical line) at the top. The DAC where residents were most dissatisfied is separated from its constituency by almost 20 percentage points, while at the top the gap is only 8 percentage points. The most disaffected Chicagoans are least likely to find a voice representing them "at the table" at DAC meetings.

99

The origin of most of this discrepancy is linked to race. In a nutshell, African-Americans and Latinos who take positions on the city's DACs leave their constituents behind, adopting a far more optimistic view of police operations in their community. White activists, on the other hand, are a bit more skeptical than their constituents, especially about how well police perform their core tasks.

Figure 27 charts the magnitude of these differences. It presents the percentage of respondents who averaged giving police a favorable rating on the seven survey questions described above. Citywide, DAC members were more optimistic than the public by about 14 percentage points. As we have seen in earlier sections of this report, white Chicagoans are more positive about policing than are their counterparts, and this is also illustrated in Figure 27. However, white DAC members were less likely to think police were doing a good job. This was particularly true when it came to preventing crime and keeping order: for example, about 71 percent of white residents, but only 58 percent of white DAC members, were sanguine about the former. Across the seven effectiveness questions, white DAC members were as optimistic as their constituents on only one.

Figure 27
Race and Representation of Views of Policing

city totals include persons of other races
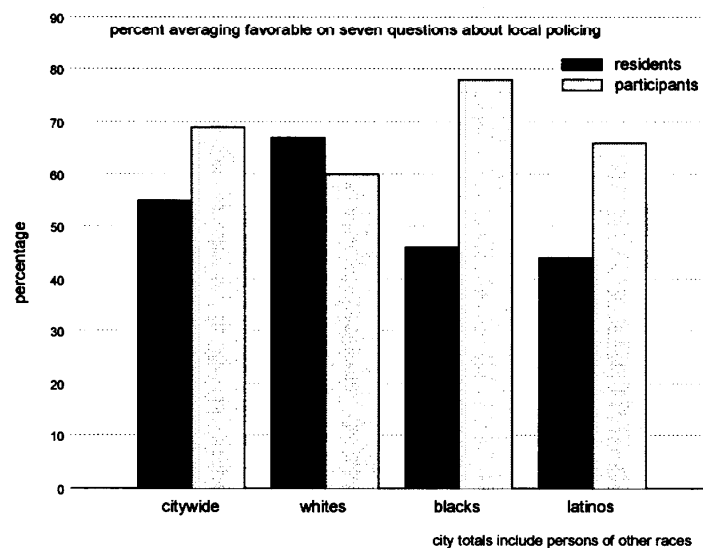
The picture for African-Americans and Latinos was just the opposite. As we have seen in earlier sections of this report, less than half of African-American and Latino residents gave police a positive overall rating, even as late as 1999. However, fully 78 percent of African-American DAC members and 66 percent of Latinos took an optimistic view of policing in their communities. For African-Americans, the general "DAC gap" was 32 percentage points, and for Latinos it was 22 percentage points. The largest discrepancies were due to DAC members' optimism about police effectiveness at crime prevention and order maintenance, and in working

100

with residents and dealing with important neighborhood problems. African-American DAC members were noticeably more optimistic than the population on all seven questions about policing, and Latino DAC members on six of the seven.

What are the origins of the large discrepancies that have opened up between the backgrounds and views of DAC members and their constituents? We suspect this gap has several sources. First, community members who choose to get involved with the police in such an extensive way are doubtless optimistic about them and the possibilities created by CAPS. On the other hand, residents who are more cynical or not favorably inclined toward the police will just stay away. The gap between DAC members and the community also may emerge because those who serve but are openly critical or demanding are made to feel unwelcome, while members who express appreciation rise more easily to positions of leadership. In at least three instances in 1999, subcommittee chairs or beat facilitators were removed or prevented from taking their places on their respective DACs because of personality clashes with the district commanders. In the districts where the police approve or fill DAC vacancies, residents with a reputation for outspokenness are less likely to be invited to the table in the first place. Another possibility is that DAC members may also learn a thing or two from their contact with police. They may become more positive in their views as they become more familiar with officers serving their district. However, the modest skepticism expressed by white DAC members relative to their counterparts citywide is also a reminder that getting closer to the details of police operations does not necessarily provoke uncritical acceptance of how things are going.

Role in Planning

The DAC members' ability to represent the views of their constituents is important because of their role in district planning. District plans identify a district's priority problems; describe the nature and extent of those problems; and pinpoint their underlying causes. Based on beat plans, district plans also map out strategies for deploying the district's resources. These matters are discussed by the district management team at quarterly meetings. On the management team are the district's commander, watch commanders, lieutenants, the community policing sergeant, the district administrative manager and the DAC chair. Together these individuals are responsible for writing and revising the district plan.

In theory, the DAC chair is entrusted with representing the perspective of the community. In practice, this is not always easily accomplished. As discussed previously, DAC chairs' views regarding police service were often different than those of their neighbors. But the discrepancies in the views of the DAC chairs and their constituents may not have done much harm in any case. From the very first planning sessions in 1996, DAC chairs have not been invited to participate. After review of the initial district plans submitted to the CAPS co-managers in autumn 1996, all 25 plans were found in need of revision. As a result, each district received individualized planning tutorials at the police training academy. The tutorials covered the planning process, how to develop beat and district plans, and the role of the DAC chair on the district management team. Only a handful of the districts included their DAC chairs in these sessions, and among the

101

districts that excluded them, more than half of those DAC chairs received no clarification on their role from the district commander following the seminars. The DAC chairs, therefore, remained in the dark about the district plans even after all other members of the management team had been given considerably more information.

Though an impressive amount of time and energy was invested in training, the result of that effort was derailed by an incident involving one of the plans. An unapproved district plan became public in 1997 and the fallout over its controversial contents cost one commander his job, leading to a moratorium on plan approval. In 1998, most of the resubmitted plans were still pending approval, and with the uncertainty looming over the process, DAC chairs around the city lost what little foothold they had on the management teams. In 1999, only 10 of the 25 DAC chairs were invited to attend district management team meetings. Even in districts where the chairs were aware of the meetings, their participation was inconsistent. Some chairs were only invited to half of the meetings; others reported only attending informal gatherings of the group. One chair actually appeared to attend regularly, without ever realizing the true name or function of the district management team. Despite the greater attention given to the development of the district plan, there was not much consideration of the community's role in planning and priority setting.

With the change in police administration in 1998, district planning was moved temporarily to the back burner. During that year, headquarters staff charged with strengthening program implementation began meeting with the DAC chairs to discuss conditions in the districts and to hear their opinions on communication between police and the community. Following those meetings, an addendum to a management training manual was released in 2000. In that document, the role of the DAC chair on the district management team was once again emphasized. Perhaps more importantly, in the early part of this year, a renewed effort to monitor the inclusion of the DAC chairs in the planning process began to get underway, spurred in part by the complaints of the chairs themselves. Only a small fraction of DAC chairs around the city were being included in district management teams, and when their exclusion came to the attention of upper level management in the department, word was sent around the districts to begin inviting the chairs to meetings. Though it is too early to measure the extent of their involvement, a few DAC chairs reported receiving invitations to the meetings following the crackdown.

In the small percentage of districts that has traditionally included the DAC chair in the planning process, a few of those have made efforts to include other DAC members as well. One commander made a point of showing the entire DAC a draft of the district plan, inviting members' suggestions and input on what the management team had written. The extent of the chairs' involvement on the teams and the types of ancillary duties they will be given remains to be seen. Whether they will serve strictly in an advisory capacity or shoulder more active responsibilities may depend on how they are accepted on the team. Another tentative plan in the works is to hold citywide DAC chair meetings on a quarterly basis. If DAC chairs are able to

compare notes on their respective involvement on the management teams, there may be a more uniform role for them in the creation of their district plans.

Summary

All of the districts are holding regular advisory committee meetings, and civilian chairpersons are present on each of the DACs. Court advocacy and seniors subcommittees are in operation in every district, and as of the writing of this report, each DAC is governed by its own independently written set of bylaws. The basic template for a DAC is, therefore, in place in every district in the city. The difficulties, however, have never been in the broader portrait; most districts managed to cobble together the major components of their committees long ago. When it comes to the DACs, the problem has always been in their implementation.

Even after seven years of efforts at clarification, confusion about the mission of the DACs persists. Beat-level concerns regularly find their way into DAC discussions, and in some districts those topics consume the group's attention. The relationship of beat facilitators to the DACs is the source of much consternation in these districts. They may fill the room, but facilitators also bring with them a host of concerns and issues that frequently cannot be properly addressed at a DAC meeting. Beat facilitator subcommittees or sector meetings are alternative venues for facilitator-driven discussions. DACs that exist to hear facilitator reports need to refocus their energies toward the development and sustenance of their subcommittees.

Subcommittees are failing in many districts because of a lack of DAC attention. They are supposed to be the action arm of the DAC, but instead many founder due to low membership, poor or insufficient direction and irregular contact with the DAC. Even otherwise successful DACs often turn a blind eye to underperforming subcommittees. By trimming their roster of these groups, some DACs might find they have more energy to devote to issues of greater concern to their communities. The DACs must also learn to demand accountability from their members, appointing and removing chairs when necessary. They are volunteer organizations, but ones whose responsibilities are great. Therefore, so too should be the expectations of their leaders. The DACs that have been able to organize and manage concrete projects for their districts have done so through their subcommittees, and those subcommittees that have been able to sponsor such undertakings have benefitted from the advice, money and assistance of their DACs. The symbiosis between them is apparent at the meetings. Districts that go beyond a reporting structure, encouraging meaningful interaction between the chairs at DAC meetings, have better success at securing everyone's participation in solutions that affect the entire district.

DACs across the city have not used all of the money at their disposal. They have also not used the resources available in their communities. Latinos, younger Chicagoans and apartment dwellers are not found on the DACs in representative numbers. It may be that a closer look at the long-established leaders in certain districts is in order. "Insular," "narrow-minded" and "dependent" should not be adjectives applied to any DAC, but all too often, the words are fitting descriptions of groups that have failed to perform outreach, focused on a limited area or set of

problems, and allowed the districts' Community Policing Office to suggest the uses for their time and money. Do DACs provide an independent voice for the community? They are entrusted with that responsibility, but in several districts, the answer is no. The advisory committees seem to be receiving more advice than they give, and getting more assistance than they lend. The tendency of the commander or the community policing officers to run or provide the major reports at DAC meetings is undermining the integrity of many of these groups. If the civilian members of the DACs cannot supply the will to draw up their own agendas and plans for the DACs, then they have little hope of representing the community's interests at higher level discussions involving the district plan. If a DAC chair does not have the confidence to take charge of a civilian meeting, then what hope has that chair of vocalizing an opinion in a setting dominated by police brass? It is no accident that most of the DAC chairs have not traditionally been invited to the district management team meetings. Their own timid restraint has kept them from taking even their place at the table before it had an opportunity to keep them out of the discussions. Now that it seems they are on the precipice of true involvement in district planning, the time is ripe for an honest assessment of the quality of leadership on the DACs.

Community Mobilization for Community Policing

Communities vary in their ability to solve problems independently and to form partnerships with police and other agencies. Beginning in 1998, the city's civilian CAPS Implementation Office deployed a cadre of organizers to rebuild the capacity of some of its most troubled communities. Some worked directly under the supervision of the city, while others were on the staff of partner neighborhood organizations. The evaluation began at about the same time, and preliminary findings were published in the May 1999 CAPS evaluation report. This year's update on this effort includes the most recent survey findings and a summary of our conclusions about a number of questions, including, What do community organizers do to build community capacity? What were the impediments to their organizing efforts? What projects did they succeed in bringing to fruition? What were the advantages and disadvantages of relying on city-hired organizers versus contracting organizing through partner agencies? And were there any changes in neighborhood conditions that might be tied to their efforts?

The City's Program

Chicago made significant political and financial investment in the "community side" of CAPS by establishing the CAPS Implementation Office. Implementation Office staff were hired and trained to jump-start and propel civilian involvement in community policing by helping Chicago residents and community leaders build productive relationships with Chicago police.[12]

Since its inception, the Implementation Office has expanded to employ a staff of 88 people with a wide range of responsibilities and expertise. Although it is a city office, it works

---

[12] This is a description of the Implementation Office and its mobilization efforts until the point when the evaluation concluded, in December 1999. Like everything associated with CAPS, it continues to evolve.

hard to minimize the bureaucracy typical of municipal departments. Nearly everyone works directly with residents, schools, police and community leaders. The director provides the overall direction and guiding philosophy for the community mobilization effort and fosters an "open door" policy, encouraging the staff to speak to him about problems or issues. Working under the director are a deputy and a field coordinator. The field coordinator manages a team of area coordinators who, in turn, supervise small teams of community organizers and service representatives, each of whom works in one of the city's 25 police districts. Also on staff are program coordinators with expertise in dealing with problem buildings, the court advocacy program and youth services. The entire staff meets often to stay proactive and informed of issues.

In addition to the 30 on-staff community organizers, the program sponsors an additional group of organizers through contracts with about a dozen partner organizations. The partner agencies are local nonprofit community organizations committed to promoting CAPS in the areas they serve. Partner agencies receive funding through contracts with the city or the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), a national organization that provides funding for community development corporations. In the fiscal year 1999, $348,000 was awarded to partner agencies through the city contracts, and a commensurate amount was given to agencies funded through LISC. At the close of 1999, the city issued a Request for Proposals with the intent of spending about $425,000 to support partner organizations during fiscal year 2000.

The Implementation Office offers in-house training for both its novice and experienced organizers to build comradery and skills, and to make sure that everyone understands their roles, the mission of the program and resources available to them. Organizers attend three days of training featuring an intensive problem-solving training session and a walk-through of city services. City department representatives, police academy trainers, and the program's senior managers and staff guide trainees through a number of role-playing exercises that place special emphasis on developing listening and analytic skills and cultural sensitivity. Although most organizers who go through the training say it is good and appreciate the information they glean, they also say that the most valuable lessons are learned on the job in the streets working with residents, police and community leaders on specific problems.

The organizers have four goals: to create new block-level organizations where they are needed; to involve existing organizations in CAPS and problem solving; to teach community members to work together to solve problems; and to identify the extra resources needed to solve the most serious problems and support specific police problem-solving projects in their neighborhoods, in concert with their local officers and city service agencies. In this report we refer to their efforts as the city's "community mobilization project." Implementation Office staff do not use this term—they say they are "just doing their job"—but it is a useful one for referring to the organizing efforts of the unit and its partner organizations.

The Implementation Office's duties extend beyond the mobilization project. It coordinates the CAPS marketing campaign, which includes radio, print and television advertisements and a wide range of newsletters, posters and billboards. Working with the city-

sponsored cable television program "Crimewatch," Implementation Office staff direct the program's producers toward CAPS success stories in districts all over the city. This marketing program, which has been extremely successful, is described in the 1999 CAPS evaluation report. The Implementation Office also has staff members supporting the city's court advocacy program, which is described elsewhere in this report. The Implementation Office's youth services coordinators work on implementing school safety initiatives, and community service representatives submit service requests and monitor the delivery of services by city agencies. Building services coordinators identify problem buildings and work with their owners to improve the properties and, in turn, neighborhood safety.

The Evaluation

Between March 1998 and September 1999, evaluation staff members monitored the activities of CAPS community organizers. They attended monthly CAPS staff meetings and training sessions for police, residents and organizers. Personal interviews were conducted with community organizers, area coordinators, CAPS activists, police district commanders and beat sergeants, and political representatives. Evaluators toured program and non-program areas and attended special CAPS events like the Chicago Neighborhood Assembly. They kept detailed notes documenting neighborhood resources, problems, organizing efforts and perceptions of crime, as well as CAPS successes and failures. They also reviewed organizer monthly reports, the office's budget, news articles and literature from community organizations.

Figure 28
Location of Study Beats

To examine what community organizing looks like in practice, extensive field work was conducted in four African-American beats between April 1999 and September 1999. The general location of the beats is illustrated in Figure 28. Three of the beats were areas of concentrated
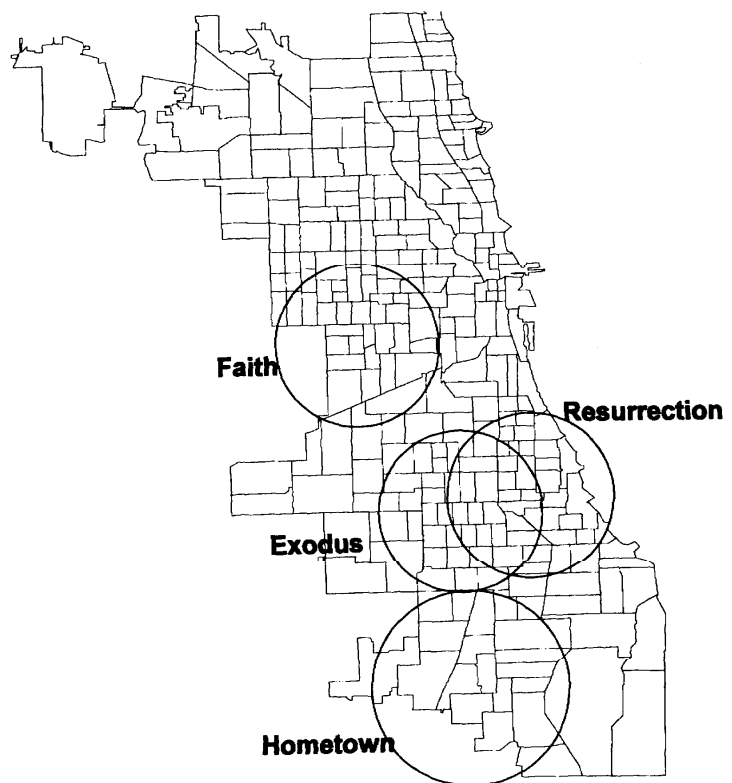
poverty, and one was a working-class area. Three represented the work of city organizers while the fourth represented the efforts of a partner agency.

Resurrection. This beat is struggling to recuperate from depopulation, losses of its housing stock and problems with gangs, drugs, alcohol and job availability. There are many vacant lots, for once-elegant greystone and brick structures were abandoned in large numbers and then demolished, leaving behind only empty plots of land. This beat is poor; 1998 estimates of the median family income there placed it among the poorest 40 percent of Chicago's beats. Thirty-one percent of households had an annual income under $15,000. However, there are signs of convalescence. A local development initiative has brought a new bank (the first in more than 40 years) and newly constructed market-rate housing.

Exodus. Exodus was once the heart of a thriving commercial center, the largest in the city outside of downtown. But now men idly toss coins on cracked sidewalks covered with broken glass and litter. Storefronts are boarded, and empty lots mark the spots where businesses once stood. The few businesses remaining are dimly lit liquor stores, laundromats and a cellular communications store selling beepers and phones. A currency exchange serves as a makeshift bank for nearby residents. Most of the beat is residential, and houses are a mix of brick and wood-frame structures. Building upkeep ranges from abandoned to excellent; most buildings fall somewhere in the middle, leaning toward "needs repair." Though there were a few active block clubs and dozens of churches, we found no strong community organizations addressing crime and safety issues. Long-time residents claimed that the churches were, by and large, civically inactive. An old-time resident of Exodus joked, "You'd think with all the churches we've got around here we wouldn't have any crime problems at all." But there were indeed problems in Exodus. Police reports and ride-alongs revealed pervasive domestic violence and drug sales. Unsupervised groups of children ran through alleys and streets in search of entertainment in the hot summer months, sometimes getting into fights drawing police attention. Like Resurrection, Exodus was poor; 1998 estimates indicated that 32 percent of its households had an annual income under $15,000.

Faith. Like Resurrection and Exodus, Faith is poor. Its area of the city ranked fifteenth among the nation's poorest neighborhoods in a 1995 estimate. In this area of the city an estimated 75 percent of working-age people are unemployed, and over 50 percent of residents receive some form of public assistance. It is estimated that in 1998 more than 25 percent of households had an annual income under $15,000. Faith's commercial strip is a painful reminder of a failed local economy replaced by a thriving drug market. Vacant lots and buildings provide resting spots for public drinkers, while bold drug dealers loiter on corners throughout the beat, occasionally yelling out "rock" and "blow"[13] to cars passing by. Of the four program areas we studied, only Resurrection surpassed Faith in the number of vacant lots; there are about 1,000 in and around Faith, many created when once-solid homes had to be torn down. Most buildings are brick and stone, and their upkeep ranges from abandoned to exceptional. This beat stands out

---

[13] crack and cocaine

from the other program beats in that it has a number of buildings that are architectural gems. One block rich with these buildings is meticulously maintained and awesome to behold, and proud homeowners live on this and nearby blocks. The streets with active block clubs (mostly toward the southeastern portion of the beat) tend to be quieter and cleaner. The beat worsens on its north end, where there are fewer block clubs, more gangs, drug dealers and reports of violence. At the center of the beat stands a church which, for many people, is the heart of community life.

Hometown. The quietest and most residential of the four beats we studied, Hometown is home to working families. Median family income was estimated at $45,057 in 1998, putting Hometown in the top third of city beats. Only 11 percent of households there had an income under $15,000. Most dwellings are single-family homes built in the 1940s and '50s with garages and well-kept yards. Local residents appear to be fond of block clubs, for club signs are posted on many corners. There are other indications of unity: entire blocks have identical lampposts in yards and "We Call Police" signs hanging in windows. The few vacant houses found in Hometown are securely boarded, unlike the open, graffiti-covered, menacing structures in the other beats. Occasionally one sees a loiterer or two, possibly drug dealers, waiting on corners in seldom patrolled, out-of-the-way parts of the beat. Visitors can feel safe in Hometown. The streets are quiet and empty, even in the middle of summer. Although Hometown had some problems, overall it was in much better shape than the other three beats. There were active block clubs and a number of organized and vigilant residents who had the commitment and resources to keep their beat safe and secure. Like in the other beats, Hometown residents had some battles to fight, but these battles looked winnable.

In each of these beats we wanted to know: what the crime and safety issues were; how CAPS was being used to address those issues; what sort of community organization was present; who was active in CAPS and who was not; and what were some of the successes and shortcomings of CAPS implementation. Evaluation staff members conducted many interviews in each of the beats with residents, business owners, community organizations, the community organizers, beat facilitators and aldermanic staff. They rode with beat officers and toured the areas with residents and community organizers. On police ride-alongs they were able to see how officers perceived the needs of the beats and police capacity for proactive community work. Community organizers and beat facilitators pointed out both problems and strengths in their communities. They identified problem buildings, abandoned lots, drug corners, problem liquor stores and sometimes the individuals, families and gangs who jeopardized public safety. But they also pointed with pride to redevelopment and renovation projects, remedial educational and drug rehabilitation programs, low-cost health clinics and community service centers. They introduced staff members to block club members, community residents, police officers and leaders who were working hard to ameliorate the quality of life in their beats. Observers also attended beat community meetings and training sessions in selected target areas. Finally, surveys were conducted of these areas in both 1998 and 1999 to gauge public opinion about the police and neighborhood problems.

The Challenge: Getting Residents Involved

The varying capacities of neighborhoods for self help are important because Chicago's community policing program places heavy emphasis on the roles played by neighborhood residents in maintaining safe and secure neighborhoods. Citizens are expected to come together on a regular basis to debate the nature of local problems and what their place should be on the agenda; to help formulate strategies that police and city service agencies can employ to tackle them; and to get involved themselves in solving problems that are within their reach.

However, savvy activists know that there are significant obstacles to establishing a consistent level of effective community involvement in community policing, particularly in the worst-off neighborhoods. These neighborhoods are often paralyzed by crime and fear, which promote withdrawal rather than community participation and undermine neighborhood cohesion, fostering suspicion and distrust rather than neighborliness. Some residents decline invitations to CAPS meetings because they fear the very real threat of retaliation,[14] while others believe that police do not care about their problems; some believe that the police are actively hostile toward them. Some CAPS activists, especially those in African-American and Latino areas, have reported difficulty in recruiting new CAPS participants owing to concern about police misconduct, civil rights abuses and residents' negative perceptions of police. Dubious residents point to two separate highly publicized fatal police shootings of unarmed African-Americans in June 1999 as evidence of excessive use of force by police.

These perceptions were documented in the federal survey of residents of 12 cities during 1998, which was described earlier in this report. It found Chicagoans tied for first place in the level of fear of neighborhood crime, and in either first or second place in reporting that drug sales, property crime, robbery and gun violence was happening in their immediate neighborhood. And even after five years of experience with community policing, residents of Chicago still ranked their police near the very bottom on important measures. Chicago scored second from the bottom in terms of overall satisfaction with the quality of police service, and the gap between white and African-American residents in terms of satisfaction with policing was second worst among the 12 cities surveyed.

But awareness of opportunities to participate in community policing is also widespread in Chicago. The 1999 evaluation report documented that about 80 percent of residents are aware of the city's CAPS program, and the 1998 12-city survey placed Chicago at the top of the list in terms of the proportion of residents who were familiar with the concept of community policing (73 percent) and who reported that police in their community were engaged in it (67 percent). The gap between awareness and actual involvement is of course a wide one. Our past evaluation

---

[14] The city responded to this problem by issuing a special ordinance providing stiffer penalties for prosecuted offenders who threaten or injure CAPS employees and volunteers. Concerned residents and activists remember a CAPS activist who was fatally shot in December 1997 in retaliation for his activism targeting buildings with housing code violations and criminal activity.

reports have indicated that 13 to15 percent of adults report attending one or more CAPS community meetings in the course of a year. That number has not changed much, and citywide attendance has been stable at almost 6,000 residents per month since 1995. Compared to other cities this turnout level is also impressive: in the 12-city survey Chicago also ranked first in the percentage of residents who reported hearing about neighborhood anti-crime meetings, and first in the percentage who reported attending a meeting. Our surveys also find that those who participate in beat meetings have a favorable opinion of what went on there and of the quality of police service in their immediate community.

But these figures vary from neighborhood to neighborhood within the city, signaling differences in local capacity for involvement in CAPS. Some have a strong "infrastructure" of individual initiative and organizational talent while, others do not. And, as we have also seen, some have an optimistic view of the role that police are willing to play in helping solve neighborhood problems, while others do not. This too will play a significant role in the ability of the program to function effectively in all of the city's neighborhoods.

What Organizers Do

Community organizing is demanding work. As a group, the organizers spent a great deal of time trying to increase beat meeting attendance by canvassing their beats, posting flyers, attending local meetings and working through existing organizations. Because the latter were often in short supply, they worked to establish new block clubs and revive dormant ones. One strategy was to help neighbors living near drug houses shut them down. They also used liquor ordinance enforcement and "vote dry" referenda to generate political involvement. They organized marches and prayer vigils, which solidified pastoral support all over the city. They helped run local neighborhood festivals and staffed booths at larger official events. Organizers also ran public education programs around the CAPS court advocacy program, parent patrols and safe school zones, citizen patrols, city services, landlord training and the Adopt-a-Street program. Many were actively involved in supporting projects sponsored by their district's advisory committees. They also worked to build support for neighborhood safety legislation, including the city's gang loitering ordinance and the state's Safe Neighborhoods Act, and turned out busloads of residents for rallies supporting these initiatives and the police.

Our evaluation examined these efforts in depth in the four case study beats. There, organizers pursued a number of strategies to mobilize the community around public safety issues. These included:

- *Building beat-meeting attendance*. Most of the organizers spent a great deal of time trying to increase beat-meeting attendance. This was a regular part of their job, and they used a variety of tactics to induce people to come to meetings. They contacted community organizations, canvassed blocks, posted fliers, went to block club and local school council meetings, worked with neighborhood relations offices and visited businesses.

Before they began, between 34 and 45 percent of the residents of these areas knew about beat meetings, and 5 to 15 percent reported attending one.

- *Organizing block clubs.* Organizers see the block club as the basic unit of community organization. Organized neighborhoods are often safe neighborhoods, so organizers work to establish new clubs and revive dormant ones. The organizer for Hometown is seen as a consummate block club organizer. After identifying leaders who commit to a new block club she meets with residents to walk them through the process of starting a block club. She says it takes three meetings of about 90 minutes each to launch a functional block club. Before she began, about 22 percent of the residents of this beat reported being a member of a block club or community-based organization—typical for the group.

- *Turning out residents for neighborhood assemblies.* Organizers make a special effort twice a year to send Chicago residents to the Neighborhood Assembly, a large-scale information and networking session for Chicago residents. There, residents can go to workshops, talk with city department representatives and meet others who have an interest in improving the quality of life in Chicago neighborhoods. Organizers devote significant time and energy to supporting Neighborhood Assemblies.

- *Closing liquor stores.* Chicagoans have a number of tools to deal with problem liquor establishments. The city's Liquor Control Commission has a great deal of formal authority over licensees, and it attempts to broker informal, negotiated solutions to local problems that satisfy the needs of protagonists. Ordinance enforcement can result in fines, closings, suspensions or license revocations of particular establishments, and via referenda residents of a ward can prohibit the sale of alcohol in a precinct or at a particular address—a process known as "voting dry." Before the mobilization project began about a third of the residents of these areas reported that public drinking was a big problem in their area (but the figure was less, only 19 percent, in Hometown). Several problem liquor stores were shut down in Resurrection after residents decided that shootings, drug dealing, prostitution and gang problems at one liquor establishment and at an abandoned gas station across the street had to stop. They gathered signatures for petitions, and the store was closed and the gas station torn down. In the 1999 survey, 30 percent of the residents of Resurrection and Hometown reported that efforts were underway to deal with problem liquor establishments in their community; the comparable figure for Exodus and Faith was 15 percent.

- *Providing information and training.* Community residents have a wide range of resources available to them to deal with neighborhood problems, but they have to first be made aware of them and how to use them. Organizers in each of the beats presented residents with information on all of the community action tools like the court advocacy program, block club organizing, citizen patrols, parent patrols, safe school zones and the Walking

111

School Bus.[15] Organizers also invited police academy trainers to beats for problem-solving training sessions. In the 1999 beat survey, 30 percent of the residents of Faith reported that they had been involved in some form of civilian training about CAPS or about ". . . how to deal with neighborhood problems and get better city services." The comparable figure for Hometown was 15 percent, and it was about 10 percent in the other project areas.

- *Shutting down drug operations.* Concern about street drug markets was endemic in the three poorer areas involved in the study. Before CAPS organizing began, 60 to 66 percent of residents reported that street drug dealing was a big problem in their neighborhood; the figure for better-off Hometown was 34 percent. Hometown was the only area where more than 20 percent thought that drug sales were 'no problem at all." In Faith, where residents gave street drug sales the highest rating, the organizer worked with them and the police to stop drug dealers from using an apartment building and its street corner for selling narcotics. After inviting the owner of the problem property to a beat meeting, residents discovered that the owner wanted to get rid of the drug dealers but did not know how. Once police were made aware of the drug dealing, they suggested that the owner post "No Trespassing" signs that provided the authority to move people from the corner and search them if there was reasonable suspicion. Neighbors agreed to call police whenever there was suspicious activity, and some went so far as to stand on the corner themselves when they saw the dealers on the street. Shortly after the beat meeting the police made several arrests, using tips from citizens, and the drug dealers stopped selling at that location.

- *Organizing marches.* As noted above, marches are a popular community-action tool in African-American neighborhoods. Ministers relish the opportunity to lead and preach, while the community seems to love the messages and the unity. Faith's organizer noted:

> *Marches are the key. They bring recognition from all over the community. They can be the solution to the drug problem. I'd like to get one person from every beat to march. There are over 270 beats in the city, and some of these people could bring someone. That would be over 300 people marching on a drug house. Can you imagine? . . . If I could, I'd like to do nothing but organize marches.*

The evaluation survey conducted in early summer 1999 found that 20 percent of respondents in Faith and Hometown reported that marches were taking place against crime or drugs; the figures were lower in Exodus (15 percent) and Resurrection (less than 10 percent). In Faith, 20 percent also reported that prayer vigils were being conducted there against crime or drugs, and residents of Exodus and Hometown were not far behind.

---

[15] The Walking School Bus is a group of students in the company of an adult that "picks up" and "drops off" kids before and after school. The "driver" is a parent who looks out for the youngsters' safety and who also acts as a positive role model.

- *Community events.* In addition to the community marches, organizers rallied people together for local events as well as projects like a gospel music festival. An information booth at the event helped spread the word about CAPS. Local teens were commissioned to design and paint a wall mural in Resurrection. The organizer felt this would give them something positive to do and earn money as well.

In addition to efforts by the organizers, residents of these areas inaugurated some projects on their own. In Resurrection, residents formed two organizations whose agendas included (but were not limited to) crime and safety issues. One was a leadership-heavy group seeking Empowerment Zone[16] dollars to revitalize Resurrection; the other was a block group formed to improve neighborhood safety and to provide local children with positive activities and role models. The latter was formed because its leaders did not think that the area's organizer was concerned about their end of the beat. In fact, a curious side effect of the partner agency's reported disinterest in areas not adjacent to its development projects is that it may have pulled together a constituency of dissatisfied residents sharing similar views about their community. This fledgling organization was formed to represent them, giving them a voice where previously they were unheard. The effectiveness of these organizations remains to be seen, and these efforts did not become visible enough to be reflected in our 1999 survey of the area.

Problems in Organizing

This section reviews some of the impediments to organizing encountered by staff members of the mobilization project. In general, the organizers found that the work was hard and unrelenting. Much of it was at night and on weekends, and they had to deal with crises as they emerged. Once organizers built a solid base in one area they were expected to take on another. The city demanded a careful accounting of their time and activities, so "paperwork" plagued their day as well. Some found themselves caught up in conflicts between police and residents with high expectations, especially regarding enforcement against street drug dealing. They also found themselves taking sides in conflicts over economic development and gentrification. There were perhaps inevitable bureaucratic snafus during the start-up phase of the program, and staff turnover made it difficult to keep familiar faces on the beat in some areas.

Demanding Assignments. Most CAPS organizers are assigned to a few focus beats, where they work to establish a functional and self-sufficient level of community organization,

---

[16] Empowerment Zones are the capstone of the Clinton Administration's community revitalization strategy. The program is designed to empower communities across the nation by encouraging citizens to work together to develop strategic plans designed to improve conditions in the most impoverished urban and rural areas. The strategic plan requires communities to assess their assets and problems, create a vision of a better future and structure a plan for achieving that vision. Selected strategic plans receive funding for implementation. Designated Empowerment Zones also receive priority consideration for federal programs and direct assistance from federal officials to facilitate implementation of the plan.

113

typically through block clubs. Once an acceptable level of organizational infrastructure is built and residents feel confident solving problems on their own, organizers are supposed to move on to the next pair of focus beats, all the while offering support to other beats in their district. The problem was that few organizers we interviewed had work experiences that matched this idealized model. Organizers discovered that the amount of work needed to organize—even a few blocks in a neglected neighborhood can be exhausting—much more difficult, in fact, than most of them realized when they took the job. Since worse-off areas needed more attention, it was difficult to provide even two focus beats with all the attention they needed because the job was "bigger than one person." Organizers working in better-off neighborhoods also acknowledged that theirs was hard work. Although they did not have to focus intensively on one or two difficult beats, they were often asked to organize six or seven beats simultaneously, and sometimes even an entire district. One community activist commented on what he perceived to be the lack of progress in CAPS effectiveness in his district by noting: "[The organizer] is a great guy and a great organizer. But there is only one of him, and he has to organize this entire district. I'm not being critical of him; he always helps whenever he can. There's only so much he can do, and we've got a lot that needs to be done here. I think the CAPS [administration] should hire more organizers." Many organizers, including experienced ones, felt that their work assignments were too demanding to allow them to do the best possible organizing in their areas. One of the organizers described the round-the-clock nature of the work: "It's a 24-7 job. I always wear a pager. I've been called very late, many times, even at 2 am because something happened in my beat. You just never know when something is going to happen. This is not a nine-to-five job; I work around the clock. You know what I mean? This is a very demanding job."

Another city organizer complained that the CAPS community-organizer job description was inaccurate. "I don't know whose job that is, but it certainly isn't mine. I do a lot more than what's in that job description; I have to in order to make CAPS work for residents in this community." A staffer also confided her disappointment when asked to take on the organizing duties of a colleague: "I'm already working far beyond the duties described in my job description and now [CAPS management] expect me to work even more hours in other beats and without any compensation?!" Organizers described their extensive weekend and evening work hours, the miles of pavement they walk through dangerous neighborhoods on evangelical missions, the scores of heavy boxes of CAPS literature they carry around, endless hours of telephone conversations and, of course, the time they spend on paperwork. None of the organizers we interviewed felt that he or she could single-handedly organize both the focus beats and provide adequate attention to the rest of the beats in the district. Some likened their work to triage medical care. Emergencies come up, and they need immediate care. One organizer noted that while he felt he could handle one or two beats, there were often other problems happening elsewhere in the district that needed his help: "Even though I may have organized in an area and got some block clubs together, they still need help with some problems. You can't organize there and just forget about them."

Paperwork. Most organizers interviewed felt burdened by the volume of paperwork they confronted on the job. In this they echoed the complaints of police officers involved in Chicago's

community policing program and probably the views of most who consider themselves "do-ers" rather than "paper-pushers." At their monthly staff meetings they groaned whenever a new form, report or deadline was announced. Organizers had to complete a "Daily Individual Employment Field Report"[17] and a "CAPS Community Organizer Monthly Report."[18] One complained that it was an extraordinary amount of work all for the sake of accountability. "It takes a long time to fill out this paperwork, and we have to do it everyday. We have to account for every minute of our work period." Some organizers were offended and felt they were being treated like children when they discovered that supervisors had phoned contacts on their reports to "check up on them." This created a feeling of distrust and resentment on the part of some organizers. Implementation Office managers acknowledged that the daily and monthly reports were devices useful for monitoring organizer activity, but principally in regard to meeting the office's goals. At a staff meeting a manager announced, "You should find these reports useful because they help you structure your time so that you can take clear steps toward your strategic goals for the year. They also give us an opportunity to see how you're progressing and what strategies you're using." Management also lamented that organizers' report narratives were too often vague and insubstantial, while organizers complained that they were not taught how to properly complete the requisite paperwork.

Turnover. Both the city staff and the partner agencies have experienced a fair amount of personnel turnover. During the last months of the evaluation community, organizers for two of the study beats left their positions. One took a new job in another state and another was dismissed. There are many reasons for turnover: job dissatisfaction, poor performance, contractual problems and internal conflicts. Turnover can disrupt and delay organizing; without a consistent, committed individual working to push things forward, the process stalls. Because CAPS only moves as fast and as well as the people behind it, staff turnover can profoundly affect the course of organizing efforts. Turnover almost inevitably necessitates new training, orientation and rebuilding, and it can be a trying setback in communities that come to rely upon particular organizers, activists, police, facilitators and other key players in the CAPS process.

Conflicting Agendas. Because CAPS involves a great deal of resident participation, it has become apparent in beats throughout the city that there can be differences of opinion among residents regarding resource allocation, leadership and problem priorities within the framework of community policing. We observed conflict between police and residents, city organizers and

---

[17] The Daily Individual Employment Field Report requires that organizers document who they met with, including name, agency, phone number, address, time and purpose of visit.

[18] The CAPS Community Organizer Monthly Report is a lengthy document that requires organizers to: summarize their top four major projects; measure and comment on monthly beat meeting attendance for focus beats; write about their participation in district advisory committee subcommittees; list any steps taken toward building community organization (such as block clubs) and describe the activities of such organizations; list all organizational contacts made; write about any CAPS marches, rallies, training sessions and neighborhood clean-ups; describe any problem-solving strategies implemented; and finally, elaborate on any success stories and problems or issues they face.

partner agency organizers, and community organizations and police. Irate citizens protested against what they felt were ineffective and dismissive police in one neighborhood, and in another, a city organizer claimed that a community group had subverted the CAPS process by using it to advance gentrification in their area, pushing out minorities who were not represented at beat meetings.

Gentrification was a salient issue in one of the beats selected for intensive study. There could be found groups of dissatisfied residents who felt that the CAPS organizer for the area was integral to the conflict that ensued. By most measures the area had hit rock bottom. However, a local nonprofit organization also responsible for CAPS organizing began to redevelop part of the beat, building new market-rate housing and renovating old buildings. They hoped to attract moderate income families and new economic activity to the area to rebuild its class diversity. In this they had the support of the alderman, but some residents were cynical about the organization and the efforts of its organizer. In interviews, residents, activists and two beat facilitators revealed their anger and frustration about the organizer. They felt that CAPS organizing in the area was exclusively serving the interests of the developer. "We rarely saw [the organizer] at beat meetings. I don't know what [the organizer] was doing. Except when the cameras came, then he was there." Few in this well-informed group knew what the organizer was doing, but they believed his efforts focused on areas affecting the redevelopment area. A district advisory committee member expressed her disappointment with the organizer's lack of follow-through on efforts in other parts of the beat. None of the residents we interviewed believed that the new development would benefit anyone currently living in the area. Two VISTA workers dubbed the development "gentrification" and rhetorically asked, "How are $300,000 homes going to help the poor people in [this area]?!"

Public vs Private. One important question is, What kinds of organizers are more effective—the city-hired organizers or those working through partner agencies? Vocal advocates for independent community organizations argue that only partner agencies can act first and foremost in the best interest of the local community. These organizations can be staffed by trained and experienced professionals who are in close touch with issues of local concern and who know how to deal with them. The best community organizations demonstrate a high degree of organizational capacity. These organizations are attractive CAPS partners because they have dedicated constituencies that are willing to work on designated problems in a timely manner. It is not uncommon, for example, for an agency to get 50 people together at the last minute to a march on a given issue. Some of the city's partner agencies also have special expertise in specific areas (community redevelopment, youth, elderly, schools) and relationships with civic associations. Strong community organizations do not have to expend unnecessary energy to attract a volunteer base to a fledgling enterprise. Supporters of funding existing organizations also raise the issue of trust. They argue that local community organizations are more likely to work for the good of the community, even if it involves challenging the status quo.

We have seen partner agencies enjoy great CAPS successes through community action: they ridded neighborhoods of slum lords and buildings of criminal tenants; they shut down

problem liquor stores; they encouraged owners of problem businesses to comply with community demands and the law; they brought gang members to justice in court; and they even brought a recalcitrant police district to the bargaining table to acknowledge community demands. But a problem for partner agencies is maintaining a focus on amassing social capital that contributes to the CAPS process. We have also heard complaints of maverick partner organizers who act on behalf of self-serving organizations whose community interests do not extend beyond redevelopment plots against incumbent residents.

While these organizations might bring new jobs and economic growth to an area, they do not, critics complain, serve the CAPS process. They may have experience at economic redevelopment or housing development, but they lack expertise in crime prevention. Another concern is supplantation—the risk that funds will be informally reallocated from CAPS toward non-CAPS activities. Successful community organizations inevitably develop unique areas of expertise, methodologies and philosophies. They also develop their own opinions on what constitutes effective and ineffective ways of using resources. They might, for example, believe that job training and assistance programs are more beneficial to the community than a crime-prevention project. They may be tempted to divert resources to support these good works, rather than change their focus in return for a contract. Another criticism of independent community organizations is that they do not always represent the views of the entire community. Some organizations in Chicago have already been criticized for implementing non-CAPS agendas under the guise of cooperating with the program. Can organizations and organizers with different and even conflicting versions of community policing both be allowed to call what they do CAPS and get funding for it? Because community organizations in areas of low collective efficacy are often at odds with the police and government institutions, this also raises the question of whether, as a political matter, government should be expected to fund its critics. Is a contractual arrangement between agencies and the city government an appropriate response to pressure from community organizations to fund their versions of neighborhood empowerment?

Questions related to funding complicate matters given that the partner agencies we observed have different arrangements with the city. Some agencies receive funding through LISC, some are paid through the city's corporate budget and others find other funding sources. It appears that the city's control over organizing strategies diminishes the further removed the agency is from direct funding. That is, organizers who work through partner agencies funded by LISC or non-city funds have more liberty to implement strategies in accordance with the philosophy, resources, goals and organizing styles of the agencies employing them.

Supporters of hiring and supervising organizers through normal bureaucratic channels cite the consistency and accountability that is gained by making the city clearly responsible for the organizing strategies and policies of the program. City-hired organizers received much more formal and uniform training, met regularly with their peers and supervisors to exchange information and were monitored closely by their area coordinators and senior managers. They worked on a number of specific agendas mandated by the city that were carefully coordinated with the Chicago Police Department. This regular coordination, supporters argue, facilitated the

117

development of focused and efficient CAPS strategies that are less likely to diverge in the direction of organizers' predilections or the sometimes narrow interests of local groups. Because these organizers often work from formal plans that are coordinated with police and community members, there is an inherent degree of accountability, as the organizers' job description is information available to all CAPS participants in the community. Area coordinators are never far from the organizers, and this limited any tendency to stray from central-office directives.

Critics contend that city-hired organizers are shackled to the politically motivated policies of the city and cannot always represent the interests of the community when residents are, for example, at odds with police over brutality complaints or believe that police are ignoring their concerns. Several veteran city organizers reported frustration with initiatives that they believed were frivolous or philosophically objectionable. They felt that they knew how to most effectively use their time, because they work directly in the community and could assess its needs, despite contrary instruction from management.

One of the most interesting examples illustrating some of the differences between and difficulties of "contracted" and "in-house" CAPS organizing comes from a diverse North Side community. The district's community organizing duties were split between an organizer working through a partner agency and one working with the city's own group. With the help of very focused, talented and resourceful residents who comprised a small "problem-solving" group, the partner-agency organizer managed to solve, in a relatively short period, a number of community problems. Within the space of a year the group forced a negligent property owner to sell the building and evict the drug trafficking tenants, and also got the owner of a problem convenience store to clean up his business and commit to the CAPS process. The problem, according to the city-hired organizer, was that the problem-solving group had a specific agenda—gentrification of the area. While attending one of the groups' invitation-only problem-solving sessions she suggested that the group print and distribute fliers in Spanish to invite other concerned residents to the meeting. When she received a very cold response, she realized that the virtually all white group was not interested in opening the meetings to everyone. The organizer claimed that this group's next target was an apartment building that was home to many Spanish-speaking families. A local beat officer had this to say about the CAPS beat meetings:

> *We've got a lot of yuppies who move here, buy houses at a bargain price, and then they rehab it. But it's not the greatest neighborhood . . . it's noisy, congested, more diverse, and there's more crime. There are the same kids who've always played on the street—Latinos, blacks, Filipinos, Arabs . . . Now all of a sudden these 'pioneers' want us to 'round up the Indians' and clean up the neighborhood for them. Basically they want everyone who's not like them to move somewhere else.*

While the problem-solving group was clearly effective at solving crime and disorder issues, was there adequate justification for limiting admission to the problem-solving sessions? The community organizer explained that he made a point of inviting only serious and committed

persons to the organizing sessions because this would ensure focused meetings, thus increasing the likelihood that the group would actually be able to accomplish something. His point was well-taken, for there were very few organizers working on specific problems and even fewer who were as effective as this group. Still, the city-hired organizer protested that such organizing strategies were at odds with the democratic spirit implicit in CAPS; it should be a process open to anyone with an interest in getting involved.

Community Change 1998-1999

At the beginning of the community mobilization project in 1998, a survey was conducted to examine residents' views of neighborhood problems, their awareness of CAPS and their involvement in beat meetings. It also gathered reports of the quality of police service in their community. The survey included questions measuring features we identified as important components of the neighborhoods' capacity to deal with problems: residents' participation in community-based organizations and their perceptions of their neighbors' willingness to intervene to reestablish order. Results from this survey were published in the May 1999 report. Part of the evaluation was designed to assess changes that took place in the beats over the course of the study, so the resident survey conducted in 1998 was repeated in 1999. Surveys can be used to monitor changing neighborhood conditions and residents' reports about CAPS and the mobilization project in selected areas. Interviews were also conducted in areas that were not involved in the program so that comparisons could be made between changes in the program beats and those that were not directly targeted. Finally, the findings of all of these neighborhood interviews could be compared with citywide surveys that were conducted at about the same time. This provides a broader benchmark, albeit from a more diverse and less closely matched population, against which to examine trends in the program beats.

The 1998 survey included respondents living in 19 beats that were to be involved in the program and a matched set of 10 areas that were not on the Implementation Office's list at the time. The former were selected from among the almost 80 beats that organizers planned to take on. From that list were selected some beats that are predominately African-American, others that are principally Latino in composition and some that are very diverse in character. The 10 comparison beats were divided in the same way and were selected to be close matches for the program areas. The evaluation was designed from the beginning to examine trends in groups of mobilization project beats and their matching group of comparison areas. This was not to be a beat-by-beat study, for the sample sizes that would be required to characterize individual beats meant that the study could concentrate on only a few areas. Instead, the plan was, for example, to compare changes between 1998 and 1999 in African-American program beats and comparison areas, with survey respondents in each group spread across several program and comparison beats. This design had several advantages. More organizers could be included in the study, and their work could be examined in varying contexts. The inclusion of more mobilization project beats may enhance what is known as the "external validity" of the findings, because what was observed there may be more generalizable than a project examining the work of a smaller number of organizers. The evaluation was also designed to protect against "losing" its

119

comparison beats (for we had to fear that someone would start organizing in a comparison area during the course of the study), by spreading the comparison respondents in more than one area.

These proved to be fortunate decisions, for several things occurred during the course of the evaluation that we could only partially accommodate. We indeed "lost" many comparison areas. As the mobilization project's staffing level grew, and as organizers began to look past their initial focus beats for other similarly troubled areas, they often fastened upon a highly similar area that we were using as a comparison beat. They eventually began working in every one of our predominately Latino and racially diverse comparison areas. They also began organizing in two of our African-American comparison areas. However, we found that, for bureaucratic and fortuitous reasons, organizing did not take place as planned in two areas initially surveyed, so we were able to convert them into comparison areas instead. In the end, we were able to conduct 1999 surveys in four African-American areas in which community mobilization efforts took place and in two areas that had not (yet) gotten involved. This was a smaller number of areas than planned but reflected the fact that—unlike an experiment using white mice—we exercised no control over the people working in the field.

Figure 29 profiles the two groups of Chicagoans, based on the 1998 surveys in the comparison and program beats. It also indicates the number of respondents involved in each survey in each set of beats. In the aggregate the two groups of respondents were quite closely matched. The comparison areas were somewhat higher-income than the program areas (53 versus

Figure 29
Population Characteristics, Community Capacity and CAPS Involvement in the 1998 Beat Survey

Areas	Sample Sizes 1998 1999		Percent home owners	Percent income above $20,000	Percent married couples	Percent kids living at home	Percent not a high school graduate	Percent over age 50
Comparison	172	264	14	53	30	45	20	52
Program	322	488	13	46	22	42	23	52

Areas	Average reciprocity between neighbors	Average neighborhood political mobilization	Average informal social control	Average involved in community organizations	Average satisfaction with police service	Average index of safety from crime
Comparison	1.5	2.8	2.7	.90	2.2	2.3
Program	1.5	2.9	2.7	.54	2.3	2.4

Areas	Percent know of CAPS	Percent know of meetings	Percent attend meetings
Comparison	80	37	17
Program	82	41	11

120

46 percent reported incomes above $20,000), and households there were about 8 percentage points more likely to consist of married couples. They were much closer together in terms of home ownership, education and age. The two groups were also quite similar on many measures of their capacity to get involved in CAPS and problem solving. Residents reported similar levels of reciprocity, political mobilization, informal social control, satisfaction with police service and fear of crime.[19] Residents of the program areas were less likely to be involved in community organizations (households there averaged belonging to about "one half" of an organization), and as indicated near the bottom of Figure 29, they were somewhat less likely to report attending beat meetings. These differences in organization and involvement reflected the reasons why program beats were to be chosen in the first place.

The other major benchmarks against which changes in the program beats can be assessed are the results of citywide surveys that were conducted at about the same time, during both 1998 and 1999. Because the beats in the evaluation were overwhelmingly African-American in composition, trends in responses by the 966 African-Americans interviewed citywide in 1998, as well as the 884 who were interviewed in 1999, will be examined here as well.

Trends in Safety and Informal Social Control. The trends revealed by the beat surveys, and some of the problems we encountered in interpreting them, are illustrated by two examples in Figure 30. The left panel of Figure 30 presents trends in perceived neighborhood safety between 1998 and 1999. It is based on the combined responses to two questions:

How safe do you feel or would you feel being alone outside in your neighborhood at night? (Responses range from 'very safe' to 'very unsafe')

How often does worry about crime prevent you from doing the things you would like to in your neighborhood? (Responses range from 'very often' to 'never')

Figure 30 compares 1998 and 1999 findings separately for the four program and two comparison beats, and for African-American respondents citywide. Responses to the two fear-of-crime questions (which were correlated +.41) were combined to produce a single "neighborhood safety index." The vertical axis (the safety measure) is presented in its full possible range, ranging from respondents who replied "very unsafe" and "very often" to the two questions, to those who answered "very safe" and "never." The dotted line in Figure 30 depicts where a beat would fall if residents averaged in the middle on both measures—the neutral position. It indicates that most of the beats we surveyed were perceived by their residents to be risky places to live, but that things got better in most between 1998 and 1999. None of the over-time changes presented for individual beats was statistically significant because of the small samples involved (recall that the evaluation was designed to examine the combined surveys), but they are presented separately to indicate the generality of trends in neighborhood safety. It was up everywhere, a conclusion confirmed by the citywide figures for African-Americans. When aggregated, the changes

---

[19] How these factors were measured is described in the next sections of the report.

illustrated above the neutral line in Figure 30 were statistically significant for the program areas, the comparison areas and the city as a whole.

These and the data presented on the right side of Figure 30 illustrate a difficulty in interpreting the evaluation surveys: conditions were getting better in Chicago in general, including in the study beats, and the survey samples are not large enough to determine whether mobilization project beats were getting still better, or just tracking the general city trend.[20] The right panel in Figure 30 mirrors this trend. It presents average scores on the informal social control index described at the beginning of the report, one combining responses to questions about the perceived likelihood that residents would intervene to stop spray-painting, break up fights and stop teenagers harassing senior citizens. Informal social control is fundamental to most theories of social organization in urban neighborhoods, and the surveys also point to a slight strengthening of informal control in the city. A few of the individual beats depicted in Figure 30 evidenced statistically significant increases in informal control on their own, and in the aggregate the project areas, the comparison beats and African-Americans citywide all got safer and residents perceived that their neighbors would intervene more frequently between 1998 and 1999.

Figure 30
Trends in Safety and Informal Social Control

---
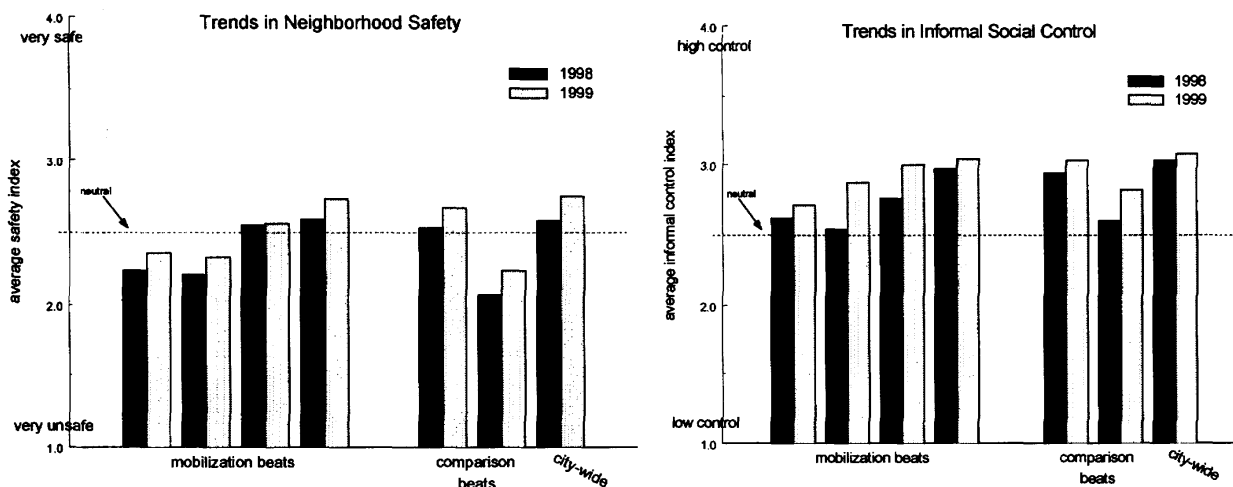
[20] A description of trends in Chicago 1993-1999, both on survey measures and trends in recorded crime can be found in a forthcoming National Institute of Justice report, Community Policing and The New Immigrants: Latinos in Chicago, by Wesley G. Skogan, Jill DuBois, J. Erik Gudell, Lynn Steiner and Aimee Fagan.

Trends in Views of Police and Program Involvement. Other important factors
measured in the surveys identified patterns of change that were consistent with the goals of the
program. First, the mobilization organizers picked difficult targets: they selected beats that fell
well below the average—even among African-American beats—in terms of satisfaction with the
police, awareness of beat meetings and meeting attendance. Second, although changes over time
in their focus beats were small, they were statistically significant and pointed to higher levels of
satisfaction and resident involvement in CAPS during their first year of work.

Responses to five questions were used to measure satisfaction with the quality of police
service. These included questions about police effectiveness at preventing crime, keeping order
and dealing with problems that really concern neighborhood residents, and police responsiveness
to neighborhood concerns and ability to work with residents to solve problems. In each case
respondents were asked about the police serving their neighborhood. The combined responses
had a reliability of .90. The vertical axis of Figure 31 presents the percentage of residents in each
group who on average rated police performance as good or very good (rather than fair or poor) on
each question. The percentages are presented separately for the program and comparison beats,
and for African-Americans citywide. Unlike the previous figure, it combines respondents for the
four program beats, an approach that parallels the statistical analysis of the data.

The dashed horizontal line in Figure 31 highlights where a beat whose residents were
"neutral" toward the police would fall. It is apparent that the beats targeted by organizers for
action fell well below that standard (in fact, taken individually all four beats fell below the
neutral line), while residents of the two comparison beats also held negative views. The
extremely low level of support for police in these areas may be attributable to poverty as well as
to the racial composition of the beats, for residents of the more diverse African-American
communities that make up the city as a whole were more positive about the police by a notable
margin. This is illustrated by the height of the citywide bar for African-Americans presented in
Figure 31. Note, however, they too remained below the dashed "50 percent support" line.

Figure 31

Trends in Police Satisfaction and Beat Meetings

123
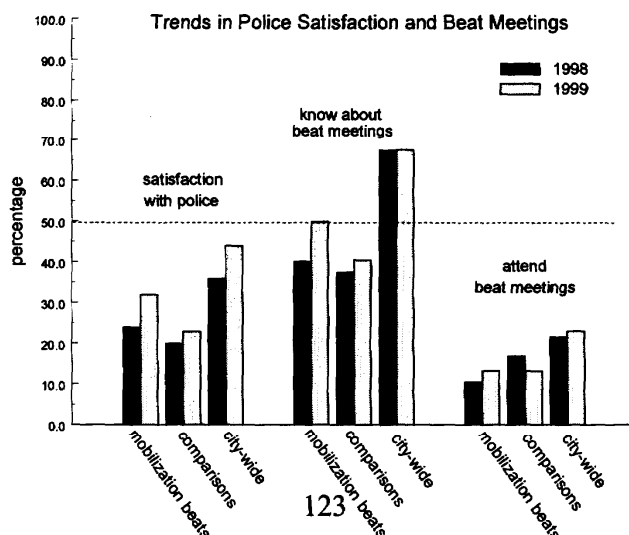
Statistically, the increase in support for police registered in the program areas between 1998 and 1999 was significant, while changes in the comparison areas were not (there was no visible change in either beat). The percent averaging a satisfactory rating increased in the program areas from 24 to 32 percent and from 20 to 23 percent in the comparison areas. However, the views of African-Americans in general also grew more positive, growing from 36 to 44 percent favorable between 1998 and 1999, so it is not clear that improvements registered in the program areas (and there were positive shifts in all four of the areas) were directly linked to the organizers' efforts. Interestingly, the shift between 1998 and 1999 in the program areas was due to increasingly favorable reviews of the most <u>traditional</u> police activities measured in the surveys: preventing crime and maintaining order. Those measures shifted from 30 percent each to 42 percent and 38 percent, respectively. Measures more directly linked to community policing—working with the community, responding to local concerns and working on problems that are important to residents—started at a lower level and rose only slightly over this period. This weighs against over-interpreting the shifts in opinion as a victory for community policing. And, of course, all of the performance measures in the survey still stood below the 50 percent mark, for every beat, one year into the program.

However, Figure 31 also includes measures of two direct targets of the program: the extent to which residents were aware of and actually attended beat meetings. Stimulating participation in those monthly meetings was one of the organizers' most important goals. The surveys found that awareness of beat meetings went up significantly in the program group as a whole. Awareness was up by 10 percentage points or more in Exodus, Faith and Hometown, but not in Resurrection. Awareness of beat meetings did not change significantly (only by 3 percentage points) in the comparison beats, nor did it change citywide. On the other hand, attendance at beat meetings went up only slightly (from 10 to 13 percent) among the four program areas (attendance was down in Resurrection but went up in the other three areas). Among residents of the comparison areas, self-reports of meeting attendance went down by 4 percentage points.

One other key measure also moved in a positive direction in the mobilization project areas but did not change significantly in the comparison beats: reciprocity among neighbors. One goal of the community mobilization project was to instill a "self-help" orientation among neighborhood residents to encourage them to work on their own on community problems after the organizers moved on to other areas. The strength of self-help was measured by responses to two questions:

Do you really feel a part of your neighborhood, or do you think of it as just a place to live?

In some neighborhoods people do things together and help each other. In other neighborhoods people mostly go their own way. What kind of neighborhood would you say yours is?

Responses to these two questions were correlated +.51, and they were combined to form an index. The index average went up significantly in the mobilization project areas between 1998 and 1999, but did not change significantly in the comparison beats (these questions were not

124

included in the citywide survey). Perceptions of both "feeling a part" and "helping each other" increased, and the average score increased in three of the four project areas.

On the other hand, there was no discernible change in the extent to which residents thought that their neighbors would turn out politically. The index, which was described earlier in this report, did not change significantly over time in either the program or comparison areas. Involvement in local organizations other than the CAPS beat meetings also did not change much, and this was an important goal of the project. Involvement in block clubs and citizen watch groups went up in frequency in two mobilization project beats but down in another.

Trends in Neighborhood Problems. The 1998 and 1999 surveys also enable us to track trends in reports of neighborhood problems over time. As noted above, residents of the beats that were involved in the community mobilization project ranked drug sales, loitering, gangs and public drinking at the top of their list of concerns. These were also the problems that were most frequently identified by respondents to a parallel citywide survey, but residents of the study areas rated each of them much more seriously.

Residents and police both identified street drug markets as a serious problem in all but one of the program areas we looked at, and they were a significant source of dissatisfaction with policing. In the 1998 survey, almost two-thirds of those interviewed in Faith rated street drug sales a big problem in their neighborhood, followed by Exodus at 64 percent and Resurrection at 60 percent. By contrast, the citywide figure for African-Americans that year was 52 percent, and in Hometown the comparable figure was 34 percent. In these areas, all of the gangs were African-American, and most of the gang violence was over control of drug market areas. During ride-alongs, officers pointed out telltale signs of drug trafficking. Loitering and slow movement away from police cars, and shouts of "five-O" were indicative, according to the officers, of drug dealing. Indeed, over the course of several months of observing events in the beats, we witnessed scores of men and teens standing on street corners in all three of the poor beats. Occasionally we actually witnessed drug deals in broad daylight.

Three of the program beats have seen the establishment of a regular and dangerous drug culture that police and residents seem overwhelmed and ill-equipped to deal with. In Resurrection the drug dealing took place mostly in the west half of the beat. Western Resurrection was noisier, uglier and more dangerous than the east end of the beat. "Like night and day," said one local informant. Bands of youths loiter underneath railway tracks. Just west of the tracks stood a public housing project that police and residents claimed was the home and headquarters for most local drug dealers. Computerized crime maps and reports, beat logs and interviews with police and residents identified western Resurrection as being the epicenter of the beat's drug and violence problems. In Faith drug dealing was everywhere, all along the major shopping arteries, in front of liquor stores, in the front yards of houses and apartment buildings, on side streets and on many street corners. Drug dealing in Hometown was mostly confined to the back streets, cul-de-sacs and out of the way parks that were usually left unpatrolled by police officers. In these secluded "nooks and crannies," drug dealers are relatively free to sell their

goods. Though drug dealing was less overt in Hometown, that did not mean that residents took it any less seriously there. At the beat meetings, residents were always pleased to hear about drug arrests, most of which took place in private drug houses, made possible by information supplied by residents. They saw drug sales as a threat to community stability.

One of the most common social disorder problems in the three troubled beats was public drinking. In the 1998 survey, 43 percent of those interviewed in Faith rated public drinking a big problem, followed by 37 percent in Resurrection and 33 percent in Exodus. The comparable citywide figure for African-Americans was 27 percent, above that for Hometown (19 percent). Police and residents in Faith, Resurrection and Exodus claim that public drinking is an everyday pastime for the groups of people who congregate near liquor stores, usually in vacant lots. In Resurrection and Faith, men and women sat on milk crates and curbs in the alleys, empty lots and on street corners, never straying far from the package liquor stores. When the police asked them to move, they never went far, shuffling around the corner or to the other side of the street, just enough to give the illusion of movement. In Resurrection beat officers did not come down hard on the drinkers. One commented, "I know them; they're out here everyday." [Several of the drinkers, in fact, greeted officers by name.] "Mostly they're harmless, but they do litter, they urinate in public and they set a bad example for kids. Adults drinking on the street all day do not make positive role models." In Faith a beat officer had less patience with the drinkers. Once, after several unsuccessful attempts to clear away a group of recalcitrant drinkers with the loudspeaker, he drove his squad car onto the sidewalk to disperse them. He claimed that some of the loiterers were not only drinkers, but also drug dealers. A liquor store owner in the area confirmed this but said he had learned *not* to call police because he had been threatened in the past. "Once I did call police because they were dealing in front of my store. They broke my car windows and threatened me. I try to be polite and ask these people to move on, but they disrespect me, call me names and threaten me. I don't think it should be my job to get involved. It's too dangerous. That's the police's job." A CAPS activist and beat facilitator in Faith responded, "Well, did you ever think that maybe you're in the wrong business? You could open a grocery store or another kind of business. I think you're treated that way because those are the customers your business attracts." The store owner reluctantly agreed that this was probably true.

Beat officers recognized that the drinkers could at times be useful. Being semi-permanent street fixtures, they saw things and were privy to information of which officers were often unaware. One of the loiterers in Resurrection approached the squad car after an officer asked out the window why she was loitering next to the liquor store after being asked to leave moments before. She told the officer that he should be more concerned about the drug dealing that had been going on under his nose than about bothering people in the lot. In Exodus, the drinkers were less visible than in Faith or Resurrection. They preferred to drink in secluded alleys and lots, sitting on couches, recliners, van seats and other misplaced furnishings surrounded by overgrown weeds and shady trees. In Exodus, beat officers showed little interest in confronting the drinkers. They explained that when the radio calls are continuous, public drinking is low on their list of priorities. "As long as they're not harassing anyone and they move when asked, then I don't give them a hard time."

126

In addition to public drinking, loitering was a common problem in three of the study beats, and less so in Hometown. In the 1998 survey, 53 percent of those interviewed in Faith rated loitering a big problem, followed by 50 percent in Exodus and 49 percent in Resurrection. The comparable citywide figure for African-Americans was 43 percent, which was considerably above that for Hometown (31 percent). Police officers and residents associated loitering with a host of problems including gang activity, violence, street gambling, public harassment, drug sales, public drinking and other delinquent behaviors. When asked about his neighborhood's biggest problem, one survey respondent replied, "Drugs. How the guys stand on the corners, you can't even walk down the street because they're selling the drugs. They stand in the middle of the block." Another observed, "The guys are always on the corners saying 'rock,' 'hot' and 'weed'." A respondent who identified gang violence as the biggest problem described it in these words: "Gangs get together on the weekend. They hang out in the streets, they have problems with other gang members, and gangs start shooting each other." Another identified his beat's biggest problem: "Teenagers. No respect. There's no curfew, you hear them cursing, hanging on the corners." Others identified their area's number one problem as: "People on the corners in the liquor stores cause fear to other people"; "Guys hanging on the corners all night long;" and "Younger kids hanging out on the corners and on the next block . . . It's become a party street because the teenagers hang out on the weekends, and I've called the police because they were so loud around two in the morning."

Loitering became a major local political issue when the city council tried (unsuccessfully) to institute an "anti-gang loitering ordinance" that would have given police officers the authority to arrest loiterers known to be gang members who did not move along when asked. The ordinance was ultimately declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court, but tens of thousands of Chicago residents signed petitions, believing that their neighborhoods would become safer places if such an ordinance were passed. When particular locations become sites of chronic loitering, CAPS organizers suggested that building owners display "No Trespassing" and "No Loitering" signs in addition to "We Call Police" signs.

Figure 32 indicates the percentage of respondents in the three analytic groups rating these concerns as a "big problem" in their neighborhood. As it indicates, problems were generally declining in the city over this period, and these beats were no exception. Statistically, the biggest declines were for reports of gang violence, followed by street drug sales. But the across-the-board downward trend (albeit not always statistically significant) is apparent across all four problems depicted there. Because these problems (and others, ranging from graffiti to abandoned buildings and car vandalism) declined at least as much among residents of the matched comparison areas and among African-Americans citywide, it is impossible to infer any impact of the organizers on the extent of neighborhood problems in the program beats.

In sum, the evaluation surveys found improvements in perceptions of the quality of police service in the evaluation areas, and those somewhat exceeded changes over time in matched comparison beats. This was positive news, for the low level of support for the police that was apparent in most program beats clearly presented a formidable stumbling obstacle for the city's

127

CAPS organizers. However, these changes were largely confined to improvements in the most traditional police tasks—keeping order and preventing crime—and not in more community-oriented features of their work. Residents of the organizing areas also were more likely to become aware of the opportunities to participate presented by neighborhood beat meetings, and attendance rates held up better there than in matched areas of town. None of these changes was large, but neither was the one-year period over which the evaluation was conducted.

Figure 32
Trends in Neighborhood Problems
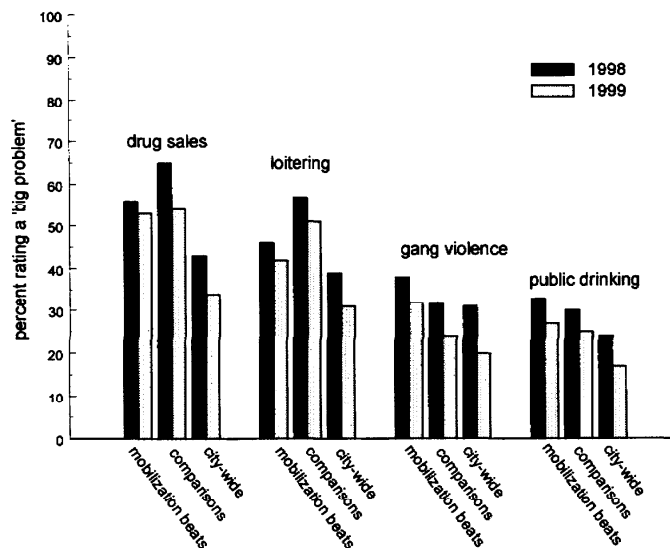
By many measures conditions in the evaluation beats also improved after the first year of the program. Fear went down, informal social control strengthened, and many serious neighborhood problems were in decline. However, there were parallel changes in many other areas of the city, for by several measures the city as a whole prospered during the period. As a result, it is not clear that these trends in the evaluation beats could be attributed to the program. The biggest concern in the city—street drug sales—declined somewhat in the program areas and citywide, but it remained the public's top-rated problem. Drug problems were also among the most divisive; the seeming inability of police to control what residents perceive to be blatant public dealing by well-known local toughs is a major source of public frustration with the quality of police service in their neighborhood. The depth of public concern about gang loitering, a topic of considerable local debate, was also apparent—it was the number two problem in these poor and disadvantaged neighborhoods, and among African-Americans and Latinos citywide.

Community Prosecution and Community Policing

This section examines a new trend in prosecution called "community-oriented prosecution" and its relationship to community policing in Chicago. First, it describes what community prosecution is and summarizes the features of the two programs operating in the city. Then it compares these programs and notes the role of the community in their activities. Finally, it discusses the future of both programs and issues that will need to be addressed.

What is Community Prosecution?

In a West Side neighborhood, an apartment building with a grocery store on the ground floor was considered an open-air drug market by the police and a danger by its residents. In the previous six months police had made nearly 90 arrests, 50 of which were the results of reverse stings [when police pose as drug sellers and arrest the buyers]. Heroin sales were observed near the grocery store's entrance. The case was presented to the assistant corporation counsel (ACC) handling the district where it was located. The attorney went to see the building and found it was a disaster. Outdoor locks were broken, allowing anyone entry. The building was falling apart, and it was infested with rodents and roaches. "The residents had cats to deal with the rats," he explained. In one apartment, a board running above the floor was described as a way for the rats to get to the other side of the apartment without coming near the children. The ACC and Strategic Inspection Task Force inspectors found more than 80 building code violations. The ACC filed for an administrative hearing immediately. The building owner kept an office in the building, so it was obvious that he saw what was happening but chose to do nothing.

At the hearing, the owner agreed to settle the matter rather than go to trial. The ACC met with community members a number of times to determine what outcome they wanted. He then negotiated with the owner over a settlement: the owner agreed to hire two security guards for the courtyard, fix the building violations and pay a $40,000 fine that could be reduced by the amount put into fixing the building. He was also required to evict the grocery store. The police also increased patrols around the building to discourage renewed drug traffic. Since the settlement, the situation has improved. The owner has done substantial work on the building; most likely he will put more than $40,000 into repairs and will not have to pay the fine. The owner is currently trying to sell the property, but the ACC and his community partners will continue to monitor the building's progress and engage the new owner, if it is sold.

Community policing requires police officers to work with community residents in identifying and solving community problems through crime prevention, active use of city services and targeted arrests of offenders. However, similar community involvement with

prosecutors has not occurred. In fact, a gap has long existed between the community and the prosecution process; that is, once an offender is arrested, the public has come to believe that the job is out of its hands.

Prosecutors' priorities have been viewed by the community as vastly different from their own. There is dissatisfaction on the part of many community members that prosecutors focus on case *processing* rather than on the larger *impact* of the issue on the community. However, like police departments of the 1980s, public lawyers in the 1990s began to move away from traditional prosecution methods to a community-oriented problem-solving approach. Community-oriented lawyering or community prosecution was a response to the success of the police in working with the community and to increased pressure for attorneys to collaborate with the community. The new focus is well-described by a Chicago Drug and Gang Housing Enforcement Section administrator:

> *It's important to have the attorney in the community. It's important to put a face [to the case]. . . Then the community gets a better understanding of what it takes to put a case together. The community thinks it's out of their hands [once police arrest and the case goes to court]. This is a critical component in getting things done. So we all have ownership of the problem and the solution. It's easy to say 'the prosecutor screwed up or the judge doesn't care' [when the community is not involved].*

Traditional case-oriented and community-oriented approaches differ on several dimensions.[21] The unit of work for traditional prosecution consists of crimes, cases and complaints, whereas the community prosecution focus is on people, problems and relationships. While success is traditionally measured by winning cases, community prosecution measures success by reducing the severity of the problem and improving the quality of community life. The role of the community in traditional prosecution changes from complainants, clients and witnesses to partners who influence priorities in community prosecution. Not only are community members active in this process, but collaboration between prosecutors and other agencies is common, whereas traditionally interagency collaboration was limited. Finally, prosecution tools differ. Traditional prosecutors mainly use investigation, negotiation and litigation. Community-oriented prosecutors use these traditional tools, but their repertoire also includes community mobilization, training and civil remedies.

In Chicago, the trend toward community-oriented prosecution manifested itself in two programs, one at the city level and the other at the county level. Community policing began in the Chicago Police Department as a pilot program affecting only part of the department. The same holds true of the community prosecution programs, each of which is part of a department that continues to practice traditional prosecution. One program is the Drug and Gang Housing

---

[21] From "Community Oriented Lawyering: An Emerging Approach to Legal Practice," by Roger Conner, National Institute of Justice Journal, January 2000, p. 29.

Enforcement Section (DGHES) of the Chicago Department of Law. The other is the Community Prosecutions Division of the Cook County State's Attorney's Office. While DGHES predates the Community Prosecutions Division, both came into being in the late 1990s.

There are elements of DGHES and the Community Prosecutions Division that distinguish them from "traditional" prosecution. These programs are known for their efforts to involve the community in their cases, including seeking and taking advice from the community in setting case priorities. Community-oriented lawyers spend a substantial amount of their time out in the community rather than "downtown," attending beat, DAC and community organization meetings (which traditional lawyers normally do not attend). They also follow a case from start to finish (known as vertical prosecution) in contrast to traditional prosecutors, who may only handle one step of a case and then pass it on to another prosecutor. Community prosecutors are also regularly involved with problem-solving and prevention efforts, while traditional prosecutors are not. And they are more accessible to the community. Though actual case results may not differ, their clients are often more satisfied with the results because the attorneys have been with them throughout the entire process. A community prosecutor considered the differences:

> *We're definitely nontraditional lawyers. It's a challenge to get lawyers on board, because the hours are so long, and we do things lawyers don't usually do. Problems shouldn't stop at our door as something we can't do. . . Traditionally prosecutors are reactive. They get a bad rap and aren't looked upon positively. But when we're at the front end being proactive, people think we're doing well.*

Chicago's Community Prosecution Programs

Evaluation staff interviewed 14 of the 15 community prosecutors and administrators in DGHES and the Community Prosecutions Division over a period of five months to gain an understanding of the characteristics of community prosecution as it is currently practiced in Chicago. DGHES and the Community Prosecutions Division share many elements, but they are unique programs set up in ways that best serve their overseeing department.

Drug and Gang House Enforcement Section (DGHES). DGHES is a section of the Municipal Prosecutions Division of the Chicago Department of Law. It began in late 1996 at the urging of Law Department staff members who wanted to get more involved with the community and viewed the recent creation of the Strategic Inspections Task Force (SITF) as a partnership vehicle for this involvement. They felt that other participants had neglected the potential role of prosecutors in community policing. According to a DGHES administrator:

> *No one looked at how civil enforcement can impact quality-of-life issues. Wouldn't it be great to have a municipal prosecutor be part of the pie—to deal with problem solving in districts [using] the CAPS model?*

131

In early 1997, they got their chance. A pilot project began in six police districts, with three assistant corporation counsels (ACCs) handling two districts each. These attorneys were responsible for developing cases in their designated districts and then handing them off to two attorneys, who in turn prosecuted the cases. Their purpose was to prosecute using the city's Drug and Gang House Ordinance. In the fall of 1998 the project expanded citywide, with five attorneys covering all 25 police districts (one attorney for each area). They also began covering each case from beginning to end.

DGHES attorneys focus on eliminating crime in and around gang or drug houses, vacant lots and occasionally abandoned buildings. They choose cases of concern to the community—properties with a proven pattern of drug and gang activity. When going after a property, they cite municipal code violations and target the property's owner rather than the persons committing the criminal activity (although they may be the same). The Drug and Gang House Ordinance allows DGHES attorneys to hold property owners responsible for physical conditions and criminal activities in and around their buildings. In order to prosecute, there has to be at least one felony or two misdemeanors related to the property. These attorneys have the interest of the community in mind as they tackle these cases, so solutions vary. They may seek a fine, increased security measures at the building, building code violation repairs, eviction of tenants and businesses or building board-ups. Sometimes the solution to a problem lies in informing an absentee landlord about the problem or providing assistance to an inexperienced landlord. Landlords are often required to attend beat meetings or to go to landlord training.

Cases come to an attorney's attention mainly through the efforts of the police. Each district has a police officer designated to act as the liaison for drug and gang houses. This officer refers at least five problem properties to the district's DGHES attorney every six weeks. Selection of these properties is based on such criteria as community complaints, arrests and calls for service. A small portion of cases is referred to attorneys through aldermanic and mayoral complaints, or beat and community meetings. Because each attorney handles five districts, assignments are staggered. In each cycle, properties for one district are referred the first week, properties for the second district are referred the second week, and so on. At the sixth week, attorneys update the district commander on what was done on the properties selected the first week. The next week, an update is given on the properties selected the second week, and so on. When all districts have had updates, a new cycle begins. Communication is key. At any time during this process, attorneys and police share developments with the community and each other.

During a typical cycle, the attorney receives five properties from the police. The next step is to review criminal activity that occurred, using ICAM data and police reports. Next, a formal inspection by the SITF is scheduled; however, the attorney and one or more of the section's inspectors (building, fire, and heating and ventilation) also go look at the building (often with police escort) and get ownership information. They attempt to talk with the landlord, tenants and neighbors. After the visit and review of findings, the attorney must decide how to proceed.

132

Many options are available, but three levels of action are most common. If the problem can be easily remedied, the assistant corporation counsel sends a letter that alerts the property owner to the violations considered a nuisance. It explains that correction of the deficiencies will result in the city closing the case. If nothing results from this, the next step is to send a notice of violation, which also alerts the owner to the problems and explains measures for bringing the property into code compliance. In addition, the property owner is required to attend a resolution meeting no later than 30 days after receipt of the letter. There, the property owner, with or without a lawyer, sits with the ACC, police and investigators to discuss what needs to be done to abate the problem. An agreement is drawn up and signed by the owner and the ACC. The property is then monitored for compliance with the agreement. If the initial problem is very severe, or an agreement is broken or the delinquent owner does not respond to the notice of violation, a complaint is filed at the administrative hearing level. Administrative hearings are usually the first strike for the prosecution, though the ACC may bypass them and file in circuit court if building conditions are especially bad.

The administrative hearings process is a relatively new form of case resolution. Cases handled by this unit of city government are heard not by judges, but rather by private practice attorneys with experience in the issues presented by the cases. Less formal than circuit court, administrative hearing decisions are nonetheless binding. A case can be dismissed if both parties agree to a resolution plan. The first step in a hearing is to make sure the right parties have been served and are present, and preliminary discussions on settlement are conducted. The second step is a status hearing, and if the parties agree on resolution, a voluntary agreed order is entered. If the parties cannot come to a resolution, the third step is going to trial. Usually the dates of the status hearing and the trial are set on the first day of the administrative hearing. Community members' participation at both the hearings and the trials, as observers and as witnesses, is encouraged by attorneys. An assistant corporation counsel described:

> *I gave my opening argument, and five minutes into it their attorney asked for a brief recess . . . He said, 'My client has no chance of winning this case—what does the City want?' I immediately met with community leaders and we agreed that we wanted his license . . . The agreement was to voluntarily surrender his license, close and board up the store, evict everyone from the apartments, board and secure the apartments, and then sell the building. . . We have pictures of him at the license commission surrendering his license with the community members watching. Today it is still secured. There's no criminal activity on that corner; neighbors say it's very quiet. It's a real success. It's for sale now. Some people in the community are trying to get money together to buy the building. What I'm most happy about is that the attorney was willing to fight me until he saw how involved the community was. The message was clear: they didn't want this kind of business here. This was community policing.*

The great majority of cases set for trial are eventually settled, with admission of liability a major goal, because the city's ACCs just want to remedy crime and quality-of-life problems at

the property. "We give them leniency if they're willing to fix the problem. We seek fines and remedies, including security guards and physical improvement to the property," stated one assistant corporation counsel. ACCs were quick to point out that though they have a "standard package" of solutions that usually entails fixing building code violations, these tools do not always provide a solution. For example, one ACC told the case of a 40-year-old single mother and her 16- and 18-year-old sons living in a single family home. The police came with a search warrant and ultimately arrested all three for obstruction of the warrant; the sons were also arrested for possession of illegal narcotics. One of DGHES' usual strategies is to require the landlord to evict problem tenants, but in this case, they could not tell the mother to evict herself, nor did they believe requiring her to evict her children would solve anything. The ACC filed the case in the Department of Administrative Hearings, and by the time a conference was set up with the family, the older son had moved out. The mother agreed to pay a fine and fix the violations. The younger son was required to do weekly community service—10 hours if he was in school or working or 20 hours if he was not. "So far," the ACC said, "it's working. The mother is fixing the building and the boy's doing OK."

An assistant corporation counsel's work is varied. Aside from preparing for and attending administrative hearings, there is investigative work, including the preparation in identifying properties, intelligence gathering (for example, reviewing arrests, talking to neighbors and police, tracking down owners), building observation, resolution meetings, preliminary court dates, trial, community meetings, training and a considerable amount of paperwork. One supervisor opined that prosecuting quality-of-life cases was an ongoing remedy for an ongoing problem not easily quantified by numbers of convictions, but another attorney was concerned that pressure was being put on DGHES to prosecute more cases. He argued that accomplishment is more important than quantity, because each success builds confidence within the community.

DGHES is a permanent line in the Law Department budget; the deputy of the Municipal Prosecutions Division heads this section. A chief assistant and a senior attorney supervisor supervise the attorneys and often handle cases. At the time of this report, there were six attorneys working in the districts. Support staff included two full-time paralegals and their supervisor, a heating and ventilation specialist with building inspection knowledge, as well as a building inspector and a fire inspector, each detailed from his respective department. The program is housed in a downtown office, though the attorneys spend much of their time in the field. Some area offices designate space for the attorneys, but generally space is made available at district police stations when needed. Federal grants have been used to purchase supplies, including cell phones, rubber gloves and vests; recently the program received a grant to buy laptop computers. The common thread among all those interviewed was that program resources are scant in terms of staff and supplies. Attorneys complain that they often have to do information gathering or paperwork that might easily be done by an investigator or other support staff, freeing them to handle more cases. Administrative staff concur that more attorneys are needed overall, but they do not share the view that all districts need a full-time attorney.

Community Prosecutions Division. The Community Prosecutions Division is both newer and more limited in service area than DGHES. The Community Prosecutions Division is one division of the Public Interest Bureau, a department of the Cook County State's Attorney's Office. Though approved in March 1997, it did not begin as a pilot program until September 1998, when the first office opened on the North Side to serve the 20th police district. The architects of the Community Prosecutions Division, like those of DGHES, recognized that the prosecution component was missing from community policing. The state's attorney noticed the effectiveness of the community/police partnership in helping to solve crime problems; viewing the police, community and prosecutors as a triangle, he wanted to create offices in the districts, allowing assistant state's attorneys (ASAs) to work directly with the community.

A description of the Community Prosecutions Division, distributed by the State's Attorney's Office, gives a brief summary of the philosophy behind the unit:

> With the advent of community policing and other initiatives in the area of law enforcement, it has become increasingly clear across the country that a new direction is also necessary from a prosecutor's perspective. Prosecutors' offices have found that they become more effective when they work not only to prosecute criminals, but to prevent crime. The swift and purposeful intervention of prosecutors' offices working in partnership with community residents can result in a meaningful reduction in crime and a better quality of life for community residents . . . The goal of the unit is to partner with the police/CAPS, businesses, religious institutions, elected officials, schools, governmental entities, social service agencies and community groups to identify public safety issues in the community. This goal is met in three ways: prosecution, problem solving and prevention . . . The message sent to the offender is that the community stands together against crime and works side by side with the criminal justice system to seek justice for communities.

The Community Prosecutions Division has since expanded to include two additional offices (south and west), with plans to add another office in the city (central) and one in the suburbs to serve suburban Cook County. The southern office (on Cottage Grove) opened in March 1999, while the western office (in Oak Park) opened in September 1999. The northern office expanded to serve two districts; the southern office currently serves one Chicago police district and will soon be serving another (along with occasional walk-ins who live in another nearby district); and the western office serves a West Side district and Oak Park. While no longer considered a pilot program, the Community Prosecutions Division has nonetheless expanded slowly due to the difficulty of obtaining staff and other resources. However, administrators do expect to eventually serve all districts by opening more offices and adding attorneys to the existing offices.

The main goals of the Community Prosecutions Division are to be accessible to the community, to serve as a liaison between the community and other parts of the State's Attorney's

Office and to prosecute quality-of-life crimes affecting the community. The Community Prosecutions Division has three major activities: prosecution, problem solving and prevention. Attorneys prosecute felony and misdemeanor cases in their designated districts, and each office handles all hate crimes in its area of Cook County. For example, the northern office handles felony and misdemeanor cases only from two North Side districts, but it handles hate crimes for all of northern Cook County. It began working on hate crimes in September 1999 in response to a racially motivated episode that captured national attention.[22] Attorneys target repeat offenders and locations of concern as well as cases that may have a direct impact on the community. All cases deal with quality-of-life issues and are chosen in many ways. Attorneys hear community concerns at beat meetings and receive referrals from the Community Policing Office or directly from citizens through phone calls or walk-ins. They do not handle cases for which the State's Attorney's Office has a specialized unit (like domestic violence), or cases that are too far along or will have a limited impact on the community. As one ASA noted, "Every one of my cases makes an impact on the community—that's why I take them." Generally, they begin case selection by looking at ICAM data and pulling the top five incidences of crime. ASAs then go to community meetings to hear if community concerns match these statistics. The police send weekly arrest printouts, and ASAs scan those for appropriate cases. Once they choose their cases, a decision is made about how to proceed.

ASAs consider problem solving an important aspect of their work. Problem solving between attorneys and the community occurs when they assist the police and residents who bring problems to them by giving information, making phone calls to mobilize resources, identifying the need for communication or setting up meetings between groups or for specialized training. Taking the problem to court is always an option, though problem solving often involves issues that do not get to court. ASAs may play an active role or merely link parties together. If they cannot help solve the problem, they attempt to find someone who can. Occasionally an attorney may even pursue something that he or she notices is a problem. Attorneys are valuable to the community as people who can get things done. More than one attorney recounted how they were able to help solve a problem by making one well-placed phone call to a particular department. One ASA gave this example:

> . . . at one meeting I heard that lights in an area weren't being repaired. We have
> a rep from Streets and Sanitation on our steering committee. I put in a call to him
> and the next day it was fixed.

Finally, the Community Prosecutions Division emphasizes prevention, which necessitates educating the community on issues of public safety and law enforcement. Attorneys provide it in their work when they set up and speak at seminars, for instance, but there are also designated

---

[22] Over the July 4th weekend in 1999, a 21-year old white supremacist went on a shooting rampage through Rogers Park, Evanston and Skokie, wounding Jews and killing an African-American former Northwestern University athletic coach before heading to Indiana, where he gunned down a Korean graduate student. When police caught up with him, he killed himself. In all, two people were killed and nine wounded.

staff specifically responsible for prevention activities. These prevention coordinators organize forums, marches, seminars and training events on behalf of the Community Prosecutions Division. The prevention coordinator at the southern office is the liaison to all community groups and schools. The prevention coordinator at the northern office focuses mainly on youth and schools. A prevention coordinator was recently hired at the western office. Examples of prevention activities include a panhandling seminar in Oak Park and a police/youth forum on the North Side.

Like DGHES assistant corporation counsels, Community Prosecutions Division assistant state's attorneys have duties that are more varied than those of the typical prosecutor. Attorneys spend much time in court and on court-related tasks. But they also attend a great number of community meetings, and often attend and speak at presentations, seminars, trainings, informational fairs and community events. They take phone calls from police and community members and talk with attorneys, aldermen, victims and witnesses. Also like DGHES, they have staff meetings and much paperwork. Attorneys also attend steering committee meetings. Each office has a steering committee composed of, as one ASA quoted her supervisor, "Movers and shakers who are really moving and shaking." ASAs look to this committee of community representatives and leaders for feedback, guidance and assistance on important community issues. An assistant corporation counsel serves on the committee, making it the one venue in which the Community Prosecutions Division and DGHES interact.

Community Prosecutions Division staff frequently commented that the program lacked sufficient staff, supplies and equipment. Insufficient funding and budgetary struggles date to the Community Prosecutions Division's beginning, when the first attorneys were told to "open an office, but there's no budget for it." The program started with two attorneys, one holding a budgeted position and the other taken from another bureau. This mix continues today, with attorneys occupying budgeted slots or slots rearranged from other units, and one attorney paid through a federal grant. Currently there are a supervisor and deputy supervisor, who administer the program; five full-time assistant state's attorneys (three for misdemeanors and two for felonies) assigned to the Community Prosecutions Division in addition to their regular assignments; three prevention coordinators; and one administrative assistant.

The Community Prosecutions Division receives funding from the budget of the Public Interest Bureau, which provides supplies, equipment and other resources (investigators, for example) as available to ASAs. Each office occupies donated space from the City of Chicago or the Oak Park Police Department. Administrators apply for grants, which usually only cover support staff, so they often must reassign lawyers from other divisions. Not surprisingly, this practice causes tension between the Community Prosecutions Division and other units. Community Prosecutions Division attorneys lamented the dearth of program staff. They also cited the need for computer access to cases in the court system. Attorneys find creative ways to get what they need, including obtaining resources from those in the communities with which they work. Another ASA put it this way: "For some things, it's beg or barter." These financial constraints are attributed by some to the Cook County Board, which controls funding for the

137

State's Attorney's Office. The Board did not increase the State's Attorney's overall budget this year, so money is tight everywhere. Despite this difficulty, the state's attorney strongly supports this program.

A Comparison of DGHES and the Community Prosecutions Division

With both programs describing their work as a partnership with the community, how similar are they? From case focus to staff involvement with police and community, these programs pursue goals in unique ways, with very little interaction between them. First, they differ in service area, with DGHES covering the entire city, while the Community Prosecutions Division serves four districts and one suburb. Although there is some overlap between DGHES and the Community Prosecutions Division, most districts that DGHES covers do not have a Community Prosecutions Division representative. The Community Prosecutions Division has plans for expansion, but at the present time residents and police in the majority of police districts do not benefit from its services. This does not mean that the need is not there. "The [nearby district] wants us but I have to turn them down because we just don't have enough staff," one attorney noted. What the Community Prosecutions Division lacks in service area, however, it makes up for in range of cases. The main focus of DGHES is quite specific: it uses the Drug and Gang House Ordinance, along with other city ordinances, to target buildings and property owners. The Community Prosecutions Division, on the other hand, targets offenders, without restrictions on the variety of crimes they commit. Both the Community Prosecutions Division and DGHES have criteria for selecting cases, but since those of the Community Prosecutions Division are broader, it is able to tackle any type of crime deemed important by the community. Finally, DGHES enforces city ordinances, while the Community Prosecutions Division enforces state statutes.

While both DGHES and the Community Prosecutions Division are concerned with the outcome of their cases, their foci are slightly different. Both consider the best interests of the community, but where DGHES encourages negotiation and settlement out of court to alleviate the problem, the Community Prosecutions Division is more likely to press for court involvement and go to trial. In the former instance, the landlord has very little to gain by going to trial, and if he or she follows the resolution agreement, the community is usually satisfied. In the latter instance, the prosecutor uses punishment to make amends with the community that was harmed. While prosecutors are not always interested in putting more people in prison, sometimes they deem that harsher sentences are necessary for the community to reclaim its sense of safety. What drives both ACCs and ASAs, however, is the community definition of success. If the community believes a case is successful, then so do the attorneys. All the attorneys we spoke to had success stories. And even those cases which attorneys did not win were still considered successful since attorneys were addressing community priorities. In the words of one assistant state's attorney:

> *I came from 26th Street [the County's felony court], and some of the cases I got I didn't understand why they were there. Now that I'm here, I understand the*

138

seriousness of these cases. It's the great thing about community prosecution; it changes your outlook...

The "Prosecutorial Arm of CAPS"

In interviews with ACCs and ASAs, it was clear that their work is closely intertwined with that of the police. A Community Prosecutions Division administrator described it well by saying, "We're the prosecutorial arm of CAPS... CAPS used to stop with the arrest. They used to not be able to close the circle. Now the circle is closed because of our involvement." These attorneys also depend on the community for assistance, feedback and information. Community prosecution has taken attorneys out of their offices and into contact with people who give the cases context and meaning. Attorneys have developed new or deeper relationships with the police and community members, and as a result, they find that their stature has improved within the community. An assistant corporation counsel described his work with a community organization and the police: after extensive effort, they ended drug sales at one building by getting the landlord to close a grocery store and evict the building's tenants. He secured the building, and now there is no criminal activity on that corner. Said the corporation counsel:

When I went to Area ___ [a community organization] hated the City of Chicago. They hated the police, thought 'They don't do anything for us. We're a forgotten area.' A year later they're singing a different tune. They're telling us to run for alderman of the ward!

Both DGHES and Community Prosecutions Division attorneys interact regularly with the police. One ASA claimed, "There is constant contact with the police. We couldn't do our job without them." Police are often witnesses for the attorneys' cases. Attorneys' attendance at specific community meetings is often in response to a police request. The police help build the attorneys' cases by conducting surveillance, stings and arrests on the property. Sometimes the attorneys are also involved in these stings or undercover missions. DGHES attorneys interact with all levels of police in a variety of ways and often on a daily basis. Though the extent of commitment and effort by the police to DGHES varies by district, all districts provide a desk for their DGHES attorney and view DGHES as a resource. Attorneys get their property referrals from the police, and some may also receive transportation and protection while checking properties, use of bulletproof vests and assistance in investigation. The district commander and other involved police personnel also receive status reports on the properties. Community Prosecutions Division attorneys also have frequent contact with the police. They, too, receive many of their cases from officers who contact attorneys by phone, at beat meetings or in the office. While DGHES ACCs get property referrals (including arrests and calls for service) from the police, Community Prosecutions Division ASAs get lists of recent arrests. Police also assist ASAs by informing them when a repeat offender has been arrested. Both DGHES and Community Prosecutions Division attorneys are a good resource for the police, assisting them with law-related questions or being a sounding board for their concerns or ideas.

139

Community policing would not be possible without the participation of the community, and neither would community prosecution. An ACC supervisor summed it up best when she stated, "The community is our eyes and ears; they give us information on what they see in their community. Without the community we couldn't know what the problems are." This interaction occurs at community meetings where the attorneys listen to residents' complaints about community problems, share general information with residents, keep them up to date with current cases, and provide training and problem-solving assistance. ACCs cover such a large area that they cannot attend most meetings regularly. Because ASAs cover only one or two districts (compared to the ACC's five), they tend to go to meetings more regularly. As one assistant state's attorney put it:

> *We always try to have at least one rep [at DAC meetings]. Our role is the ears, the legal rep for giving criminal advice, a plan of action. We come up with ideas to address issues, not always criminal, sometimes social. I like to see us as a generator of fresh, innovative ideas. We listen to what's really going on in the community, the district, the concerns of the people there who are leaders of the community.*

The attorney's role varies from meeting to meeting, acting as a listener at a DAC meeting or a problem solver at a beat meeting. Community Prosecutions Division attorneys frequently give presentations at meetings and engage participants in problem-solving discussion. DGHES attorneys tend to use community meetings as a resource for problem-property referrals or discussing case status with interested community members.

CAPS-sponsored community meetings are not the only opportunities for community interaction. Attorneys in both programs work with chambers of commerce; aldermanic offices; schools; churches; local community institutions such as colleges, hospitals and businesses; and city departments such as Streets and Sanitation, the Park District and the CAPS Implementation Office. ASAs work closely with the Commission on Human Relations and court advocates, whereas ACCs are more likely to work with housing subcommittees and CAPS coordinators. Surprisingly, ACCs rarely worked with the districts' court advocates unless first approached by them. ACCs did make efforts to get citizens to attend their case hearings, but mainly through their contact with a central City office that recruits court volunteers rather than with their contact with individual district court advocacy subcommittees. Some solicit participation sparingly ("We have a limited amount of human capital to spend," one ACC explained) while others try to get participation at every case ("My personal opinion is that there shouldn't be an empty courtroom for any of these cases," another ACC stated). None, however, reached out directly to the district court advocates for their support. A few ACCs had been approached by court advocacy subcommittees, but there was no real partnership as compared to that of the Community Prosecutions Division and court advocates. Court advocates are a natural partner for attorneys because volunteers follow court cases of interest to the community. Anecdotal evidence supports that when the community members, police and prosecutors act together, prosecutors' cases

140

become stronger. One ACC noted, "When the hearing officer or judge sees a room full of people, it makes my case 10 times better—easier—to prosecute."

In addition to attending case hearings, community members perform another function. For DGHES, concerned residents monitor the terms of the resolution agreement, making sure property owners comply with the requirements. ACCs also rely on the community to let them know when problems resurface. "My checking to see if something was complied with isn't as good as the neighbors being satisfied," one ACC said. Both DGHES and Community Prosecutions Division attorneys cited the importance of follow-up directly to the community. DGHES attorneys report back to beat meetings on the status of their cases. Community Prosecutions Division attorneys report back to residents on issues of concern to them as well.

Given the importance of community participation, how well are these programs publicized? Apparently not very well. DGHES attorneys all cited public education as a program weakness. While the office attends the city's twice-yearly Neighborhood Assembly, offers training events and has publicity materials, there does not appear to be either much individual or group effort to publicize the program. One attorney wished for a public relations person to take on that task. He noted, "Even in the police department a lot of people don't know what we do, don't know that we're an option—the community, too. I wish people knew more about what we're doing." One result of this lack of publicity is an identity crisis: people constantly confuse DGHES with the Community Prosecutions Division or the SITF. While one attorney stated that getting the word out had decreased the confusion and raised the profile of DGHES, public awareness remains a challenge. In contrast, not a single ASA mentioned publicity as an issue. All believed the program was well-publicized by attorney attendance at beat meetings, articles in community newsletters, media coverage during the grand opening of each new office, flyers and other written materials, word of mouth and efforts of the state's attorney via press conferences and campaigning. One supervisor noted that a goal this year is to better market the program to agencies in the service area not already in contact with the offices, but acknowledged that they receive so much business that no other marketing is necessary. This is not a surprise. Overburdened Community Prosecutions Division attorneys have little incentive to publicize. They already receive more cases than they can handle. Aside from the fact that their caseloads are large, and they are required to prosecute all hate crimes, attorneys would have to turn away cases generated by program publicity solely because they do not currently serve that district. Only one attorney voiced concern about the need for publicity within the State's Attorney's Office, believing that internal power struggles arose when other sections were unaware of what the Community Prosecutions Division does.

Community prosecution breaks the mold of traditional prosecution. No longer is the community a passive observer in the prosecution process or, at best, a tool used by the prosecutor to meet his needs. Communities are active participant in the entire process, from choosing cases to support in the courtroom to being a witness for the prosecution. The community now has many roles to play in this arena, and the community prosecutor welcomes the assistance gratefully. "If [community members] want to participate [in case hearings] I bend over backwards to fit them

141

in. That way, win or lose, they've had their say," explained one ACC. Unlike traditional prosecution, community prosecution takes its direction from the community, as is demonstrated by the words of an assistant corporation counsel, "The single greatest motivating factor [behind prioritizing cases] is the level of community concern; it's the driving force behind placing a case on the front or back burner."

What's Ahead

While both programs generally enjoy broad support and success in their cases, there are some impediments that will need to be addressed for the programs to expand. Among them are lack of staff, resources and public education. Though current staff make up the programs' biggest strength—these attorneys enjoy their work, understand the program's mission very well and believe that their work is an important part of CAPS—administrators and attorneys in both programs acknowledge that they are often limited by staff shortages. Many appropriate cases cannot be taken because there are not enough attorneys nor support staff to handle the load.

Lack of resources, including supplies, equipment and space, is another concern. The paucity of departmental funding has already been noted, but there has also been difficulty obtaining consistent commitment to the program and assistance from their police partner. Though the police department also has its struggles with lack of resources, attorneys noted that when the police are actively committed to this program—by allotting attorneys permanent space in their stations, for example—the program benefits. Attorneys report that their job is much easier with the help of police officers who believe in the program. Having enough resources available through various channels leads to lower frustration and burnout.

Public education is a final component that needs expansion. It is important for people to know these programs exist for their benefit; however, if there are not enough staff and resources, already overburdened attorneys will not be able to keep up with the influx of new cases. And if the programs are not available citywide, spreading the news of their existence will be of little benefit. As resources for the programs increase, so will coverage. This is already happening, but slowly.

Another element that was only mentioned by one administrator (and indirectly by an attorney) was the issue of evaluation. There is very little formal evaluation occurring in these programs. Even though all attorneys are required to fill out program-specific reports, no information is reported publicly, and very few statistics are kept describing the operation, case load or effectiveness of either program. Program administrators are hard-pressed to easily come up with statistics such as the number of cases handled in a year or the disposition of cases by category. While these data may be tracked in some form, it is not easily accessible. Evaluation of the programs is important for their continued support and future funding. The lack of resources may contribute to the current weakness of evaluation. Staff cannot be devoted to evaluation, nor are computer programs that will tally important statistics available to them. Formal evaluation will demonstrate to the funders and the partners in the community prosecution endeavor that

these programs indeed have an impact on crime and ought to be properly funded to continue their efforts and to expand to serve all city residents.

Managing Program Implementation

Since the last evaluation report, potentially significant management initiatives have been announced by the Chicago Police Department. An in-depth analysis was conducted of the impediments to the implementation of CAPS, and a new management directorate was created to oversee the revitalization of the program. This section of the report examines these efforts. It first describes early managerial decisions and the key program elements that emerged during CAPS' initial period of development. It then identifies problems that later became apparent in the actual implementation of the program and describes the department's newest management initiatives to alleviate them. To gain a perspective on these undertakings, we used several methods. One-on-one interviews were conducted with members of the CAPS Project Office and with CAPS management team leaders in the nine sample districts described in the DAC section of the report. In addition, observers attended areawide and district-specific management accountability orientations, district-level management training sessions and meetings for the recently appointed CAPS management team leaders. Evaluation staff also carefully reviewed the many proposed revisions to the Patrol Division General Order and the numerous new forms and procedures that were enacted during this evaluation period. Because the initiatives have just begun, this section concludes with an appraisal of the management effort, but not its final product.

Developing the Program

Chicago's ambitious community policing program set out to redefine the department's mission, reorganize its operations, and forge a new relationship between police and residents of the city. But while CAPS was to be implemented by the Chicago Police Department, its genesis was in City Hall. Community policing was to be the mayor's response to a number of his city's ailments—particularly crime, racial divisions in the city, and dissatisfaction with police service. These issues had the potential to derail a subsequent bid for reelection. While alleviating the conditions contributing to crime and resolving racial conflict seemed beyond his reach, prodding the police to become more effective and efficient was within the mayor's reach. And doing so by introducing a comprehensive community policing project—one that would essentially reengineer the department—might demonstrate that he was responding in significant ways to the city's deeper woes.

A management consulting firm was hired to help set the course for the overhaul of the Chicago Police Department, and it produced reports that affected the way the organization now does business. The first report focused on traditional management issues, including such thorny items as medical leave, the financing of medical care for police employees and replacing sworn personnel with civilian employees so that officers could be returned to street duty. The report also examined the savings involved in merging or disbanding various units and bureaus, privatizing some activities, cracking down on overtime and scheduling officers' court

143

appearances more efficiently. It analyzed 911 operations and department dispatching policies and recommended finding alternative ways of dealing with the city's high volume of calls for service. The consultants' second report turned from administrative and support services to operational matters and focused on the department's large Patrol Division. This report included a number of specific suggestions to further reduce operating costs, and it proposed a number of organizational changes that became integral to community policing in Chicago.

Responsibility for devising and implementing a neighborhood-oriented policing program was placed in the hands of a manager who lay about four layers down in the department's organizational hierarchy. At first he wore two hats, charged with a full slate of routine administrative responsibilities as well as with his new duties. His eventual source of staff support and leadership assistance was the Research and Development (R&D) unit of the department. Its recently appointed director was a civilian who had worked for a state criminal justice agency and knew many key players at City Hall and in the department. The new director brought along a staff of civilians, and as CAPS began to become a reality, R&D became heavily involved in planning and managing organizational change. However, the CAPS managers did not lie in the chain of command with authority over actual police operations.

The original CAPS manager identified several broad areas for change, and an implementation subcommittee was formed for each: training; performance evaluation; neighborhood relations; crime analysis and automation differential response; and field operations. However, these early planning efforts stagnated. The subcommittees were made up of well-meaning volunteers, but in the absence of an overall vision of where the department was headed, their recommendations did not add up to a coherent program. A prototyping process was the eventual implementation model for Chicago's community policing program. The idea was to test the rudiments of community policing in five prototype districts and only then promote the program citywide. The prototypes generally represented the diversity of Chicago's neighborhoods, and the experiment was conducted using the managers and line officers who were already in place—to test if community policing could work in the "real world" of policing.

Under the plan, policing was reorganized around small geographical areas—the city's 279 police beats. Officers assigned to beat teams were to engage in identifying and dealing with a broad range of neighborhood problems in partnership with neighborhood residents and community organizations. To keep them on their beat and give them time to engage in community-oriented work, some of the burden of responding to 911 calls was shifted to rapid response teams, while tactical units, youth officers and detectives were expected to work more closely in support of beat officers. All of these officers were to share responsibility for meeting and working with members of the community on a regular basis at beat meetings. At the district level, advisory committees composed of community stakeholders were formed to review issues of wider scope and to discuss strategic issues with district commanders, and a court advocacy subcommittee was established in each district to identify cases of concern to local denizens and follow them through the court process. A prioritizing system was developed for coordinating the delivery of municipal services to support local problem-solving efforts, and new computer

144

technology was introduced to support analysis of local crime problems. Eventually a very modest civilianization of administrative positions and an influx of new recruits put more officers on the street to carry out these new tasks. Several rounds of officer and supervisor training were conducted to ensure that those in the Patrol Division knew their roles within the new paradigm.

The CAPS plan called for changes in district management and a compressed rank structure for the department. The new organizational scheme called for the eventual abolition of the rank of captain in the department's organization chart, so most prototype officers with the rank of captain were reassigned to other non-prototype districts or administrative positions. A district commander remained in charge of each district. Directly reporting to the district commander were the neighborhood relations sergeant, a new civilian district administrative manager and staff members involved in crime analysis. Three lieutenants ran operations. Field operations lieutenants were responsible for street operations and had the most CAPS responsibilities. They managed one set of sergeants who oversaw rapid response units, as well as another who oversaw beat team officers. In addition, watch operations lieutenants were responsible for the station-house operations; and tactical operations lieutenants managed special units, such as district gang and tactical units. With the removal of captains from the rank structure, both the field operations lieutenant and the watch operations lieutenants were, in theory, to share decision-making and watch supervision. Each district's neighborhood relations unit was expanded, adding more officers and increasing its operating hours. Many long-time neighborhood relations sergeants were discomforted by this move, which caused them to work harder and longer. The position, which was often held by a sidekick of the commander, lost its attractiveness to many of the old guard, who transferred to other jobs. New civilian administrative managers were also hired. These positions were to be held by people with a business background, and they were to assist the district commander with paperwork and the computer systems that were to be installed to assist in crime mapping and analysis. Though bringing in these nonsworn administrators to handle these functions made a significant step toward civilianizing jobs that could be adequately handled by nonpolice personnel, the 1993 CAPS special order only loosely defined the position's duties and there was little uniformity to the position across the districts. These were rocky times for the administrative managers. There was recurrent friction with many of the officers who served as the commanders' personal secretaries and, as a result, often with the office staff. In addition, many administrative managers who had come to the department from the corporate world also experienced culture shock.

Downtown planning activities were directed by the CAPS manager and the Research and Development director (who were subsequently designated CAPS co-managers), along with key staff members and City Hall's liaison with the police department. With some input from the superintendent, they developed a policy and planning committee to implement the components of change outlined in the department's mission statement, "Together We Can." This vision statement set forth the department's rationale for adopting community policing. While it highlighted some of the key steps necessary to implement community policing, the mission statement was not a "how to" manual. It included a new mission statement calling for quality service and a partnership with the community that would empower both police and residents.

145

"Together We Can" was widely distributed and mailed directly to every member of the department. The document became the driving force behind planning the citywide implementation of CAPS. During this period a small planning committee made up of the CAPS co-managers, Research and Development staff, select district commanders and senior department managers met to lay the groundwork for implementing community policing throughout the city. These sessions examined what was working, identified troublesome areas and drove the process of strategic planning for the expansion of CAPS.

Internal communication was of great concern to the program's managers. They knew that it was difficult for bad news to percolate up to their level, and they needed to learn in great detail what was going wrong in order to fix it. A variety of methods was employed to communicate what CAPS was about and to gather input on how the implementation process was going and where adjustments needed to be made. There were regularly scheduled meetings between district commanders and city agencies to ensure that the delivery of services was closely aligned to the prototypes' problems. A hotline was set up to answer questions by rank-and-file officers about the new program. Research and Development also created a newsletter to disseminate "success stories." Later, a group of officers was formed representing each district. They met quarterly to discuss implementation problems and provide feedback to downtown managers. Early in the prototyping process, officers known as "facilitators" were assigned to each test district to act as troubleshooters. They conducted ride-alongs with beat and sector car teams, led focus groups, visited station houses, and conducted interviews with police officers and their supervisors, seeking to get a realistic view of how CAPS was operating. Research and Development conducted quality-control surveys and created focus groups as problems arose. Thus, the prototyping process was one that placed a high premium on communication and the willingness to change gears as required by events. The CAPS managers were particularly adaptive when problems surfaced. Many forms and procedures were revised based on early feedback regarding CAPS implementation. One drawback of all this was that the program could at times appear to be without direction. This concerned both CAPS co-managers, who were aware of how this process might appear to officers on the street.

Because a goodly portion of the quality-of-life issues that vex urban neighborhoods —abandoned buildings and cars, garbage-strewn vacant lots, loitering youths and loud music—cannot be solved by traditional police methods, Chicago planned that the delivery of city services would be an integral part of community policing, and that the prototype districts would receive priority attention from all city departments. While in many cases non-policing municipal agencies would have to act on these problems, under Chicago's community policing model, the police at least would have to be the coordinator of those problem-solving efforts, and they would be held responsible for seeing to it that something got done. The process was initiated by police completing the CAPS service request form, which captured information about the service requested, identified the problem location and included space for a narrative description of the problem. Forms were funneled through district Neighborhood Relations Offices, with some noted as emergency cases when appropriate, with a copy forwarded to the Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information (MOII), which was charged with coordinating city service support for

146

CAPS. There problems were prioritized, given a tracking number, entered into a case tracking system and delegated to the proper city agency. Problems were often identified by officers on routine patrol, but many surfaced at beat meetings or in informal contacts between beat officers and residents. City-service-agency heads were brought together regularly with district commanders to iron out service delivery snarls. Though all of this represented a theoretically sound system, its practice was not seamless. Prototype officers, many of whom simply did not fill out request forms, were skeptical about the service delivery component of the program, and many officers were convinced that Chicago's cumbersome bureaucracies were not sufficiently agile to meet service demands. In addition, a very vocal faction of beat officers resented their new role as the first link in the process, feeling that they would not only be held responsible by residents for ignored service requests, but also that there was a fundamental unfairness to the assignment, because "they don't call Streets and Sanitation workers when there's a robbery!" In addition, the understandable challenges of interagency involvement—differing priorities, budgetary constraints and sometimes incompatible seasonal or staffing cycles—were intensified by the fact that early MOII case status reports were confusing, cumbersome and inaccurate, and that emergency problems were not easily tracked. These status report problems were tackled, and many new service procedures were eventually developed and standardized.

City Hall also continued to actively participate in the implementation of CAPS during its second year, mainly via a City Hall/police department liaison who became a key player in the expansion of CAPS to encompass the entire city. She took an office at the police department and regularly attended most of the meetings as the City Hall person "in the know." Eventually she 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.

Taking CAPS Citywide

Following this development period, CAPS expanded to encompass the remainder of the city. The coordinated delivery of city services was phased in five districts at a time, beginning in January 1994, and was operational in all 25 districts by July of that year. Sergeants and mid-level managers were trained in their new duties in the spring of 1994. During the fall of 1994 the 20 non-prototype districts began to divide their officers into rapid response units and beat teams. During this period, the department's outmoded 911 system struggled to accommodate new distinctions between beat teams and rapid response units, and to follow new dispatching procedures that were to ensure that the new beat teams stayed in their area. Nearly 7,500 patrol officers with district assignments were trained for community policing from January through May 1995. The districts all began to hold beat community meetings on a regular basis by May 1995. Civilian administrative business managers were at work in every district by the spring of 1995. Computers capable of generating analytic crime maps were operational in virtually all districts by August 1995. By autumn 1995, problem-solving training sessions for the general public were being conducted across the city by teams of civilians and police officers. In addition, the city trained municipal workers serving the new 20 districts on how to respond to CAPS

service request forms identifying problems that included abandoned buildings, car tows, potholes and broken lights.

As it expanded to encompass the entire city, CAPS also acquired a new operating unit, the Implementation Office. The duties of this group were described in an earlier section of this report. They included managing a broad-based media campaign aimed at increasing public awareness of CAPS and encouraging residents to attend beat meetings and get involved in problem solving. This was in response to a report that between 1993 and 1994 awareness of CAPS had actually declined, especially in minority communities. The Implementation Office eventually assumed responsibility for coordinating the delivery of city services to support high-profile problem-solving projects, organizing block clubs, encouraging involvement in beat meetings, and facilitating school safety projects. They also provide staff support for the districts' court advocacy committees and train volunteers. By 1999 the unit had grown to almost 90 staff members and had launched the community mobilization project that is also described in an earlier section of this report.

Making it Routine

In April 1996—exactly three years after CAPS was launched—the organizational features of Chicago's community policing program were codified with the release of a new departmental general order. The order specified procedures for differential dispatching and maintaining beat integrity; forms were devised for recording and tracking progress on specific beat problems; mechanisms were put in place to facilitate cross-shift communication among members of the beat teams; and the responsibility police have for coordinating the delivery of city services was codified. New roles were specified for lieutenants to accommodate the gradual disappearance of the rank of captain. Also formalized was how beat meetings were to be run and how the districts' advisory committees were to be organized. The general order outlined a departmentwide planning process that enhanced the role of sergeants, lieutenants and district commanders in allocating resources; it also created area-level management teams.

At this point the organization made its first foray into systematic planning. The department devised a 'bubble-up" planning model that was to begin with beat-level plans that carefully identified priority crime and disorder problems, and proposed how to solve them. These were to be passed on to district commanders, who were required in turn to develop a plan for their district based in part on needs revealed at the grass roots. A set of draft district plans was collected in autumn of 1996, and after a thorough review, it was determined that all 25 needed at least some revision. The CAPS co-managers held day-long, individualized tutorials with each district management team. After a review of the district's already-completed beat plans, there was discussion of how to develop a district plan and a problem-analysis exercise that focused on a priority problem. Each district's entire management team participated, as did area deputy chiefs and a few DAC chairs.

But then things came to a halt, and little came of this exhausting process. Our follow-up interviews found that few of the people who were to actually draft plans and set priorities—principally the lieutenants who led sector teams and beat team sergeants—were ever brought "into the loop." They received little or no feedback about their own plans, and most never saw their own district's product. Our field studies of CAPS implementation found that the apparent commitment by district commanders to the program was not filtering very far down the ranks, and support for CAPS was spotty among the sergeants who were supposed to make it work. In too many districts the job of supervising beat teams was passed down to the newest sergeants as they came on the job. It was a fairly onerous task that they had to do in addition to their "real" job. Often their regular shift assignment did not encompass the beats that they were handed, and often they had little opportunity to interact with beat team officers. The actual day-to-day supervision of beat teams remained in the hands of other sergeants, many of whom were not responsible for seeing that the various components of the community policing program were institutionalized. Furthermore, all of this created an imbalance of responsibility among sergeants, because those with beat team duties have a greater workload with no additional compensation. And, because a new performance evaluation system that corresponds to the department's new paradigm has yet to be created, there was (and continues to be) little, if any, incentive for officers to excel at many of the new tasks associated with community policing.

Many of the formal requirements of CAPS were being met by "going through the motions," and very little police problem solving was going on. Information sharing was carried out very inconsistently systemwide: beat team meetings were not held routinely throughout city (and when they were, little problem-solving activity was taking place) and face-to-face communication among team members at change of watch was seldom carried out. The department's sophisticated crime mapping and analysis system was largely being used by beat officers simply to produce maps and lists for community meetings. Our surveys of police found that beat officers believed they had little opportunity to take time away from their radio calls to do preventive work, with most being reluctant to even request it of their supervisors.

As mentioned above, the district planning process had been largely ignored by upper-level management, and no district plans had ever been approved. Though a number of district management teams developed plans that had been put to use, most district commanders did not consider their plans to be viable documents, and few shared their plan with their advisory committee or district personnel. Team meetings at the sector and district level were held on an infrequent basis, and few, if any, DAC chairs were invited to participate in planning activities on an ongoing basis.

At the same time, the majority of district commanders was simply requiring the troops to adhere to the general order to varying degrees, while other commanders tended not to launch anything more than a nominal CAPS effort in their districts. Watch commanders had a minimal role in Chicago's community policing program, and many were quite content with their low CAPS profile, arguing that they did not have time to take on any new responsibilities. Though community partnerships had been growing among beat teams and residents, officer interaction

149

with the community outside of monthly beat meetings, and community involvement in CAPS —beyond problem identification—was occurring only on a limited basis. Observations of beat community meetings also failed to find much evidence that officers were facilitating resident problem solving. Those who attended had little to report about their own efforts and were leaving the meetings without a mission.

So by the time CAPS reached its sixth anniversary in 1999, what energy there was behind the program was focused on resident involvement. Within the police department, CAPS seemed to languish. The program lost one of its key architects during a period of significant upheaval in the department's management and suffered from the lack of a sworn manager with line authority within the organization. The 1999 evaluation report concluded that a number of senior managers had adopted a "wait and see" attitude with respect to the future of CAPS. Progress in implementing existing elements of the program had suffered, and development of any new organizational processes foundered. For example, there was little progress on developing a new performance evaluation system and little apparent forward movement in redrawing beat boundaries, reallocating resources or expanding the department's differential response system to deal more effectively with 911 calls. CAPS remained a Patrol Division program, operating without the involvement of other important units in the department.

Many management layers remained untouched by CAPS as well. No new training was going on, so recently appointed commanders—most with scant CAPS experience—knew little about their new roles and responsibilities. Watch commanders, who are responsible for operations on a 24-hour basis, had no CAPS-related role at all. In addition, area deputy chiefs—one of the most important management layers in the organization—had not been fully trained on the planning process that was to drive the formulation of district plans and the reallocation of resources. Concurrently, the rank of captain, which was abolished at the CAPS program's launch, was resurrected, signaling to some a retreat from the department's commitment to organizational reform.

Reinventing CAPS

But even before our report was officially released, the police department had set the wheels in motion to address some of these deficiencies. A few commanders who had demonstrated their ability to implement the program were given higher-level responsibility for directing it. Most significantly, the department established a CAPS Project Office, charged with responsibility for reorganizing CAPS implementation. On the heels of this, a new Office of Management Accountability was created to ensure that the department's plans are actually carried out. And recently, the superintendent formed the CAPS executive committee to improve coordination and communication among various units within the department and to pool their talents and strengths. Composed of more than a dozen unit leaders, the group meets monthly.

CAPS Project Office. The CAPS Project Office was established in March 1999 to conduct an assessment of the efficacy of the problem-solving strategies and procedures that

150

comprise Chicago's community policing program, and to gauge the true level of CAPS implementation in the districts. Named to head the office was an assistant deputy superintendent with significant hands-on CAPS experience. She quickly assembled a team including members who had helped make CAPS a success in her former district. Their first task was to review the status of each of the districts in order to get a comprehensive view of the effectiveness with which specific components of General Order 96-3 were being implemented. Unit staffers interviewed management teams and officers; attended planning and team meetings; observed DAC and beat community meetings; inspected record-keeping; polled officers of all ranks within many units; sat in on roll calls; went on ride-alongs; and assessed the use and utility of paperwork. They learned that much could be revealed by unannounced district visits, for meetings scheduled on paper sometimes did not take place, files could not be found and little crime analysis was being done.

After several months of work in the field, the team concluded that, while important aspects of community policing have been assimilated into the department's routine operations, problem solving—the linchpin of Chicago's community policing program—had not gotten very far. They attributed this to accountability structures at the district level, for above the level of beat team sergeant, no one was really in charge. There was no clear operational role in CAPS for the watch commanders who run the districts on a 24-hour basis, nor for most lieutenants.

The team submitted its findings to the superintendent and attached a list of more than 40 recommendations, almost all of which were approved. The recommendations included modifications that impacted roles, planning, and meetings and activities. Changes in roles included the designation of a lieutenant as the CAPS manager in each district. A CAPS-related role was crafted for watch commanders, while there was a refinement of CAPS-related duties for all supervisors. The districts' Neighborhood Relations Offices were renamed Community Policing Offices, and their functions were redefined.

One of the duties of district management is to develop two kinds of district plans. The first is to be a conceptual document that enumerates the priority problems facing a district. It is to outline strategies for deploying resources to address these problems as well as the partnerships that will be formed to involve other city agencies and residents in problem solving. The plan is to be developed by the district management team, which now includes both the chair of the advisory committee and a civilian staff member from the CAPS Implementation Office. Beat plans are again to drive the process, on the assumption that oversight by the districts' new CAPS managing lieutenants will have greatly improved their quality. The management team is to prioritize the district's problems, identify the resources available locally to address them, and prepare to appeal upward in the organization for the remaining help they need. New to the process is a second, "strategic operational plan." This is to be an "action document" that details exactly what is to be done each day and week to address the priority problems identified in the conceptual plan; it is to specify measurements for assessing the impact of those operations on targeted problems.

As noted above, this is not the department's first foray into problem-driven planning. It foundered the last time because it was driven almost entirely by senior managers at police headquarters, who had neither the time nor the localized knowledge to keep abreast of these evolving documents and assess their utility. Many district advisory committee chairs were kept in the dark about their anticipated role in writing them. Because the plans did not have any compelling operational significance or community support—and were of no help in getting additional resources—in the absence of pressure from downtown, they were ignored. This time the planning process was proceeded by individualized sessions with district management team leaders at which each beat plan—279 in all—was dissected and evaluated, box-by-box, to ensure that identified problems correspond to crime trends and patterns, and to community input according to beat meeting logs. That being so, strategies are examined to determine that they are appropriate and doable. In addition, the strategic operational planning process is being afforded similar oversight and instruction. Just as important, the department envisions a larger role for its area deputy chiefs in making the planning process work. These chiefs are the district commanders' immediate bosses (handling five districts each), and they are to meet with them quarterly to review progress on the districts' operational plans. Unlike the top brass downtown, the area chiefs are in a position to weight and assess the district's plans, and with the increasing assistance of planners and analysts, they should be able to evaluate their effectiveness. The area chiefs are positioned to help districts with ambitious plans, for they can commandeer assistance from detectives, narcotics units, roving tactical teams, and other area and citywide units. They can also take resources away from districts that do not seem to have priority uses for them and assign them elsewhere in the area. Senior CAPS managers have always stressed the importance that area deputy chiefs should play in planning, and finding ways for them to actually do so is one of the challenges facing those behind the department's new management initiative.

Among the newly conceived management tools is a large "mission board" that now hangs in every watch commander's office. It provides a summary of the priority problems and team strategies for each beat, reminding managers and supervisors how the district's resources are to be focused on specific problems and the need to track the results of their missions. It also serves as a reminder to all street personnel of the problems on which they are to focus. Various forms were also reconfigured to more adequately capture essential problem-solving information and eliminate unnecessary paperwork. The most significant form change was a standardization of the daily assignment activity report that is filled out during their shift by street officers. Now all units are using the same form, allowing for closer tracking of problem-solving efforts.

Of no less importance is the beat plan form, on which officers list and analyze a problem. The form was enhanced by adding prompts in various fields that require officers to propose problem-solving strategies, identify required police and community resources and specify criteria for assessing the impact of their efforts. Shown in Figure 33, the two-sided form requires more analytic information than did the previous one to ensure that officers take a more thorough approach to problem solving. For example, in a section asking what brought the problem to the beat team's attention, additional criteria were added for measuring the impact of the problem,

152

such as the number of calls for service related to this problem or whether it was a topic discussed at a beat meeting. In the problem-analysis section, beat teams are now required to list (and optimally consider) offenders, victims and locations pertinent to the problem. Additionally, role-specific (law-enforcement, community, city-service and specialized-unit) strategies must be spelled out, and the police personnel and community contact working on the problem must be named. These new mandatory information fields veritably force officers to engage in problem analysis—a process in which they had glossed over with the previous form.

Figure 33
Beat Plan Form

153

That having been done, however, the effectiveness of the beat plan in promoting problem solving remains to be tested. Once before, beat sergeants were ordered to produce them, but when the evaluation team looked into the process we found it to be a hollow exercise. Some were made up without reference to actual conditions on the beat; others were written to take credit for actions that community organizations had already undertaken on their own; many beat officers swore they had never seen their units' plans. We also found that the one plan they were required to produce was often their only plan, and that 18 months later they had not been updated.

The new CAPS paradigm also eliminates some elements of the program that did not seem to work. For example, seldom-held sector team meetings have been dropped, and the moments at roll-call that were devoted to inter-watch communication have been eliminated. Though a conceptually sound approach to encouraging officers serving in the same beat to share information across shifts, these face-to-face sessions faced a myriad of logistical obstacles.

Changes were also announced for one of the most visible elements of CAPS, beat meetings. To increase the limited amount of problem-solving discussion at beat meetings, new guidelines were drawn up to ensure that beat meetings hew closer to the official model. The guidelines prescribe that participants prioritize new crime and disorder problems, hold preliminary discussions about them, identify tasks and a timetable, and seek volunteers and assign them tasks. Residents and beat teams are to review their progress on a specific problem, analyze it, and design specific strategies to be undertaken by community members, the beat team and city agencies to address it. Also developed were requirements for the preparation of written agendas and informational materials, as well as lists of community-based solutions and strategies that have proven effective in various parts of the city.

The CAPS Project Office commander and her team also closely examined all aspects of the district advisory committees. They interviewed more than 20 DAC chairs, observed meetings and scrutinized the bylaws of committees that had them. Court advocacy chairs and residents were surveyed. Based on all of this, the Project Office staff concluded that the advisory committees varied wildly in terms of membership, bylaws and procedures. So in an attempt to establish equity among the DACs, a new set of standardized bylaws was piloted in one area. At the end of the pilot period, the Project Office decided to postpone implementing the new bylaws until it received input from the CAPS Implementation Office, which has considerable experience in working with the advisory committees. Another step was undertaken to standardize the DAC experience: quarterly meetings are now being held to provide a forum for DAC chairs to share ideas, seek guidance and have the opportunity to share the views of their districts' residents. To ensure that the department is broadly represented to respond to a full range of queries and to hear, first hand, DAC chairs' concerns and recommendations, required attendees include the area deputy chiefs, the chief of the Patrol Division, the director of the CAPS Implementation Office, the commander of the CAPS Project Office, and the deputy superintendents heading up the Bureau of Administrative Services and the Office of Management Accountability. And showing his commitment to the DACs, the superintendent attended the first two quarterly meetings.

Office of Management Accountability. Another unit charged with revitalizing key components of the city's community policing effort is the Office of Management Accountability (OMA). Established in February 2000, it is directed by a deputy superintendent who was formerly chief of the Patrol Division. The Office of Management Accountability is responsible for ensuring that the department remains focused on its core missions, particularly when it comes to mobilizing the resources required to address chronic crime and disorder problems. The superintendent has voiced his commitment to "taking CAPS to the next level," and the Office of Management Accountability is to see that managers are held accountable for implementing Chicago's problem-solving model. As one official document put it, OMA is to ensure ". . . that management teams use their collective wisdom, specialized expertise and police practical experience, in partnership with the community, to develop and implement effective and creative strategies to impact chronic problems." Further, the aim is that this office will facilitate coordination of the efforts of every unit within the department to systematically address priority problems.

The plan is that district and area managers will be held accountable for four things: reducing chronic crime and disorder as identified by the community and police; identifying and responding effectively to emerging crime patterns and trends; responding to community concerns in concert with residents; and eliminating factors that prevent them from efficiently using resources. To help them, the Office of Management Accountability will centrally gather and analyze data on crime and disorder, and identify emerging crime trends, management bottlenecks and community concerns. For example, the civilian CAPS Implementation Office now produces an independent assessment of problems and priorities in the areas where they work, and these are passed on to area and district managers through OMA. The Office of Management Accountability will also monitor area-level planning and resource allocation. When the system is fully functional, district and area management teams will participate in sessions at police headquarters that will put the spotlight on their efforts.

The OMA is currently composed of 12 sworn and civilian staff. They have worked to clarify the CAPS-related responsibilities for area deputy chiefs, commanders and district management staff, as well as for Implementation Office staff. The Office of Management Accountability's leader and his team have conducted district management training providing an orientation and instruction on the basics of plan development and how to hold effective management team meetings. As of this writing, the program has been completely introduced in one area, and strategic operation plan meetings are being held in those districts. In addition, the first area management team meeting has been held there. District management workshops and orientations have taken place in another area; and strategic operation plan meetings are underway in its five districts.

A recent realignment of units has brought several areas under the umbrella of the Office of Management Accountability. Bringing the CAPS Project Office, Implementation Office, and Auditing and Internal Control under the Office of Management Accountability's aegis is aimed at ensuring that these key units coordinate efforts to enable the department to focus on allocating

resources to fighting pervasive problems. The Project Office will focus on identifying weaknesses in program implementation and will provide remedial as well as ongoing training reinforcement. Implementation Office staffers will serve on their districts' management teams, broadening the interactions between all those working at the district level to identify and respond to local conditions. Auditing and Internal Control, a unit that did not previously have a CAPS-related role, is in the process of reinventing itself, initially by providing recommendations on how its responsibilities can help improve CAPS implementation. The entire unit is currently being trained regarding the details of CAPS by the CAPS Project Office staff.

Summary and Conclusions

Chicago's community policing program has grown from a "learn by doing" experiment in five districts to a comprehensive strategy to address chronic crime and disorder problems in one of the nation's largest police departments. Significant structural changes were made in the organization, despite financial and political obstacles. The patrol function was reorganized by creating teams of officers dedicated to serving particular beats, and efforts were made to involve them in problem solving. The dispatching operation was reengineered to shift the burden of answering a portion of 911 calls to rapid response officers, in order to keep them on their beat. More recently, a 311 non-emergency help line has been established that affords residents quick access to city services, information on upcoming events and programs, and non-emergency communication with the police department. In addition, the timely and efficient delivery of municipal services supports police and resident problem-solving efforts. Regular beat community meetings enable residents to interact with district personnel on an ongoing basis to identify priority problems, develop responses to them and (ideally) engage in joint projects. Similarly, a series of planning and strategy meetings among police teams at varying levels is to form the basis for a bottom-up resource allocation system. Community policing and problem solving is integrated into the department's recruit training, and has become the way many Chicago police officers regularly do business. Significant technological strides have been made, and analysis and mapping capabilities are available to rank-and-file officers and managers alike. Virtually everyone in Chicago knows about the program, and various training programs have been available for community members. City Hall has made a considerable investment in mobilizing neighborhoods around CAPS, and residents are involved in regaining and preserving neighborhood safety.

But most of these accomplishments were visible during the first five years of the program; during that time, innovation proceeded apace. By the program's sixth year, CAPS had stagnated. Little creative problem solving was taking place on the police side, and many beat meetings showed little evidence of being effective. Key managers had no clear CAPS-related role, and senior managers above the district level knew surprisingly little about the program. So when the program marked its sixth anniversary in 1999 with now-customary events, it seemed to the evaluation team that there was little to celebrate. Our 1999 interim report was explicit about areas needing attention, and department managers vowed to right the program's course. Since then, a list of seemingly sensible organizational and personnel changes has been made, and the

156

superintendent has reiterated his commitment to "bring CAPS to the next level." In the nearly year-and-a-half since our last report, the Chicago Police Department has done a creditable job of recasting the direction of the program. CAPS underwent a comprehensive internal examination, and what appears to be well-reasoned and potentially effective enhancements to the organization have been instituted, and district managers have been trained in how to make them work. The senior downtown managers leading the renaissance of Chicago's community policing program have shown determination, and they have apparently built strong teams to work with them to meet their goals.

They also adopted one of the strong suits of the original CAPS planning process: communication and information gathering. They resisted the tendency of many similar organizations to impose yet another plan from the top down without first consulting with the members who would have to make it work. Instead, they spent a great deal of time in the field determining what was working and what was not. Then after crafting a new version of the plan, they invested more in delivering training and gathering feedback about how it was working. What may be different this time is that important staff resources were then committed to routinizing district, area and downtown management of CAPS, in recognition of the difficulty of promoting change in a large and complex police organization.

Because these program-enhancement efforts are works-in-progress, it is too soon to attempt to assess the consequences of these reorganization endeavors. We have seen before how innovation can languish without managerial commitment to making it work. But the department's change agents have taken a systematic problem-solving approach to ameliorating the shortcomings of its problem-solving strategy. If these efforts stay the course and greater collaboration takes place among the CAPS Project Office, the Office of Management Accountability, Research and Development, the CAPS Implementation Office and the many important units within the police department that have thus far evaded getting involved, Chicago's community policing program may continue to represent the cutting edge of contemporary law enforcement.

157

Project Papers
Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium

1. The Public and the Police in The City of Chicago, by Tabatha R. Johnson (August, 1993).

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 (July, 1994).

3. Partnerships for Prevention? Some Obstacles to Police-Community Cooperation, by Wesley G. Skogan (July, 1994).

4. Community Participation and Community Policing, by Wesley G. Skogan (October, 1994; revised January 1995).

5. Spring 1994 Supervisor Training Evaluation Report, by Arthur J. Lurigio, Sheila Houmes and Sigurlina Davidsdottir (March, 1995).

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 (April, 1995).

7. Resident Survey Methods Report, by Wesley G. Skogan (March, 1995).

8. An Analysis of Beat Meeting Participation and Activity, by Scott Althaus (June, 1995).

9. District Advisory Committees: The Prototype Experience, by Jill DuBois (April, 1995).

10. Problem Solving Case Studies, by Dominique Whelan (February, 1995).

11. Community Organization Survey Methods Report, by Justine H. Lovig and Robert VanStedum (April, 1995).

12. Community Organization Study, by Justine H. Lovig and Wesley G. Skogan (February, 1995).

13. 1995 CAPS Training Evaluation Report, by Marianne Kaiser (June, 1995).

14. 1995 Joint Community-Police Training: Interim Report, by Marianne Kaiser (February, 1996).

15. Community Mobilization Around CAPS, by Susan F. Bennett. (December, 1996).

16. 1996 Beat Meeting and Citizen Training Participant Study, by Justine Lovig, Jinney Smith and Wesley G. Skogan (October, 1996).

17. Evaluating Problem-Solving Policing: The Chicago Experience, by Wesley G. Skogan (December, 1996).

18. Measuring What Matters: Crime, Disorder and Fear, by Wesley G. Skogan (February, 1997).

19. Super Block Project, by Raj C. Udeshi (May, 1998).

20. Institute for Public Safety Partnerships: A First Year Evaluation, by Jennifer Comey and Marianne Kaiser (July, 1998).

21. 1998 Citywide Beat Meeting Observation Methodology Report, by Joel F. Knutson and Wesley G. Skogan (June, 1999).

22. CAPS Evaluation Officer Surveys Data Documentation, by Wesley G. Skogan (April, 2000).

23. CAPS Citywide Resident Survey Documentation, by Wesley G. Skogan (April, 2000).

24. Community Mobilization for Community Policing by J. Erik Gudell and Wesley G. Skogan (pending).

All of these project papers are available on the web at www.nwu.edu/IPR/publications/policing.html. In addition they can be ordered for $4.50 each from: Police Evaluation Consortium, Institute for Policy Research, 2040 Sheridan Road, Evanston IL 60208. Please pay only by a check made out to "Northwestern University."

Books on Community Policing in Chicago

Community Policing, Chicago Style. By Wesley G. Skogan and Susan M. Hartnett. Published by Oxford University Press, $29.95.

On the Beat: Police and Community Problem Solving in Chicago. By Wesley Skogan, Susan M. Hartnett, Jill DuBois, Jennifer T. Comey, Marianne Kaiser and Justine H. Lovig. Published by Westview Press, $65.00.