

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

Community Policing in Chicago, Year Three

November 1996

Prepared by
the Chicago Community Policing
Evaluation Consortium

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Executive Summary

This report examines the progress of Chicago's community policing program at the end of its third year. Dubbed CAPS (Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy), the program was first developed in five experimental districts. Beginning in the fall of 1994, elements of the program began to expand to encompass the entire city. These included the coordinated delivery of city services, training for patrol officers and their supervisors, and the formation of beat teams and rapid response units. Dispatching procedures were developed that were intended to keep beat officers at work in their assigned areas, and to give them time to attend meetings and engage the community. New avenues for citizen involvement in policing were created by the formation of district advisory committees, and local community beat meetings began to be held throughout the city. Civilian administrative managers were at work in every district by the spring of 1995, charged in part with managing new computer systems capable of conducting crime analysis. In recognition that the public also had to adopt new roles, teams of civilians and police have been training citizens in their new roles as partners in local problem solving efforts. A new police department General Order released in April 1996 formalized these activities.

The Views of the Public. One factor that we monitor is the extent to which residents are aware of Chicago's community policing program. A new measure of CAPS awareness was instituted in our 1996 survey, and it indicates that over half of all city residents are aware of CAPS. Knowledge of CAPS was widespread; overall, between 40 and 60 percent of all demographic groups were aware of the program. Television was the single largest source of awareness among those who knew about the effort.

The 1996 survey also examined the public's perceptions of police performance. They were most well-received for being "helpful when dealing with people in [their] neighborhood." A full 85 percent of all respondents thought the police are helpful. Eighty percent rated the police positively for expressing concern for people's problems and for dealing with people fairly. The police also received high marks for politeness. The least positive assessments of police performance were for how well they helped people after they had been victims of crime, and how effectively they worked together with residents to solve local problems.

The survey also asked the respondents to name the "number one problem" facing Chicago and their own neighborhoods. Crime was by far the biggest problem on people's minds. Among respondents who were asked about the City of Chicago, 67 percent mentioned some sort of conventional crime problem, while no other category gleaned more than 9 percent of the responses. Among those asked about their neighborhood, conventional crime problems constituted the 50 percent of the total.

Community Beat Meetings. Community beat meetings are one of the most unique features of Chicago's program. The CAPS model of community policing calls for building information-sharing, problem-solving partnerships between police and the community. Several important features of the program were put in place to facilitate the development of closer

working relationships between police and beat residents, including the formation of special beat teams and the inauguration of a dispatching policy designed to keep officers on their beats and give them the time required to engage in proactive problem-solving efforts. In addition, beginning in 1995 police began to meet with residents on a regular, frequent and well-publicized basis throughout the city. The officers who came to beat meetings were supposed to be those who patrolled the neighborhood. At the meetings they were to exchange information, identify and prioritize local problems, develop strategies to address them, and begin the process of identifying police and community resources that could be mobilized to support problem solving.

We estimate that between January 1995 and April 1996 total CAPS-related meeting attendance accumulated to more than 80,000. By far, the strongest factor affecting beat meeting attendance rates was crime. Turnout rates were also somewhat higher in areas with fewer college graduates, in largely rental rather than home-owning areas, and in poorer parts of town. Turnout rates were also higher in African-American communities than in white neighborhoods: Attendance averaged 29 per thousand adults in mostly white beats, but 45 per thousand in beats that were 75 percent or more African-American. Within beats, there was a clear tendency for the residents who came to represent the best-off elements of the community. An examination of the attitudes of attendees also indicates that higher turnout groups were more positive about police and their capacity for problem solving. Participants at meetings with high turnout were also more likely to think that citizens could identify problems, set priorities, and prevent crime. Chicago's beat meetings seem to have provided a willing audience for CAPS's message.

At the meetings we observed, the most commonly discussed problems at beat meetings fell in the social disorder category. Next came physical decay problems, and discussion of serious gang problems, drugs, property crime, and predatory crime. Solutions to some of these problems were hard to come by, however. Those assembled tried to devise a problem-solving solution at three-quarters of the meetings at which social disorder problems were discussed. The largest fall-off was for discussions of predatory crime; at only 35 percent of the meetings at which crimes against the person were discussed was there a parallel discussion of what to do about them. One reason for this fall-off between problem identification and the development of solutions for them was that different participants dominated the two discussions. Residents mostly dominated the identification of problems, but the police dominated the identification of solutions to them.

Did residents who came to beat meetings do anything about the problems that they discussed? A survey of beat meeting participants found that 64 percent of problems were being addressed. Very few reported trying to tackle significant neighborhood problems on their own; they most frequently contacted the police or their neighbors for assistance. Almost 60 percent reported bringing the problem they had identified to a beat meeting, and they tried to get their alderman involved almost 40 percent of the time. They generally got help. Beat meetings, block and community organizations, and neighbors were the most reliable sources of assistance when approached by residents with problems.

Joint Community-Police Training. Residents' confusion about their new roles and responsibilities under CAPS suggested the need for training — for the public as well as the police. A new Joint Community-Police Training program (JCPT) was developed that is to progress through the city's 279 police beats by the end of 1996. At the end of July 1996, the effort included more than 686 preparatory meetings with more than 1,800 people in attendance; 145 orientation sessions with 5,758 attending; and 426 follow-up problem-solving sessions with 9,085 in attendance. In addition, more than 100 technical assistance sessions were provided with 1,730 in attendance. Many of the residents who participated in training sessions were active members of the community. Most participants were attentive and cooperative during training, and they seemed interested in learning what they could do to fight crime in their communities. The majority appeared to understand the material and participated willingly in exercises and discussions. For the most part citizens appeared to come away from the training ready to work as a community to solve problems on their beat. About half of those who attended orientations participated in follow-up problem-solving sessions.

Like the survey of beat meeting participants, those who attended training were asked to identify the most important problems affecting their own neighborhood. Overall, they attempted to solve 63 percent of the problems they named. The most important factor distinguishing those who did attempt to solve problems was their level of involvement in community organizations. The more involved they were, the more they did. They appeared to do best at solving problems that were clearly defined, involved discrete incidents, and whose solution often involved bringing them to the attention of service providers who had the authority and power to solve them. Mostly, activists did not simply "hand off" problems to others for them to solve — they usually worked on them in partnership instead.

Community Mobilization Around CAPS. Community organizations have an important role to play in CAPS. They help sustain participation in beat meetings by passing out flyers, hosting meetings, and urging members and others to attend. In some districts groups have been involved in educating residents about CAPS and trying to raise its profile in the local media. In most they work closely with beat officers and help identify service needs. As indicated above, connections with organizations are also vital for sustaining involvement in neighborhood problem solving: beat meeting participants who were active in community groups were much more likely to do something about the problems that plagued their area, as were those who participated in JCPT training. Organizations thus lend "political capacity" to communities, and shape the opportunities residents have for exerting influence over the course of their lives. Political capacity is the ability to aggregate and articulate the interests of neighborhood residents, in conjunction with the capability of producing public benefits or alleviating public harm. Neighborhood political capacity influences the effectiveness of CAPS in at least two ways. First, communities with more political capacity should have more individual residents with the skills and experience needed to act effectively in arenas of collective decision-making. Second, communities with more political capacity can provide residents with resources that will enable them to take on the role of partner in CAPS more readily.

We examined community mobilization in two Chicago neighborhoods. We found that key elements of CAPS were implemented there in different ways. The community with a higher degree of political capacity sustained higher levels of involvement in beat meetings. Participants there relied less on the police for information, were more knowledgeable about city services, and discussed more community issues. They also succeeded at resolving issues more frequently, an indicator of the effectiveness of the CAPS partnership. We also found that not all groups were enthusiastically mobilized around CAPS. For some, the new program competed for their members' time and energy. Some groups that already had developed cooperative relationships with the police prior to CAPS thought the new program offered them no advantage, and even diverted police attention from them. By threatening to upset existing organizational arrangements and spreading the community's resources more thinly across competing groups, they were concerned that CAPS might undermine their role in sustaining their community's political capacity rather than enhance it. We also observed that organizations found it difficult to involve all members of their diverse communities in their activities, and in a gentrifying area there were difficulties between newcomers and lower income families struggling to retain their place in the community.

Progress Toward Citywide Implementation. The most frequently asked question about Chicago's program is, "How is CAPS going citywide?" To assess the extent of program implementation by the summer of 1996, we examined eight program activities. We charted their progress in a sample of 13 districts that represent Chicago as a whole. The eight broad program categories included:

District Advisory Committees. We took a look at the civilian groups that advise the district commander of the district level problems/issues, and the success of their subcommittees, with particular attention to court advocacy efforts.

- **Community beat meetings.** We examined the regularity with which they were held, attendance rates, the extent to which beat meetings were conducted effectively, the extent of problem-solving efforts, and how well partnerships between the police and community had developed.
- **Beat integrity management.** We evaluated the districts' ability to keep officers consistently at work on their beat, and the extent to which the Office of Emergency Communications successfully managed dispatching.
- **City service requests.** We reviewed the flow and successful completion of service requests by city service agencies, and the level of cooperation by the Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information.
- **Use of technology.** We examined the department's use of technology, including its computerized crime mapping and crime analysis system.
- **Development of team work and information sharing among officers.** We discerned whether beat team meetings were being instituted to plan and prioritize

team efforts, and we looked at the role of beat team meetings in formulating sector and district-level plans; the beat profiling process, and the facilitation of communication between watches to keep beat officers informed of developments in their area.

- **CAPS liaisons.** We took a look at the role of these officers, who represent each police district at quarterly meetings, to act as conduits for the exchange of information between the districts and administrators at police headquarters.
- **District administrative managers.** We looked into the assimilation of these civilian managers who oversee district automation systems and supervise administrative personnel.

It appears that CAPS program components requiring police interaction with citizens and other city agencies are farther along than those components that call for increased interaction and communication within the police department, namely dispatching and development of beat teams, beat plans, beat profiles and effective inter-watch communication. Of the 13 districts reviewed, two (15 percent) were judged to be functioning at a satisfactory level in terms of implementation of CAPS' components, while six (46 percent) had implemented a majority of the components at an adequate level, but were still struggling with a few. The four districts that comprise the next tier were struggling with more components than they were experiencing success with, while CAPS implementation in one district (8 percent) had fallen far below the norm.

On the Horizon. The report also reviews some of the issues that Chicago will be confronting during the next year. On the technology front, the department has created a new crime analysis system that will enable officers to tap much larger databases and generate higher quality maps, and it provides an avenue for entering and tracking a broader range of information about nontraditional problems and service needs. Another technological endeavor is a database management system that will centralize almost all existing information systems. It will facilitate district-level name queries on suspects and arrestees, bringing fast and accurate information down to the level of the beat officer on a timely basis. In addition, beat profiles will be standardized, updated on an ongoing basis, and managed by computer. New communication technology is also coming on-line. One district is now pilot-testing a program that provides each beat car with a mobile cellular phone. Each beat will have a unique voice mail box that citizens can call to leave messages for their beat officers and to identify neighborhood problems. Two other districts have pilot tested the use of mobile computers in beat cars, to facilitate dispatching and the direct recording of crime reports by police officers.

The department also will be working to identify roles for special units in its community policing strategy, and incorporating them into the program. Some attention has already been given to reengineering the Detective Division. The Gang, Tactical, Narcotics and Auto Theft units are also increasing their support of community policing.

Public housing is another arena in which we anticipate activity in the future. To date, relatively little of note has happened with regard to community policing in Chicago's extensive public housing areas. For many reasons it is difficult to institute CAPS in Chicago's public housing developments. In spite of these difficulties, the department's Public Housing Unit has introduced some program components into its operations. Officers have continuity of assignment, they attend beat meetings when requested to do so, and they are involved in several outreach programs, such as the Little League program they established, clothing and food giveaways, and the recent opening of a computer training center at the Robert Taylor Homes.

The City of Chicago is now implementing a broad-based media campaign designed to increase public awareness of CAPS and encourage participation. An advertising firm designed the media outreach portion of the plan. Campaign elements included outreach through newsletters and videos, advertising through posters, kiosks, neighborhood fairs, sporting events, and selected use of radio and print advertising, as well as organizational outreach to target groups to involve them in CAPS.

There are persistent issues surrounding the delivery of training to neighborhoods residents. The Joint Community-Police Training effort was scheduled to be completed by the end of 1996, but it will be difficult to keep it to that schedule. While a variety of options for continued citizen training are being reviewed, at the time this report was written a choice had not yet been made about how it would be organized. The department has emphasized its continuing commitment to citizen training, and it appears likely that a continuing citizen training effort will be developed.

The department is also in the process of revamping its internal training operation. The training academy's mission statement has been changed to reflect the department's partnership with the community. Community policing has been incorporated into the preservice training curriculum. In addition to developing inservice and ongoing education offerings, the department is planning to reinstate field training officer training, and explore the potential of decentralized learning via computers.

Many specific organizational features of Chicago's community policing program were codified on April 29, 1996, with the release of a new departmental General Order. Efforts began immediately to speed the process of implementing the Order. "Fact sheets" were developed that highlighted and simplified the mission statement, key terms, and the key features of the new Order. Roll call training for the rank and file began in the spring of 1996. At this writing it is too soon to tell how the new order is being implemented. The strategies used to implement the order, the conditions that facilitate or hinder its implementation and how thoroughly the order is implemented will be an important focus for the evaluation during the coming year.

Community Policing in Chicago, Year Three: An Interim Report

Introduction

This is the third in a series of reports examining Chicago's ambitious community policing program. CAPS (Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy) was inaugurated in April 1993. Operational aspects of the program were refined in five experimental districts, and the officers serving there underwent extensive training. Following this development period, CAPS began to expand to encompass the remainder of the city. Elements of the program became operational at various times. District commanders nominated civilian advisory committees almost immediately. 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. Concurrently, the department's outmoded 911 system struggled to accommodate these new distinctions among district units, and to follow new dispatching procedures that were to help ensure that the new beat teams stayed in their area. Patrol officers with district assignments were trained for community policing during January through May 1995. The districts all began to hold beat community meetings on a regular basis by June 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 of 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.

These and many other features of the program were codified on April 29, 1996, with the release of a new department General Order that set them out in fine print. The Order specified procedures for differential dispatching and maintaining beat integrity; formats were specified for recording and tracking progress on specific beat problems; mechanisms were developed to facilitate inter-shift communication between officers; and the responsibility police have for coordinating the delivery of city services was spelled out. The General Order outlined a decentralized department planning process that enhances the role of sergeants and district commanders in allocating resources and created area-level management teams. New roles were specified for lieutenants to accommodate the phase out of the rank of captain. The new Order also described how beat community meetings are to be run and how the districts' advisory committees are to be organized. It indicates that officers are to participate in a wide range of community meetings and events in order to ensure community input in defining problems, and that they are to identify specific individuals and organizations with whom they are to coordinate their problem-solving efforts.

From the point of view of the department's top executives, the release of this General Order, called the "Patrol Division Strategy to Address Chronic Crime and Disorder Problems" marked the end of CAPS, and the acronym was scarcely mentioned in the document. Community

policing officially is no longer an "alternative" strategy in Chicago; rather it is the routine stance of the organization. Making this new organizational strategy a reality remains an ongoing struggle, however. Some rank and file officers remain uncertain that the program is a good idea, although in mid-1996 it was widely understood that it was here to stay. The attention of some senior managers has been diverted by the press of events in the city and the routine problems of managing the agency. Performance measures have not been developed to rate how effectively units or individual officers are performing under CAPS. Specialized units outside of the department's patrol division have yet to develop clear new roles. The city stretched to fund hiring the officers needed for the program's staffing plan, but is now facing a significant budget shortfall. Street-level managers remain in short supply. There is uncertainty about how frequently beat community meetings should be held, and who should be involved in that decision, and there is controversy over how citizens should be trained to enhance the effectiveness of their involvement in the emerging partnership.

The development and implementation of Chicago's program will take more time yet, in part because it is a big effort. Chicagoans accustomed to the scale of the city may forget that more people live in just the original experimental districts than in all of Seattle. With more than 15,000 employees, the police department is the second biggest in the nation, and the sheer scale of Chicago's organizational change effort has been one of its most significant features. Other factors have been working in CAPS' favor, however. Because it has been the city's program and not just a police venture, CAPS has gotten the personnel it needed and the support that it required from other city agencies to make neighborhood problem solving work effectively. It has enjoyed the stability of city and department leadership, consistency of vision, and focused responsibility for managing change that this kind of large-scale organizational transformation requires. Fundamental changes have been made in the daily routines of street officers. Rather than being set in stone, new program components continue to emerge. There has been a continuing commitment to training. It is a departmentwide program, and officers assigned to beat work have not been isolated from their peers. It is also very important that police in Chicago all live in the city; it has become apparent that their neighborhoods are getting better service too, and that they now know the beat officers who are responsible for protecting their families while they are at work. Finally, the program has enjoyed widespread public support and the active cooperation of Chicago's energetic community organizations. As we document below, people have turned out by the tens of thousands to get involved in training, participate in beat community meetings, and take responsibility for neighborhood problem solving.

This Report

This report presents an overview of our evaluation efforts since the release of our last report in June 1995. At the end there is a list of detailed studies that we have produced as well. The first section of this report presents the results of a spring 1996 survey of city residents. It examines fear of crime, the extent of neighborhood problems, public opinion about the police, and recognition of CAPS. In 1996, crime was the number one issue on the public's agenda, and more than half of those surveyed had heard about CAPS. The report then examines the dynamics of

beat community meetings, which are one of the most distinctive features of Chicago's policing program. It examines who turned out for meetings and what they thought about the police and problem solving. Another section details the operation of the joint citizen-police training program that the city has conducted in conjunction with the Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety (CANS). Both the beat meeting and joint training sections address the question of the extent to which citizens are actually involved in neighborhood problem-solving efforts. The next section summarizes case studies of community mobilization around CAPS in two of the city's neighborhoods. The longest segment of this year's report describes the extent to which CAPS has been implemented citywide. Because it is a big city, we examined this issue in a sample of districts. We focused on 22 specific program elements in each district. Using a variety of data sources, we assessed how far the districts had gotten in implementing each element, and why some aspects of CAPS were proving difficult to get off the ground. The final section of the report describes a number of CAPS projects that are just getting started. These range from the introduction of new technology in patrol cars to efforts to promote the public visibility of the program, new police and citizen training activities, the progress of CAPS in public housing areas, plans to involve some of the department's special units in community policing, and the implementation of the new General Order.

The Views of the Public

Since the spring of 1993 — shortly before CAPS was announced — the Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium has collected public opinion data. The surveys permit a systematic examination of many issues pertaining to CAPS from the perspective of city residents. The 1996 survey examined perceptions of crime in the city and neighborhoods, fear of crime, neighborhood problems, assessments of police performance, and awareness of CAPS.

Data for the 1996 wave of the citywide survey were collected between March 30 and June 8, 1996. More than 75 percent of the interviews were completed by May 15, 1996. All interviews were conducted by the Northwestern University Survey Laboratory. A total of 1,868 interviews were completed with English and Spanish-speaking city residents 18 years of age and older. The interviews were weighted to adjust for the number of adults in the household, the number of phone lines to the household, and race, so that the survey more accurately reflects public opinion. Random-digit dial telephone interviewing permitted individuals with both listed and unlisted telephone numbers to be included in the sample; individuals without telephones were not included. The response rate was 65 percent.

Awareness of CAPS

A key aspect of community policing is enhanced communication between police and city residents to facilitate problem solving. As such, the extent to which residents are aware of Chicago's community policing program is important to CAPS' success. A new measure of CAPS awareness was instituted in the 1996 citywide survey. As in previous surveys, respondents were first asked whether they had heard about a "community policing program that calls for more

cooperation between police and the residents of Chicago.” Those who responded “no” in the 1996 survey were read a follow-up question: “This program is often referred to as CAPS, meaning Chicago’s Alternative Policing Strategy; have you heard about the CAPS program?” We combined those who were aware of the program in either question to obtain an overall measure of CAPS awareness. Because the question sequence differs from previous surveys, the results should not be compared to those in earlier reports.

Using this new measure, over half of all city residents were aware of CAPS (53 percent). This is a fairly high figure. To put it in perspective, national surveys conducted during the 1980s found that only about one-third of Americans knew the name of their U.S. congressional representative, and about one-quarter could name both of their U.S. senators. About the same proportion (55 percent) knew which party had a majority in Congress (Page and Shapiro, 1992). Another impressive feature of this level of CAPS awareness was the extent to which knowledge of CAPS was widespread. The first column of Table 1, on the following page, details CAPS awareness among various demographic groups in the City of Chicago (all relationships are statistically significant). The lowest level of CAPS awareness was 40 percent among those who had not completed high school; the highest was 61 percent among the college educated and those between the ages of 30 and 49. Overall, between 40 and 60 percent of all demographic groups were aware of CAPS. African-American residents of the city were the most aware of CAPS. Fifty-eight percent of African-Americans knew about the program, compared with 51 percent of whites and 50 percent of Hispanics. Those who were more likely to be aware of CAPS were male, better educated, married, working, owned their own homes, in the middle age brackets, earned higher incomes and had children living at home. Nevertheless, the most striking finding remains that awareness of CAPS was so widely dispersed among demographic groups in Chicago.

Figure 1, on page 12, reports the ways by which city residents became aware of CAPS. Respondents were able to cite multiple sources of information. Figure 1 indicates that television was the single largest source of awareness about CAPS — 31 percent of those who were aware of CAPS mentioned television as a source of their awareness. Among this group, slightly more than one-third cited cable television, and nearly 6 in 10 cited “free” television as their source of information. The percentage citing cable television as a source of CAPS awareness approximates the extent of cable penetration in the city. The second most common source of information was other people, including friends, family and acquaintances. Twenty percent of those who were aware of CAPS cited “someone else” as their source of information. Brochures, flyers, and newsletters were also a prominent source of information about CAPS. Seventeen percent of those who were aware of CAPS mentioned such written material.

Newspapers also played a role in informing the public about CAPS. Of those who were familiar with the program, 12 percent mentioned city newspapers and 8 percent cited neighborhood newspapers as the source of their knowledge of CAPS. Other informational sources mentioned by city residents aware of the program were radio (8 percent), the CAPS logo that is emblazoned on the side of police cars (7 percent), posters (6 percent), and church or school (4 percent).

Table 1
Correlates of CAPS Awareness and Sources of Awareness

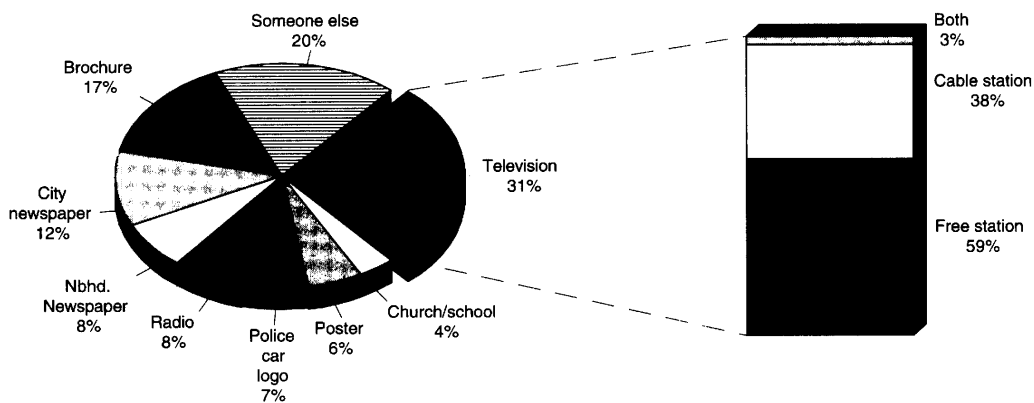
		% Aware	T.V.	Brochure	City Paper	Nbhd. Paper
All respondents		53	31	17	12	8
Race	White	51	25	15	20	15
	Black	58	35	20	8	2
	Hispanic	50	34	14	4	6
Gender	Female	50	29	20	10	8
	Male	58	35	14	15	8
Education						
	Less than H.S.	40	36	19	0	1
	H.S./some college	52	35	15	10	7
	College grad	61	24	19	19	10
Marital Status						
	Single	51	33	17	12	6
	Married	57	30	18	12	10
Work Status						
	Not working	47	37	16	12	10
	Working	56	30	17	12	7
Home Ownership						
	Renter	50	33	17	10	6
	Owner	58	30	17	14	9
Age	18-29	46	30	11	6	4
	30-49	61	34	19	13	7
	50-64	52	26	19	19	10
	Over 65	46	31	16	14	15
Income						
	Under \$20,000	47	38	18	5	4
	Over \$20,000	58	29	16	15	9
Children						
	No kids at home	52	30	17	16	9
	Kids at home	56	33	17	7	6

NOTE: All correlates of CAPS awareness are significant at $p < .05$ based on Chi-squared tests.

Table 1 provides detailed information about how specific groups of residents became aware of CAPS. The four right-most columns in the table examine four common sources of CAPS awareness — television, brochures, city and neighborhood newspapers. Reported in each column is the percentage of each group that was aware of CAPS that cited each source. Whites who were aware of CAPS, for instance, cited television, brochures, and city and neighborhood newspapers as the sources of their awareness with relatively equal frequency. African-Americans and Hispanics were more reliant on television and brochures for their information. Similarly, those who were less educated, younger, and earned lower incomes tended to learn about CAPS through television and brochures, while those who were better educated, older, married, and earned higher incomes became aware of CAPS through newspapers in addition to television and brochures.

Figure 1 Sources of CAPS Awareness

Percent of all respondents who are aware of CAPS



Fear of Crime

People’s sense of safety in their neighborhood is closely linked to their view of crime problems, police performance, and overall satisfaction with their community. Perceptions of safety split most dramatically along gender lines: 61 percent of women knew of a “particular place in [their] neighborhood where [they] would be afraid to go alone,” while only 39 percent of men said the same. Other factors were also significantly related to fear, albeit less dramatically. Among those with incomes lower than \$20,000 a year, 58 percent said they felt unsafe somewhere in their

neighborhood, compared with half of those whose household incomes were more than \$20,000. Similarly, 57 percent of residents who were unemployed felt unsafe, compared with only half of those with jobs. The work status distinction can be more clearly understood by looking at the correlates of “not working.” Of city residents who were not working, 68 percent were women, and nearly a third were over the age of 65. Because women and seniors typically express greater fear of crime, the “not working” factor is understandably associated with feeling unsafe in one’s neighborhood.

Interestingly, there were no other demographic factors significantly associated with fear. Race, education, marital status, home ownership, age, and the presence of children in the household were not associated with feeling unsafe in one’s neighborhood. In other words, concern about unsafe places in their neighborhoods appears to be relatively evenly distributed across the city’s major demographic categories, with the important exception of gender.

City and Neighborhood Problems

Another purpose of the 1996 survey was to enable city residents to offer their view of problems facing the city and their neighborhood. We asked half of the respondents to name the “number one problem facing the City of Chicago today.” The other half were asked to identify the “number one problem facing [their] own neighborhood today.”

It turns out that crime was by far the biggest problem on people’s minds. Those asked about the city and those asked about their neighborhood both ranked crime as their number one concern. Among respondents who were asked about the City of Chicago, 67 percent mentioned some sort of conventional crime problem as the “number one problem facing the City of Chicago today”; no other category gleaned more than 9 percent of the responses. Within the conventional crime category, the most common problem mentioned was gangs (27 percent), followed by general crime problems (20 percent), and drugs (14 percent). White respondents were more likely to mention general crime, while African-Americans tended to mention drugs, and Hispanics mentioned gangs. Of those who mentioned general crime as the biggest problem facing the City of Chicago, 20 percent said that this problem affects their daily life “a good deal.” Those who mentioned gangs and drugs seemed to speak from more personal experience. Of those who mentioned gangs, 32 percent were bothered “a good deal” in their daily life. The same was true for 34 percent of those who identified drugs as the number one problem facing the City of Chicago.

The picture was slightly different when the neighborhood was the focus of the query. Of those who were asked to name the number one problem facing their neighborhood today, 18 percent responded that their neighborhood did not have any big problems. This compares with just 5 percent of those who were queried about the City of Chicago. Again, however, conventional crime problems constituted the largest category of responses at the neighborhood level (50 percent). Within this broad category, the most commonly volunteered responses were gangs (25 percent), drugs (13 percent), and crime in general (7 percent). Whites most commonly volun-

teered gang crime as the biggest problem facing their neighborhood; African-Americans mentioned drugs and gangs with roughly equal frequency; and Hispanics overwhelmingly mentioned gangs. Among those who mentioned general crime as the biggest problem facing their neighborhood, 18 percent related that their daily life was impacted a good deal by it. The same was true for a much larger 41 percent of residents who mentioned drugs and 37 percent who mentioned gangs.

Crime is obviously of utmost concern to residents, whether the City of Chicago or their neighborhood is the focus. Other problems cited at the city and neighborhood levels failed to glean even 10 percent of the responses. Nine percent of respondents to both the city and neighborhood questions volunteered some form of “social decline” as their number one problem. Problems classified in the social decline category included homelessness, overpopulation, welfare abuse, and a lack of morality. Problem categories that gleaned even smaller percentages of the responses were social disorder (such as vandalism and lawlessness) and physical decay (such as abandoned buildings and graffiti), economic problems, problems with city services, and problems with local government and government officials. These categories of problems each received from 1 to 8 percent of the responses to both the city and neighborhood questions.

We also probed neighborhood issues by reading all respondents a list of concerns that might be a problem in their neighborhood. Table 2 displays the percent who rated each item on the list a “big problem.” Drug dealing, loitering, and gang violence stood out as the most serious neighborhood problems, rated a “big problem” by 29, 28, and 25 percent of city residents, respectively. Respondents who rated each of these top three issues a big problem tended to be less educated, not working, in the lower age brackets, had lower incomes, had children living at home, and were non-white. Differences among problem ratings by race are also displayed in Table 2 on the following page.

One finding revealed in the table is that white respondents generally shied away from rating anything as a big problem in their neighborhood, relative to African-Americans and Hispanics. The biggest problem among whites, vandalism of cars, was cited by only 16 percent as a big problem. A full 47 percent of African-Americans, on the other hand, rated drug dealing a big problem in their neighborhood, and 37 percent of Hispanics applied the term to loitering and gang violence. Generally speaking, African-Americans and Hispanics were most concerned with drug dealing, loitering and gang violence. A second tier of problems of disproportionate concern to blacks were social disorder and physical decay problems, such as vacant lots filled with trash, public drinking, and disruptions around schools. Hispanics expressed disproportionate concern over a wider array of physical decay problems: graffiti, vandalism, and trash in vacant lots. By these measures, Chicago’s crime problems are heavily concentrated in the city’s minority neighborhoods.

Table 2 Neighborhood Problems Percent of all respondents and demographic groups rating each a “big problem”				
	All respon- dents	White	Black	Hispanic
Drug dealing	29	10	47	32
Loitering	28	13	40	37
Gang violence	25	10	35	37
Vandalism of cars	20	16	19	28
Vacant lots filled with trash	20	9	29	26
Graffiti	19	14	20	30
Public drinking	18	10	25	22
Disruption around schools	18	9	24	23
Auto theft	17	12	17	26
Attacks/robberies	17	11	19	25
Burglary	16	15	15	20
Abandoned buildings	13	4	21	17
Abandoned cars	12	6	13	18

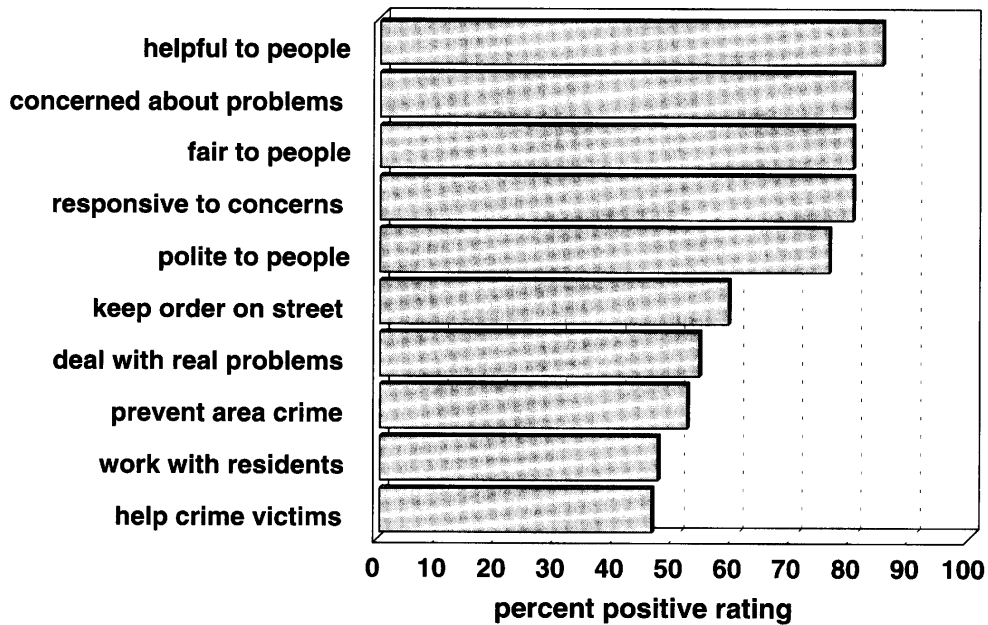
NOTE: Race is significantly correlated with each problem listed in the table at $p < .01$ based on Chi-squared tests for statistical significance.

Perceptions of Police Performance

The 1996 survey also examined the public’s perceptions of police performance. We included 10 separate questions in the survey to measure public perceptions of police effectiveness. In response to each question, residents could choose from two positive or two negative responses. For example, one item asked, “How responsive are the police in your neighborhood to community concerns? Do you think they are very responsive, somewhat responsive, somewhat unresponsive, or very unresponsive?” For purposes of this report, we have collapsed the response categories into simply “positive” and “negative” responses. Figure 2, on the following page, displays each of the ten questions, arranged by the percentage of respondents who gave a positive response.

As the chart indicates, the police were most well-received for being “helpful when dealing with people in [their] neighborhood.” A full 85 percent of all respondents rated the police either very helpful or somewhat helpful. A second tier of questions received positive reactions from 80 percent of city residents. Eighty percent rated the police positively for expressing concern for people’s problems; 80 percent gave positive marks for dealing fairly with people; and 80 percent reacted positively when asked “how responsive are the police in your neighborhood to community concerns?” The police also received high marks for politeness: 76 percent of all respondents said that the police were either very or somewhat polite “when dealing with people in [their] neighborhood.”

Figure 2
Police Effectiveness in Neighborhood
 Percent of all respondents giving a positive rating



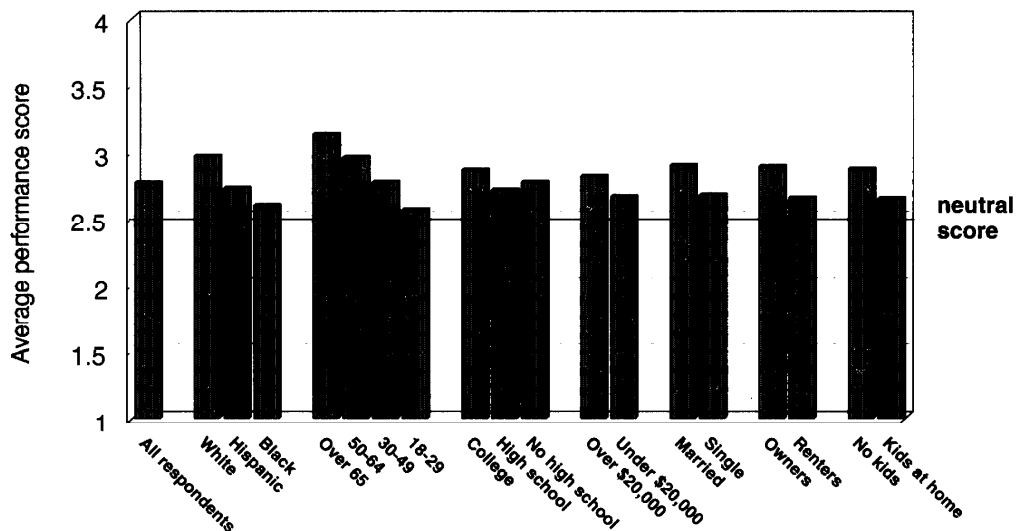
The police fared not quite as well on questions about keeping order, dealing with problems that really concern the people in the neighborhood, and preventing crime. The lowest assessments of police performance went to how well they help people after they have been victims of crime, and working together with residents to solve local problems. These performance indicators received positive assessments from 46 and 47 percent of city residents, respectively. The low rating given to police for helping victims is congruent with another Consortium report that identified crime victims as among the most dissatisfied residents of Chicago in terms of the quality of police service (Skogan, 1996). The low rating given to working with residents to solve

local problems is also troubling, because it is a keystone of the community policing mandate. While progress in this area has been made, many members of the public remain to be convinced.

Several groups of respondents consistently gave police low ratings on the four dimensions on which the police fared least well: dealing with problems of concern to people, preventing crime, working with residents and helping victims. On all four questions, African-American residents, singles, renters, respondents with children living at home, and younger residents all tended to rate the police significantly lower.

These findings comport with the results of a summary police performance index created by combining responses to the 10 individual questions. The index could vary from 1 to 4; a score of 2.5 was neutral. High scores indicate high ratings of police performance, while low scores indicate low ratings. The mean score for all city residents was 2.77, indicating that overall they were somewhat positive about police performance. Figure 3 depicts the average score on the police performance scale for all city residents, as well as police performance scores broken down by key demographic groups. All of the relationships reported in Figure 3 are statistically significant. Congruent with our earlier finding, African-Americans, younger residents, singles, renters, and respondents with children living at home all register lower scores on the police performance scale, indicating relatively less satisfaction with police performance. In addition, less educated residents and those with incomes under \$20,000 also register lower on the police performance scale.

Figure 3
Police Performance by Demographic Group
 Average scores on police performance index



NOTE: The police performance index can vary from 1 to 4; a score of 2.5 is neutral

In summary, crime is clearly the number one problem on the minds of residents of the City of Chicago. Nearly seven in 10 mentioned some sort of conventional crime problem as the "number one problem facing the City of Chicago today." Although the percentage of respondents mentioning crime was lower at the neighborhood level (50 percent), it still dwarfed other concerns. When the components of the conventional crime category at both the city and neighborhood levels were decomposed, it turned out that drugs, gangs, and crime in general were the uppermost concerns of residents. In a similar vein, levels of fear among the respondents were substantial, especially among women and poor residents of the city.

The 1996 survey also indicates that awareness of CAPS was high and widespread. While continued efforts are being made to raise awareness of CAPS, the 53 percent awareness figure is impressive. The aggregate police performance index demonstrates that each of the city's major demographic groups gave police at least a somewhat positive performance assessment. When satisfaction with individual components of police work was examined, majorities of residents rated most of them positively. This is not to say that all is well between citizens and police in the City of Chicago. On the contrary, the police scored particularly low on "working with neighborhood residents...to solve local problems" and "helping people out after they have been victims of crime." But in many other specific areas, the overall status of the police among residents of Chicago was positive.

Beat Meetings and Neighborhood Problem Solving

Community beat meetings are one of the most unique features of Chicago's program. CAPS' model of community policing calls for building information-sharing, problem-solving partnerships between police and the community. Several important features of the program were put in place to facilitate the development of closer working relationships between police and beat residents, including the formation of special beat teams and the inauguration of a dispatching policy designed to keep officers on their beats and give them the time required to engage in proactive problem-solving efforts. In addition, beginning in 1995 police began to meet with residents on a regular, frequent and well-publicized basis throughout the city. The officers who came to beat meetings were supposed to be those who patrolled the neighborhood. At the meetings they were to exchange information, identify and prioritize local problems, develop strategies to address them, and begin the process of identifying police and community resources that could be mobilized to support problem solving. The department's mission statement, "Together We Can," states that the department "... must aggressively seek input from the community in setting priorities and in developing crime-fighting and problem-solving strategies at the neighborhood level. Our partnership with the community must go beyond the issue of crime. It must encompass our common goal of making Chicago a better and safer city" (p. 27). As a department training bulletin noted, "... beat meetings ensure community input in the problem-solving process" (Chicago Police Department, 1994: 1).

Beat meetings were held frequently in the prototype districts beginning in 1993, and they started becoming a citywide feature of CAPS during 1995. By April 1995 they were being held on

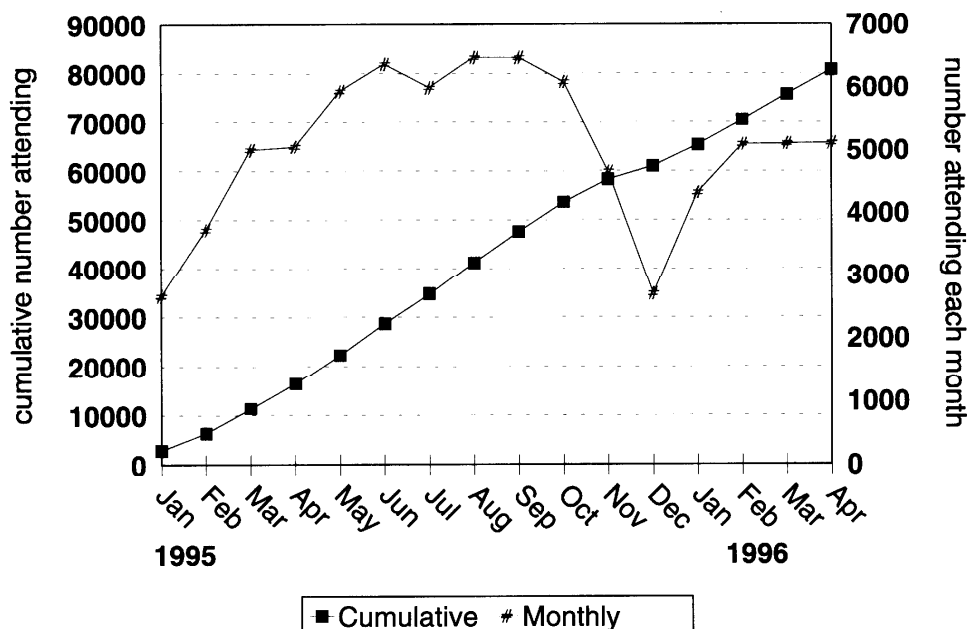
a monthly basis in at least 240 of the city's 279 beats. During the year the variety of meetings held in the beats increased, as the districts began to find new purposes for public gatherings. Some districts began holding special gatherings for area business operators. In some beats special meetings were held between police and local activists and organizers in addition to general public meetings. In other beats these activist meetings alternated with general meetings. Beats held rallies and sponsored block parties and social get-togethers. To boost attendance, some meetings were held for combinations of two to four beats, while in other areas it was necessary to hold "sub-beat" meetings that split up the largest or most diverse areas.

We tracked these meetings in several ways. First, between June 1995 and June 1996 our observers attended a sample of 165 regularly-scheduled community beat meetings. They took notes and completed a systematic observation form that described what went on there. Sections of this report that describe the dynamics of beat meetings are based on their observations. In addition, during the meeting they introduced themselves and distributed a brief questionnaire to those in attendance; we arranged in advance for there to be time in the schedule to have people complete it on the spot and, ultimately, nearly 2,610 participants were questioned. The Chicago Police Department gathers its own data on beat meetings by having an officer in attendance complete a form detailing where and when the meeting was held and who was there, and we coded these reports as well. Between January 1995 and April 1996 officers completed these forms for 3,679 beat-level meetings of all sorts. We found the latter to be a reliable guide to the basics of the meetings. For example, for meetings that observers attended, the correlation between the number of participants noted by our observers and the number recorded by the police was +.93. Therefore, we used Chicago Police Department reports on 3,464 regular beat and sub-beat meetings in the sections of this report that examine trends and patterns of attendance there.

Trends in Attendance

Total meeting attendance accumulated to more than 80,000 during 1995 and the first four months of 1996. This estimate includes all of the beat-level meetings described above, ranging from rallies to small gatherings of police and activists. Trends in attendance are presented in Figure 4 on the following page. It plots monthly totals and the cumulative number of people attending meetings, beginning in January 1995. Over this period an average of almost 5,000 people went to these meetings every month. Reflecting Chicago's weather, attendance was seasonal. Average attendance at meetings was lower in the winter months, and in addition only about two-thirds of the regular number of meetings were held during December. Monthly attendance accumulated to a total of over 60,000 by the end of 1995, and to over 80,000 by April 1996. Meeting head counts are silent on how many of these were new participants and how many were "regulars" who came to beat meetings on a frequent basis. The questionnaire that we distributed at the meetings asked participants how many beat meetings they had attended in the past 12 months. Only six percent indicated that this was their first meeting, and 20 percent had only been to one other meeting. Half had been to less than four meetings, and half had been to more; the average was five.

Figure 4
Attendance at Beat Meetings



Source: CPD beat reports

Where was attendance high and where was it low? To answer this question we combined reports for each of the city's 279 beats over a 14-month period, to calculate an average attendance rate for each area. The average included only regular beat and sub-beat meetings; it excluded rallies, social gatherings, and get-togethers involving business operators and activists. We examined patterns of attendance by comparing these rates to census, crime, and other administrative data on the beats. The most striking finding might not seem surprising: rates of attendance at beat meetings were highest in higher crime areas. However, research on community participation in other cities had actually led us to expect the opposite pattern.

To understand patterns of meeting attendance it was necessary to understand the character of Chicago's beats. Their boundaries are drawn (most recently in 1993) to equalize the police workload in each and, as a result, they vary widely in population; the more crime they have, the smaller they are. We were interested in attendance relative to the number of adults living in each beat, and that varies even more. For example, the bottom fifth of the city's beats in terms of the total recorded crime rate had an average adult population of almost 12,000 in 1990, while the top fifth were home to an average of only 3,800 adults. Echos of this workload-driven population

skew spill over into other beat characteristics that are associated with crime rates. For instance, the 77 beats with a virtually all white population (95 percent or more) were home to an average of 11,000 adults, while the 112 beats that were more than 75 percent African-American housed only 5,300 adults. To make sense of beat attendance figures we had to take into account the varying number of potential attendees living in each. To do so, this section examines attendance rates per thousand adults in each beat. It also excludes four low-population beats located in the heart of the city's downtown business district because practically no one lives there.

Figure 5, on the following page, illustrates the relationship between beat meeting attendance and crime, plotting the personal crime rate against the 14-month meeting attendance rate for each area. The two go together very strongly, so much so that almost every other correlate of meeting attendance is affected by it. In the safest fifth of beats, attendance averaged 25 per thousand adults, while in the most unsafe fifth of beats (where the personal crime rate was five times higher) attendance averaged 53 per thousand, more than double the lower rate.

The powerful effect of crime on beat meeting attendance can be seen in the relationship between attendance and other beat characteristics. Chicago reverses a common pattern across the country, one in which participation in civic affairs and even crime prevention is higher in better-educated, home-owning, and white neighborhoods (Skogan, 1988 and 1989). Instead, as Figure 5 also illustrates, turnout at Chicago's beat meetings was higher in areas with fewer college graduates. Turnout was slightly higher (the correlation was $+0.12$) in largely rental rather than home-owning areas. It was higher in poorer parts of town; the correlation of turnout with a common poverty measure, the percentage of families headed by women, was $+0.36$. Turnout rates were also higher in African-American communities than in white neighborhoods: attendance averaged 29 per thousand adults in the 77 mostly white beats, but 45 per thousand in beats that were 75 percent or more African-American. Compared to other factors, the distribution of Chicago's Hispanic population did not seem to be closely related to beat meeting attendance rates.

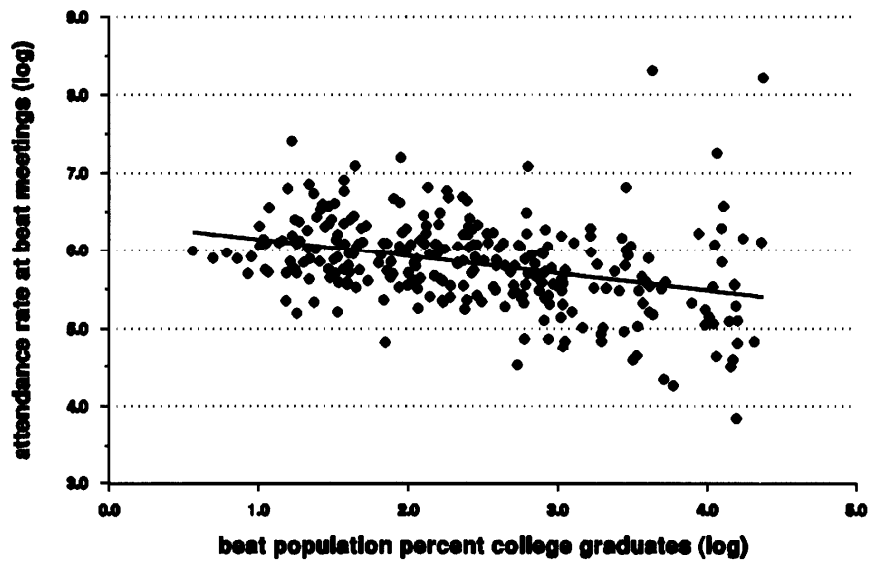
The conclusion that beat meeting attendance and its relationship to other social factors was driven by crime was suggested by a statistical analysis taking all of these factors into account at the same time. Crime was the dominant correlate of participation rates, but once it was taken into account some of the patterns described above reversed themselves; for example, participation was then residually higher in home-owning and largely white areas. But in the real world these factors go together strongly and are not distinct. The bad news — and the good news — for poorer and minority neighborhoods is that crime encouraged larger fractions of the adult population to get involved in grassroots efforts to do something about local problems.

Figure 5
Beat Meeting Turnout

Beat Meeting Turnout and Crime



Beat Meeting Turnout and Education



What Happened at Beat Meetings?

The meetings that we observed were concentrated in 15 of the city's 25 districts. The districts were chosen to represent all of Chicago's major communities, and we observed one meeting in every one of their 165 beats. The largest fraction (33 percent) were held in churches (frequently in the basement); 19 percent were held in park district or other government buildings, 9 percent were held in schools, and many of the rest were held in hospital cafeterias, bank boardrooms, apartment building hospitality rooms, police stations, and other government buildings. Mostly (72 percent) they began at 7 pm; another 22 percent started at six o'clock in the evening. The average meeting lasted 73 minutes, the shortest was 25 minutes, and none lasted longer than 2 hours and 45 minutes.

About 40 percent of the meetings were principally conducted by a police officer, 44 percent were run by a civilian resident or community organizer, and 14 percent of the meetings shared leadership. An agenda was announced or distributed at the beginning of the meeting only about 40 percent of the time; at the others it could be difficult for participants to tell just what the meeting was about. One of the differences between police and civilian-run meetings was that civilians were more likely to have a prepared agenda. Another was that civilian-led meetings were more likely to feature calls for volunteers and the distribution of sign-up sheets for other activities. About 60 percent of the meetings featured a report on recent crime and arrests in the beat, and crime maps generated by the department's Information Collection for Automated Mapping (ICAM) system were distributed about one-quarter of the time. Discussion was fairly evenly divided among police and residents at about 60 percent of the meetings, and civilians took on a dominant role at another quarter of them. Our observers judged that very few of the meetings (only 4 percent) took on an adversarial cast; mostly police and citizens were cooperative and mutually respectful.

Who Attended?

About seven police officers attended a typical meeting. Usually four were patrol officers who worked the beat, while one was from the district's neighborhood relations unit, one represented some other specialized unit in the department, and one was a sergeant who supervised officers working in the area. Higher-ups in the organization attended only about one-fifth of the meetings. The department's goal was to have police who actually would be working with the residents attend the meetings, and that goal was met almost every time.

A widely varying number of residents attended. The most our observers counted was 150 participants, while on three occasions none showed up. Discounting these extremes, an average of 19 residents appeared at beat meetings. Like aggregate attendance this varied by season. An average of a little over 10 people came to the meetings we observed in December, and 13 in January. Resident attendance was highest in the spring, and peaked at an average of 37 at the meetings we observed in May.

Organizations and agencies also were represented at many beat meetings. Individuals who were identified as representatives of block clubs came to 26 percent of the meetings, and a representative of some other citizen organization or group attended 57 percent of the time. Representatives from city agencies appeared at almost 36 percent of the meetings, and a scattering of elected officials and candidates for office put in an appearance as well.

Who did they represent?

This has been a controversial question since the beginning of the program. Before they had gained much actual experience with them, many police officers believed that beat meetings would become a forum for troublemakers and "loudmouths." Some community activists feared the meetings would be dominated by homeowners and landlords, while certain established community organizations perceived that they would emerge as alternative power centers that threatened to undercut the organizations' special access to district commanders and ward leaders. Incumbent politicians worried about who would show up at beat meetings with campaign materials.

Our data suggest that, by and large, beat meetings tended to attract better-off, more pro-police elements of the community, and those who were more likely to think that police-community partnerships and local problem solving will work. The demographics of representation at beat meetings were clearest. Within beats, there was a clear tendency for the residents who came to represent the best-off elements of the community. Compared to the population of the immediate area, beat meetings over-represented home owners, higher-income, and more educated residents. We uncovered this by comparing census figures for the population of each beat with the results of the questionnaires that our observers distributed at the meetings that they attended. Figure 6, on the following page, illustrates two examples of the mismatch between beat populations and meeting attendees.

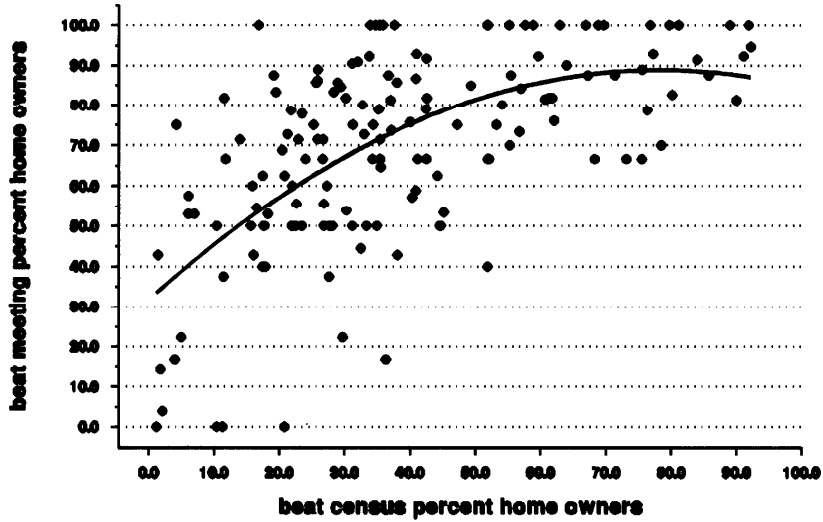
The top of Figure 6 presents a plot of the relationship between the percentage of each beat's households that were home owners and the percentage of beat meeting attendees who were home owners. The line presented in Figure 6 statistically describes the relationship between the two factors. Where beats were about 10 percent home owners, 45 percent of beat meeting participants were home owners; where the population was 30 percent home owners, participants were 65 percent home owners; where 50 percent of the beat was home owners, meetings averaged 80 percent home owners. The gaps were largest in beats with low levels of home ownership, for home owners quickly constituted the majority at beat meetings.

The bottom of Figure 6 details the relationship between the percentage of beat populations that were of Hispanic descent and the proportion of meeting attendees who were Hispanic. In general, Hispanics did not start turning out in large numbers until they made up about half of the population of the beat. Then their attendance rate grew quickly, as illustrated by the accelerating curve in Figure 6. But even then, where Hispanics constituted about 60 percent of a beat's population, they still made up only about 35 percent of meeting attendees. There were similar mismatches between beats and the meetings that represented them when we examined education

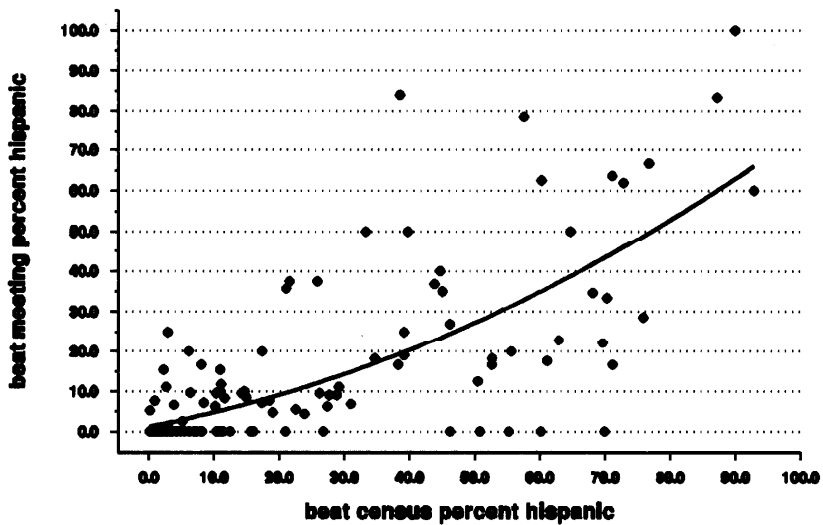
and income. Where 40 percent of beat residents were college graduates, 60 percent of meeting attendees were college graduates; where 40 percent of residents earned more than \$40,000 annually, 52 percent of beat meeting participants reported similar incomes.

Figure 6
Beat and Meeting Demographics

Beat and Meeting Home Ownership



Beat and Meeting Percent Hispanic



We judged whether this made any difference at the meetings by examining the attitudes of attendees along the same dimensions. Our survey of meeting participants indicates that income, race, home ownership and education all were related to their views of the police and neighborhood problem solving, suggesting that which groups came out in the largest numbers made a difference. To assess their views of the police we asked participants to rate how open police were to the opinions of citizens. Their expectations about the role of police in problem solving were measured by questions about whether police can identify the factors lying behind problems, if they can set problem solving priorities, and if police can prevent crimes before they occur. We also asked if they believed citizens can identify, prioritize, and solve problems, using the same questions.

The survey revealed that the demographic factors affecting turnout were also associated with people's opinions about these topics. Higher turnout groups were more optimistic about police openness and their capacity for problem solving. For example, only 50 percent of those in the lowest income category thought police would be open to citizen's opinions, while the figure for the top group was 67 percent. About 27 percent of the worst-off participants thought police can prevent crime, while 42 percent of the best off shared that view. Home owners, older people, long-term residents of the community, those with more education, and whites were more optimistic than their counterparts on both dimensions. When it came to citizen involvement, everyone was somewhat more optimistic. Participants were more likely to think that citizens could identify problems, set priorities, and prevent crime. However, both income and education were still strongly linked to optimism about citizen involvement in problem solving, and renters were less optimistic. In addition, Hispanics were more likely than most to think that it is unrealistic to expect residents to work with the police, take responsibility for neighborhood problems, or tackle a wide range of problems.

Thus, while total attendance at Chicago's beat meetings was driven by crime and was highest in beats where people were poor, the individuals who came to the meetings appear to have represented the best-off elements of their communities. The groups that were over-represented were distinctively more optimistic about neighborhood problem solving and more likely to believe that police would listen to their opinions. Chicago's beat meetings seem to have provided a receptive audience for CAPS's message.

What Did They Talk About?

At each meeting our observers kept a running tally of the discussion points. They classified them using a list of issue categories that were developed on the basis of an earlier round of beat meeting observations. The observers noted whether problem categories were mentioned, if solutions were proposed for them, and if reports were made of any actions against problems on the list. Table 3, on page 28, describes some of what they found. It illustrates the meaning of each of the 14 issue categories by summarizing some of the specific points that observers were trained to identify.

The most commonly discussed problems at beat meetings fell in the "social disorder" category. These "quality of life issues" or "soft crimes" (Reiss, 1985) surfaced at 92 percent of all the beat meetings we observed. These were followed by physical decay problems (67 percent), and then discussion of serious gang problems (50 percent), drugs (47 percent), property crime (40 percent), and predatory crime (33 percent). The topic of property or predatory crime came up in at least one-third of all meetings. The subject of fear of crime merited its own discussion at 27 percent of all meetings. Complaints were registered about the performance of public officials at 30 percent of the meetings, and at about one quarter there was discussion about problems with the delivery of specific city services. Police issues were also frequently discussed. There was discussion about poor police performance at almost half of meetings, and about problems in police communication with the public almost as often. The CAPS program itself was discussed at about one-third of the meetings. Finally, about a third of the time there was a discussion about how residents could get better organized, how they could get more people out to meetings, or how they could mobilize city services to support neighborhood problem solving.

It appears that solutions to some of these problems were hard to come by. The final column in Table 3 reports the percentage of meetings at which solutions were discussed for the problems raised. Sometimes solutions came easily, but in many instances there was a disjuncture between the identification of problems and the development of solutions for them. Those assembled tried to devise a problem-solving solution at 77 percent of the meetings where social disorder problems were discussed. The largest fall-off was for discussions of predatory crime. At only 35 percent of the meetings at which crimes against the person were discussed was there a parallel discussion of what to do about them. Property crime, drug problems, and gang violence were somewhat more tractable, but in each case only about half of the meetings at which they were discussed also talked about solutions for them.

Who Did the Talking?

One reason for this fall-off between problem identification and the development of solutions for them was that different participants dominated the two discussions. At the end of each meeting our observers assessed who had played the biggest role in problem identification: in their judgment it was mostly done by residents (68 percent) or jointly between residents and police (24 percent). Police who were present dominated that discussion at only 6 percent of meetings. But when it came to solutions, control turned to the police. Police dominated the discussion about solutions at 52 percent of the meetings, and shared leadership with civilians in another 29 percent. Residents carried discussion about solutions to neighborhood problems at only 13 percent of the meetings.

This was not the CAPS model for problem solving, and one purpose of the Joint Citizen-Police Training (JCPT) program that is described elsewhere in this report was to enhance the problem-solving capacity of citizens involved in the effort. One situation in which police did not dominate the discussion of problem solving was when the meetings themselves were run by civilians. When area residents or community organizers chaired beat meetings, police dominated the crafting of solutions to problems only 34 percent of the time; when police ran the meeting, they took the lead in proposing solutions 77 percent of the time. Since the police frequently proposed traditional, enforcement-oriented solutions to neighborhood problems, this did not leave much of a role for the community to play.

**Table 3
Topics Discussed at Beat Meetings**

Problems or Issues Mentioned by Residents at 165 Beat Meetings	percent of meetings discussed	percent with solutions proposed
Social Disorder drunkenness, truancy, prostitution, alcohol, curfews, loitering, noise, suspicions, gambling, businesses, panhandling, cars with no plates	92	77
Physical Decay abandoned cars and buildings, litter, graffiti, vandalism, junk in vacant lots, bad lighting, dirty streets	67	67
Serious Gang Problems violence, shootings, intimidation, take over neighborhood, control schools	50	53
Drug Problems drug use or sales, pay phones, gangs and drugs, drug houses, drug crime	47	45
Property Crime larceny, car theft, burglary, bike theft, car break-ins, fire bombings	40	52
Predatory Crime robbery, assault, rape, confidence games	33	35
Fear of Crime personal safety, safety to and from meetings, impact of fear, elderly fear	27	52
Government Performance problems with government: aldermen, judges, elected officials	30	71
public service delivery: issues or problems with city services	24	67
Policing Issues performance: harassment, handling of 911 calls, response time, insensitivity, field interrogations	48	61
communication with public: proper use of 911, non-emergency numbers, anonymity of calls, citizens' need for information	44	75
CAPS program: court advocacy, location of beat meetings, organization and operation of CAPS	34	74
Organizing and Problem Solving Issues service requests, getting residents organized, turnout at CAPS activities	34	79
Other Issues	46	64

Was Any Problem Solving Going On?

This leaves the question of what residents who came to beat meetings did concerning the problems and issues that were discussed there. Did they attend just to vent their concerns? Did they rely on police to solve their problems for them? Or, did they identify priorities for themselves and try to do something about them? To answer these questions we conducted a survey of beat meeting participants, and asked them what they had been doing about local problems.

The survey was conducted in the spring of 1996. During the fall and winter our observers had collected questionnaires from citizens attending samples of community beat meetings. For the survey we recontacted residents who attended meetings between October 1, 1995 and February 16, 1996, using the first name and telephone number that we requested at the end of each questionnaire. We waited approximately four months after each meeting before calling them. Based on the original meeting participants who had filled out a questionnaire and gave us a name and number, the response rate was 90 percent. We excluded from our analysis a few respondents who were interviewed six months or more after the beat meeting where we gathered their name, or who were requestioned less than four months before the target date. The profile of those we interviewed matched the composition of the meetings we observed almost perfectly. For example, 77 percent of those who attended beat meetings reported they were home owners, and 76 percent of those we successfully reinterviewed were home owners. The analyses reported here are based on the information provided by 128 African-American, 39 Hispanic, and 124 white respondents. For analytic purposes we weighted the resulting sample so that it matched the racial and ethnic profile of all of the residents who attended meetings in each district during our 1995-96 observation period. The weighted sample was 42 percent black, 42 percent white, and 16 percent Hispanic, which also happens to approximate the racial and ethnic composition of the city as a whole.

In the survey we asked respondents to identify the most important problems that had affected their neighborhood during the four months since the meeting. We encouraged them to name only the three most important problems if they recalled more than that number. Then, for each problem we asked what they had been doing about it during the period since they attended the beat meeting at which we got their name. This gave each respondent an equal opportunity (four months) to be involved in addressing neighborhood problems, and it focused their attention on the most serious issues in their community. Almost everyone that was interviewed mentioned at least one problem: one-third mentioned three problems, one-third mentioned two problems, 22 percent mentioned one problem, and only 8 percent had nothing to describe to us.

To describe the most pressing problems they faced, we classified each problem description into a detailed problem category, and then combined them into a few large clusters. The biggest cluster of problems concerned drugs; 21 percent of all the problems they mentioned fell in this category. The second cluster of problems (combining 19 percent of the total) included issues we classified as social disorders. Among them were loud music, vandalism, panhandling, public

drinking, loitering, truancy, and prostitution. Next (at 18 percent) came a cluster of conventional crimes such as burglary, theft, rape, and homicide. These were virtually equally divided between property and violent crimes. This was closely followed (17 percent) by gang problems, including gang violence and intimidation, gang graffiti, and gang recruitment. The last large cluster of problems (13 percent of the total) encompassed evidence of physical decay. These included abandoned buildings, litter, trash-filled vacant lots, dog waste, general graffiti, and badly maintained buildings. The other problems nominated by our respondents were very diverse in character, ranging from speeding cars to sewer flooding, liquor sales to minors, community apathy, and the need for more police.

Not every problem was being addressed. In each instance we asked if they had been involved in any way in trying to solve the problem. Overall, 64 percent of problems were being addressed. Crime and gang problems were less likely (at 56 percent) to be getting their attention than were drugs (71 percent) or social disorder or physical decay (61 percent). A key finding of this study was the importance of beat meeting connections and organizational involvement in sustaining problem-solving follow-up. People who frequently attended beat meetings were more likely than others to be involved in problem solving. Among those who had been to a beat meeting every month during that four-month interval, 79 percent followed through on a problem. Those who did not attend any more beat meetings kept at it only 33 percent of the time. The same was true of those who reported being affiliated with several organizations on a checklist of community, business, church and service groups. Those involved with four or more groups were involved in problem solving more than 80 percent of the time. Hispanic participants were less likely than others to be involved in solving problems that they had identified (42 percent), while blacks (71 percent) were somewhat more likely than whites (65 percent) to get involved. Involvement was not particularly linked to home ownership, income, gender or length of residence.

Very few reported trying to tackle significant neighborhood problems on their own. We asked everyone who got involved if they or their families had worked on the problem by themselves, or if they had contacted others for assistance. Only 6 percent were do-it-yourselfers. Most frequently they contacted the police (80 percent) or their neighbors (75 percent). Almost 60 percent reported bringing the problem they had identified to a beat meeting. They tried to get their alderman involved almost 40 percent of the time. Other major places they went for assistance included block or community organizations (34 percent) and public service agencies (26 percent). They contacted the police about drug problems especially, and their neighbors about gang and crime issues. They approached city service agencies, the courts, and community organizations about physical decay problems, and they went to beat meetings about drugs.

They generally got help. We asked those who contacted agencies or organizations to rate them each as "helpful" or "not helpful." Among the agencies and organizations that were approached frequently, it seems that beat meetings, block and community organizations, and neighbors were the most reliable sources of assistance; more than 90 percent rated them as helpful. Police followed at 88 percent, city services at 80 percent, and aldermen at 74 percent. On the basis of other questions, the least productive partners in problem solving seem to have been county and state agencies (29 percent "did nothing"), aldermen (17 percent), the courts (15

percent), and city agencies (11 percent). Beat meeting activists like these worked in partnership to solve problems with their neighbors, block and community groups, and other beat meeting participants, while city agencies and the police were more likely to take over the problem and deal with it themselves.

Are problems being solved? This was more difficult for respondents to judge, for after just four months many reported that problem-solving efforts were still underway. During this short period, full or partial solutions were most common when the problems involved physical decay: those efforts had made some headway 48 percent of the time, and another 35 percent were still being worked on. Gang and drug problems were proving to take the most time; about 60 percent of those problem-solving efforts were still underway.

Our respondents were also reticent about giving their community high marks for effort. We asked every one of them who identified a community problem to "rate your community's total effort in solving this problem, regardless of whether or not the problem was actually solved." Overall, only 11 percent gave their community an "excellent" rating, and almost twice as many (21 percent) rated them "poor." The "goods" and "averages" split evenly, each at about one-third of the total. By this assessment the community did best at solving physical decay problems, and worst at dealing with crime and gang problems. Residents who actually got involved in problem solving were more positive about the community's effort than were the bystanders; they were twice as likely to rate the effort "excellent." People who tried to solve problems by themselves were more negative than those who had involved others in their problem-solving efforts; none of them thought the community's effort was excellent, versus 15 percent of their counterparts. And not surprisingly, those who got helpful assistance were much more positive than those who did not, or who tried to partner with agencies or organizations that contributed nothing to the effort.

Joint Community-Police Training

It is not just police officers who have to adopt new and unfamiliar roles when their agencies move toward a community-oriented model of policing. The public also has things to learn, and citizen training is a key to sustained and successful resident participation in community problem solving. Cities around the country have found that when citizens were not trained, significant problems ensued. Residents were confused about their new roles and responsibilities; rarely, if ever, were citizens able to make enduring and creative contributions to community policing efforts. The Vera Institute of Justice reviewed community policing projects in eight cities and found that across all of them, local residents were generally unaware of the goals of these programs. The projects almost singularly stemmed from police initiatives, and all but one even excluded other city agencies. One of the VERA Institute's most significant findings was that the education and training of community residents in their roles in community policing was almost nonexistent (Sadd and Grinc, 1994). In contrast, Chicago's program has included a strong commitment to citizen training. At the time this report was written there was some uncertainty about the form future training would take and whether the Department's current training partner, the Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety (CANS), would continue to play a leading role in resident training efforts. But the Chicago Police Department remained committed to continuing

training in some form. Because this effort is the first large-scale attempt to train residents to conduct neighborhood problem solving in a community policing context, many around the country are watching Chicago's efforts closely.

When CAPS was first introduced in five prototype districts in 1993, community residents who became involved were frustrated because they did not know what was expected of them. At the same time, the police were also struggling to determine what they were supposed to do under this new model of policing. Beat meetings often became gripe sessions, leaving both police officers and community residents frustrated as well as at a loss about what to do in response to the grievances that were exchanged there. Although there was dialog about problems that existed in the beat, residents continued to rely on police to solve them in traditional fashion.

Residents' confusion about their new roles and responsibilities under CAPS suggested the need for training the public as well as the police — a conclusion shared by both the department and CANS, an independent, non-profit organization founded in 1980 to promote community involvement in public safety. CANS had worked for years to encourage the adoption of community policing in Chicago, and the organization approached the city to discuss the importance of conducting citizen training and the role that they might play in conducting it. Planning for Joint Community-Police Training (JCPT) began in earnest in the summer of 1994, when it became clear that the city would eventually award a contract enabling CANS to develop training materials and hire civilian trainers.

JCPT began in May 1995 and is scheduled to continue in its present form through December 1996. The primary training mission is to produce more informed and better-organized citizens. An important component of citizen training is that it is meant to be self-perpetuating, or "capacity-building." Participants are supposed to share their newly acquired problem-solving skills with others so that communities will be able to sustain CAPS involvement independently. The evaluation findings presented here suggest in addition the importance of linking trained citizens to community organizations, for those were the trainees who were most likely to follow through with actual problem-solving efforts.

By the end of July 1996, CANS estimated that 8,000 Chicago residents from 164 beats had received some training. Police and civilian trainers have worked side by side to provide a dual-faceted understanding of how CAPS should work. Unifying two such diverse entities in a project of this scope has presented a significant challenge. Many of the problems that emerged while the program was being piloted (from May to October 1995) have been addressed, though at times they have resurfaced.

The evaluation team employed five different methods to study the planning and implementation of JCPT. In the process we examined the nature of the training sessions and performance of the trainers, gathered data on the backgrounds of training participants and their attitudes toward police and CAPS, and assessed trainers' and participants' reactions to the training. The five major evaluation activities were:

- Our observers attended all management meetings that addressed planning, curriculum development, and training development. The process began in May 1994, and our observers took detailed notes, paying particular attention to problem identification and resolution.
- Our observers attended training sessions. The training observation team developed a format for recording their impressions of the training and selected a sample of beats from the first 10 police districts scheduled to receive training. Altogether, the team observed 10 of 14 civilian trainers and 10 of 21 police trainers on 21 different beats in 10 police districts. A total of 31 training sessions were observed from May 1995 through late November 1995. At each training session, observers took detailed notes describing the setting and content of the training as well as the behavior of the trainers and participants. They also recorded evaluative comments throughout the session. The Evaluation Consortium released an interim report (Kaiser, 1996) based on these observations to help guide the future course of the program.
- Training participants completed a survey questionnaire at the beginning of each training sequence for a beat. The questionnaire was developed by the evaluation team, and it was distributed to participants by civilian trainers with the oversight and support of the evaluation team. The questionnaire included 29 questions about residents' opinions of police officers' and citizens' attitudes toward one another and toward community policing, as well as questions about their personal background. It replicated some of the items on questionnaires completed by police officers prior to their CAPS training.

We reinterviewed 354 training participants four months after their initial orientation meeting to ask what they thought of the training and what kinds of problem-solving efforts they had been involved in since training began. If they had been active, we questioned them about the agencies and organizations they might have worked with, the kinds of cooperation they had gotten, and how successful they thought their efforts had been.

- We interviewed police and civilian trainers to assess their concerns and suggestions, and we participated in informal dialogs with trainers and others at meetings. Trainers ventured their opinions about the administration of the project; curriculum, materials and methods used; the effectiveness of the instructors; problems encountered; and the successfulness of the training.

For a detailed report on the findings of the joint training evaluation, see Kaiser, 1996.

Planning and Funding

The plan called for training to begin in the spring of 1995 and progress through the city's 279 police beats in the ensuing 18 months. Ten districts were to receive training in the first phase. The five CAPS prototype districts were to be included, and the remaining five districts were selected jointly by Chicago Police Department and CANS personnel, with a focus on identifying districts that were representative of Chicago's diverse neighborhoods.

A JCPT Oversight Committee was established to plan and supervise training development. The committee's primary responsibility was to approve the content of training materials and ensure that those created by CANS were consistent with existing Chicago Police Department materials. The Oversight Committee also served as a forum for police and City Hall feedback to JCPT staff members. It was composed of four high-level Chicago Police Department personnel, City Hall representatives, the CANS executive director, and two CANS representatives.

Initial meetings between Chicago Police Department personnel and CANS staff were amicable, but not without some tension due to their differing philosophies about the training's target audience and the related allocation of resources. While the Chicago Police Department was primarily concerned with the number and demographic representativeness of the participants, CANS staff felt it vital to solicit the involvement of residents linked to community-based organizations. They believed that these individuals would be more committed and better networked to others in their area and, therefore, better able to accomplish CAPS' objectives. The relationship between representatives of the two organizations continued to show occasional signs of strain, due largely to the markedly different organizational styles of the grassroots CANS and the more bureaucratic Chicago Police Department. Furthermore, CANS has historically been proactive and critical in its dealings with the police, and this dynamic has been evident even in their joint efforts.

A number of JCPT funding issues arose, creating tensions that were compounded by the fact that City Hall funded the project, and they gave the Chicago Police Department ultimate decision-making authority over training. In July 1995, the project came close to losing its funding in a city budget review. The JCPT budget was cut, but ultimately, the city's Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) committee voted to supplement city funding to sustain the program through 1996, because the CDBG committee's board members deemed training a vital effort. In November 1995, funding again became an issue — this time with a political twist. A city alderman denounced the training effort in a City Council meeting, prompted by established community organizations that felt threatened by JCPT and the fact that CANS organizers were moving into their territories. The leader of the City Council rebellion vowed to organize additional aldermen to protest this allocation of funds; CANS responded by rallying public support from other aldermen.

Also, there were two instances when JCPT civilian staffers' pay was delayed or almost delayed. The first was in February 1996, when a belated contract signing was responsible for a brief paycheck holdup. A five-day paycheck delay in June 1996 was caused by CANS's confusion

over which of their funding accounts should be charged for JCPT expenses. CANS staff felt that this financial turbulence had a negative effect on civilian trainers' and organizers' morale, and it was also linked to some civilian JCPT staffers' decisions to leave their positions. At this writing the project is not funded beyond December 1996, though CANS is lobbying for continued funding. Currently, various options for continued resident training are being considered by City Hall and the Chicago Police Department, including renewed full or partial funding for CANS to continue its JCPT efforts, or the development of a civilian and police training team that would be housed in the Chicago Police Department's training academy.

Selection and Training of Organizers and Trainers

Late in 1994, CANS hired a JCPT project manager and, soon thereafter, two training directors and two organizing directors — one of each for the North and South Side offices they opened. In spring 1995, 14 trainers and 28 organizers were hired, recruited on nearby college campuses, and through local newspaper advertisements and grassroots efforts. Trainer and organizer candidates were interviewed first by a regional director and then by the JCPT project director. CANS and civilian JCPT staff made considerable efforts to hire a group that reflected Chicago's diverse population. Those hired were Chicago residents, and many of them had prior organizing or training experience.

There was some dissension over the number of civilian JCPT staff to be hired. Though originally promised funding to hire 50 organizers, CANS was later told to limit the number of organizers to 25, due to budgetary constraints and the skepticism of key police personnel regarding organizers' contributions to training objectives. Consequently, CANS was forced to redistribute workloads of organizers and trainers, and revise the training schedule.

Organizers were to work with community organizations and residents to stimulate participation in JCPT orientation and training sessions; develop beatwide and districtwide leadership; and support localized problem-solving activities. They were also expected to work with and form alliances with local police and other JCPT staff, and to attend and support local beat meetings as well as JCPT orientation and training sessions. JCPT trainers were responsible for the planning and delivery of training sessions and technical assistance. Their job description included creating a leadership core that would enable community members and appropriate organizations to work together with police to solve crime and disorder problems.

Civilian trainers and organizers attended three weeks of classroom training in May 1995 in separate sessions taught primarily by their respective directors. Additionally, they toured the city by bus and learned to identify sites at which to begin their organizing efforts, such as churches, community centers, and neighborhoods with block club signs. Trainers also attended a two-day CAPS course at the Chicago Police Training Academy, presented by two police trainers who would eventually be working with them. The curriculum was the one taught to all district patrol officers and new recruits.

Police trainers for JCPT were selected from the pool of officers who recently had conducted CAPS training for 7,500 district patrol officers, recruits, and other Chicago Police Department personnel. They underwent no additional preparation for the JCPT project other than a one-day orientation with the civilian trainers prior to the official beginning of JCPT on June 15, 1995. Initially, 17 police officers were detailed to the training on a part-time basis. That number has fluctuated as they have rotated between JCPT and other teaching duties at the training academy, which remains the base of operations for police trainers.

Curriculum Development and Training Process

Originally, civilian JCPT staff members were charged with writing the curriculum because Chicago Police Department personnel felt they would have keener insight into the citizen's perspective on neighborhood problems. However, Chicago Police Department personnel played an active role in providing feedback on CANS drafts of the curriculum and requested several rewrites. The initial training product was tested in the field before receiving final approval by the CAPS co-managers and other Chicago Police Department personnel, who expressed their opinion that the curriculum still needed reworking. This version of the curriculum was piloted in early May 1995; revised based on what was learned during the pilot period; and used until mid-July.

At that point, though the training process was underway, Chicago Police Department personnel insisted that the curriculum be further improved, amid reports that training sessions were not very standardized. The length of JCPT sessions differed widely, lasting from one to three hours, and the content was not uniform. There had been problems ensuring police trainer attendance, despite the fact that Chicago Police Department personnel strongly believed that police trainers should be present at all joint training sessions. On the whole, there was less consistency in sessions taught by civilian trainers when police trainers were not present, although there were exceptions. The Oversight Committee called a halt to training until the curriculum could be revised. It was rewritten by JCPT staff members, Chicago Police Department personnel, and City Hall representatives. The finalized curriculum was very detailed, specifying the materials, methods and script to be used on each beat for the formal JCPT sequence — an orientation session and three problem-solving sessions. It was also more interactive, involving less lecturing. When trainers were retrained in the revised curriculum in a four-day session in October 1995, an effort was made to break down barriers between police and civilian trainers to set the stage for genuine and effective teamwork, since problems and miscommunications had previously cropped up between them. Comments made by police and civilian trainers indicated that this retraining served to erase their uncertainty about how their counterparts had prepared for JCPT and what, specifically, they had been instructed to teach — uncertainty that was an inevitable result of the lack of co-training of civilian and police trainers at the outset of the project.

In advance of training getting underway in a beat, civilian trainers and organizers did preparatory work there to promote awareness among community residents and cultivate participation in the training sessions. Trainer and organizer safety was stressed in high-crime areas, where they were strongly encouraged to work in teams while out in the field. The preparatory work varied from district to district but included a range of types of outreach to rally

participation. Efforts were made to identify key community organizations and leaders in a variety of ways, and market upcoming training sessions. Despite considerable preparatory efforts by civilian organizers and trainers, some beats still had low attendance at training sessions — a problem that may have been alleviated if organizers and trainers had worked more consistently with local neighborhood relations and beat officers to identify key community members who were likely to become involved in CAPS.

Training Sequence

The orientation session was a two-hour open meeting designed to familiarize beat residents with CAPS, with a goal of 50 participants. It was intended to provide citizens with a base of information about how CAPS should work, and to educate them about their roles in implementing the program successfully at the neighborhood level. Orientation sessions were usually scheduled for week nights, but meetings were occasionally held on Saturday mornings. Problem-solving sessions were more advanced than orientations, featuring a hands-on approach that provided participants with practical experience in problem solving. The goal attendance was 35 participants, and the projected length of each session was two hours. Optimally, participants would have first attended the orientation, although pertinent information was recapped at the beginning of each follow-up session. An additional technical assistance session was available on request to help residents access other agencies for solving problems. Additional needs-specific training modules were also planned but rarely materialized. For more detail on the curriculum, see Kaiser, 1996.

Trainers had been told that, whenever appropriate, they could compact the three-session problem-solving sequence into two meetings or extend it to four by adding an “interim” meeting. In part, these guidelines were set to conserve and evenly apportion resources and ensure that all beats, citywide, would receive training within the prescribed time frame. When it became apparent downtown that a number of beats were receiving a fourth or even a fifth problem solving session, there was concern that resources were not being used efficiently and that the goal of completing training in all city beats by the end of 1996 would not be reached. However, trainers continued to schedule additional sessions with the intention of reaching more beat residents, encouraging the completion of their assignments, and supporting volunteers who needed further assistance. This was especially troubling because some beats that requested and received additional training appeared highly resourceful and committed, and may not in fact have needed additional training, while other beats that were unable to articulate their training needs or fully understand the value of resident involvement in CAPS may have had to forego needed sessions. The Department wanted to ensure broad coverage, while civilian trainers focused on depth in the training. These divergent positions created tension between the joint partners, illustrating one of the many challenges that such a partnership presents.

Training Materials and Methods

Participants registered on a standard form, listing their name, address, phone number, and community organization affiliation, if any. CAPS brochures, CANS quarterly newsletters, and

reprints of favorable CAPS newspaper articles were usually available at the sign-in table. Participants received a packet at the beginning of orientation sessions containing the following materials: an agenda, a Northwestern University survey questionnaire, a CANS brochure, beat maps, a beat meeting schedule, a list of police non-emergency phone numbers, CAPS posters, news articles, a handout contrasting traditional policing and CAPS, worksheets for the problem-solving exercise, a fact sheet about the Department's computerized crime mapping system, a glossary of CAPS terms, a report on CAPS evaluation findings, and a training evaluation questionnaire. Training materials included a variety of CAPS posters, hand-written flip charts, and various handouts. Flip charts were used as aids for reinforcing information presented by the trainers, and also for recording information such as participants' answers during the exercises and ideas they came up with during problem solving. After the final curriculum revision, standardized, printed flip chart pages were used. Observers noticed that they saved time, were easier to read, and enhanced the trainers' presentations.

In December 1995 members of the Chicago Police Department's Research and Development Division and key civilian JCPT staff began developing an illustrated handbook to be used by the public as an additional information source about CAPS. It reinforces an array of CAPS components presented in the curriculum. The design of the document was turned over to a contractor in the spring of 1996 and, having been approved by the Oversight Committee in August 1996, was scheduled to be printed and distributed in October 1996.

Revised Curriculum Implementation

Training resumed in October 1995. Observations of six orientation sessions and three problem-solving sessions revealed improved uniformity in curriculum content and length, with sessions lasting about two hours. Although the revised curriculum was still not always followed to the letter, digressions from the plan were fewer and less serious than those observed before the joint retraining of the trainers. Civilian trainers were instructed not to conduct training sessions when police trainers were not available. To preclude this from happening, JCPT staff and police training supervisors made a concerted effort to communicate scheduling information more effectively.

By the end of November 1995, training expanded to nine more beats within the original 10 districts, bringing the total number of beats receiving training in the first six months of the project to 49. Plans originally called for JCPT to be implemented in all of the city's 279 beats by the end of 1996. CANS developed a schedule that provided a minimum of four training sessions for all 279 beats, but because of delays, the schedule was revised repeatedly. These delays occurred for a variety of reasons, including the suspension of training while the curriculum was overhauled; staff reductions; the city's delay in signing funding contracts; trainers holding four or more training sessions in some beats; episodic scheduling problems; and civilian JCPT staff turnover.

Eventually, the JCPT staff developed a six-phase training schedule. At this writing, the fourth phase of training is nearing completion. Because of growing concern about the likelihood of completing training in all 279 beats by the end of December 1996, CANS and Chicago Police

Department staff members selected beats with less serious crime problems or fewer hot spots to receive an abbreviated "combined beat" training. Combined beat training, which was piloted in two districts late in the spring and early in the summer of 1996, consisted of a single orientation session for a group of beats, versus the regular training cycle consisting of four or more training sessions per beat. When this report was written, almost 25 percent (68) of the city's beats were slated to receive this combined-beat training, with more beats to be added if necessary. This would ensure that some training is offered in all beats. Resources allowing, a beat or group of beats in the combined-beat training category might receive additional problem-solving training sessions if requested by residents.

At the end of July 1996, training delivery included more than 686 preparatory meetings with more than 1,800 people in attendance; 145 orientation sessions with 5,758 attending; and 426 problem-solving sessions with 9,085 in attendance. Additionally, more than 100 technical assistance sessions were provided with 1,730 in attendance. Due to the potential for repeat attendance at different sessions, the total number of residents who received some training cannot be determined from this data. Conservatively, it was the number who attended orientation sessions; however CANS staffers reported that many new participants attended problem-solving sessions.

On average, the actual number of participants attending orientation sessions during our six-month observation period fell a little short of the ideal goal of 50. Turnout was higher on the North Side than on the South Side. JCPT sign-in sheets document an average of 44 civilian participants at North Side orientation sessions and 34 at South Side sessions. Average attendance at the 14 orientation sessions we observed in 1995 was 31 residents, with North Side districts averaging 42 and South Side districts averaging 20. After February 1996, JCPT sign-in sheets indicated that the average attendance on both the North and South Side was more than 40 civilian participants per orientation session. Attendance at problem-solving sessions fell considerably short of the goal of 35, however. At 14 problem-solving sessions we observed in 1995, the average attendance was 16, with an average of 19 participants on the North Side and 10 on the South Side. These figures indicate that approximately twice as many North Siders received advanced training in observed beats than did South Siders. According to JCPT sign-in sheets, average attendance citywide was 19, until April 1996 when the average attendance rose to more than 25.

JCPT staff attributed the North Side's better turnout to several factors. Turnout on the South Side was largely church-based, whereas on the North Side it was more political; also, most members of the Community Policing Task Force (a CANS adjunct group started in the 1980s comprising more than 100 community organizations to support the implementation of community policing in Chicago) were from the North Side. There was also speculation that South Siders, as a whole, are more disenfranchised. Most of the city's housing projects and pockets of abject poverty are there, and the immigrant population includes a higher percentage of foreign-born residents who are afraid of contact with the police.

Both North Side and South Side training directors reported that problem-solving groups are currently functioning independently on some beats as a result of JCPT, though some groups have lost members through attrition and started over, or they experienced confusion or conflict over which problem to focus their efforts on. JCPT trainers have occasionally been called upon for additional assistance with the problem-solving process.

Training Presentation

JCPT sessions took place in a wide variety of community settings, including churches and community rooms of churches, school meeting rooms and auditoriums, local libraries and colleges, senior citizen housing, and park district facilities. Most of the rooms were comfortable and well suited to interactive training, with churches and auditoriums being a notable exception. Because of the fixed seating arrangements there, participants were unable to regroup satisfactorily for problem-solving exercises. Another drawback to this type of setting was the lack of tables or other writing surfaces required for the exercises. While some residents participated successfully in these settings because of their assertiveness, many did not.

It appears that the location of the training influenced the turnout at JCPT sessions. For example, sessions held at churches and schools attracted populations with ties to the institution. If subsequent problem-solving sessions were not held at the church or school that hosted the orientation, attendance fell. Another training site issue came to light during observations of meetings conducted in churches (but not necessarily church community rooms). In three instances, observers noted that JCPT sessions held in churches opened with a prayer, usually led by the head of the congregation. This was a concern for those mindful of the law requiring separation of church and state.

All of the trainers who commented on the curriculum were comfortable with the material they were presenting. Police trainers attributed their ease to their six months of experience teaching the same material to police officers. Civilian trainers' comfort stemmed from their previous experience with and belief in CAPS. Most civilian and police trainers said that the revised curriculum was an improvement over the one used during the spring and summer of 1995. Because some trainers resented the fact that they had not been given an opportunity to participate in the revision, they formed a committee and submitted formal recommendations, many of which were approved by the Oversight Committee.

Training Practice

While both police and civilian trainers were ostensibly assigned to a particular district or districts, in practice there was little continuity in training teams. Police furloughs and job-related obligations often necessitated reserve trainers to step in. This lack of consistency impeded the smooth development of training partnerships. Trainers found themselves continually adjusting to working with new partners. An additional problem for police trainers was that they were sometimes unable to participate in the entire series of training sessions on a beat because of schedule conflicts. Session dates were usually selected by training participants, scheduled by

civilian trainers and communicated to the Chicago Police Department in two-week increments. Police trainers often did not see the schedule until a few days prior to a session to which they were assigned, and by that time, their second jobs or personal plans may have precluded their participation. In those cases, a reserve trainer was assigned to the session. For police trainers, this meant unfamiliarity with the residents and their concerns, and in some cases, with what prior training they had received. Residents sometimes complained of feeling shortchanged and disappointed when they lost the opportunity to develop an ongoing relationship with a police trainer.

Between May and November 1995, the concept of teamwork promoted by JCPT was not widely evidenced among the trainers. Fully 40 percent of the sessions we observed were taught only by a civilian trainer. In three of these cases, police trainers were on the premises, but language barriers prevented them from participating or necessitated separate language sections, with one taught by the civilian trainer, and the other by the police trainer. In most of the other cases, the absence of joint civilian and police trainers was largely due to two factors. First, CANS needed to begin training in May to fulfill contractual obligations, even though police trainers were not yet available. Also, CANS decided to proceed in July and August 1995 with the training process in beats where it had already begun — after the Chicago Police Department had called a halt to new training pending revisions to the curriculum. In the remaining cases, all on the South Side, JCPT staff failed to submit schedules to police trainers far enough in advance; except for an instance in which a police trainer missed an assigned session.

After that, steps were taken to ensure improved communication of scheduling information between the Chicago Police Department and CANS, and within both organizations, although mix-ups still arose from time to time. Trainers began to form teams in the majority of districts, and they coordinated training dates with one another prior to offering the dates to community participants. Training sessions held after mid-October 1995 were conducted by both partners, except when a rare emergency prevented it.

Prior to the retraining for trainers in October 1995, observers noticed that civilian trainers usually took the lead in training sessions, functioning as motivators and controlling the pace of the session. Police trainers stepped forward to plug in segments of the curriculum they had previously taught police officers, including explanations of CAPS elements such as the crime triangle and five-step problem-solving process, and the rationale for change from traditional policing to CAPS. Also, in the early sessions, police trainers sometimes left the room or conversed with other officers during the problem-solving exercises, leaving the facilitation up to the civilian trainer. There was a sense that police trainers felt the training belonged to CANS, and they did not want to tread on any toes. Civilian trainers seemed to perpetuate this notion, making a point of publicly giving CANS credit for the training. Evaluators later learned that this was part of the civilian trainers' formal presentation, intended to support CANS's legitimacy in conducting the training in partnership with the police.

After trainers cotrained with the revised curriculum and had the opportunity to get better acquainted, police trainers took a more active role in the training, and civilian and police trainers

became more comfortable contacting one another for advance planning. Most trainers were enthusiastic and knowledgeable about the CAPS philosophy, although the teaching styles and skills of the individual trainers varied widely and directly affected the success of a training session. It should be noted, however, that trainers who were initially less polished improved over time.

Training sessions that were most successful were ones in which the following conditions were met:

- The trainers were credible; they had internalized the CAPS philosophy and demonstrated their knowledge of and commitment to the program.
- The training was interactive; trainers were good facilitators and employed techniques that encouraged participation.
- The trainers were well prepared; they had practiced or coordinated their presentation in advance so that the material was covered thoroughly, instructions for residents' participation were clear, and the session flowed smoothly.
- The trainers were compatible; they worked as a team to provide a consistent perspective and did not allow their egos or other agendas to interfere with the training.
- The trainers had presence; they maintained momentum and did not allow the class to get sidetracked.

Trainers' Evaluation of Training

For the most part, the trainers felt adequately prepared for the training but thought that it would have been advantageous to train for it with the other half of the teaching partnership. They felt prepared to deal with racially and socioeconomically diverse groups of citizens, but not with multilingual groups unless they had the language skills. Trainers thought they were effective in getting the program across to citizens. This opinion was reinforced by feedback they received from supervisors and co-trainers in debriefings, as well as from participants' evaluation forms. They saw evidence of their effectiveness in the formation of stronger bonds between citizens and police, and in citizen initiatives to reduce crime and disorder.

Many trainers believed that a partnership between civilian and police trainers was slow to develop because of the lack of opportunities to get acquainted with the other trainers and to work consistently with the same partner. In addition, other factors interfered with the formation of partnerships. Some civilian trainers reacted negatively to elements of police culture that seemed to establish barriers between them and sworn personnel involved in the program. For example, police trainers were unaccustomed to being critiqued by their peers. Also, the fact that police trainers carried their firearms reinforced an "us versus them" mentality that was felt more by civilian trainers than police trainers. This may be an offshoot of CANS's transition from the role of police

watchdog to police partner. This attitude was conveyed to residents in early training sessions by more than one civilian trainer when police trainers were not present. Nonetheless, the week civilians and police spent together retraining in October 1995 was considered a turning point by some in terms of partnership development. It should be noted that some trainers did feel that partnerships had formed prior to the retraining.

Overall, trainers believed that other trainers, both civilian and police, were dedicated to the project, but they felt some pressures and frustrations about things beyond their control. For civilian trainers, frustration stemmed from their workload, insufficient communication with supervisors, a perceived lack of support from the Chicago Police Department, and the tenuousness of their employment status. Police trainers were also frustrated with what they perceived as a lack of support from the Chicago Police Department, as indicated by delays in the issuing of the CAPS orders and promised technology, as well as the failure of middle management to implement CAPS in some districts during early to mid-1995.

In an effort to alleviate much of the frustration, two new types of facilitative meetings were developed: civilian and police trainers meetings and civilian and police trainers supervisors' meetings. Each group met approximately once a month beginning in late 1995. While trainers and trainer supervisors worked hard to forge an enduring partnership, at times, tensions were still apparent at trainers' meetings. At a meeting in the spring of 1996, conversation became somewhat heated as civilian trainers reported feeling an imbalance of responsibility and commitment. They complained that they were the ones doing the outreach and controlling the training sessions, while police trainers just showed up. Additionally, some civilian trainers and their supervisors feared that police trainers would not be motivated to maintain a balanced partnership with them because of the uncertainty of the JCPT contract's renewal. On the other hand, police trainers and their supervisors at times appeared frustrated by the civilian trainers' apparent lack of understanding of police protocol and situational constraints: at one trainers' meeting, civilian trainers recommended that beat officers be required to participate in JCPT sessions, or that police trainers canvass neighborhoods with the civilian JCPT staff — recommendations that overlook contractual, staffing and budgetary realities. While progress has certainly been made in improving police and civilian training partnerships, and both the trainers' and trainers supervisors' meetings have appeared to be helpful, the road has not always been smooth.

Trainers tended to be optimistic, with some reservations, about whether the first round of JCPT was successful. Police trainers were more cautious than civilian trainers, commenting that the project's success could not be measured without the perspective of time or that it depended on who was trained — whether those being trained were actively involved in their communities. Civilian trainers were more positive, gauging its success by the number of participants and visible efforts in the community.

Trainers found that most participants were eager to become involved in the problem-solving process, but they did encounter some resistance to the training. In some cases, the resistance stemmed from citizens' fear of getting involved and taking action against the criminal element. In others, it was due to citizens' perceived lack of response from police in the past.

Trainers did not find the resistance insurmountable, however, believing that education and empowerment would compel citizens to work with the police. They observed that some citizens had misconceptions about the training, believing that they would be solving actual neighborhood problems at the orientation session or that the JCPT trainers would become the leaders of their local problem-solving group and continue to direct their ongoing efforts. In some beats citizens desired this type of leadership, while in others, they feared the displacement of their established leaders. Trainers also found that citizens had misconceptions about CAPS and were confused about its relationship to JCPT. Some did not realize that, with CAPS, they were expected to take on new responsibilities and work in partnership with the police, and that JCPT was intended to prepare them for that.

Overall, trainers thought the turnout at training sessions was good, however sometimes it was much lower than expected. Trainers noted that the extent to which the organizers were successful varied from beat to beat due to conditions on that beat, the community's biases about the police and the nature of the training personnel. Some organizers, for example, were afraid to canvass certain areas; others lacked the skills needed to bring people into the effort, such as bilingualism. Some trainers were more positive, noting that organizers reached people who wouldn't ordinarily attend a meeting with the police. However, trainers were not always certain that the population of the beat was fully represented at these sessions.

Marketing of JCPT was limited, and trainers felt that augmented marketing efforts could increase participation in training sessions and dispel fear or resentment felt by established community groups who were threatened by their presence. Some were very concerned about the friction between CANS and other community groups, and they feared that this might undermine the training. A neighborhood relations officer noted that some community groups that felt threatened by JCPT had enlisted the support of their aldermen to protest city funding of the project. He related that residents who were already engaged in problem-solving groups spun off from beat meetings were offended by the premise of JCPT. To them, the implication was that they were not doing a good job with problem solving, so CANS was brought in to show them how to do it.

Other trainer concerns about the process included how to sustain participation throughout the four-session training series, and how to achieve noticeable results in the community within the time frame of the training series. They were also frustrated that certain CAPS program elements integral to JCPT, like beat integrity and beat team meetings, had not yet been realized in many districts. There were reports that, in some districts, beat officers and sergeants were still being rotated every three months. A Chicago Police Department manager acknowledged that beat integrity had not been implemented citywide because of manpower constraints and high levels of activity on those beats. Some police trainers offered another view, suggesting that Chicago Police Department personnel were not universally supportive of CAPS. They also contended that ticket-writing quotas and other traditional activity were an impediment to the program's success.

In fact, many trainers felt that district personnel were not supportive of their efforts, including some district commanders, supervisors, and beat officers. A major concern of both

civilian and police trainers was the minimal beat officer participation in training sessions. District police were present at some of the training sessions observed. They included beat officers, sector sergeants, neighborhood relations officers, district commanders, or a combination of these. Although it was the understanding of the trainers that beat officers should be actively participating in the training, many of them did not seem to be clear about their roles and responsibilities in this regard. Beat officers were not required to attend the training sessions in all districts; it was encouraged, but only if they were on duty at the time and not faced with pressing job-related responsibilities. At some JCPT sessions, beat officers did not seem to know what the training was all about, or feel favorably toward it. They were likely to have been chosen at random by their supervisors to attend. These beat officers often did not interact with residents or failed to participate in problem-solving exercises with them. Though many effective working relationships were forged, occasionally, there was friction observed between beat officers and civilian trainers, particularly when there was no police trainer present, as was the case in some early sessions.

When beat officers did attend training sessions, trainers acknowledged their presence and often praised them, even asking residents to applaud them. When they actively participated, observers noted how well it worked. Community members were able to present ideas and problems to the officers to get their opinions and suggestions about how to best tackle the problems. Officers could also share information with residents about problems that were raised, and reassure citizens of their interest in working together with them. If beat officers were unable to participate, the involvement of other police, especially neighborhood relations officers, still illustrated the Chicago Police Department's commitment to CAPS. Conversely, not having beat officers present diminished the opportunities for police to become acquainted with the residents they would be working with, to exchange information with them and, ultimately, to work in partnership with them. Some of the police trainers expressed the opinion that beat officers and neighborhood relations officers were tired of going to meetings, feeling that the number they had to attend — beat meetings, JCPT sessions, and other community meetings — was ever increasing. One trainer believed that some neighborhood relations officers were weary of meetings to the extent that they were willing to undermine JCPT. He noted that on one occasion when they arrived late for a training session they announced that they had come from "the competing meeting." They were referring to a meeting held by residents of a prototype district who had long been working on problem solving without the benefit of JCPT.

The issue of getting police to better coordinate their efforts was raised repeatedly in trainers' meetings in late autumn 1995. Civilian trainers appealed to police trainers to encourage beat officers' participation, but one police trainer explained that the department's peer culture impeded the process; that police officers were not comfortable making suggestions to others of the same rank — it might be construed as "giving orders." Chicago Police Department project managers responded by pointing out that beat officers were unable to attend every one of the problem-solving sessions, but that they would continue to encourage commanders to have beat officers attend. They also stressed the importance of having a representative from the training session report on the group's activities at beat meetings and assured trainers that once the new Chicago Police Department General Order was issued, the problem would diminish.

However, when it was revealed at the November 1995 trainers' meeting that the issuance of the Order would again be delayed, trainers began to take more of a hands-on approach to these issues, suggesting creative strategies to convey their mission to district personnel. Among the strategies proposed were:

- police and civilian trainers, as CAPS instructors, visit each district to conduct training at beat meetings and beat team meetings
- sergeants, at roll call, inform beat officers about JCPT, who CANS is, who the police and civilian trainers are
- police and civilian trainers introduce themselves to district commanders just prior to beginning training in their districts
- police and civilian trainers or the police training supervisor attend roll call training to explain JCPT

The trainers agreed that, prior to beginning training in a new district, they would arrange to meet with the district commander to introduce themselves, explain JCPT and determine whether the commander was amenable to having the police training supervisor discuss JCPT at roll call. Also, a police trainer wrote an article for the Fraternal Order of Police newsletter detailing the roles of beat officers in JCPT.

In addition, trainers identified needs that they felt the project had neglected to address. One was the problem of targeting the non-English speaking segments of the population. They noted that the curriculum lacked a mechanism for assessing the language needs on a beat, though some trainers reported that they made a point of asking whether everyone present spoke English. They also felt that more multilingual trainers and materials were needed, pointing out that only one of the police trainers (assigned to the project months after it began) spoke Spanish and that the set of Spanish materials was incomplete, and that no formal effort was launched to translate materials into some of the other prevalent languages, such as Chinese and Polish. Another need identified was a binder with information on resources needed to deal with problem-solving issues that arose in training sessions, such as names and phone numbers of agencies to call to close down a nuisance tavern. Volunteer committees were formed to address these needs. Finally, police trainers thought that eliminating the requirement that they wear their uniforms to training sessions would enhance the process. They felt that their uniforms presented a barrier between them and their audience.

Profile of Civilian Participation

Survey data collected at orientation sessions indicated that participants were generally representative of district populations, as described by the 1990 census. Most participants completed survey questionnaires, which were available in both English and Spanish. They were

administered by civilian trainers and organizers at the beginning of sessions, prior to the presentation of the curriculum, with efforts made to do so in a standardized way.

Altogether, 2,740 participant questionnaires were collected and tabulated for this report. Table 4, on the following page, displays the demographic characteristics of participants for seven clusters of districts. Each of the 19 police districts where training had been conducted was placed into one of seven categories. Residents of five districts were overwhelmingly African-American; those living in four of those districts were extremely poor, while in the other they were somewhat better-off. Three more districts were home to large concentrations of Hispanics, plus significant African-American communities; whereas three other districts were heavily Hispanic, and otherwise occupied by whites. Two districts were made up of white middle-class homeowners, while young mobile white professionals were concentrated in two other districts. The final four districts were extremely diverse in character.

Trainers and organizers were cognizant of the need to attract a turnout representative of citizens living in the beat, although they met with varying degrees of success in this regard. More diversity among beat residents was observed at orientation sessions than at problem-solving sessions. Diversity decreased as participation in problem-solving sessions diminished. JCPT personnel cited minority groups' fear and distrust of the police as impediments to their participation. Organizers noted the difficulty of getting African Americans and Hispanics to attend training sessions in some neighborhoods. In particular, they were underrepresented in racially diverse neighborhoods.

Observers in training sessions noted that Hispanics' negative view of police seemed to be at least partly due to having been stopped by the police for reasons they do not understand. For others, it stemmed from a fear of having their immigration status exposed and possibly being deported. For still others, it was an extension of their knowledge of police in Mexico and Latin America, where they have a reputation for harassment and extortion. Altogether, three Spanish language sections of orientation sessions were observed. All on the South Side, they averaged seven participants each. They were conducted by civilian trainers alone while police trainers taught the English sections, and there were no local police officers present. The practice of dividing participants by language was not always well received. In particular, it was a sore point for some European immigrants for whom English was a second language. They felt that all immigrants should learn English as they had, and furthermore, that it was essential to the success of CAPS, which was predicated on the idea that neighbors would work together.

**Table 4
Participants' Demographic Information by Grouped Districts***

Grouped Districts	% under age 30	% over age 50	% own their home	% did not graduate high school	% college graduate	N
Af-Am, worse off	14	17	56	31	15	550
Af-Am, better off	7	17	75	16	26	190
Hispanic & Af-Am	14	14	49	26	21	157
Hispanic & white	14	8	62	24	22	115
White home owners	8	27	81	10	23	360
White mobiles	12	7	26	16	38	217
Diverse	11	15	68	10	40	591
Total %	12	15	61	20	26	2740

*=Data collected between June 1, 1995 and June 25, 1996

These observations point out some of the challenges faced by the JCPT trainers and organizers in dealing with a city as diverse as Chicago. Beats varied markedly in racial and socioeconomic composition, degree of previous community involvement, and amount of crime. Negotiating these variables while successfully training residents to join and maintain problem-solving efforts was a formidable task.

Many of the residents who participated in training sessions were active members of the community. Some had deep roots, due to length of residency or histories of community service. They were likely to have attended beat meetings, which they frequently called “CAPS meetings,” in areas where the meetings were being held. Among them were block club organizers, beat facilitators, presidents of housing associations, and clergy. Also participating were individuals who did not necessarily live in the beat but had a vested interest, like local business owners, building managers, property owners, representatives from the alderman’s office, park district personnel, school staff members, and in at least one case, police officers from an adjacent suburb.

Most participants were attentive and cooperative during training, and seemed interested in learning what they could do to fight crime in their communities. The majority appeared to understand the material and participated willingly in exercises and discussions. For the most part citizens appeared to come away from the training ready to work as a community on solving problems on their beat. About half of those who attended orientations participated in follow-up problem-solving sessions. Most who attended problem-solving sessions had also attended the orientation, so with the addition of a few newcomers, turnout at problem-solving sessions was typically half or less of the number who had attended the orientation. There were beats in which the turnout at problem-solving sessions was significantly higher than at the orientation, but they were exceptions.

At the sessions we observed, residents of prototype districts often extolled the benefits of CAPS in training sessions, while residents of other districts welcomed the opportunity to learn about CAPS. They did express concerns, though. A recurrent one was fear of being identified by police as the caller when they reported criminal activity. Some were concerned that police would be unresponsive, based on a previous unsatisfying experience with the police. Others were unsure of how to meet or establish a rapport with their beat officers. Residents also voiced their frustration with a perceived unresponsiveness and insensitivity on the part of local police. A question frequently asked by residents about CAPS had to do with beat officers’ accountability. It would have been helpful to have beat officers present at these sessions to make themselves known to residents and demonstrate their commitment to working with them.

Often, participants were unclear about the purpose of beat meetings. Observers noted variations in the way they were explained by both trainers and participants; some thought they should be run by community members and others thought the police should run them. In many cases, they were described as gripe sessions against the police. Participants were also curious about whose responsibility it would be to educate the rest of the community in problem solving. Most caught on quickly, recognizing that they would be the ones to do it. Yet, a few seemed to feel helpless when it came to encouraging community participation.

Participants' feelings about community policing and CAPS were also measured by the survey instrument administered to them in JCPT orientation sessions before they were exposed to the training. The data collected from 2,740 participants indicated that, generally, they were more optimistic than pessimistic about the ability of community policing to succeed; however, a large proportion of neutral responses to many items indicated a significant degree of uncertainty among them before the training began. The questionnaire asked participants' opinions about the Chicago Police Department's ability to successfully carry out community policing, and the extent to which they felt police would be open to, trust, and rely on citizen input. Most felt positive about the ability of the police to succeed, and they were also consistently more positive than negative about the police-citizen partnership. Participants also had high expectations about their own abilities to make community policing work. However, about a third of those questioned disagreed with the statement that citizens were open to police opinions, suggesting they perceived a significant level of distrust among their peers. One-third also thought that citizens' expectations of what police could do to solve neighborhood problems was exaggerated. More than anything else, regardless of the district in which they lived, participants were most optimistic about the willingness of citizens to involve, recruit, and train other community residents to take responsibility for their neighborhoods.

Participants' Assessment of Training

In addition to surveying training participants during their first orientation meeting, we also recontacted a sample of them approximately four months afterward. The follow-up sample consisted of 583 participants who, between October 1, 1995 and January 31, 1996, completed orientation session questionnaires on which they provided a telephone number. Of these, 354 were successfully reinterviewed during the spring of 1996, a 60 percent response rate. Analyses reported here are based on interviews with 123 African-American, 61 Hispanic, and 170 white Chicagoans.

The demographic profile of the 354 persons who were recontacted did not exactly match the profile of those who attended the training sessions during the target period. The first two columns of Table 5, on the following page, reveal that those who were successfully reinterviewed were more educated and had higher annual incomes than the total sample. The largest difference between the two groups had to do with their racial distributions. While the proportion of Hispanics stayed roughly constant between the two periods, the reinterviewed group had fewer African-Americans and more whites than the sample. To correct for this, the reinterviewed group was weighted by race and district to match the sample data. The third column of Table 5 profiles the weighted interviews, which better match those of the attendees during the study period. The weighted reinterview group was 46 percent black, 16 percent Hispanic, and 38 percent white, which is also roughly comparable to the racial distribution of all Chicago residents. Analyses reported here were conducted using weighted samples.

Table 5
Comparison of Participants and Recontacted Respondents

VARIABLE	unweighted WAVE 1 (%)	unweighted WAVE 2 (%)	weighted WAVE 2 (%)
Age			
17-29	13	12	12
30-49	50	50	48
50-64	22	23	23
65+	15	15	17
Education			
less than HS	20	15	17
HS/GED	17	18	21
Tech/vocational	6	6	6
Some college	29	25	24
College graduate	29	36	32
Home Owner			
Yes	56	61	60
No	44	39	40
Income			
less than \$10,000	22	16	19
\$10,000-19,999	17	17	18
\$20,000-39,999	30	33	34
\$40,000-59,000	20	22	19
\$60,000+	11	13	11
Race			
Black	46	35	46
Hispanic	16	17	16
White	38	48	38
Gender			
Female	59	57	54
Male	41	43	46
Years of Residence			
less than 5	30	27	25
5-14	26	31	29
15-24	18	18	21
25+	25	24	26
District			
4	6	5	6
7	9	5	8
8	3	1	3
10	5	5	5
12	9	6	9
15	16	10	16
22	5	7	5
23	10	13	10
24	20	31	20
25	17	18	17
Total Cases	787	954	354

The survey began by asking respondents about their attitudes toward community policing, followed by questions about their involvement in community policing-related activities such as meeting attendance. The largest segment of the interview dealt with problems respondents were having in their neighborhoods, and what they had been doing to solve those problems. Next, respondents were asked series of questions about their community and their opinions about the role of civic participation in making government accountable. The final few questions of the interview asked for demographic information.

When respondents were asked to list the sources from which they learned about the training sessions they had attended, the four most frequently mentioned were flyers or signs (25 percent), CANS/JCPT staff or materials (20 percent), friends and family (17 percent), and beat meetings (16 percent). All other sources, including community organizations, block club meetings, the police, mass mailings, solicitors at the door or phone, church, and the media, were each mentioned by less than 10 percent of respondents.

Respondents were then asked to rate several aspects of the training sessions. While 39 percent based their responses on the single training session at which they filled out our questionnaire, 61 percent had attended one or more additional training sessions in the four-month follow-up period. Overall, 91 percent of respondents thought the timing and location of training sessions were “convenient” or “very convenient.” (It must be remembered, however, that they had all found time to attend at least one session.) When asked to rate the quality of the police and civilian instructors who taught the training sessions, 87 percent rated police instructors and 82 percent rated civilian instructors as either “good” or “excellent.” The slight superiority in ratings of police over civilians was present across educational, income, gender, and racial lines. Overall, 91 percent reported being “satisfied” or “very satisfied” with the training session(s) they had attended. Those who were white, college educated, or renters tended to be slightly less satisfied with the training sessions than the group as a whole.

Participation in Community Policing

Among the key components of a successful community policing effort are citizen interest in local affairs and their interaction with the police and other residents. The survey found that the median training participant talked to his or her neighbors about four times per month outside of formal meetings about neighborhood problems. Thirty-seven percent reported that they talked to their neighbors more about neighborhood problems than they did before attending their first training. The high level of satisfaction in the training program was further reflected in answers to a series of questions about participation in organizing activities related to community policing. Seventy percent had urged others to attend training sessions, and 74 percent urged others to attend beat meetings. Furthermore, 63 percent reported that they had tried to teach other residents about community policing — an important “capacity building” goal of the program. Of these, the median respondent reported trying to teach community policing concepts to five other residents. Training participants reported varying levels of involvement in other community policing-related activities. Sixty-eight percent reported attending one or more beat meetings,

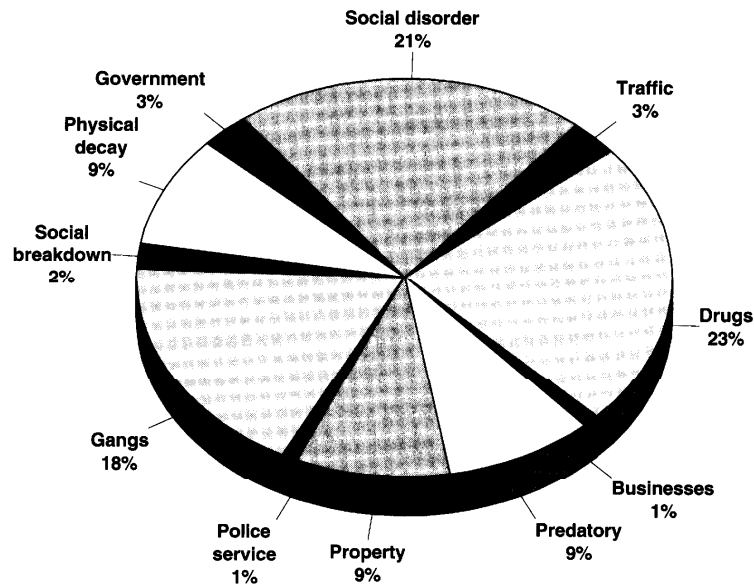
while 40 percent reported attending one or more other types of crime-related meetings in the previous four months. Twenty-five percent had met with local business owners about crime, 14 percent participated in a “positive loitering exercise,” and 13 percent participated in a CAPS rally in the previous four months.

A comparison of the involvement of different demographic groups in community policing-related activities found relatively small differences between groups. Home owners were more involved and active than renters. Those age 65 or older were the most active of all age groups in terms of beat and training meeting attendance. Better-off respondents were more likely to urge meeting attendance and teach others community policing, but less likely to attend additional training sessions themselves. On the other hand, white respondents attended beat and training meetings more than blacks or Hispanics, but were the least likely to urge others to attend meetings or to teach others about community policing. While Hispanics were the least likely to attend any of the meeting types we asked about, they were more enthusiastic about community policing in other ways. For example, 86 percent of Hispanic respondents urged others to attend training sessions, while 78 percent tried to teach others about community policing. Thus, their lower meeting attendance numbers may reflect language barriers rather than a lack of interest or an unwillingness to work with police. In fact, compared to blacks and whites, Hispanics were slightly more likely to give the police instructors at the training sessions “excellent” ratings, and slightly less likely to give “excellent” ratings to the civilian instructors.

Identifying and Solving Neighborhood Problems

The main portion of the interview dealt with the problems affecting the respondents’ neighborhoods and what they had tried to do about those problems. Each respondent was asked to identify the most important problems affecting their own neighborhood over the past four months, and to limit themselves to the top three problems if there were more than three. Six percent reported that their neighborhood did not have any important problems, 45 percent listed one, 32 percent listed two, and 17 percent listed three problems. All together, the 354 participants interviewed listed 693 problems. While respondents were not asked to rank their neighborhoods’ problems in order of importance, approximately 60 percent of the problems listed first had to do with drugs or gangs, while less than 20 percent of problems listed second or third had to do with drugs or gangs. The neighborhood problems mentioned by training participants were classified using the same categories that were used to characterize the problems listed by beat meeting participants. Problems having to do with property and violent crime made up 12 percent of first-listed problems, 20 percent of second-listed problems, and 14 percent of third-listed problems. Figure 7, on the following page, shows the distribution of all 693 problems they mentioned.

Figure 7
Distribution of Problems
 Breakdown of problems mentioned by category



Source: Survey of 354 training participants (weighted data).

Not surprisingly, different categories of people were found to be concerned about different types of neighborhood problems, as shown in Table 6. College graduates were about twice as likely to report property or predatory crimes and social breakdown as problems in their neighborhood than would those who did not graduate high school. Drugs and gangs were of more concern to those who are poor than to those in higher income categories, while the better-off were more concerned than the poor with physical decay and social breakdown in their neighborhoods. No one in the poorest group listed social breakdown problems such as poverty or racism, but that category represented 6 percent of all problems listed by those who were part of a household with an annual income exceeding \$60,000. People aged 65 or older were about twice as likely to report that social disorder and traffic problems plagued their neighborhoods, while adults aged 30-49 were about twice as likely to be concerned with gangs and property crime than were the elderly.

African-Americans, Hispanics, and whites who attended training sessions were all roughly equally concerned about social disorder and predatory crime in their neighborhoods. However, examining the problems listed by different racial groups reveals the largest differences of any group comparisons. While 35 percent of African-Americans reported problems related to drugs,

that problem was of concern only to about 12 percent of whites and Hispanics. African-Americans and Hispanics were more concerned by problems with government services than were whites. Hispanics were most concerned with gangs (37 percent), while whites and African-Americans were less than half as likely to report concern about that problem in their neighborhoods. The problems mentioned by white participants were more diverse. Their most commonly reported problem (social disorder) represented one-fifth of all problems reported by whites, which is relatively low compared to the most commonly reported problems of blacks and Hispanics, each of which represented more than one-third of all problems reported. Whites were also more than twice as likely to report concern about property crime, traffic, and social breakdown than either blacks or Hispanics.

Overall, attempts had been made to solve 63 percent of the 693 problems listed. There were differences across demographic groups in terms of the likelihood of trying to solve problems. Males were more likely to report trying to solve a problem than were females (71 percent versus 56 percent). The longer people had lived in their current neighborhood, the more likely they were to try to solve problems. There were no important differences across levels of education or between home renters and owners. However, there were differences across income groups. Those living in households with an annual income of less than \$10,000 tried to solve problems half of the time, while those in households with an annual income of \$40,000 or more tried to solve problems three-fourths of the time. Half the Hispanics attempted to solve the neighborhood problems they listed, while about two-thirds of whites and blacks tried to solve the problems they had listed.

The most important factor distinguishing those who did and did not attempt to solve problems was their level of involvement in community, religious, civic, or charitable organizations. The more involved they were, the more they did. Among those who reported that they did not belong to any organizations (19 percent of the total), 48 percent indicated they tried to solve a problem. If they listed one, two or three organizations, they tried to solve the problem 63 percent of the time. If they were involved in four or more organizations (15 percent of those we interviewed were), they tried to solve the problem 80 percent of the time. There were few differences in problem solving among those who indicated they were involved in the different kinds of organizations on our list, probably in part because half of those interviewed were involved in multiple kinds of groups. However, involvement in problem solving was highest among those who indicated they belonged to a business association. The survey also revealed that trainees who were more involved in the organizational life of their community were also more likely to go to beat meetings, and to have attended other kinds of CAPS-related activities as well. As we will note among the conclusions presented below, these findings have a great deal of significance for the design of future training programs.

Table 6
Most Important Neighborhood Problems by Demographic Groups*

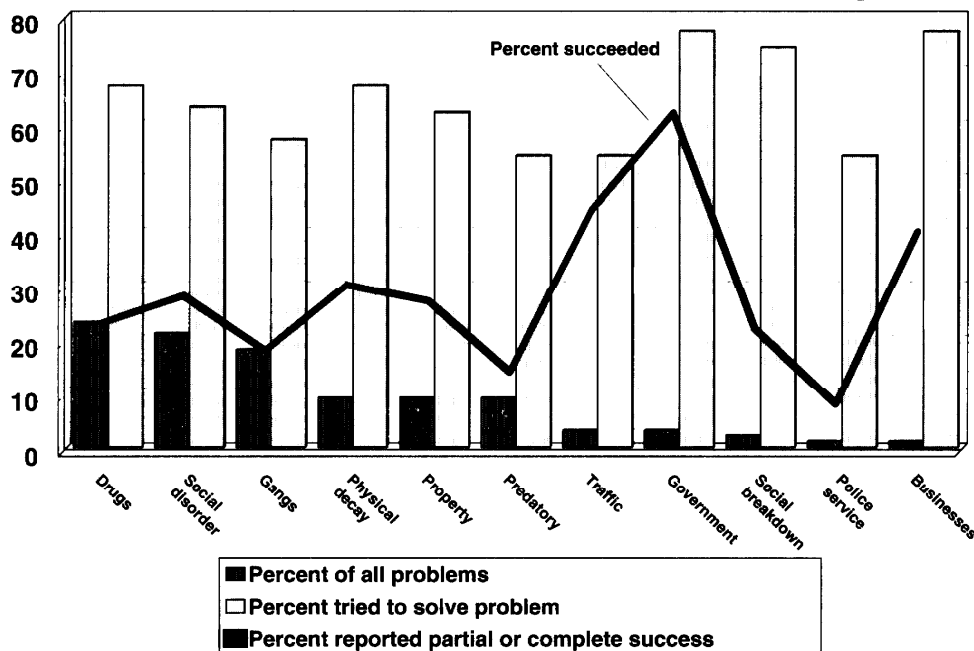
PROBLEM	Education		Income			Race			Age	
	% less than high	% college graduate	% less than \$10,000	% \$20,000 to \$39,999	% \$60,000 or more	% black	% Hispanic	% white	% 30 through 49	% 65 or older
Drugs (selling or use)	28	20	29	22	21	35	12	12	20	19
Social Disorder (prostitution, panhandling)	22	18	16	21	20	23	18	20	17	28
Gangs (wars, intimidation)	19	15	22	21	16	14	37	16	21	11
Physical Decay (graffiti, abandoned bldgs.)	12	12	7	8	15	5	14	13	11	11
Property (burglary, car theft)	7	14	8	10	5	6	5	15	11	6
Predatory (robbery, rape)	3	11	11	10	8	8	9	9	9	9
Traffic (parking, speeding)	4	3	1	2	3	2	1	5	3	6
Government (streetlights out, trash collection)	2	1	2	1	1	4	3	1	2	5
Social Breakdown (poverty, racism)	2	4	0	2	6	1	1	4	3	2
Police Service (slow response, more patrols)	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Businesses (sales to minors, rowdy customers)	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	1

*Computed using a weighted sample of 693 problems. Columns total 100%.

Figure 8 displays the distribution of problems (repeated from Figure 7), the percent who attempted to find a solution for each category of problem in the previous four months, and the percent who reported partial or complete success at solving that problem within the same period. More often than not, people tried to do something about their neighborhood's problems. At the low end, there were attempts made to solve 54 percent of the predatory, traffic, and police service problems and 57 percent of gang problems, while 77 percent of the government and business problems and 74 percent of social breakdown problems were tackled. In the middle were drugs, social disorder, physical decay, and property crime problems, for which training participants tried to do something between 62 and 67 percent of the time.

On average, 26 percent of all problems were partially or completely solved during the four-month follow-up period. The jaggedness of the black line in Figure 8 indicates that there was some variation across problems. While 9 percent of police service problems and 15 percent of predatory crime problems were solved at least partially, 63 percent of government problems, 45 percent of traffic problems, and 41 percent of business problems were tackled with some degree of success. It is not surprising that respondents were most successful at solving these problems, because they are clearly defined, they involve discrete incidents, and their solution often involved complaining to someone (usually their alderman or to the mayor's office) who had the authority and power to solve that problem. However, as Figures 7 and 8 make clear, these problems constituted a very small minority of problems concerning Chicagoans.

Figure 8
Success at Problem Solving



Source: Survey of 354 training participants (weighted data).

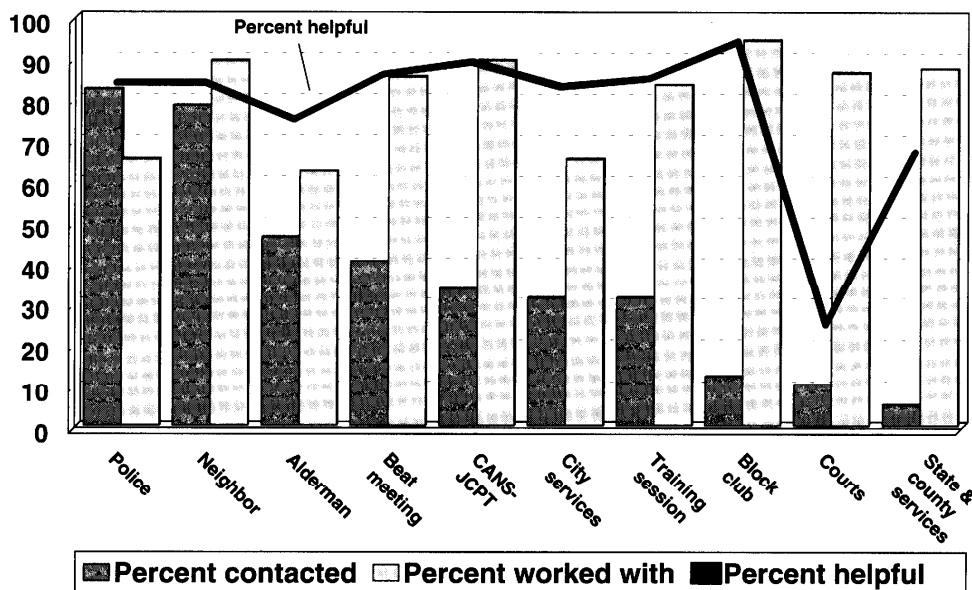
The extremely low 9 percent success rate reported in solving another low-frequency problem, police service, appears rather low given the comparability of such problems to those having to do with government services or business practices, for which success rates were quite high. However, many of the complaints about police service were not specifically targeted to one event or problem location. Complaints against businesses typically involved the disruptive or illegal practices of a lone establishment. Similarly, complaints against city services dealt with a missing stop sign near one's home, or unreliable garbage collection on one's street. On the other hand, complaints about police service were broad in scope, such as demanding more police on Chicago's streets or criticizing police for a perceived disrespect for minorities. What remains troubling, however, is that problems such as social breakdown and gangs were more often successfully addressed than problems with the police, and certainly these problems can be characterized as pervasive in scope, extending beyond mere incidents. Overall, though, police service complaints made up only about 1 percent of all problems listed.

We were also interested in the types of organizations and agencies that people sought problem-solving help from. We asked whether they had worked with those organizations to solve them, whether those organizations took over the problem once it was brought to their attention, and whether organizations were helpful in solving the problem. Figure 9, on the following page, summarizes the findings.

Ninety-three percent had tried to contact at least one outside source of help beyond their own families. Shown in descending order in Figure 9 are the organizations and groups contacted. Respondents were asked if they had contacted neighbors, police, courts, city services, county or state services, their alderman, and CANS or JCPT staff. Respondents also had the opportunity to list other sources of help. The three most common unprompted sources were beat meetings, training sessions, and block clubs, which are also displayed in Figure 9.

Neighbors and police were frequently contacted by those suffering from almost all kinds of problems. Training participants faced with drug, social disorder, gang, physical decay, property crime, predatory crime, and business problems, which combined make up 90 percent of all problems in the sample, all turned to neighbors and police as their top two sources of help. Those with traffic and government service problems turned to their alderman first, then to police and neighbors. Those with social breakdown concerns turned to their neighbors, then to beat meetings and the police. Finally, those with police service complaints turned to their beat meetings and the police.

Figure 9
Partners in Problem Solving
 Percent who contacted, worked with, and were helped by each partner



Source: Survey of 354 training participants (weighted data).

Mostly, activists did not simply “hand off” problems to others for them to solve; they usually worked on them in partnership instead. With the exception of police, alderman, and city services, more than 80 percent of those trying to solve problems reported working with the groups and organizations they contacted, rather than simply referring their problems to them and having them taken over. And even the police, aldermen, and city services were reported to have worked with citizens in more than 60 percent of cases. When asked if they were “helpful” or “not helpful,” citizens also reported a high degree of helpfulness by the groups and organizations they contacted. Nine of the 10 groups and organizations that were asked about received “helpful” ratings from at least 68 percent of respondents who had dealt with them, and seven of the nine were rated “helpful” by more than 80 percent. The exception was the courts, which were rated “helpful” by a low 26 percent.

Finally, residents were asked to rate their community’s total effort in solving this problem, regardless of whether or not the problem was actually solved. Two percent of those who tried to solve problems without any outside help rated their community “excellent,” compared to 17 percent of those who sought outside help. In all, 43 percent thought their community’s effort was “good” or “excellent,” while 53 percent ranked their community’s effort as “average” or “poor.” The most favorable ratings (over 70 percent helpful) were given by those whose problems involved government service or business problems, which were the also most likely to be solved. Only 20 percent of those whose problems included police services ranked their community

positively, which is not surprising given the low proportion of police problems that were solved. Also, being helped by organizations and groups appears to be related to community ratings. Those who rated their community's effort favorably were more likely to have reported that groups and organizations that they worked with were helpful in solving their problem. For example, 37 percent of those who rated their community poorly also reported that the police were not helpful, while only 12 percent of those who rated their community positively reported not being helped by the police. More dramatically, 100 percent of those who rated their community positively also rated courts as being "helpful," while no one who rated their community's effort negatively rated courts as "helpful."

Recommendations for Training

The training process had an uneven beginning, largely due to the innovativeness of the project. Last minute budget cuts and unforeseen circumstances that prevented police and civilian trainers from beginning together also were contributing factors. Had a detailed curriculum been developed at the outset, and had police and civilian trainers been cotrained with it and start teaching simultaneously, many communication problems could have been avoided and training most likely would have been more consistent. After October 1995, when trainers were cotrained with the revised curriculum, they had a clearer mutual understanding of training expectations and improved communication with one another. Furthermore, learning about one another enabled civilian and police trainers to better understand each other's perspectives and the constraints faced by each, though misunderstandings and tensions still arose. The monthly trainers' meetings begun in November 1995 provided an opportunity for the trainers to continue to develop good working relationships, important to the project goal of working together in the spirit of partnership. They were also an effective means of communicating internal JCPT issues to supervisors and, at times, addressing issues with each other. These meetings should continue for the duration of the training. The trainer supervisors' meetings, also begun in November, were a valuable adjunct, and served to support trainer recommendations.

After October 1995 our observations indicated that, for the most part, key concepts were communicated successfully though they were not always presented in a standardized manner. Our observations also suggest that the diversity of training situations calls for some flexibility in the presentation of the curriculum. One difficulty faced in many training situations is that an array of citizens with varying levels of experience often attend; for some participants the training may be perceived as too easy, while others may be confused by or have difficulty retaining some of the concepts. We have seen that participants affiliated with community organizations were most likely to make use of the training and go on to active involvement at beat meetings. This raises the question of whether these participants were more committed and felt a greater incentive to participate, or were simply more experienced and better able to assimilate what they were learning than residents new to CAPS concepts and community organizing. While the importance of thorough coverage of the curriculum content should not be overlooked, these other complicating factors should also be weighed and perhaps addressed in future training efforts.

One of the goals of the training was to demonstrate an effective partnership between police and civilian trainers. Successful training partnerships formed in some beats early in the process. In other beats, however, trainers were paired with one another for only one or two sessions (and not always successfully), or training was conducted by only one half of the partnership, with mixed results. Permanent, compatible training teams should be designated to allow co-trainers to develop complementary training styles and to ensure continuity in the beat. Training dates should continue to be set jointly by civilian and police trainers in cooperation with community members so that, again, whenever possible, the same pair of trainers is able to conclude the training series they start. It is recommended that new teams concentrate on advance preparation together, and if possible, consistently work together in an area so that they can more effectively develop and maintain relationships with local residents.

More communication within the Chicago Police Department is needed about JCPT so that all police officers are fully aware of the program. The trainers' initiatives regarding strategizing for training in new districts are commendable. Their plan to meet with district commanders and explain JCPT at roll call should be carried out. Internal Chicago Police Department communications should be used to impart information about the training project as often as possible.

Our preliminary training evaluation report (Kaiser, 1995) found that CAPS training for police officers assigned to the districts did not adequately cover working with the community; that their training would have been enhanced by exercises such as mock beat meetings and mock beat team meetings, and videos of actual beat meetings. JCPT was intended to complement that training, yet for many officers, the two stints of training were separated by a year or more, which may have diluted the effect of the original training. It also appears that the importance of participating in JCPT has not been communicated to or internalized by all beat officers. For these reasons and, also, lack of experience and at times perhaps even aptitude, some beat officers were not prepared to participate in problem solving with community members at JCPT sessions. Reinforcement of their training and assistance in implementing CAPS should be provided in each district by personnel experienced with the program, as soon as possible. Consideration should be given to the JCPT trainers' offers to assist at beat meetings and beat team meetings, and additional support opportunities should be developed in the future. One possibility might be to assign one civilian and police trainer team per district to make themselves available for training support as requested by police and the community, in addition to providing regular beat training in their district. This tactic would have a number of benefits, including the opportunity for the training team to develop a strong and supportive partnership, and to get to know citizens and police officers in their district well. Likewise, provisions could be made for sergeants and lieutenants to receive supplementary training to help them implement the program. Perhaps in addition to the beat meeting component of training, beat team meetings might receive some instruction from the training team on how to handle issues that may arise at beat meetings. In-service for beat officers covering how to run a beat meeting would be a step in the right direction.

Overall, more training sessions were observed to be successful than not. In general, they were ones in which participants were stakeholders in the community; residents were already active in the community and understood the purpose of JCPT; trainers were credible, compatible, and

well prepared; the training was interactive; and beat officers or other local police participated. The few less successful training sessions observed — some of the early ones — either dragged on too long, the presentation was not clear, the trainer was disrespectful toward participants, or participants were unwilling to take on responsibility for problem solving. Orientation session participants were generally representative of district populations as described by the 1990 census, and most appeared interested in the training and in the empowerment it promised. Trainers believe that other indicators of the training's success are increased citizen awareness and the visible improvements achieved in neighborhoods citywide.

Implementing a citywide training program in a city as large and as diverse as Chicago has been difficult, because of the multiple cultures involved. The city's cultural diversity requires a broader range of skills than many trainers possess, such as bilingualism. As training expands to more beats, methods to assess and target market needs will have to be developed, and consideration given to the resulting impact on organizers, trainers, and materials. An example of one such creative strategy was identifying key residents to serve as interpreters (Chinese, Korean, Polish, Russian, and Lithuanian) at multilingual training sessions. For unmet needs, obtaining translators through the city's Department of Human Services could be considered. Beat and neighborhood relations officers might also be able to support this goal as well as help trainers identify well-connected residents.

There appeared to be widespread confusion about the intent of the training. Some residents already active in local community organizations felt threatened by the presence of JCPT trainers in their neighborhoods, fearing a loss of power or displacement of their leaders. Also, members of some community organizations resented CANS's role in training, and the fact that their organization didn't receive funding to support CAPS participation. These factors at times caused friction and divisiveness among residents and between community groups, with repercussions in the city's political arena. While general community support is needed for JCPT to succeed in the long run, our evaluation surveys found that members of community organizations are particularly valuable CAPS assets. Contact should be made with established neighborhood problem-solving groups, local community organizations, as well as the general public to clarify the purpose of JCPT and spark participation. Our evaluation found that CAPS participants involved with community organizations were much more likely to follow through on problem-solving efforts. This was an important finding because from the outset of JCPT, there was debate on the appropriate target audience for training. While the Chicago Police Department was committed to making it widely and uniformly available to all residents, CANS felt strongly that the success of training and the likelihood of gaining sustained involvement from community participants was dependent on targeting members of community organizations or activists in other community networks. In terms of "the bottom line" — involvement in problem solving — the latter were the more productive target for the program. However, while it is comforting to know that participants linked with neighborhood organizations are quite likely to become actively involved, the challenge of involving less networked citizens remains.

At this writing, the Chicago Police Department is interested in determining whether problems associated with citizen training are related to deficiencies in the training model or its

implementation, since they are in the process of determining what form this training will take in 1997 and beyond. At this point, it appears there are strengths and obstacles to both aspects of training.

At its best, the training process is a substantive resource for citizens which encourages and facilitates CAPS involvement. The curriculum is a comprehensive one that amply addresses key CAPS concepts; it is often presented by committed police and civilian trainers who have formed effective and trusting partnerships, and who are enthusiastic and adept at conveying the curriculum, and inspiring citizen cooperation. However, the smooth delivery of training and full realization of its potential has been impeded in a variety of ways throughout the life of JCPT.

Many of these issues stem from the great deal of diversity in citizens receiving training, which is very difficult to consistently manage. Aside from cultural, socioeconomic and language matters that arose and complicated training sessions, the curriculum was too easy for some and too complex for others, depending on the participants' experience. Additionally, residents vary greatly in the amount of time they can devote to training attendance and CAPS participation. Merging training sessions into beat meetings would make strides in cutting down the number of sessions residents are expected to attend and might also facilitate ongoing involvement — particularly for newcomers who might not otherwise find their way to beat meetings. A corollary effect might be relief for some beat officers who have expressed frustration (whether justified or not) over their belief that some residents receiving JCPT do not attend beat meetings.

Trainers have also demonstrated varying degrees of talent and commitment. Some trainers had internalized the materials, formed robust and resilient training teams, and were adept at responding to challenges that arose during training sessions. Others were considerably less confident, invested and adroit, and repeatedly seemed to fall short of connecting with residents attending the sessions. Some trainers came across as patronizing, disorganized or hurrying through the curriculum. Other trainers were consistently able to gauge and meet the needs of the group with whom they are working. These differences resulted in great variation in the quality of training delivered.

At times the curriculum content or guidelines seemed to cause some confusion for residents and perhaps even beat officers. In the most salient example, there were several instances at training sessions when the CAPS definition of a neighborhood problem — a chronic condition or a recurring series of incidents — was not readily understood by citizens. Sometimes, within a session or two, people might revert to their own definition of what a neighborhood problem was, regardless of whether it fit the CAPS definition. There were reports of citizens choosing a problem to work on and beginning to brainstorm for solutions, only to be informed at the next session that beat officers had decided that their choice was not a problem, and that they would need to find another. Sometimes tension developed when there were two distinct opinions on what problem the entire group should address. Usually trainers were able to defuse misunderstandings or disagreements, but at times there were lingering bad feelings, and probably some related attrition.

Another problem that seemed to plague JCPT was organized and effective allocation of resources; some better-equipped beats received more training than they needed because they wanted and asked for it (and were likely a pleasure to work with), while others with more pressing, if unarticulated, needs were short-changed. These consequences were not purposeful, but the problem was not anticipated during the planning period, and not effectively dealt with when it surfaced. Chicago Police Department and CANS personnel took strides to do so when they realized that time and resources were running out, and they did an analysis of remaining beats to determine if some of those beats had less extensive training needs. Those deemed less needy were then designated to receive the much briefer combined training. An alternative that might still serve them well in the future would be to initially identify beats with amplified training needs and then ensure that these needs are addressed on a priority basis.

A related difficulty was at times evident in efforts to organize participant involvement. A significant portion of training resources was devoted to canvassing beats to encourage people to attend meetings, which was much easier in some areas than others. Two counterproductive effects sometimes resulted from organizer efforts. In some beats, JCPT staff were able to get a fairly large number of participants to attend a training session, but it was often unclear if these participants had the tools or inclination to make real contributions to CAPS. Sometimes these participants were nonmainstream residents who may not have had much else to do, were merely interested in the refreshments sometimes offered at training sessions, or were new residents (who may not have spoken English or Spanish proficiently) just hoping to meet people. Some civilian trainers and CANS staff even thought that their organizers might have assembled a greater than average number of residents who were unhappy with the police and motivated to attend to air their grievances. In the majority of these cases disgruntled residents did not appear primarily interested in being trained to play a role in community-police problem-solving efforts. In other instances, JCPT organizers may have thought they had recruited a certain number of participants, but few, if any, who agreed to come would appear at the training session. While training should be marketed to all beat residents, special efforts need to be made to identify key residents through as many methods as possible. These methods should routinely include working together with neighborhood relations and beat officers for recommendations, as well as contacting community organizations in the area — from block clubs and other neighborhood groups to any other group with a mission or purpose that might be served by or supportive of CAPS.

Another area that stymied some training efforts were logistical and communication issues. For the most part, police trainers were considerably more constrained in their ability to flexibly schedule sessions at the community's request. Additionally, all police trainers had other responsibilities that at times diverted their energy and attention from training issues. Civilian trainers sometimes interpreted these realities as a lack of commitment from the department, and at times, resentment developed. In turn, police trainers were frustrated that civilian trainers were not more understanding of their organizational responsibilities. It also took a while for civilian and police trainers to find effective methods for communicating amongst themselves, especially when it came to scheduling of sessions. Training sessions that were scheduled and canceled several times caused residents to eventually become exasperated.

With these criticisms in mind, the Joint Community-Policing Training project still appears to have provided participants with some immediate benefits: improved problem-solving skills and hands-on experience in cooperative problem solving at the neighborhood level. By involving residents and other neighborhood stakeholders at the grassroots level, a true partnership might yet emerge in which police and the community share responsibility for solving crime and disorder problems. In almost every beat, there is still a great deal of work to be done to accomplish truly sophisticated joint problem solving, but great strides have been made in the face of the compelling challenges noted in this section. Not the least of these challenges is the fact that the Chicago Police Department was sailing uncharted waters; as it developed its community policing program, there was no existing body of research to which they could turn for answers on what would improve citizen training. They had to make educated guesses, and use trial and error techniques. Anticipated long-term benefits to these efforts include producing more organized, involved communities and building the capacity within the community for long-range problem solving, since it is clear police alone cannot resolve the city's crime problems. As noted by Sadd and Grinc (1994), "Without meaningful involvement of patrol officers in the planning process, participation by all city agencies, and true community involvement, community policing will fail to realize its potential. Thus among the most difficult tasks for the future are. . .building trust between the police and residents of communities where there is a history of antagonistic relationships; and stimulating community involvement in the planning and implementation of community policing from the outset." Chicago's community policing effort is grappling with those challenges. Other cities and community policing projects will be able to learn from and make use of these experiences, which is an advantage the key players in the JCPT project don't have. They are, however, keenly aware of their role as pioneers.

Community Mobilization Around CAPS

In this and previous evaluation reports we have documented the important role that community organizations have to play in CAPS. The 1995 report described the extensive involvement of local organizations in sustaining popular participation in beat meetings by passing out flyers, hosting meetings, and urging members and others to attend. In some districts groups got involved early in educating residents about CAPS and trying to raise its profile in the local media. In most they worked closely with beat officers and helped identify service needs. In that report we saw the importance of organizations in sustaining involvement in neighborhood problem solving. Beat meeting participants who were active in community groups were much more likely to do something about the problems that plagued their area, as were those who participated in JCPT training.

This section describes briefly some of the factors that lie behind this organizational involvement. (For a more detailed analysis see Bennett, 1996). It examines the "political capacity" of communities, and how that shapes the opportunities residents have for exerting influence over the course of their lives, in part by getting involved in CAPS. Political capacity is the ability "to aggregate and articulate the interests of neighborhood residents," in conjunction with the capability "of producing public goods or alleviating public harms" (Crenson 1978). Neighborhood

political capacity could influence the effectiveness of CAPS in at least two ways. First, communities with more political capacity should have more individual residents with the skills and experience needed to act effectively in arenas of collective decision-making. Second, communities with more political capacity can provide residents with resources that will enable them to take on the role of partner in CAPS more readily. That is, residents in these communities should not be as dependent on the police for identifying or analyzing community problems, or for resolving them.

The political capacity of a community is a complex phenomenon and, therefore, difficult to assess. One indicator of political capacity is the number of local community-based organizations (CBOs) in which residents are actively involved in decision-making roles. These organizations are the focus of this section. Not all CBOs have equal political capacity, however. To develop a better assessment of a community's political capacity, we also considered their organizational features. The first characteristic was the extent of available organization resources (staff, office space, and phone). Second was the number and variety of ways they raised money (dues, fundraisers, and external funders) to support the organization. The third characteristic was the development of formal organizational structures, measured by the presence of committees, officers, and boards of directors. The fourth and fifth characteristics were the dimensions of the networks the organization had established with other organizations. An organization's network reflects both the number and intensity of its linkages to others. A horizontal network is the extent to which the organization has linkages to other organizations and agencies within the community; a vertical network involves linkages to organizations and agencies located outside of the community. Networks reflect an organization's ability to work with other groups and to mobilize resources beyond those controlled directly by the organization.

The presence of other institutions, agencies, and businesses in the community may also facilitate the development of political capacity within a community. The section therefore includes a brief discussion of the extent of these resources as well.

We examined these issues in two Chicago police districts: District 14 and District 20. District 14 provided a setting for exploring the political capacity of Latino communities, for we have noted in earlier reports that CAPS awareness and participation is lowest among the city's Hispanic residents. District 20 provided an opportunity to examine the political capacity of a very diverse community, and its influence on CAPS participation there. Because these districts were large and heterogeneous, we focused primarily on one community area in each: Humboldt Park in District 14, and Uptown in District 20. However, activities in other parts of these districts inevitably affected what went on there, and many of our interviews and observations involved these other areas.

To identify CBOs, we constructed an inventory using all the published lists, telephone directories, and building directories we could examine, adding to them reports by community leaders and CBOs already in our sample. A staff member or key informant was interviewed about each organization. We conducted a total of 43 interviews with community-based organizations. Because district and community area boundaries do not always fit those of the organizations, not

all CBOs we interviewed fell within the boundaries of District 14 or District 20. The discussion in this section is based on 20 interviews with CBOs in District 20 and 11 interviews with CBOs in District 14. Our inventory of the local institutions, social service agencies, and active businesses in the communities also was based on telephone directories, building directories, and listings by local Chambers of Commerce and similar organizations. In addition we did a drive-through survey of streets in the areas. We conducted the resource inventory only for the two focus communities, Humboldt Park and Uptown, and undoubtedly did not even fully list all of the institutions and organizations there.

To measure CAPS participation, we used data gleaned from internal police reports of beat meetings — the same source of data examined earlier in this report. A total of 165 beat meetings in District 14 and 103 beat meetings in District 20 were included. As above, participation levels were measured by the rate at which residents attended beat community meetings in the districts. Another indicator was the presence of representatives of block clubs and other community organizations at the meetings. Evidence of problem-solving or partnership development in the two districts was less direct. On the assumption that areas with greater political capacity will define problems more broadly and comprehensively, we examined measures of the number of topics discussed, the number of new issues raised at each beat meeting, the number of old issues resolved and the number of requests police received for information not related to crime.

Community Profiles

Overall, the 14th District was home to 132,000 people. According to the 1990 Census, the section of the district comprising Humboldt Park was 49 percent African-American and 44 percent Hispanic. By contrast, better than 60 percent of the residents of the other communities overlapping the 14th District, Logan Square and West Town were Latino; African-Americans represented less than one-tenth of the population in both areas. Twelve percent of the residents of Humboldt Park did not speak English, and the comparable figure for West Town was 21 percent, and for Logan Square, 18 percent. The majority of households in all three communities were families, rather than single individuals. Humboldt Park had the highest proportion of female-headed families — 41 percent of all families compared to 33 percent in West Town and 28 percent in Logan Square. Only about half of the residents of the three areas had a high school diploma, and per capita income ranged from \$6,905 in Humboldt Park to \$8,846 in Logan Square. About one-third of the households in Humboldt Park and West Town lived at or below the poverty level, as did about one-fourth of those in Logan Square. As one might expect, most residents in all three communities were renters.

The 20th District overlapped three Chicago communities, Uptown, Lincoln Square, and Edgewater. In 1990 the district had a population of 102,000. Lincoln Square was the smallest and most homogeneous population of the three: 60 percent were white, 23 percent Latino, and 13 percent Asian. Edgewater held the middle ground in size and diversity, while Uptown had the largest and the most diverse population. About 24 percent of Uptown's residents were African-Americans, 23 percent were Latinos, and 14 percent were Asians. Uptown also was home to the

city's largest concentration of Native Americans, though that group makes up a small percentage of the population. The proportion of residents not fluent in English ranged from 13 percent in Uptown to 8 percent in Edgewater; unlike District 14, however, they typically were fluent in languages other than Spanish as well. Of the three communities, only Lincoln Square had a strong family atmosphere. In Lincoln Square, 59 percent of households were made up of families, compared to 42 percent in Edgewater and 43 percent in Uptown. About 20 percent of families in Lincoln Square and Edgewater had female heads, a proportion that reached 30 percent in Uptown. A substantial minority of residents in all three communities did not complete high school (20 percent in Edgewater and about 29 percent in Uptown and Lincoln Square), but unlike the 14th District this was balanced by similar proportions with college degrees. Edgewater had the highest per capita income (\$16,261), followed by Lincoln Square at \$13,091, and Uptown at \$12,389. Income differences between ethnic groups were particularly striking in Uptown. There, average per capita income for African Americans was 54 percent of that for whites, and Latinos' average income was only 37 percent of that of whites.

Institutional Capacity

Local institutions, social service agencies, and businesses constitute resources that contribute to a community's political development. Local institutions such as schools and churches, and local businesses provide opportunities for residents to interact, get to know one another, and develop a sense of community identity. Local institutions also provide opportunities for collective decision making and leadership development. On a more practical level, both local institutions and businesses often provide resources for community-based organizations, such as meeting space, staff support, financial support, and in-kind donations like photocopying or supplies for a block party.

The role of social service agencies in a community's political capacity is less clear. Some community organizers believe that social services have a negative effect on a community's political development as it promotes a passive, client role among residents. Our 1994 report concluded that service-providing agencies that dealt with residents as clients rather than as constituents were less likely than many others to get involved in CAPS. On the other hand, social service agencies are a source of needed support for residents, and they often advocate on behalf of the community in other arenas. Service agencies contribute more to political capacity when they involve residents in decision making, and in a few instances it was clear that residents were included in decision making for agencies in these two districts; they have been classified, therefore, among the community-based organizations.

Humboldt Park's local institutions and agencies reflected its ethnic composition. The area's three major cultural centers served the Puerto Rican community, and the two public high schools in the area were named after Hispanic notables. One of the high schools featured a curriculum based in Puerto Rican culture and history. Almost all the recreational opportunities in the community were provided by the high school and one large park. The area also included six religiously affiliated schools, a vocational center, and a private college. We found 36 social service

agencies in Humboldt Park, seven of which had Latino names. Twelve agencies focused on youth and family services and six provided health services. The community also had four hospitals and at least 35 churches. The churches play an important role in community activities; several of the priests came to the community from Latin America with a commitment to liberation theology, which led to their work in community organizing. The most common businesses in the area were small, locally owned auto repair and auto parts supply stores, beauty salons and barber shops, medical and dental offices, restaurants, and food and liquor stores.

By our accounting, Uptown featured 92 social service agencies. This concentration of service agencies in the area has become a political issue for segments of the community who fear they attract service-dependent populations. Of the 92 social service agencies, 25 appealed to particular ethnic groups or to immigrants. Some of these functioned as mutual aid societies, combining service provision or assistance with community organizing. At least six other agencies focused specifically on cultural programs. The kinds of services provided by service agencies in the area varied widely. Among them were a lesbian cancer project, assistance for AIDS and HIV-positive individuals, counseling, substance abuse programs, and assistance for low-income families and individuals. Six agencies targeted community youth and an equal number targeted senior citizens. At least four agencies provided services for the area's substantial homeless population. Uptown also houses three large hospitals, four nursing or convalescent homes, three medical centers, and one rehabilitation center. Of particular use to the community are a magnet high school, and a large city college that offers a broad spectrum of courses, including English as a Second Language and programs that contribute to students' employment prospects. There were also 10 theater companies and a museum in the Uptown area — unusual resources for a community. The commercial success story of the area is New Chinatown, an area with numerous small Asian businesses. Business development is more spotty elsewhere in the community. Small businesses, convenience grocery stores, and discount shops dominate the commercial areas, which are poorly maintained. However, the community has four department stores and three large supermarkets that provide attractive shopping options.

Overall, Uptown seemed to have an edge over Humboldt Park in terms of the institutional resources available to residents and, therefore, the political capacity of the community. The presence of several cultural institutions, a magnet school, a public college, and more developed commercial areas gave the community more opportunities for interacting and developing a community identity. In addition, the Uptown institutions seemed to reflect a broader spectrum of the community's diversity than did those in Humboldt Park. However, Uptown also had more than twice the number of social service agencies as Humboldt Park, and if analysts are correct about their potentially negative effect on political capacity, the concentration of these agencies in the area may undermine participation in CAPS.

Organizational Capacity

We encountered a wide range of CBOs in the two districts. This is reflected in the missions of these organizations, which are summarized in Table 7. In both districts, the most

frequent mission was community empowerment and advocacy, though this was more common in District 20. Two other common organizational missions were community economic development (primarily in the area of housing) and providing services to clients and constituents. Groups that focused on youths or youth gangs were more common in District 14. We only identified one organization that described itself as a public safety group.

Mission	District 14		District 20	
	Percentage	# of cases	Percentage	# of cases
Commercial development	9	1	10	2
Community empowerment and advocacy	27	3	50	10
Community economic development	22	2	35	7
Diversity-cultural issues	9	1	15	3
Neighborhood preservation and beautification	0	0	10	2
Ombudsman role	9	1	0	0
Public safety	0	0	5	1
Service provision	22	2	20	4
Youth/gangs	22	2	5	1
Total	120	12	150	30
Note: Percentage columns total more than 100% due to multiple missions.				

Table 8, on the following page, considers the distribution of CBOs by type across the two districts. First it classifies them in terms of the formality with which they were organized. The most formal of the CBOs were those with committees, officers, and boards of directors. Formality measures the clarity with which decision-making roles are defined and the diversity of avenues for participation in the organization's activities. It also may be easier for members to hold leaders accountable in more structured organizations. The majority of CBOs in District 20 were moderately formal; informal organization was prevalent in District 14.

In contrast, a higher proportion of organizations in District 20 reported having no resources or very few resources, measured by the extent of their staff, office equipment, and phone service. Otherwise, more than half of the organizations in both districts reported either a moderate or high level of resources.

In District 14, organizations were about evenly divided between having one and two sources of funding. A bare majority of District 20's organizations had two funding sources, though 10 percent reported having no source of funding. Many CBOs in both districts received external funding. External funding often provided more generous support than could have been obtained through membership dues or fundraising efforts. On the other hand, external funders may also place requirements or limitations (directly or indirectly) on the organization. A surprising proportion of organizations reported having no members at all. Most of them were service providers run by boards of directors that included residents. District 20 had a somewhat higher proportion of organizations with individual members (25 percent versus 18 percent in District 14).

Table 8 also assesses the extent to which these CBOs were linked via horizontal and vertical networks. Horizontal networks form ties between organizations within a community, while vertical networks link them to players outside the community. About two-thirds of the CBOs in both districts reported either moderate or high participation in horizontal (community) networks. CBOs in District 14 were more likely to report no participation in community networks, while in District 20 CBOs were more likely to report high participation. In contrast, the majority of CBOs in District 20 reported little or no participation in vertical networks, compared to about one-third in District 14. Participation in vertical networks was clearly higher among District 14 CBOs.

Another measure of networking is the status of each group regarding umbrella organizations; in our 1995 report, being a member of an umbrella organization was linked to greater involvement in CAPS. A somewhat higher proportion of organizations in District 14 CBOs fell under an umbrella in some fashion. We anticipate that ties among members of umbrella organizations will be stronger and collaborative efforts more extensive than for other network relationships. Some umbrella organizations provide a horizontal network (an umbrella group of block clubs, for instance) and others provide a vertical network (such as umbrella groups of community development organizations). Although the measures are imprecise, it appears that District 20 CBOs have a slight edge in horizontal networks, while the District 14 CBOs have a clearer edge in vertical networks.

Overall, the CBOs in Uptown appear to contribute more to the political capacity of District 20 residents than do those in Humboldt Park for District 14. Uptown's community-based organizations tend to have at least a moderate degree of formal structure, moderate to high organizational resources, multiple sources of funding, and moderate to high involvement in horizontal inter-organizational networks. They are also more likely to have the clout that comes from an individual membership base, which also provides residents with more opportunities in collective decision action and in developing leadership skills.

**Table 8
Structural Characteristics of Community Based Organizations**

Structure or Resource	District 14		District 20		
	Percentage	# of cases	Percentage	# of cases	
Formality	none	9	1	0	0
	low	27	3	15	3
	moderate	36	4	65	13
	high	9	1	20	4
	(unknown)	(18)	(2)	(0)	(0)
Resources	none	9	1	20	4
	very low	0	0	10	2
	low	18	2	5	1
	moderate	45	5	40	8
	high	18	2	25	5
	(unknown)	(9)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Funding	none	0	0	10	2
	one source	45	5	30	6
	two sources	45	5	55	11
	(unknown)	(9)	(1)	(5)	(1)
Membership Type	none	55	6	45	9
	individuals	18	2	25	5
	block clubs	0	0	5	1
	businesses	9	1	0	0
	mixed institutions	9	1	5	1
	institutions and individuals	0	0	20	4
	(unknown)	(9)	(1)	(0)	(0)
Horizontal network	none	18	2	0	0
	minimal	18	2	25	5
	moderate	45	5	35	7
	high	18	2	30	6
	(unknown)	(0)	(0)	(10)	(2)
Vertical Network	none	36	4	55	11
	minimal	18	2	20	4
	moderate	27	3	5	1
	high	9	1	5	1
	(unknown)	(9)	(1)	(15)	(3)
Umbrella Organizations	is a member	18	2	15	3
	is an umbrella organization	9	1	5	1
	both	9	1	5	1
	uninvolved	64	7	75	15

Political Capacity and CAPS

If political capacity is an important characteristic of the community context within which CAPS occurs, we would expect communities with different levels of capacity to implement CAPS in different ways. In this instance, we anticipated that District 20 would be more fully mobilized around the program; that is, there would be higher attendance at beat meetings, more discussion about problems, more resolution of problems, and residents would rely less on the police for non-crime information. Data from 268 beat meetings generally support these hypotheses.

The average rate of beat meeting attendance (per 1,000 district residents) was somewhat higher in District 20 than in District 14. Furthermore, trend data (not shown) indicates that attendance in District 14 declined during the 1994-95 period, while attendance in District 20 remained relatively stable. However, use of beat meetings by representatives of community groups showed a mixed pattern. Block clubs were represented more frequently in meetings in District 14, while other kinds of community organizations were more frequently present at District 20 meetings.

In communities with greater political capacity, we would anticipate that CAPS participants would rely less on the police for information that is not related to crime or police policies. Beat meeting logs recorded three bits of information that probed this issue: whether there had been a call for more information about city agencies or city services; if the group felt it needed more information about getting organized; and requests for other sorts of information. As Table 9 on the following page indicates, District 14 had substantially more of such requests than District 20. Similarly, organizing issues were discussed twice as often in District 14 as in District 20.

On the other hand, more issues were discussed and more new issues introduced at District 20 beat meetings than at those in District 14. We used this as an indirect measure of the comprehensiveness of the problem identification that occurred at beat meetings. Communities with more political capacity should be taking a broader, more comprehensive approach to CAPS, and should raise more issues in beat meetings than do places that have a narrower conception of community problem solving. As Table 9 indicates, District 20 beat meetings also succeeded at resolving old issues more frequently. The ability to resolve standing issues is our indicator of the effectiveness of the CAPS partnership.

In sum, it may be that the greater political capacity that Uptown and District 20 residents "bring to the table" may have speeded implementation of the program in District 20. There are, of course, many other possible explanations for the difference in participation across the two districts. Only further research will enable us to isolate the community-level factors involved in this process. However, our work to date suggests several issues that could be addressed to enhance the program's prospects.

Table 9		
Differences in Beat Meetings for Districts 14 and 20		
	District 14	District 20
Average rate of beat meeting attendance	20	28
Average number of police attending	6	7
Average number of issues discussed	2.5	3.3
Average number of new issues raised	1.9	2.2
Number of old issues resolved	1.3	1.6
Proportion of meetings with requests for info. about:		
city/city services	8	2
organization	24	8
other information	18	16
Number of meetings	(165)	(103)

Building Capacity

First, not all the groups we encountered were enthusiastically mobilized around CAPS beat meetings. Their concerns reflected the competition that almost inevitably arises between CAPS and some CBOs, and among the organizations jockeying for influence in the district. Some groups already had developed cooperative relationships with the police prior to CAPS. Some even indicated that they had been doing community policing for years, so the new program made no difference in their activities. Some groups resisted changes that CAPS might entail, mainly because they had already established a means of dealing with crime and the police, and they thought CAPS offered them no advantage, or they simply thought that CAPS would complicate their current arrangements. For example, they worried about an inability to get police officers to attend their group's own meetings or having to share such resources with other parts of the district. In particular, groups did not want to increase the number of meetings that their members needed to attend. They feared that residents would attend only so many meetings, and that even the most actively inclined would choose competitively rather than attend them all. The groups believed they might be the losers in this competition for allegiance. By threatening to upset existing organizational arrangements and spreading the community's resources more thinly across competing groups, they were concerned that CAPS might undermine their role in the community's political capacity rather than enhance it.

It was also clear that the conflicting boundaries for police activities and the CBOs were another source of local discomfort. The leader of one neighborhood association noted that her

association's boundaries fell across those for two different beats, requiring that members attend to the issues of both beats. Meetings for both beats were held outside the association's boundaries, further increasing the burden imposed on the association. The leader was concerned that CAPS was pulling the neighborhood (at least by the association's definition) in two different directions. Other CBOs found that conflicting district boundaries resulted in their working with CBOs from other communities with substantially different problems and resources (for example, the southern part of Uptown is part of District 23 along with the affluent Lincoln Park community). However, larger CBOs have already addressed the problem of dealing with multiple and conflicting boundaries, including those for political wards, school councils, and the like. Smaller CBOs, such as block clubs, often fall within a beat and so they can rather easily adapt to meetings based on beat boundaries. The boundary issue may be more pertinent for the police, who need to be familiar with how communities define their boundaries and with the differences among the communities to work effectively with them.

It was apparent as well that the twin issues of inclusiveness and the ability of organizations to engage in constructive dialog remain problematic. Inclusiveness is the extent to which community-based organizations involve all segments of the communities they serve. For example, some organizations in Uptown noted that they found it difficult to involve Asian community members in their activities. Another factor that divides residents of this community is income, a problem highlighted by conflicts in Uptown over housing gentrification. As middle-class households and upscale businesses move into the eastern end of the district, it will be more difficult for lower income families to retain their place in the community. Another leader discussed at length the difficulties of getting less educated members with a narrower range of experiences to discuss issues with better-off, better educated members with broader experiences. Often issues are framed by the latter in ways that are unrecognizable or irrelevant to the former, for the two groups base their views on fundamentally different assumptions and interests. Constructive dialog refers to the ability of CBOs to engage their members in meaningful discussions about the community and to encourage exploration of disagreements among them. Efforts at inclusiveness challenge the capacity of groups to engage in this kind of discussion and consensus building. The alternative is the further Balkanization of the city's communities along class and ethnic lines, suggesting the importance of finding ways to help groups increase their inclusiveness and internal dialogue.

Progress Toward Citywide Implementation

Introduction and Methodology

The most frequently asked question about Chicago's program is, "How is CAPS going citywide?" This is a difficult question to answer, for the program has many elements and Chicago is very large. To assess the extent of program implementation in 1996, we focused on the status of a list of specific program elements on a district- by-district basis. Using a variety of data sources we assessed the implementation of 22 specific program elements. For this report, these program elements were collapsed into eight categories:

- the efficacy of the District Advisory Committees that advise the district commander of the district level problems/issues, and the success of the subcommittees, with particular attention to court advocacy efforts
- beat meetings from the police personnel perspective; the regularity with which they are held, attendance, the extent to which beat meetings are conducted effectively, the extent of problem-solving efforts, and how well a partnership between the police and community has developed
- the management of beat integrity; that is, districts' ability to keep officers consistently at work on their beat, and the extent to which the Office of Emergency Communications (OEC) successfully managed dispatching
- the flow and successful completion of service requests by city service agencies, and the level of cooperation with the Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information
- the department's use of technology, including ICAM and crime analysis
- the development of team work and information sharing; instituting beat team meetings to plan and prioritize team efforts; the role of beat team meetings in formulating sector and district-level plans; the beat profiling process, and the use of face-to-face communication between watches to keep beat officers informed of developments on their beat
- the role of CAPS liaisons, who represent each police district at quarterly meetings to act as conduits for the exchange of information between the districts and administrators at police headquarters
- the role and assimilation of district administrative managers, who are the civilian managers who oversee district automation systems and supervise administrative personnel.

After a pilot test, we refined our procedures for assessing citywide implementation. It was apparent that we could not adequately study the entire city, so we selected a sample of 13 districts that represent Chicago as a whole. The 13 districts were chosen to represent Chicago's diverse communities. Residents of four districts were overwhelmingly African-American; those living in two of those districts were extremely poor, while people in the remaining two districts were somewhat more affluent. Two more districts were home to large concentrations of Hispanics and substantial African-American communities; another district was heavily Hispanic and otherwise occupied by whites. Two districts were made up of white middle-class homeowners. young white professionals (including many renters) were concentrated in two other districts, and two districts were extremely diverse and included representatives of most of Chicago's major groups. In all, there were three South Side districts, three West Side districts, and three North Side districts. Another district lay to the northwest, one to the southwest, one was Near North, and one Near Northwest. In three of the districts more than 7,000 people live in public housing, and in two other districts the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) houses more than 1,000 persons. About 54

percent of the population of Chicago lived in the 13 districts, and in 1994 they reported about 51 percent of all the crime in the city.

We conducted extensive personal interviews with the commanders, neighborhood relations sergeants, field lieutenants, sector sergeants, CAPS liaisons (district officers who act as CAPS information conduits), and area service coordinators (CAPS implementation office workers who work with community organizations and citizens and facilitate the delivery of city services) for each of the 13 districts in our sample. Each interview was highly structured by a guide so that we asked the same questions of each respondent. The interview process, however, allowed for the respondents to add any information they wished, which gave us the opportunity to discover and learn about program elements that might have been otherwise overlooked. Before our field period we conducted a small pilot-test in a couple of districts with our staff of personal interviewers. Each interviewer conducted a sample of interviews and independently rated the districts on the 22 implementation components. Notes were compared and relatively small discrepancies were found between ratings and were able to be resolved through discussion. Thus, our inter-rater reliability was quite high.

The personal interviews took place during May and June, 1996. During each personal interview conducted, the respondent was also asked to fill out a brief questionnaire assessing the ease of implementing a variety of CAPS components and their satisfaction with their districts' progress with the components. Each question asked the respondent to select from an "ease of implementation" scale ranging from very easy to very difficult. Additionally, for each question asked, the respondent could select from a "satisfaction with progress" scale ranging from very satisfied to very dissatisfied. These handouts were tabulated and used in our assessment of the implementation process of CAPS citywide. Also, we administered a questionnaire to the district administrative managers at one of their group meetings. For any manager not present, the questionnaire was either mailed to them with a self-addressed, stamped envelope to be returned to the evaluators, or they completed it during a time when we were conducting one of our other personal interviews at the station houses. In addition, we conducted personal interviews with a broad range of key actors both at the Chicago Police Department and City Hall about the implementation of CAPS citywide.

We also systematically observed the beat meetings in every beat in the 13 sample districts and surveyed the residents who attended. Our observers completed an observation form for each meeting they attended. The form recorded such information as who was present, where the meeting was located, the date and time of the meeting, what residents and officers said to each other about each other's responsibilities, number of problems identified, solutions proposed, actions taken, and actions evaluated. We recorded who principally led these meetings, whether an agenda, crime maps, and arrest reports were made available, and what the prevailing relationship was between the citizens and police. Additionally, the observers recorded verbatim comments and wrote extensive notes on the mood and tone of the meetings. Our observers also arranged in advance to have themselves put on the agenda to administer the resident questionnaire. The questionnaire focused on police and citizen roles and responsibilities in problem solving. The questionnaire was administered in both English and Spanish. We had a Spanish speaking observer at all meetings where there was an indication that some portion of the population spoke Spanish.

Our interviewers also made themselves available to participants who were unable to read by doing so for them and recording their responses. A few respondents chose to mail their questionnaires to the evaluation office instead of putting them in our evaluation envelope at the meeting. All questionnaires collected are completely confidential and responses will only be presented in the aggregate in this report.

We processed a range of official department data, and trend data on city service requests. In total, we conducted 63 personal interviews at the district level, 23 self-administered district administrative manager questionnaires (two managers did not complete the questionnaire), and five personal interviews with the area service coordinators. We attended 165 beat meetings, administered 2,610 questionnaires to residents at the beat meetings, and conducted follow-up telephone interviews with a sample of 291 citizens who filled out our original questionnaire at their beat meeting. We examined internal reports on 3,464 regular and sub-beat meetings. We also administered 2,510 questionnaires to residents who attended joint citizen-police training, and conducted follow-up telephone interviews with a sample of 354 citizens who filled out our original questionnaire at training. Based on what we found, this section of the report presents a snapshot of the progress of CAPS implementation in the early summer of 1996.

Partnership with the Community

The citizen role in Chicago's community policing partnership is facilitated at the broadest level by means of the beat meeting, but in addition there is a citizen advisory group in each district that is set up to assist the commander. The District Advisory Committee (DAC) consists of several subcommittees, the foci of which vary among the districts, depending on their needs (though there are two mandated subcommittees — Court Advocacy and Senior Citizens). District Advisory Committees, the subcommittees, and Court Advocacy will be examined in the following sections.

District Advisory Committees. District Advisory Committees, composed of residents, business owners and other stakeholders in the community, is supposed to identify broad issues related to crime and disorder and, after doing so, establish priorities and develop strategies to address those issues at the district level. The character and problems of each district are very distinct, and so too are the meeting format and accomplishments of the DACs.

The initial members of the advisory committees were generally chosen by the commanders, based on their previous service to the community, standing in the community, ethnic affiliation and geographical representation. Each member served a two-year term, and subsequent members were elected to the post by those remaining on the committee. DAC members often head up subcommittees or represent influential outside organizations. In some districts, beat representatives are also a part of the DAC; while in others they comprise a subcommittee whose chair is a DAC member. Aldermen, park district employees, and representatives of city, state and federal agencies may also regularly attend DAC meetings; however, these individuals serve in an ex-officio capacity.

When the prototype districts formed their advisory committees, they had virtually no guidelines — simply a special order that specified that they were to “appoint subcommittees to identify and address the needs and problems of the community and advise the district commander of possible solutions and strategies; advise the district commander of the current matters of concern to the community; and to assess the effectiveness of implemented solutions and strategies and inform the district commander of the progress or lack thereof of the solutions and strategies.” Approximately 16 months after CAPS was launched, a set of district advisory committee guidelines were distributed by the CAPS management team. These clarified aspects of their organization, such as the purpose of the subcommittees and their composition, selection of members and terms of office, officers, attendance, department support and subcommittees. These guidelines resulted in the committees’ engaging in a shared set of activities, while continuing to meet the individual needs of their particular district in terms of subcommittees, meeting times, membership composition, and meeting agenda.

Each of the districts included in the citywide implementation study had formed a DAC, and the DACs were meeting on a regular basis. Informants from each district reported that the meetings were led by the elected civilian chairperson, and most advisory committees had between 15 and 20 members. DAC meetings were generally attended by committee members only; one district’s monthly DAC meetings were open to the public, while another district’s meetings were attended by the community-at-large every other month, with the commander meeting with the DAC subcommittee chairs on alternate months.

A routine part of DAC meetings is presentations from representatives of city service agencies or other governmental agencies, such as the state’s attorney, sheriff’s police or the CTA police. Minutes are kept, and agendas are drawn up in advance. Also standard is a progress report from the heads of the subcommittees.

Many of the commanders voiced mild disappointment about their advisory committees, on subjects ranging from attendance and the need for new blood to personal agendas and individual power struggles. One said that he was not impressed with the abilities of the chairperson, and yet another had a hard time getting individuals to volunteer for long-vacant officer slots on the DAC.

The difficulties inherent in volunteer organizations was a topic that came up somewhat frequently. A neighborhood relations sergeant lamented,

The theory behind the advisory committee is good. It could be helpful. But we need people with time. A lot of the people on the committee are business people, and it’s really hard for the chair to meet with everybody. The chair of the DAC is also the chair of the Business Committee. It’s just really hard for the various people to put in the time that’s needed.

Another remarked that the DAC sometimes needed to be directed, noting that there is a delicate balancing act required when dealing with volunteers. A commander opined that new people needed to become involved with DAC: “We’ve really worked the same folks.”

The stipulation that the advisory committee reflect the district's social, ethnic and racial makeup continues to be a struggle for some districts. While one commander was pleased with the coalition that had been formed in his racially and ethnically diverse district, personnel in other districts were very much aware of the challenges they still faced. One North Side district that has a very diverse population has been grappling with this issue for quite some time. The neighborhood relations sergeant commented that the lack of minority representation there was not intentional, but after several years, the committee remains predominantly, if not totally, white. Another district's commander said,

One part of the district feels that the DAC is not representing them. There's different concerns among the two groups—the people who have lived there for years, and the newcomers who are interested in developing the area.

On the positive side, each of the informants said that the police and the DAC members have a good relationship, though one neighborhood relations sergeant said that the group is "definitely not pro-police." Two commanders were particularly pleased that the divergent ethnic groups of the community came together as one for DAC meetings, and another attributed a neighborhood problem-solving effort to the organization.

Regarding the accomplishments of the committees, informants seemed a bit hard-pressed to provide examples. Though each of the 63 persons who were interviewed about the DACs were prodded to think of success stories about their committee, few were really provided; it seems to be understood that successes are attained by the subcommittees. But one neighborhood relations sergeant put a very positive spin on the DAC situation:

I think the DAC is frustrated. They feel they should be further than they are right now. They think they haven't accomplished anything. I don't agree with that. I mean, the stated purpose of the DAC is that they're supposed to advise the commander about the problems of the district and come up with districtwide solutions. I'll admit this DAC hasn't quite gotten there, but these are volunteers.

Another neighborhood relations sergeant was not as upbeat:

I think two things must happen for this to be an effective committee. First of all, they have to feel comfortable with the fact that their role is something more than throwing thank you breakfasts for the police. We're trying to give them some direction—remind them that their role is to help the district commander in setting priorities. A lot of times they just get bogged down in procedural things.

The DAC appears to be almost exclusively the domain of the commanders and neighborhood relations personnel. Of the 12 lieutenants interviewed, two had attended one DAC meeting and one had attended "a few;" the rest had not attended any and were completely unaware of their activities. Of the 13 district liaisons with whom we spoke, seven who were also neighborhood

relations personnel were aware of the structure and activities of the DAC; the rest had not attended any meetings, nor were they aware of what the DACs were involved in.

All those completing the rating form about the ease of implementing effective DAC meetings rated it fairly easy, and they were fairly satisfied with progress to date in holding effective Advisory Committee meetings.

Subcommittees. The DAC subcommittees are the groups that actually address the various problems of the districts, which demonstrates a maturation process since the prototyping period, when many of the subcommittees lacked members and, usually, accomplishments. Even one commander whose DAC expectations remained largely unmet was able to point to some creditable accomplishments of the beat subcommittee and the building subcommittees. Another said,

I've got to sort of keep my eye on [the DAC]. Their problem here is the personalities, not the program. . . But I will say that if I need something, I can turn to the subcommittees and [they] will get it done.

The District Advisory Committee organizational guidelines specified that each DAC would appoint Court Advocacy and Senior Citizen subcommittees and other subcommittees were to be established "as required to address issues of community concern, such as school safety, youth services, economic development, etc." Subcommittees were also charged with the responsibility of "researching issues, identifying, developing and implementing solutions, and mobilizing appropriate community resources." All subcommittee recommendations are subject to the approval of the full DAC.

As one would expect, there are some subcommittees that are common to most of the DACs, such as Youth and Family, Business, Parks, Public Safety, and Education. In districts where churches are a significant part of the social framework, there are Pastoral or Ecumenical subcommittees. Examples of subcommittees that are specific to the individual needs of the district are Hospitality (in a district with a preponderance of hotels, nightclubs and restaurants), Zoning (illegal building conversions are prevalent there), Police Relations (segments of the district have historically had an uneasy relationship with the police), Domestic Violence (characterized by the commander as "a big concern" in one portion of the district), and Cultural Diversity (in a district where very diverse groups of immigrants are establishing new lives).

As mentioned above, membership in the subcommittees initially was a challenge for some of the districts, but those interviewed for the implementation study indicated that most of the DACs have viable subcommittees. Two districts appear to be struggling, and they expressed their intent to foster involvement in the committees. Another district has devised a creative way to elicit community involvement in the subcommittees: every other month, DAC meetings are held at a local shopping mall, and when the group divides into subcommittees, community members are welcomed into whichever subcommittee interests them.

Informants spoke of laudable accomplishments of the subcommittees. One district's Youth and Family subcommittee has held seminars on drugs, gangs and what parents should watch out

for, and parenting lessons for young mothers. The Buildings subcommittee in another district has held workshops for landlords that featured judges, bankers and lawyers talking about tenant screening techniques. Another district's Housing subcommittee has identified owners of problem buildings and spoken with them about the community's expectations for the buildings. And, in another district, a subcommittee devised a neighborhood inventory form, which is the citizens' version of a CAPS request form which, when completed, is taken to the beat meeting or the police station.

Respondents to the handout questionnaire answered that it was somewhat difficult to implement effective DAC subcommittees, but they responded that they were more than somewhat satisfied with their progress toward having effective DAC subcommittees.

Court Advocacy. A mandated DAC subcommittee, Court Advocacy is a group of community volunteers who track court cases and attend judicial hearings in cases that are of concern to the community. This vehicle for citizen involvement in CAPS shows support for victims as well as solidarity against crime. Court Advocacy volunteers generally consult with beat officers or other district personnel to identify cases that negatively affect the quality of life in their district, and the group actively and systematically follows them through the criminal justice system. Court advocacy was actually conceived at the behest of the mayor, before the inception of the CAPS program. In his tenure as State's Attorney, the mayor became aware of the need for the community to have a voice in the courtroom because of the great impact that crime and disorder have on the community. As community policing was becoming a reality in mid-1993, the mayor recognized that a community-empowering enterprise such as Court Advocacy would naturally complement CAPS.

Despite its early beginnings and lofty goals, Court Advocacy got off to a very slow start. It was virtually ignored in all of the Department's early CAPS literature and directives. Prototype districts were expected to recruit motivated, active volunteers to begin overseeing the resolution of court cases and housing and licensing hearings in matters that had an impact on their community. In three of the five prototype districts, citizen groups had already begun court advocacy efforts before CAPS began, and they were able to sustain or expand their activities. The other two districts were involved in grassroots efforts that proved to be difficult to launch without additional assistance. Nearly one year after the CAPS prototype phase began, and as districts throughout the city began to come "on-line" as CAPS districts, City Hall appointed a liaison with working knowledge of the Cook County courts system to act as project manager for Court Advocacy.

The first project manager developed an operational model that specified the structure of the subcommittees, created record-keeping forms for both citizens and police personnel, and held orientations and training events at the criminal courts complex. In addition, the manager arranged areawide information and recruitment sessions, and worked with individual Court Advocacy subcommittees when they asked for help. By autumn 1995, it was determined that the Court Advocacy subcommittees had been provided with an adequate foundation on the process of getting their efforts underway, and the project manager was reassigned to another city department. However, at the beginning of 1996, a new assistant CAPS project manager was hired who assumed responsibility for coordinating and assisting the Court Advocacy program.

Ten of the 13 districts observed in the citywide implementation study had active Court Advocacy subcommittees that were functioning at an acceptable or better level, based on interviews and subcommittee materials provided to us. Each of the 10 districts appeared to have a core group of citizens (often seniors) following current cases deemed important in their community. Many felt that their subcommittees had successfully impacted the resolution of a case. Foundering efforts in the remaining three districts were due in large part to lack of leadership. A new chair has begun in one district, and in another, the committee has decided to try to proceed in spite of the fact that they have not been able to recruit a chair.

Several districts pursued cases in housing court; at least two of these cases resulted in court-imposed clean-up and repair of the property in addition to substantial criminal housing fines. Other districts preferred to follow higher profile cases, like carjackings or narcotics cases. A West Side district, plagued by a proliferation of unlicensed recovery houses, persevered in the case against the owner of these facilities, resulting in the state's decision to regulate recovery homes. A South Side district, whose Court Advocacy effort was underway years before the CAPS program, has begun sending letters of complaint about judges whom they believe to make judgements that are not in the community's best interest. Other districts have become involved in liquor license hearings for stores and taverns that have become nuisances, and one North Side district had a well-orchestrated effort against public urination by bar patrons, which is an ongoing problem in the entertainment sector of the district. They believe their presence in the court room was a contributing factor in the judge imposing maximum fines. One district reported that its Court Advocacy subcommittee's presence persuaded a judge to rethink a probation agreement he had reached with a state's attorney in a senior citizen beating case — the perpetrator was finally sentenced to 14 years. And, two adjoining districts that have decided to track gang cases agreed to team up so they can send people from one district to the other one's gang cases to ensure that no one will be recognized.

The three districts whose Court Advocacy efforts have been stalled are very different in very many ways — one is a more affluent North Side district with relatively low Part 1 crime; the other is a high-crime South Side district with many needy residents; the third is a near West Side district with vast industrial areas, a growing gentrified area and some public housing. But the one thing they share is lack of civilian Court Advocacy leadership. In nearly every district with viable Court Advocacy subcommittees, the civilian chair was lauded for his or her organizational skills and enthusiasm. Another problem cited by the North Side district is the fact that a preponderance of its residents are employed, which prevents them from attending court proceedings.

In spite of the observable success of this CAPS component, a number of problems persist. Recruiting substantial numbers of volunteers remains a challenge for many districts, and burnout of current volunteers looms. A recurrent complaint among the districts is the difficulty in getting Court Advocacy volunteers to the various court facilities, and it is their perception that the city is indifferent to the problem. (Several districts alluded to some creative ways they have devised for providing transportation for their court watchers, though.) In one district volunteers became less inclined to participate after certain types of court proceedings were moved out of the area headquarters and transferred to 11th and State, a facility that they consider to be “user-unfriendly.”

Court Advocacy volunteers have become sophisticated and resourceful in their quest to stay abreast of details and outcomes of the various hearings and other proceedings related to the cases they are tracking. Numerous informants mentioned that their district's Court Advocacy volunteers keep track of cases they are following by means of a computer located in the district stations that provides court-case scheduling information. This has proved very helpful in certain types of cases, like murders, where there are many preliminary hearings and continuances.

The relative difficulty that many districts encountered when trying to launch their Court Advocacy efforts was expressed in respondents' answers to the rating questionnaire: ease of implementation was rated low, but they are somewhat satisfied with the progress of implementation of their Court Advocacy subcommittees.

Beat Meetings

Beat meetings are the other formal mechanism in place for building and maintaining partnerships. They provide a forum for community members and police to meet, exchange information, and begin the process of identifying, prioritizing, and analyzing crime and disorder problems in their neighborhood, and are the most common way that the police-community partnership is developed.

Beat meetings are being held regularly in all 13 districts surveyed, most often occurring monthly or every other month, and rarely, quarterly. The police personnel surveyed reported that establishment of regular beat meetings was the easiest of the CAPS components to implement. They were also satisfied with the progress made in this regard. Monthly meetings are the norm in most residential beats; however, police in some districts are planning to decrease the frequency of meetings for a variety of reasons. In some districts, the decision is related to the inauguration of beat team meetings for officers. Supervisors fear that once they begin, officers may begin to feel "burned out" by attending too many meetings, and therefore have opted to limit beat meetings to every other month, at least during the winter. Although supervisors realize that this change may not be well-received by the community, they feel that it is a necessary move to preserve their beat officers' enthusiasm. Some expressed the view that this way, there will be more time to do problem solving between meetings.

There are other beats where participants do not feel a beat meeting is needed every month. These tend to be beats with fewer problems — either residential, industrial, or occupied mainly by businesses whose owners reside outside of the neighborhood. In many districts, police reported a good working relationship with business owners; as a result, business owners tended not to see the need for beat meetings. In some beats, residents have been given the opportunity to vote on how frequently they would like to hold the meetings.

Within districts, beat meeting attendance varies widely from beat to beat, with reports of anywhere from five to 150 community members participating. Attendance at beat meetings was rated by police personnel surveyed as one of the program components that is most difficult to implement satisfactorily. Overall, they were less than satisfied with progress made in getting

people to attend. Even within beats, attendance can fluctuate somewhat but, on the whole, it appears to have increased over time, an indication to some police personnel that more people are willing to work with the police. In most beats, there is a core group of people who regularly attend the meetings. Usually, the beat officers know them by name and are familiar with the problems that concern them.

In beats where attendance is low, police are constantly faced with the challenge of how to get more citizens involved. They observe that oftentimes citizens do not attend beat meetings unless a problem emerges that affects them personally. They also know that people are sometimes afraid to get involved because of fear of retaliation. Other factors affecting turnout are the meeting location, the demographic make-up of the community, and the presence or absence of strong community organizations.

Beats where there are flourishing civic organizations are likely to have higher meeting attendance than others. Although, in one district a police supervisor explained how some community organizations were opposed to the concept of beat meetings, fearing that if the meetings were successful, the organizations would become superfluous and their funding would be terminated. Beats with concentrations of public housing tend to have extremely low meeting attendance because of apathy and fear of the police. Conversely, so do beats in some of the safest areas of the city where residents are affluent and self-sufficient, because they do not perceive their neighborhood as having many problems. In at least one district, beat meetings held at a local park were inclined to focus on the problems in the park, depriving people of the opportunity to discuss other concerns. By trial and error, it was learned that holding a meeting in a gang's territory could discourage unsympathetic residents from attending meetings there; in more than one case, beat meetings had to be split for reasons of this nature to improve turnout.

To some extent, the organizing that is done by civilian leaders (often known as beat facilitators) or beat officers makes a difference, and the level of interest and personality of the beat officers may also affect turnout. The following observations were made by police personnel about the impact of effective leadership, civilian or police, on beat meeting attendance:

Both attendance and what is accomplished depends on the beat. If they have good leadership, there's decent attendance.

In some areas, attendance is good, through the work of community leaders; and also, if the beat officers are enthusiastic.

In one beat, one of the beat facilitators was a powerhouse; he filled that place up.

Over on the west end of the district, we've got some beat officers that put on a show that's second to none. They feed people; they do it all. Some of the officers are just more innovative.

We have this one officer; he has 100 people at his meetings. He devotes a lot of his personal time to it. His beat borders on another district and he's going to another beat meeting there tonight, because they share some of the same problems. But let me tell you, it's his meeting. They come out for it. He has refreshments and special guests.

Police are just as concerned about who is attending beat meetings as they are about the numbers in attendance. In most districts, it seems to be easy to attract senior citizens and young adults, ages 25 to 35, but there is some question about how to get youth involved and also "baby boomers," people between the ages of 35 and 50, some of whom are likely to be the parents of teenaged offenders. Police personnel commented:

In terms of the citizens who come, it's a lot of the same people every month. But the interesting thing is, the people that come are the ones that don't really need to be there. The people with the most problems are the ones that don't come.

The people who show up at the beat meetings are the people who are looking for solutions to their problems; they're victims. It's unfortunate that the parents of the offenders don't show up. If the victims and parents of the offenders could talk, that would solve a lot of their problems — because a lot of [the offenders] are young.

Strategies employed by police to increase attendance have varied from district to district. Commonly, police tell citizens about the meetings whenever they have contact; for example, when citizens call with complaints or when police respond to a call. Police also contact community groups, ask businesses to hang meeting announcements in their windows, distribute flyers to churches and to citizens at beat meetings to pass out, and announce beat meetings at other community meetings. Announcements are also posted on the Chicago community policing home page on the Internet and are published in local newspapers in some districts. Sometimes police piggyback a beat meeting with another meeting in the community, particularly in beats where attendance is consistently low.

Several police personnel interviewed expressed disappointment with the overall lack of citizen awareness of CAPS that they had encountered. They were hoping that, by now, the city-wide marketing campaign would have significantly enhanced their efforts and lessened their burden of having to explain the program to so many citizens so often. Although some acknowledged that they had recently heard radio ads or seen posters, they questioned why there had not been more aggressive marketing earlier and why there was still not more publicity, including something as seemingly simple as public service announcements on major television channels.

One district commander, failing to be discouraged by low turnout in some beats, proclaimed his confidence in how beat meetings were going and his vision for the future:

They're where I expect them to be at this point. I want to see more inclusion. I want every block represented — a person from every block in the beat at each beat meeting.

As for police presence at beat meetings, it includes the sergeant who is the beat team leader, beat team officers from all three watches and other department personnel as needed, such as tactical and gang officers. Occasionally, watch commanders and district commanders also attend. In some districts, neighborhood relations officers have continued to attend to help beat officers make the transition to conducting them; they perform a support function, answering questions and bringing packets of information about community resources. When beat meetings were first held, neighborhood relations officers were running the meetings and there were question and answer periods with the beat officers toward the end of the session. Now, the meetings are run jointly by the beat facilitator, the sergeant, and the beat officer.

The attitudes of beat officers toward participating in beat meetings vary from person to person within each district. There is reputed to be resistance from older officers, because they are nearing the end of their career and find it more difficult to change. With experience, however, many of them have embraced the changes. Comments made by police personnel in interviews describe officers' attitudes:

Initially, when it first started, there was more of a reluctance from the officers to participate. Being the sergeant, I led the meetings originally. There was reluctance on the part of the officers, and reluctance and skepticism on the part of the citizens. But now that the officers know the community — at least the people that are the hard core meeting people that show up every meeting — they can openly discuss; the people have bonded with themselves and the officers.

There isn't too much trouble getting guys from days to go; the guys we have seem to like the extra money. It's a little harder to get a midnight guy to go, so I have to tell the sergeant to identify a guy who will be there if they can't work it out among themselves.

I think the officers who aren't used to going to them are a little surprised to find that people are there because they want to work with the police, not just because they want to lay into them.

Some of the beat officers are comfortable — the ones that are leaders.

I think there's an excellent rapport between the officers and the regular participants in the meetings. It's primarily the 4:00 to 12:00 officers who have developed a strong rapport with the residents and the facilitators.

Sergeants did not complain about participating in the meetings. However, some of their supervisors strongly suggested that sergeants who attend should receive overtime pay instead of compensatory time off. Apparently, they already have difficulty scheduling other compensatory time off that they have earned because of the general shortage of sergeants in the districts.

According to those we interviewed, the effectiveness of beat meetings varied not only from district to district, but from one beat to another within districts. On the rating scales that they filled out, overall they indicated it was somewhat difficult to implement effective beat meetings. However, they were fairly satisfied with progress made to date. Their assessment of how easy it was to get citizens and police working together to identify important problems averaged between fairly difficult and fairly easy. Despite this, they were somewhat satisfied with progress they had made.

Generally, they judged the effectiveness of meetings by whether there was a productive exchange of information and police were able to respond to citizens' needs. Another measure was whether they succeeded in educating citizens about the limitations of policing and the need for citizen involvement. The highest degree of success was reported in districts where beat community meetings had been occurring the longest and in beats where residents were highly educated and motivated, and had experience addressing problems in a similar fashion in a professional environment. Overall, police in eight of the 13 districts surveyed feel that their beat meetings are effective. They described why in the following words:

The community sees that the police are interested and willing to resolve problems. It's networking.

People come to these meetings and they're upset primarily about minor neighborhood nuisances such as teens congregating, gang loitering and graffiti. We explain to them some things we can be working on to try to reduce these problems. I think there's a better understanding on their part of what our limitations are as a result of these meetings.

In the beginning, it seemed to be a gripe session and citizens seemed to be airing very old complaints relative to what the police did or did not do, but once we got past these old complaints and explained the new policy and procedures, it's been more productive, and the rapport has been pretty good with the community.

In the five districts where police do not feel that beat meetings are effective, they are taking into account beats where meetings have just been recently implemented and beats that do not lend themselves to this type of forum — industrial areas, for example. But there are also beats where the meetings are used by neighborhood factions to air their differences with one another, rather than to focus on common problems. An example would be a beat where gentrification is squeezing out established residents who tend to have low incomes and be minority group members. Comments on this subject were:

One beat is not functioning in terms of problem-solving yet. Their main concerns are about parking.

They're gripe sessions. The focus of the meeting tends to drift away from specific problems that affect a great number of people to individuals' problems or encounters with the police department.

In most districts, police have seen beat meetings improve from gripe sessions, and along with that, have witnessed an increase in respect toward the police. Usually, citizens and police have a good relationship at these meetings but in some beats, there is hostility toward the police. This hostility is more apparent in beats where there are more low-income people who feel that, traditionally, they have been policed rather than serviced. Otherwise, friction tends to be individualistic, often coming from people who have not previously been to a beat meeting. Police in several districts where there is a history of friction between citizens and police report that tensions have been defused as the result of the relationship spawned by beat meetings.

Police personnel interviewed had differing opinions, even within the same district, about whether problem solving was taking place at beat meetings; it depended on each individual's idea of what constituted problem solving. To some, it meant citizens and police working together to identify problems even if police performed all the tasks involved, such as filling out service request forms or performing traditional enforcement measures like instituting surveillance in response to a report of a drug house or making arrests. To others, "problem solving" implied a true joint effort of citizens and police sharing the workload. Their descriptions of problem solving efforts to date indicate that it has been very limited in most districts, usually consisting of citizens informing police of problems and police acting on them. But, while it was almost universally acknowledged that the CAPS problem-solving model was not being used, police in most districts still felt satisfied that problems had been curtailed or solved as a result of beat meetings. This is how police personnel typically described recent problem solving in their districts:

I've observed problem solving, but not in the format of the training. There have been solutions to problems, but done in a much more basic way. For example, with the problem of panhandlers near an [elevated train] stop, part of our solution has been to have the mass transit unit assist us.

Problem solving is done. We haven't gotten into the CAPS model yet. They'll tell us a sign is down and we'll put in a Service Request.

Some problem solving is done, but not with the types of problems that I think CAPS is designed to affect — chronic problems.

Problem solving is done amongst the officers and they report back. Citizens don't do it as much as they should, but we're seeing it a little more.

The citizens come up with a problem and the officers generally know more about the problem than people thought. We bring some things back to Neighborhood Relations and most problems are solved within a week, and they tell us it's been solved. People are coming back to thank us.

Since the program is still in its beginning stages in most districts, district commanders are encouraging sergeants to identify solvable, short-range problems to be worked on first. It is recognized that these initial successes and prompt police response to citizens' concerns will establish a base of trust and confidence in the police. Eventually, more complex problems can be tackled, with citizens taking a more active role.

There are a few beats where problem solving is more advanced and citizens are more involved in developing and implementing strategies. Here the CAPS model is being used, as the following observations by police personnel illustrate:

At first beat meetings were very hostile, but now they are working problem-solving sessions. Mostly, they follow the CAPS model. They identify the problem, they sit together and try to figure out ways to get rid of the problem — ways the police can do it, or if it doesn't require too much police involvement, ways the neighbors can do it. I think the biggest change is that they allow more time now. At first, they wanted results overnight. They are more educated now, so they realize problems take more time to work on.

The one success that comes to mind is the way people in [the beat] have come together to prioritize their problems. They're using the problem-solving triangle and they're beginning to brainstorm about how to begin to deal with the problems.

They break up into groups by geographic location. They discuss problems and assign people to certain tasks. The average attendance is 35 to 40.

The following are descriptions by police personnel of actual problem solving done in their districts. As these cases illustrate, the complexity of problems and depth of problem-solving efforts vary widely.

We're having this problem with garage burglaries, so this one beat officer went out and talked to the hardware stores in the area and told them that he would encourage people to buy locks and other security devices, and he convinced them to offer 10 percent discounts. He announced it at the beat meeting and they discussed how to secure their garages.

There was a problem with prostitutes in the neighborhood, and the residents were especially unhappy about the fact that this was going on during

school hours. So the people on the beat got together and developed a strategy. They set up lemonade stands, and eventually, the prostitutes left. One business was replaced by another on that street!

There are several cases of joint problem solving that I can think of. We cleaned up a few drug houses. The way the citizens worked on that was by providing information to us, providing a location for our officers to work from. They actually let officers into their homes. We took advantage of that on certain occasions.

We had another problem in this police district — people riding bicycles on the sidewalk. That might not sound important compared to problems other districts have, but it was important to the community here. We brought in the alderman's office and put in excess of 170 heavy metal signs on posts. We have significantly reduced the problem.

Another problem we became involved in is the identification of property, especially on the south side of the district. Because the buildings are not properly numbered in both the front and the rear, emergency vehicles cannot always get to buildings in time. We started in the winter getting people to number their buildings on both the front and the rear. I think that was a success.

A woman who lived in a building that is in the middle of a three-building complex was upset by her terrible living conditions because the man who owned the buildings had garbage piled high in the alley. In addition to offering the woman a lot of moral support, the community offered her a place to stay until the mess was cleaned up, and the Court Advocacy subcommittee followed the case in court. The largest criminal housing fine known to Chicagoland — \$3 million — was imposed on the owner.

There was a house where there were street drug sales. The people did not want that in the neighborhood. They ensured us that they would do anything that they could do — they'd go to court, they'd prosecute. So the community met with the police, and then they broke into working groups. A house was made available for surveillance. They went to court on enforcement action. In the meantime, they did research on the community's ability to sue the owners for financial damages, pain and suffering. And then the neighborhood relations sergeant went in and spoke to the owners, told them about all of this, and the evictions began.

[A park] was not suitable to be used as a park — especially by kids. There was drug dealing going on there. So the people on the beat got together to work on the problem. We had a blitz of officers to control the problem,

and the Park District made \$200,000 in changes to the park. The residents met with the Park District, and now it's been configured into a real nice park for kids. It had all concrete areas, and they've been torn up and grass was planted. There's gonna be a huge mural there. It was all done on the insistence of residents. At beat meetings. It's a result of CAPS, no doubt about it.

There was a problem at a certain building. The first floor is a store front, and the two upper floors are apartments. It's right near the [elevated train] stop, and a lot of the derelict jerks who are occupants of the building would sit around on the street and do lewd acts, and the commuters were appalled. It was mostly social disorder — no actual violations. Nothing that could be addressed with laws. So when this problem was brought up at the meeting, we put out some special attentions, and building owners were gonna be contacted by the community. They had a really hard time communicating with the owners, and there was talk that the building was in the process of being bought or sold. Anyway, the owners were nonresponsive. The community people were persistent, and when they saw that they weren't gonna be able to identify the owners, they finally enlisted the service of the alderman, who got the building department to come out and start hitting them with code violations. When the owners finally saw that they were going to be tied up with these inspections and court dates and so forth, they finally began threatening tenants with evictions and hired private security. The police made a couple of arrests, and now there are no problems.

Almost all police interviewed enjoy their new-found partnership with the community and view it as one of the chief accomplishments of CAPS. In the rating questionnaire they gave high marks to the ease of implementing partnerships and satisfaction with progress in getting beat team officers to work with individual citizens in their beat. They did not think it was quite as easy to get beat officers to work with community organizations but, nevertheless, they were satisfied with progress they had made in this regard as well. Our informants found that beat meetings are serving to break down the barriers of communication between citizens and police and they recognize the value of replacing the traditional model of policing that distanced the police from the public with the new strategy. They are aware that a partnership of shared responsibility with the rest of the community is critical to effective public safety. Many of them have committed themselves to working on quality-of-life issues as well as crime problems, realizing that neighborhood disorder leads to crime. In interviews, they described the partnership:

The primary thing is that the citizens are talking to us and we're getting a lot of information from them.

You definitely build a relationship with the people that attend the meetings. Those are the activists in the community, for the most part.

The big success is that the police and citizens are getting along better. The officers are not afraid to walk up to citizens and talk -- even ask advice of citizens.

The one thing that I really see that is different is that officers have developed relationships with citizens. They are networking, exchanging ideas.

We're dialoging, and it's not forced. The officers have gotten to know the good people — they already knew the bad ones!

I know the beat officers are doing a good job because people are waving to me. They wouldn't wave like that if it wasn't working. For years, they were holding up one finger.

I think it's a success when you're driving down the street and people wave to you or invite you in for a cup of coffee.

Some of the district commanders interviewed expressed the view that police officers should be evaluated on the basis of how well they form a partnership with the community, rather than by traditional methods, such as numbers of arrests and tickets issued. One thought that their performance could be gauged by “whether they step forward at meetings, whether they've been a part of problem solving, the kind of involvement they had with the community.”

Another commander commented that he would like to see new measures used to evaluate the district's performance:

I'd like to see them measure more customer satisfaction some day. They could talk to the customers and the officers to see if morale is up. That should be the measure of success — if the officers are happy and volunteering to be involved in the problem solving. And in terms of the community, we should see if their significant concerns are addressed, whether they're pleased with the attempted solution or the solution, whether the community is willing to talk to beat officers about solutions. Those would be measures of success.

Beat Integrity

Beat integrity is a strategy that allows beat officers to spend as much time as possible on their beat answering calls for service and working with the community to solve problems. In CAPS, beat integrity means that beat officers mostly answer calls for service only in their beat — their area of expertise — from the time they begin their tour of duty until the time they go home. The CAPS beat integrity policy specifies that beat cars will be assigned calls off their beats “only as a last resort;” in many circumstances plain-clothes tactical officers and sergeants are supposed to answer calls first in order to keep beat teams in place.

Along with continuity of assignment (the regular assignment of officers and supervisory personnel to beat, rapid response and sector management teams), beat integrity goes to the heart of community policing. It is the neighborhood orientation that gives beat officers the opportunity to become familiar with crime conditions and issues of concern to the community on their beat, and ideally it affords beat officers the time to engage in mission-oriented foot patrol.

In practice, however, beat integrity is difficult to attain. Those interviewed cited numerous factors that compromised beat integrity. Among them are improper dispatch of calls for service, a high volume of calls for service per district, insufficient manpower, the zealotry of some officers to be in the heart of the action, and the need to assist fellow officers in dangerous situations. When one field lieutenant was asked what percentage of the time beat officers maintained beat integrity, he summed up the unpredictable nature of it:

[It] depends on the day, the workload, the district manpower. You can't say. Some days it would be 100 percent; other days you walk in and there's an eight-hour backlog of jobs.

Though there is an inherent completeness associated with the word "integrity," and it is clear that total beat integrity can never be achieved, strides have been made in the realization of this component. An overwhelming majority of our implementation study informants claimed that beat integrity is maintained at least 75 percent of the time. District personnel were not aware of any reports that would provide this information for them, so they based their answers on an informal review of the daily watch assignment sheets that document beat team officers' missions during a tour of duty. Commanders in three districts mentioned that they had done formal audits on beat integrity (again based on daily watch assignment sheets), and those efforts showed that beat officers maintained beat integrity between 80 and 85 percent of the time.

The fact that assignments are often given off the beat during shift changeovers because manpower is inevitably low at those times was mentioned consistently throughout the city. And, it was generally agreed that it is easiest to maintain beat integrity in districts where calls for service are at a moderate level — especially during the second watch. But even in districts that fit that profile, officers have reasons for leaving the beat. A field lieutenant said,

Some of the officers go off the beat voluntarily. It's a little hard sometimes. This is a pretty small district. It's sort of hard to stay on the beat for eight hours sometimes. I drive around the entire district and that's a little boring after eight hours!

Complaints about improper dispatch persist, but they are greatly reduced compared to previous years. Arguably, one reason is that supervisors will tell dispatchers to reassign the call if it will pull beat officers off their beat. District personnel consistently said that sergeants are monitoring the assignments and stepping in when improper assignments are made; a goodly number also said that beat officers question assignments that are off their beat. As a lieutenant said,

The sergeants will tell [OEC] when they are giving bad assignments. And the patrolmen do it, too.

I think [beat integrity is] upwards of 90 percent, but that's because our supervisors pay close attention.

As mentioned above, continuity of assignment is closely related to beat integrity, and while we did not directly address the subject of continuity of assignment in our interviews, several informants spoke about the difficulty of maintaining it:

Once they're on duty, they pretty much stay on the beat they're assigned to, but it's really hard to keep a beat officer assigned to the beat all the time because of days off and furloughs.

[Continuity of assignment is] very difficult to implement because of days off, people ill.

The challenge of implementing and maintaining beat integrity is reflected in interviewees' responses to the implementation rating sheet. Ease of implementation of beat integrity was rated midway between fairly easy and fairly difficult, while satisfaction with progress of implementing beat integrity was ranked a bit more optimistically.

City Service Requests

A vital component in Chicago's brand of community policing is the linking of city services to beat teams in order to more effectively address disorder problems such as graffiti, abandoned vehicles and other neighborhood conditions that contribute to crime and increase the perception of crime among residents. Officers can enlist the help of city services to enhance the success of the community policing strategy for problems that they observe on their beat or those that residents tell them about at beat meetings.

The city departments that are involved in Chicago's community policing program include the Department of Streets and Sanitation, the Mayor's Liquor License Commission, the Department of Planning and Economic Development, the Department of Buildings, the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, the Department of Consumer Services, the Department of Health and the Department of Zoning. The Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information (MOII) serves as the conduit for city service requests.

Upon learning about troublesome conditions that can be acted upon by the various city departments that have a role in CAPS, police personnel complete a service request form and submit it to the Neighborhood Relations office. If it is determined that the situation requires immediate attention, neighborhood relations personnel contact a supervisor at MOII to report the situation and its priority nature; when immediate response is not required, a request form is forwarded to MOII. All requests are recorded by the Neighborhood Relations office and MOII, and they are tracked by means of a status printout distributed to the districts. In addition, city agency

representatives and City Hall's CAPS implementation manager meet with district commanders to review service concerns and implementation problems on a monthly basis.

District personnel interviewed for the implementation study were generally enthusiastic about the service request process and the amount of time it took for requests to be completed, representing an improvement over previous years. Some neighborhood relations personnel complained about the amount of paper that was used and stored as a part of the process, and some voiced their hope that the process could be computerized, not only to make it a paperless process, but also to enable them to seek information on the status of a request at any time.

A very frequent complaint throughout the city concerned the MOII City Service Request status report, a computer printout that routinely lists service requests as completed, even though beat officers and citizens alike could see that the original problem persisted. The CAPS implementation manager looked into the matter and discovered that when a particular agency had dealt with the problem to the extent of its ability, the request was marked completed, regardless of whether the problem was truly solved or had just been forwarded on to another agency for further action. Some district personnel felt that this misleading terminology (which was characterized as a misunderstanding) put them in an awkward position at beat meetings, because status reports were offered up to the community, and citizens would angrily point out that the "completed" request was virtually as problematic as it was the day it was submitted. A number of informants were less than tolerant about this explanation. One district commander said,

What do they mean I don't understand? I've got two master's degrees hanging on the wall and I don't understand what completed means? I know what it means, and nothing they call completed is completed!

Some types of requests are routinely slower to be resolved than others — particularly those that require notification and other legal procedures before they can be acted on, such as abandoned auto tows or the demolition of abandoned buildings. Although there is a growing understanding of these legal entanglements and consequent delays, these two types of service requests remain a source of irritation for many police officers and citizens. Automobile and building owners can perform minor evasive actions like moving the car to the next parking space or boarding up some windows, and this further delays the process of bringing closure to the situation. Two neighborhood relations sergeants were very expressive:

Abandoned autos were [a problem]. The printout would say 'gone on arrival,' but when the officers go out to check it, it sure as hell was there! And the housing things are a little slow.

Autos are everybody's nightmare. It's the procedures that they have to go through before a car can be towed. The legal notifications and stuff. The court procedures. Citizens can't understand why a car can sit there for a year, but you still have to contact the owner before towing it.

Replacement of signage is also a slower process than many would like, especially because it is often a matter of public safety. According to several informants, the process by which signage is replaced is needlessly complicated by the fact that a Transportation Department employee must visit the location to confirm that the sign needs replacing. As a frustrated commander said, “if they can’t believe a police officer that a sign is missing....” After the determination is made to replace the sign, there is a several-week wait for the new sign.

In spite of these complaints, informants were largely satisfied with the service delivery effort and with the level of cooperation with the Mayor’s Office of Inquiry and Information. Positive comments included:

The process is okay. We have a meeting every month with [City Hall staffers].

[C]onsidering the volume of requests that are submitted citywide, I think the time it takes for them to act on [them] is reasonable.

[S]ometimes we put the request in, and it gets done immediately, and then other times it can take a week or more. Everything has really been going pretty good. In my eyesight, it looks pretty good...at the beginning of the year we did a survey, an audit. We looked at about 150 to 200 [requests marked completed], and I’d say they were pretty accurate except for about 25.

[Improved communication with MOII] has been a phenomenal effort.

Some police officers are still uncomfortable with their middleman role in the partnership with service agencies, and they were quite vocal about it:

The officers are feeling like their police functions are being taken away. If they’re not answering a call they’re supposed to be checking to see if the requests have been taken care of. They can’t do any covert police work anymore. I don’t disagree with the program, but it’s having a negative impact.

Oh, sometimes I wonder if the whole thing is b.s. I’ll tell you one thing that I do know — if people have a crime problem they don’t go to Streets and San!

One commander clearly felt this role was a potential threat to his job security and law enforcement in Chicago:

There are some concerns in the community about us drifting away from the traditional police role of enforcing laws. I’m concerned that writing up abandoned buildings is gonna become a priority over enforcing laws. The citizens are concerned, too. The seniors group brought it up to me.

They don't want the police officers going around looking for potholes. And I want the aldermen to know that we're not infringing on them. Yeah, I am concerned that I could be taken out of here if a connected alderman feels I'm infringing.

The volume of service requests that are submitted came up often in interviews. Some neighborhood relations sergeants mentioned that they believed that officers are submitting fewer requests than they had when the program was new; others felt that as more districts came on line, service response time had slowed. One remarked that only a select few were involved in the process: "I think that 80 percent of our requests are submitted by 15 percent of our officers." And, on the subject of numbers of requests submitted, one neighborhood relations sergeant exclaimed,

No matter what anyone tells you, the Chicago Police Department is just one big numbers game. The commander wants us to do more requests. Can you believe they count that? [The commander] wants us to do more. That's just making busy work.

All that having been said, our survey of key district personnel indicated that organizationally, implementation of completing and setting priorities for CAPS service request forms was fairly easy. The raters indicated they were more than somewhat satisfied with the progress of completing and setting priorities for CAPS service request forms.

Computerized Crime Mapping and Analysis

Computerized crime mapping was to be a key component of Chicago's community policing program. Since the beginning there has been discussion about using technology to enable officers to isolate "hot spots," discover crime patterns, match crime trends with other local conditions and events and develop prevention strategies. In addition, detectives were to make regular visits to the station houses to help with crime analysis. Automated crime mapping was to be supported by the UNIX-based local area network that was installed at the beginning of the prototyping period. However, once put to use, the servers were found to be unwieldy for mapping, and detectives did not increase the frequency of their visits to the districts for any purpose. The Research and Development Division secured funding from the Illinois Motor Vehicle Theft Prevention Council to purchase personal computers and then used in-house resources to develop software for the DOS-based Information Collection for Automated Mapping (ICAM) system. This user-friendly ICAM system, which debuted in autumn of 1994, allows police personnel to create crime maps by making selections from simple menus using a hand-held mouse.

ICAM personal computers were installed in each of Chicago's 25 district stations by autumn of 1995, and responsibility for training district personnel to use them was given to the district administrative managers. Those who use the system praise its simplicity and its printouts. But, it was soon realized that the ICAM system, which had been honored as one of the top 25 law enforcement programs in the world in the Webber Seavey Award for Quality in Law Enforcement

competition, was extremely limited. The ICAM development team is currently working on ICAM2, the next generation of automated crime mapping. ICAM2 will be more sophisticated, though still a user-friendly, Windows-run product. And, while detectives are not regularly providing crime analysis for the districts, some detectives have been designated information coordinators to disseminate data about current cases to the five districts in their area. They began visiting the districts on a fairly regular basis, and they also attended beat meetings as well as DAC or subcommittee meetings when their presence was requested.

ICAM use has never been required; the new department General Order only specifies that a beat team member must generate ICAM charts and maps for distribution and discussion at beat meetings. This is now done routinely in some areas, though in some districts Neighborhood Relations continues to generate ICAM products for the beat teams. There is a widely held belief that ICAM maps and top 10 crime listings are a “quality time-filler” at beat meetings.

In spite of ICAM’s ease of use, there is still mixed reaction to it, based on a variety of factors ranging from technophobia to its inherent limitations and blind devotion to pin maps and 24-hour reports. Though comments about ICAM were rich and varied, ICAM users and their opinions about it can be separated into several broad categories:

- those who like it and appreciate its capabilities, however limited (the largest group by far)
- those who liked it at first but are now disillusioned by its limitations
- those who don’t like it because they are accustomed to gleaning information from the district Review Office generated 24-hour report of criminal activity and making pin maps
- those who believe it to be a good tool for younger officers to use
- those who don’t like it because it does not automatically do higher level crime analysis for them
- those who think it is a gimmick
- those who think it is okay because the community clamors for it
- those who think it is valuable because the community benefits from it

Comments illustrating these viewpoints include:

I think it’s great. It provides information in two to three minutes that 16 years ago I would spend two to three hours getting from case reports. Then I’d draw a map.

ICAM was nice at first. It’s something that we didn’t have before, and the tendency is to say, ‘Oh, wow, look at this!’ But I know what’s out there, and so I know that is a lot of nothing. I hope ICAM2 is better.

I don’t get any more from [ICAM] than the 24-hour report. In fact, I get more from the 24-hour report...I make my own pin map.

The younger officers took to [ICAM] quicker. Maybe they learned about it at the academy. We have lots of older officers here.

I don't know how successful it is because I'm not real clear on its purpose besides spitting out information. What that information is supposed to be used for, I'm not real sure. I was told at one time it was supposed to be used for crime analysis.

It's one of those gizmos people like to use.

I'll tell you who loves [ICAM] — the citizens. Sure. They're just nosy Rosies! They want to know what's happening where. I wish the police would be as interested in it as the citizens.

[ICAM is] used for the people, for their knowledge; to give them crime statistics, locations, whether it follows a pattern, to make people aware of what to look out for so they can report back to their beat officer.

It is also interesting to note that there were widely varying opinions among informants within districts on whether ICAM is used. In one district, four of the five people interviewed stated that ICAM is used on a regular basis and gave convincing backup to support their answers, whereas an enthusiastic supervisor said unequivocally that he had never seen ICAM used. Similarly perplexing inconsistencies were mentioned in a few other districts.

Some district personnel made very thoughtful comments about ICAM, showing that they understand its potential in a community policing program:

People are really looking forward to ICAM2, because it's supposed to do so much more. Will everyone use it? No. But some of the beat officers are using it for crime analysis, and the [tactical] teams are, and so are the gang teams. I use it, too. I get a list of crimes in descending order. I look at the 24-hour report every day, but it's really hard to see patterns that way.

It's being used. They look at it and see patterns. We all use it for crime analysis. If I see that there are 20 burglaries, I call the beat officers in and assign the guys to alley patrol.

Once a week, I will sit down and I will get an ICAM printout of the top 10 crimes occurring on [a beat]. I'll pass that information on to all the officers on [that beat]. I think it helps them in terms of how they spend their free time when they're not responding to jobs. Most policemen do like to solve crimes and make arrests, so it gives them a crime pattern to work on.

Respondents rating the various program elements indicated that it was fairly easy to implement ICAM in their districts, but that it was more difficult to get beat officers to work effectively with the ICAM system. In terms of ICAM progress in their districts, respondents answered that they are somewhat satisfied, but they were not as satisfied with beat officers' progress in working effectively with the ICAM system.

Team Work and Information Sharing

The CAPS strategy promotes team work at all levels. With the release of the new General Order in April 1996, it calls for the creation of beat, sector, district and area plans, developed by teams, to address chronic crime and disorder problems. Beat plans are the first level of a new "bubble-up" planning process. They are to be used as the basis for sector, district, area and departmentwide efforts, to help ensure that resources are focused on the problems and concerns that are of greatest import to the community and the beat team. Information sharing among team members is to be accomplished through beat team meetings, beat profile development and face-to-face relief, an exchange of information between officers assigned to the same beat at shift change. This section provides an overview of these components and the extent of their implementation.

Beat Plans, Profiles, Teams and Team Meetings. Beat plans are comprehensive plans of action that serve as a tool to help police and the community identify priority crime and disorder problems, and develop strategies to address them. The setting for the development of a beat plan is the beat team meeting. Held within 14 days of the beat meeting, the beat team meeting provides a workshop setting for formulating the plan. Beat team meetings are attended by the beat team — officers assigned to the same beat from each of the watches and a sergeant who acts as leader.

The process that has been set forth for developing a beat plan includes the following steps: identifying and analyzing problems; establishing a time frame and realistic goals; designing strategies; assigning responsibilities among team members; implementing strategies (after the plan is approved by the district management team); informing the community about progress at beat meetings; assessing progress; and evaluating strategies. Beat plans are to be reviewed at each meeting, and modifications are to be made as necessary. New problems that have been identified by the beat team or community members are to be added to the beat plan at subsequent beat team meetings.

The beat profile is an informational tool that helps beat officers and other district personnel become more knowledgeable about the beat. It describes the chronic crime and disorder conditions on the beat and identifies community resources that can assist in alleviating the problems. Information collection for the beat profile is done by all members of the beat team. The beat profiling process helps beat officers become more familiar with their beats and establish contacts with key members of the community. Rapid response officers, tactical, and gang tactical officers assist in the collection and verification of information that goes into the beat profile. Another valuable function of the beat profile is that it provides information for new and relief officers and other personnel who may be conducting missions on a particular beat.

A copy of the beat plan and the beat profile is maintained in the district's master beat file. In addition, each member of the beat team, as well as rapid response officers, supervisors and other district personnel keep a beat plan and beat profile in a beat plan binder, along with various forms and reports that augment and facilitate the plan, such as ICAM information, service request status reports and special attention notices.

The implementation of beat plans and beat team meetings is relatively recent in Chicago's community policing program. Though the development of beat profiles has been discussed since early 1993, only a few districts voluntarily developed them as early on as a one-time exercise. At the time of the citywide implementation study in the summer of 1996, most of the districts were compiling or updating beat profiles, a few were holding beat team meetings and none had developed beat plans. It must be noted that beat plans and beat team meetings were mandated as of April 29, 1996, so it would be unreasonable to expect that there would yet be widespread participation in such activities during our observation period.

According to the commanders of the 13 districts we examined, two had begun holding regular beat team meetings, two had held trial beat team meetings a few months earlier to see what they would be like, and the rest were to begin holding them by the end of July. Beat team leaders had been chosen in every district, and much paperwork related to beat teams and impending meetings had been generated.

Beat profiles were in the process of being updated in those districts that had previously created them, and they were being compiled in the remaining districts. No district reported having begun beat plans; many informants explained that beat profiling needed to be completed and beat team meetings underway before that process could begin. Still others explained that the beat plan binders had not yet arrived; they seemed to think that not having a carrying case in which to store the beat plan precluded them from beginning the process.

Face-to-Face Relief. The concept of face-to-face relief stemmed from the department's vision of making the organization more unified and one in which all members would share information with one another. Police researchers since Rubinstein (1973) have noted how infrequently officers who are assigned to the same beat but serve on different shifts communicate with one another. Each watch begins policing its beat anew, with no "institutional memory" of what happened there even an hour before. For police, continuing events can be as disconnected as if they had taken place in different parts of town when they span a shift change. The number of beats in a city may need to be multiplied by a factor of three to approximate the number of "worlds" officers work in. This state of affairs presented problems even when policing was incident driven, and in agencies that are committed to problem solving by teams of officers who are to be expert on local conditions, it is a very big problem.

In response, CAPS' managers developed a means of exchanging information across watches. This face-to-face relief plan entails communication between off-going and on-coming officers assigned to the same beat or rapid response unit, and it includes a discussion of information recorded on the off-going officer's Daily Watch Assignment Record. This one-page form,

completed during each officer's tour of duty, is used to document actions taken, observations, community contacts, radio assignments, serious incidents, arrests, and follow-up procedures for priority problems.

This brief interaction enables newly arrived officers to ask questions and discuss ongoing problems with the officers they are relieving. It is to ensure that critical information is shared in a timely fashion so that arriving officers are better prepared to deal with recurring incidents and are alerted to potentially dangerous situations that may flare up or intensify during their watches. The process also supports long-range problem solving, by helping to identify chronic problems.

Our interviews in 13 districts revealed that the face-to-face relief process has been slow in getting off the ground. Although the Daily Watch Assignment Record is used in most of the districts, it is regularly accompanied by verbal communication between officers in only five of the 13. In the others, communication is either sporadic or non-existent, depending on the individual officers. Often, the reason for forgoing face-to-face information exchange is that the departing officer feels that there is nothing of significance to report. Watch commanders usually announce information about situations that bear monitoring on the next watch, such as repeated calls for service, domestic violence or major incidents that have occurred.

In most districts where face-to-face communication is not occurring in a meaningful way, Daily Watch Assignment Records are passed to arriving officers to be read and initialed. But in fact, they are not always thoroughly reviewed. Sometimes this is because of pressure from the departing officers, who are eager to end their tours of duty.

Face-to-face communication at change of watch is hard to enforce, because the personalities of the individual officers come into play. Often, the officers are unacquainted with those who use their car on the other watches. According to one sergeant:

Unless the officers are acquainted with one another or have another reason to speak, or are directed by the supervisor to speak, it doesn't happen. There has to be something additional to encourage this exchange of information on a voluntary basis. I would hope that the new beat team meetings in the future would foster this kind of communication between the watches, and teamwork.

A significant factor in its success or failure appears to be the timing of the process. In most districts, it is held after roll call for arriving officers, when departing officers are impatient to complete the check-off procedure and depart. One lieutenant explained,

I don't think [the way they have] the whole communication thing set up is very effective. Any time you ask people to do things in the last two minutes of their work day, they're not gonna do it the way you want.

Roll call can extend until almost the end of the off-going officers' tour of duty, especially when training is taking place; and then, even if the departing officer is willing to engage in face-to-face information exchange, the arriving officer is sometimes dispatched right away. In districts where the face-to-face relief has been more successful, time has been set aside for it prior to the on-coming roll call. Other deterrents to the relief plan cited in the interviews are the lack of adequate facilities in some district stations, and the fact that it is not enforced by senior officers. One district commander reported that check-off is done at the crowded front desk due to lack of other space, making the exchange of personal radios difficult to accomplish, and meaningful face-to-face relief nearly an impossibility. According to the General Order, watch commanders are responsible for seeing that the face-to-face relief takes place, but since they are often busy with other duties, the responsibility falls on the shoulders of sector sergeants, who are concentrating on roll call check-off. Ultimately, it is the beat officer's responsibility; this requires a shift in attitude from the traditional dictate of police culture that requires police officers to wait for instructions from supervisors. As might be expected, older officers, on the whole, are more resistant to the process than younger ones.

Despite the fact that face-to-face relief has not been universally adopted, district supervisory personnel view the concept as an important step in the process of training beat officers to identify with their beat. One district commander commented, "If they're feeling ownership, there's something to talk about." A watch commander in a district where it is occurring said,

[Face-to-face information exchange is] a significant change over the way things used to be. That kind of information used to come in to the watch commander, and then we would have to tell the on-coming officers. We don't deal with that stuff any more....I don't think the communication is what they envisioned. But enough is happening. And it goes right to the person that needs to hear it.

Supervisors are hopeful that face-to-face relief will be easier to accomplish once regular beat team meetings are in place, because they will provide district officers with the opportunity to get acquainted with their counterparts.

CAPS Liaison Officers

The idea of having a CAPS liaison officer in each district was conceived early in the program and implemented in the fall of 1994. The 25 liaisons were envisioned as conduits for the exchange of information between district patrol officers and the Research and Development Division, which has been charged with program planning and implementation. The liaisons' quarterly meetings with Research and Development staff are forums for discussing how CAPS is being implemented in the field, and they are supposed to provide a place where they can speak freely. Periodically, the CAPS co-managers attend the meetings to disseminate information and listen to feedback from district officers. Their participation is well-received by the liaisons, who appreciate the opportunity for direct communication and support from management.

Also included in the meetings are representatives, known as CAPS coordinators, from the Detective Division, Youth Division, Narcotics Division, Auto Theft Division, and Office of Emergency Communications. Liaison officers from the five districts in each area meet monthly with their Area Information Coordinators from the Detective Division to facilitate greater communication between detectives and district patrol officers.

Concerns raised at meetings have to do with the mechanics of CAPS; interaction with other city services, and how to obtain cooperation if it is not forthcoming; how to answer questions from district officers; how to deal with supervisors who are not amenable to the idea of their officers spending time on CAPS-related activities or will not approve overtime so officers can attend beat meetings that are important to them; and how to improve cooperation with detectives and other special units.

Liaisons were given the opportunity to preview the department's General Order that set forth the new patrol division strategy, and later brought feedback about it from their districts for discussion. Some of them surveyed their district's patrol officers to learn how they felt about the new order and seek their suggestions for improvement. This feedback was important to the CAPS co-managers and Research and Development staff. They were responsive, promising to review the order with an eye to revision if specific evidence was produced to warrant it.

In addition to being prepared to share information at the quarterly meetings and take information back to their districts, liaisons are responsible for submitting a monthly report describing their district's CAPS activities to the Research and Development Division. These reports are forwarded through the district commander (who approves their content), to the area chief of patrol, then to their final destination, where they are reviewed for topics to be addressed at future liaison meetings. Information in the reports is also used to generate ideas for the department's CAPS newsletter, the Chicago community policing home page on the Internet, and for *CrimeWatch*, the cable television show intended to increase public awareness of CAPS. Most of the liaisons have risen to the challenge; in fact, some of them have set a goal of getting one of their stories on *CrimeWatch*.

Liaison officers were chosen by their district commanders or neighborhood relations sergeants, perhaps on the basis of their knowledge of how CAPS is working in their district or their support of the program. Taking into account the mobility of district personnel, the corps of liaisons has remained relatively stable, although a few have relinquished the position due to harassment from fellow officers or because they did not want the extra responsibility of the monthly report. The liaisons we interviewed, with one exception, were pro-CAPS and some function as change agents in the organization. They are primarily neighborhood relations or beat officers, although there are also rapid response officers, foot patrol officers, and members of the commander's staff among them. In two districts they are higher ranking, apparently because their district commanders felt that someone in a position of authority was needed to implement the program. Higher ranking personnel are able to authorize overtime for beat meetings and to mediate situations in which supervisors disapprove of officers spending time in the office working on CAPS-related activities.

Most of the liaisons we interviewed reported finding the quarterly meetings a valuable means for learning how other districts are implementing components of CAPS and how they have approached problems similar to their own. An additional benefit is that they keep officers apprised of future developments in the program. Some liaisons wish that the meetings were held more frequently. Those who felt that they had not gotten anything out of them were neighborhood relations or rapid response officers; some held the view that liaison meetings are gripe sessions. That response leads us to consider the proposal of one liaison: that all CAPS liaison officers should be beat officers because neighborhood relations officers are not as affected by this phase of CAPS implementation. For example, they do not deal with answering calls, the face-to-face relief process, beat team meetings, development of the beat plan, and so on. Of the 13 liaisons interviewed, two were beat officers, seven were neighborhood relations officers, one was a foot patrol officer, one was a rapid response officer, one was on the commander's staff, and one was a relief watch commander.

The degree to which liaisons communicate information from the meetings to district patrol officers varies with individual initiative. One extremely committed liaison describes how he fulfills his role:

When I attend these quarterly CAPS liaison meetings, I take notes and bring the information back to the district, then solicit the help of officers on the other two watches to get the word out to officers at the roll call a few days after the meeting. These officers will take the concerns of officers at roll call and bring that back to me and I in turn will take their concerns downtown to the next meeting I attend. If I can answer the question, I will, but there are questions I don't know the answer to myself.

In contrast, another liaison noted that since there has never been a definition of the CAPS liaison job set forth, she is not engaged in any activities to help build CAPS in her district except in her capacity as a neighborhood relations officer.

While some of the liaisons address district roll calls on a regular basis, others publish internal newsletters that serve the same purpose: to recap highlights of the liaison meetings or meetings with area detectives, solicit questions to be raised at subsequent meetings or with the district commander, request CAPS success stories for reporting to local newspapers, offer help in using ICAM, disseminate information about program elements such as dispatching policy and technological innovations, provide phone numbers of resources available, and dispel rumors. They offer their peers the option of submitting questions anonymously, and the answers they return with are published in the newsletter or provided to officers on an individual basis. While some liaisons are persistent in their efforts to get input from district patrol officers, others gave up after initial attempts yielded very little response.

Some liaisons also function as sounding boards for beat officers' concerns, which are usually about interpersonal relations. Examples are: conflicts with supervisors; fellow officers not following through on problems on their beat; resistance to CAPS from co-workers; inadequate

support from tactical and gang units; and problems with civilian beat facilitators. Although most liaisons do not have the authority to handle these conflicts, they can provide the district commander with general information about the types of problems that exist in the district, since they also act as a liaison between district officers and the commander. The commander is then in an informed position to enact procedures that could curtail potential problems.

If liaisons have responsibility for implementing specific components of CAPS in their districts, it is usually a function of their role in the district organization. For example, neighborhood relations officers maintain beat meeting calendars, process and track city service requests, and direct information from the community to the proper police officers. It is rare for a liaison to expand his geographic scope; for example, to receive permission to attend beat meetings districtwide as one does, "to keep a pulse on what's happening."

In interviews, the liaisons offered their observations about the positive effects of CAPS: improved communication within the department, improvement in city services, better coordination between city departments, partnership with the community, community enthusiasm, reduction in crime, and "team pride" among beat officers. Two liaisons described the results of the department's efforts:

Some people understand more of what we should be doing. I think there's a clearer understanding of what we do and what we can and cannot do. People are also learning what are police issues and what are not.

I think that the big picture is the cultural change, or perceptual change in the attitude of the officers — in the role of the police officers. The role the police have has expanded. They're forced to interact with the community; they never did that before. It's good in the sense it's giving an identity to a community; people are starting to have faces.

They also recognize that there are still obstacles to the full implementation of CAPS. For the most part, these obstacles underscore the difficulty inherent in getting police officers, citizens, and city personnel to embrace a change this broad. The obstacles they mentioned include: lack of cooperation from some in the command structure; negative attitudes of some supervisors; police officers being held to writing a specified number of traffic citations or picking up a specified number of curfew violators when they are supposed to be developing strategies for chronic problems; lack of communication skills among police officers; citizens' lack of trust in the police; and citizens' reluctance to take on any responsibility. Liaisons also cited shortcomings in in-house communication; for example, beat officers are sometimes remiss in notifying the Neighborhood Relations office if court advocates are needed, and tactical and gang units do not always inform beat officers of the results of follow-up to problems referred to them.

The liaisons offered their opinions about critical areas needing development. The need for more training was emphasized. One officer said:

[The two-day training] — I don't think that was enough. I think they should have two or three hours of speech classes for officers; most of them don't know how to stand up in front of a group of people and try to communicate their thoughts.

Another commented on the lack of continuity in training from the academy to the district, noting that what is taught in the academy is not carried over into patrol:

At the academy, you're not taught to be a social worker. You leave there ready to rip someone's head off. Now you're asking them to conduct a meeting and address these irate people's issues, and also do it nicely, and they weren't trained for that. The officers are dealing with it as if someone called 911 and they're making a case report. Police are not social workers; they're not taught how to do all that.

They also foresee the need for continued community education and outreach. One liaison recommended that an experienced organizer be placed in each district to facilitate this. Another commented, "The need for the involvement of the community must be hammered in day in and day out." Hand-in-hand with this need was the frequently mentioned area of marketing. The lack of widespread CAPS awareness was illustrated by one liaison's comment: "People out there still don't know what CAPS is. They say, 'Beat meeting? What's that?'"

Others stressed the necessity for better communication within the department, although noting it has improved already since the implementation of CAPS. One said, "Communication is vital in any organization, and that has to be the component that works the best, and I don't think that's our best component." Specifically, the need for improved communication at the district level between watches was mentioned, as was the method of communicating to officers on the street through the 911 system. It was suggested that the new BEATLINK cell phones being piloted in one district might help; they provide a means by which citizens can reach their beat officers directly.

Naturally, the support of higher ranking police department personnel and recognition of officers' accomplishments were also cited as critical areas for improvement, because shortcomings in these areas were mentioned as obstacles to CAPS' success. Liaisons' comments along these lines were:

Supervision must display an example of what the CAPS philosophy is all about — the sergeants, lieutenants and watch commanders must make a commitment.

*You can see the attitude of the officer change dramatically when the supervisor has a positive attitude toward CAPS. The beat officer will be very involved; **very** involved.*

There doesn't seem to be a vehicle to reward the officers. CAPS-related awards need to become as common as commendations.

Finally, liaisons called attention to the need for a faster, less complicated response to the non-emergency number and the need to eliminate some paperwork, such as the massive weekly CAPS service request status report sent to each district.

District Administrative Managers

With the advent of community policing in Chicago came new civilian administrators as part of the district management team. District administrative managers (DAMs) oversee the district's automation systems and supervise all administrative positions in the commander's office with the exception of the district secretary. Typical employees reporting to the DAM are the timekeeper, review officer, citation clerk, and civilian administrative assistants.

This civilian position was recommended by a management consulting team to free up district commanders to have more time to devote to working with the community and to get involved in the decentralized decision-making process that will increasingly characterize the organization. In addition, individuals with some expertise were needed to manage the automation systems being introduced into the districts, and bringing in nonsworn people to handle these functions made a significant contribution to civilianization.

The first administrative managers were hired for the prototype districts, and much was learned from the DAM prototyping experience. The 1993 CAPS special order only loosely defined the position's duties, and it was eventually discovered that there was little uniformity about the position. Before the managers were hired for the nonprototype districts, a new, more explicit job description was written. All 25 districts had administrative managers by March of 1995. Each administrative manager received eight weeks of training at the police academy, during which they spent four days per week attending classes and one day per week in their district.

There were rocky times for the DAMs at the beginning. 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. Those who had come to the department from the corporate world also suffered culture shock. Some of the managers were somewhat overwhelmed with the local area networks that they were to manage, because it was a complex UNIX-based system, and most of their experience was DOS-based. As a result of this shared set of problems, DAMs began meeting on a regular basis to compare notes and craft solutions to these challenges. The monthly meeting generally features a speaker from a unit within the Chicago Police Department or a city department whose functions have an impact on district administration.

Despite somewhat difficult beginnings, the group of administrative managers has remained pretty stable, and according to their responses to the questionnaire described at the beginning of this section, they have adapted well to the department, their districts and their positions. The majority responded that:

- their job is, for the most part, what they expected it to be when they accepted it
- their job is essentially similar to those of the other 24 managers

- their commanders are very supportive of their position
- their position is a very essential part of the district
- they are somewhat to very satisfied with their position
- civilian staff, sworn supervisors, police officers and computer personnel are somewhat to very supportive of their position
- the tensions they first encountered have lessened

The same questionnaire also revealed that the majority of the district administrative managers do not believe that they received sufficient training prior to beginning their job, especially in the areas of police operations, computer systems and police culture. In interviews conducted during our pilot testing period, one administrative manager was very vocal about some weaknesses of the training:

Some of the classes were sort of unnecessary. Like there was a two-hour telephone class. It focussed on teaching us to answer the phone appropriately. I mean, I know how to answer the phone...but I think at this level, two hours of phone answering training is way too much.....I think they should have offered more on the big picture. They should have given a lot more on the chain of command.

In addition, more than one-quarter of the group continues to feel that the district secretary is not at all supportive of the district administrative manager position.

Commanders were also asked whether they believed the administrative manager position was helpful to their operations. Most of the 13 interviewed were enthusiastic about the contributions that their administrative managers made, as expressed in the following comments:

Without a doubt, I find the position helpful. It relieves me of lots of problems, and I can focus on the problems of the community and the officers.

What [the DAM] does is give me the ability.... it gives more time to do what's needed. I can get more involved with the community. It even gives me more time to do more reading about the program or other policing matters.

I wouldn't say the position is helpful — it's critical.... There's so much administrative stuff that goes along with this job that I don't know what I'd do without [the DAM]. I'm a real proponent of the position.

[The DAM is] my right arm... [the DAM is] absolutely helpful to my operations.

It is interesting that although most of these commanders were highly supportive of their administrative managers and of the need for the position, some felt they were in the minority among the commanders:

I'm one of the few commanders who will say [the administrative manager position is] a great help. Well, I don't know if I'm one of a few, but I do know there are some commanders who don't like the position. I think it's a worthwhile position and one that should last.

I'm probably the one commander in 25 that would say [the administrative manager position is helpful], but I really, really rely on [the administrative manager].

Though the majority of the DAMs responded that they believe their commanders to be supportive of them, they seem to be aware of the fact that their position is not deeply woven into the fabric of the Chicago Police Department. Two DAMs interviewed during the pilot test period said,

I think if one or two commanders start complaining about their managers, we could all be out of here. We could all be out of here.

I'd say it's half and half with the commanders [in terms of supporting the DAM position] — half are adamant for it and half are resisters. There were staunch resisters when the second group of managers started.

The new order assigns responsibility to the district administrative manager for ensuring that the beat profiles and beat plan are compiled, assembled and distributed to the beat teams and they have maintenance responsibilities for the master beat files that contain the beat plan and profiles. It will be interesting to see if this further integration of the district manager into the patrol division strategy will increase acceptance of this civilian position.

Summary

The eight broad program categories examined in this section were assessed in terms of the extent of their implementation in the 13 districts studied. The categories were: District Advisory Committees and subcommittees; beat meetings; beat integrity/dispatch; city service request response/MOII cooperation; ICAM; beat team and beat profile development; district administrative managers and CAPS liaison officers.

- District Advisory Committees were functioning adequately in 85 percent of the districts studied. Court Advocacy subcommittees were established in 85 percent of the districts, with 38 percent of the districts having Court Advocacy committees that performed at an above average level. Other DAC subcommittees were active in 77 percent of the districts, 23 percent of which had subcommittees functioning commendably.
- Beat meetings were being held regularly in all districts studied. Average district attendance was at an acceptable level in 70 percent of them, and there was room for improvement in the remaining 30 percent. Beat meetings were judged to have

been running acceptably in 85 percent of the districts, though joint problem solving was taking place in only 54 percent of the total. A police-community partnership was evidenced in 77 percent of the 13 districts.

- Acceptable levels of beat integrity were maintained in 70 percent of the districts studied, however only 30 percent of them believed that the dispatch policy was being adhered to. Those districts that are maintaining acceptable levels of beat integrity attribute it to supervisors' effective monitoring of radio calls.
- The response to city service requests was deemed acceptable in 92 percent of the 13 districts, and cooperation from the Mayor's Office of Inquiry and Information was also rated good in the same 92 percent. That left one district in the sample in which these elements were not yet in place at an acceptable level.
- ICAM equipment was functioning adequately in 92 percent of the 13 districts. District personnel were also reported to use the system on a fairly regular basis at those same districts. Equipment and usage was reported to be at an unacceptable level in only one district.
- Beat team meetings were not yet in place in a majority of the districts studied (54 percent). Thirty percent of the districts we examined had held only one meeting by the time the study was conducted, while in only 15 percent of the 13 districts were they being held on an ongoing basis. Beat plans had not yet been developed in any of the 13 districts, a consequence of the delay in getting beat team meetings underway. Progress in developing and maintaining beat profiles was at an acceptable level in only 38 percent of the districts studied, and implementation of the face-to-face relief process was also acceptable in only 38 percent of the total districts.
- District administrative managers were at work in all 25 districts. They experienced a bit of "culture shock" upon moving from the corporate world into a police agency, and initially encountered some resistance to their new role. A majority thought their commanders were supportive of their new position, that they are essential to the operation of the district, and that they are satisfied with their job. The new General Order that governs the department will greatly expand their role, as planning, budgeting, and administrative responsibilities are increasingly decentralized in the department.
- The CAPS liaison officers have been meeting regularly with headquarters personnel and have provided some valuable feedback on the progress of the program in the field. The extent to which they carry information back to officers in their districts was highly variable, and many were not clear about their role in the implementation of CAPS.

Ironically, it appears that CAPS program components requiring police interaction with citizens and other city agencies are farther along than those components that call for increased interaction and communication within the police department, namely dispatching and development of beat teams, beat plans, beat profiles and an effective face-to-face relief process.

Of the 13 districts reviewed, two (15 percent) were judged to be functioning at a satisfactory level in terms of implementation of CAPS' components, while six (46 percent) had implemented a majority of the components at an adequate level, but were still struggling with a few. The four districts that comprise the next tier were struggling with more components than they were experiencing success with, and one district's (8 percent) CAPS implementation had fallen below the norm.

On the Horizon

This section describes a few of the emergent CAPS issues that we will be examining during the next year. They include the role of technology in community policing, the process mapping study, defining the role of special units in community policing, community policing in public housing, the public outreach campaign, citizen training, police training and the implementation of the General Order.

The Role of Technology in Community Policing

Crime analysis and computerized mapping has been described as "the information base for community policing" since the inception of Chicago's program. During 1994-95 the department implemented its first user-friendly computerized crime mapping system. This system enabled beat officers to become familiar with crime patterns and trends, and to bring relevant information to beat meetings. The system had limitations, however. The databases that the district mapping workstations could access were not as detailed or long-term as analysts desired, nor was sophisticated analytic mapping possible.

The department has created a new ICAM2 analysis and mapping system, and it should be operational during the coming year in most districts. The new system enables officers to tap much larger crime databases and generate higher quality maps, and it provides an avenue for entering and tracking a broader range of information about non-traditional problems and service needs. This more sophisticated system, which interfaces with the UNIX LAN, will offer six levels of information, one of which contains non-sensitive data for citizen access, such as court date information, locations of establishments with liquor licenses, MOII information, vacant building sites within the district, crimes solved and top 10 crime lists and maps. Only verified information will be available to citizens, and therefore it will be approximately 10 days old. The remaining five levels, available only to police personnel, are crime conditions, crime problem analysis, crime investigation, problem solving and district management. Information accessible by police officers will be "real time," with verified information flagged as such. Maps produced by ICAM2 will not be composed on the screen (they will first be seen as a printed product), freeing up the ICAM computer for analysis or information gathering.

Another technological endeavor under development by the department's Data Systems Division is CHRIS (Criminal History Record Information System), which will centralize almost all existing information systems in a giant relational database. CHRIS is being designed to capture and manage all case information from the time a call comes in to the 911 center through its final disposition. In addition to combining all of the various existing databases in the Chicago Police Department, it will incorporate several newer systems such as the automated fingerprint identification system and the digitized mug-shot program. The Chicago Police Department will also eventually have the ability to download data to CHRIS from state and county agencies. CHRIS will enable district-level name queries on suspects and arrestees, bringing fast and accurate information down to the level of the beat officer on a timely basis. In addition, beat profiles will be standardized, updated on an ongoing basis, and generated by CHRIS.

New communication technology is also coming on-line. One district is now pilot-testing a program that provides each beat car with a mobile cellular phone to be used to call into their beat's dedicated voice mail box, their district station, the 911 Center, and many city service agencies. Each beat will have a unique voice-mail box that citizens can call to leave messages for their beat officers and to identify neighborhood problems. In the test area, beat team members' business cards now include their voice-mail-box number. Two other districts have pilot tested the use of mobile computers in beat cars, to facilitate dispatching and the direct recording of crime reports by police officers. And, foot officers throughout the city use beepers, and commonly give their numbers to citizen groups. As the use of this technology spreads, the public will have a vehicle for directly signaling officers (beepers), or leaving complex messages for them (voice mail), thus communicating directly with patrol officers serving their immediate community.

Process Mapping Study

The Chicago Police Department is the first police agency in the United States to utilize an industry-proven technique called process mapping, which they hope will help them improve their operating efficiency and effectiveness. The Department was chosen by the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) to be the lead agency in a nationwide study it is conducting to see what process mapping's effect will be on organizational change in police agencies.

Process mapping helps organizations describe, analyze and ultimately improve their operations by means of flowcharts that depict the sequence of activities involved in carrying out a major function, or core process, of the organization. The Chicago Police Department selected "crime solving" as the core process to be mapped because it is at the center of the organization's success and because it is what citizens want and expect from their police department. The process of solving aggravated criminal sexual assaults and aggravated batteries with a firearm will be analyzed from the moment the crime is reported through its eventual disposition. With accurate and thorough description of the crime-solving process, the Department hopes to document its current task organization and look for ways that it can be improved for the future. Among the things that the process mapping project has revealed thus far is the need for a digitized mug-shot system because of the cumbersome and time-consuming process of retrieving existing photographs and producing new ones.

This innovative analytic tool should reap some interesting insights and point to new directions in the organization of the agency's task flow. The Department's growing self-knowledge and the application of process mapping findings are areas that will be monitored in the coming year.

Defining the Role of Special Units in Community Policing

One task on the horizon for the Chicago Police Department is identifying the roles of special units in its community policing strategy and, after doing so, incorporating the units into the program. Some attention has already been given to re-engineering the Detective Division. Focus groups have been held with detectives to explore the issues. New strategies apparently will be developed to increase information flow and coordination between detectives and beat officers. In addition, area information coordinators from the Detective Division will be working with the districts, and newly created forms are beginning to flow from the detective division down to the district level that include suspect information and status reports on open cases.

The Gang, Tactical, Narcotics and Auto Theft units are also increasing their support of community policing. In some districts, gang and tactical officers are members of the beat teams, and gang and tactical officers attend beat meetings when there are matters of concern for them to address. In addition, these units have named contact people who attend CAPS Liaison meetings, and in that forum they voice their willingness to attend beat meetings as needed.

Bringing specialized units into community policing will be another ground breaking aspect of Chicago's endeavor that we will be monitoring as it unfolds.

Community Policing in Public Housing

Public housing is another arena in which we anticipate activity in the future. To date, relatively little of note has happened with regard to community policing in Chicago's extensive public housing areas. In fact, a few CAPS-related endeavors involving the Chicago Police Department's Public Housing Unit and the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) police were stalled or halted last year. In autumn 1995 planning for a CAPS training curriculum for CHA Police Department officers got underway, with personnel from the Chicago Police Department and the CHA Police Department working together to customize the training. Approximately one month after the planning meeting, the decision was made simply to offer the CAPS curriculum that had been created for the Chicago Police Department, and several groups of officers did receive the two-day CAPS training. However, the training stopped as unceremoniously as it began. And, BITE (Building Interdiction Team Efforts) missions, intra-agency team patrols that aimed to restore order to high rise CHA buildings, were stopped at the end of 1995 when the CHA Police Department chief reassigned the 70 officers that had been working with the Chicago Police Department's Public Housing Unit.

Among the reasons that it is difficult to institute CAPS in Chicago's public housing developments is that many of the service problems plaguing the CHA cannot be dealt with by city

agencies, which is an integral component of Chicago's community policing strategy. Problems such as broken elevators, missing lights, and the like are handled by the CHA, making beat meetings in public housing areas much less effective for identifying community needs and "delivering the goods" under Chicago's model. This is a significant impediment, for we have found that the problems that citizens bring to the table at beat meetings have to do as much with physical decay as they do with crime. However, many service needs cannot be dealt with effectively by beat officers in a public housing setting. And, because CHA Police Department officers also answer calls for service in these housing complexes, it is difficult to institute a comprehensive patrol strategy such as CAPS. Further, there are many safety issues regarding the location of beat meetings and participation in them. Often beats cross gang turf lines, causing citizens to stay home rather than risk straying into opposition gang territory.

In spite of these difficulties, the Public Housing Unit of the Chicago Police Department has introduced some program components into its operations. Officers have continuity of assignment, they attend beat meetings when requested to do so, and they are involved in several outreach programs, such as the Little League program they established, clothing and food giveaways, and the recent opening of a computer training center at the Robert Taylor Homes. During the coming year we plan to monitor the development and implementation of CAPS in public housing settings. Our growing base of computerized crime incident and 911 dispatching data also identifies incidents that occur in and around CHA developments, enabling us to examine detailed trends in CHA crime since 1990.

Public Outreach Campaign

In our 1995 report we noted that recognition of CAPS appeared to have dropped, and declined more among blacks than among whites. The results suggested that the program had not to date been effectively marketed. This finding was taken very seriously and during the late summer of 1995, the city designated a manager to design and implement a public outreach campaign to address this issue. He designed a broad-based media campaign that would increase public awareness of CAPS and encourage individual citizen action. The plan also called for the creation of an outreach program that would involve meeting with community activists and organizations to help rebuild neighborhoods. The campaign plan was well received by City Hall and the manager was given both personnel and resources to carry it out.

The implementation manager was ultimately given a staff of five area service coordinators who are to spend much of their time in the districts, making connections with community organizations and active citizens. The project also has an assistant director who has assumed much administrative responsibility for the campaign and heads the Court Advocacy program, and an administrative assistant who, beyond handling office matters, is quite involved in meetings and paperwork regarding the delivery of city services to the districts. The total budget for this office for 1996, including personnel, was \$1.7 million.

A local advertising firm was hired in December of 1995 to begin work on the design and implementation of the media outreach portion of the plan. The campaign's main message was

"Safe Neighborhoods are Everybody's Business — Get With the Beat," to signal that all citizens and institutions will have a role to play, that there will be channels to get involved with to stop crime, and that neighborhood safety would be ensured through the beat. The target audiences included citizen groups, community businesses and chambers of commerce, churches, school councils, park districts, libraries, citywide and community-based press, city departments and their respective councils, opinion leaders, elected officials, organized labor, professional organizations, and real estate management companies. The campaign elements included public service announcements, outreach through newsletters and videos, advertising through posters, kiosks, neighborhood fairs, sporting events, and selected use of radio and print advertising. Organizational outreach also targeted groups to involve them in CAPS activities such as beat meetings and local problem-solving efforts. Caps, tee-shirts and buttons featuring the CAPS logo have been widely distributed. Many promotional materials have been presented in both English and Spanish. Notable marketing pieces included a CAPS radio spot by a well-known sports figure and a high profile tv advertisement aired during basketball playoff games. Another was an informational newsletter that was mailed to every Chicago resident in August 1996.

Information about the success of the public outreach campaign thus far is anecdotal in nature. We have received unsolicited feedback from city workers, police, and citizens about seeing signs and hearing radio ads. The CAPS implementation office conducted an informal telephone interview with approximately 500 Chicago residents, and staffers believe that the findings support their intuition that awareness is increasing citywide. The volume of calls to the CAPS hotline increased to approximately 100 calls a day during the early efforts of the outreach campaign and many residents stopped at CAPS booths at neighborhood summer festivals to mention that they had heard of CAPS or had attended a beat meeting. Awareness, however, is just the first step in the campaign. Engaging people to take an active role in problem solving and working for the safety of their children and neighborhoods is the ultimate challenge for the campaign.

There are several objectives for the public outreach campaign during 1997. Deepening public awareness so citizens can get involved in CAPS through community beat meetings is paramount. To date, many citizens have attended beat meetings, joint citizen-police training sessions, and multiple neighborhood and block club meetings. One goal of the campaign is to focus these efforts through the beat meetings so that citizens are working together on the same problems in the same venue. This may be a daunting task, because each group has its own interests to protect and may not readily turn their efforts over to the beat meeting. Another objective is to lift the profile of CAPS internally within city government. But as the project manager stated, "The best outreach plan is a community policing program; my plan is not in lieu of community policing."

Beat personnel believe there is a need for more education about city services so that citizens will have a realistic understanding of what can be done. For example, having an abandoned building demolished is a far more complicated process than arranging to have a pothole repaired, due to the complex set of laws regarding the ownership of buildings. There is also a need for the court advocacy program to grow. Getting more judges involved is in the plan, as is

the development of a court advocacy review group to help set standards – "dos and don'ts" – for court advocacy participation. Finally, there will be a thrust during the next year to work with the media to help them formulate CAPS stories. The goal is for CAPS to have a larger presence in mainstream media sources.

Citizen Training

The challenge of engaging citizens in community policing is not unique to Chicago: an evaluation of community policing programs in eight other cities found that all of them experienced great difficulty in establishing a solid relationship between the police and neighborhood residents (Grinc, 1994). Citizens were uncertain of the sincerity of community policing efforts, and of how seriously their input would be taken. They had few ideas about how they could work in partnership with the police other than by calling 911. That evaluation concluded that citizens needed to be trained in the new roles and responsibilities they were being called upon to perform, just as the police were being trained. In Chicago, extensive attention has been given to citizen training. Joint citizen-police training is scheduled to be offered in all 279 beats in the city by the end of 1996. While a variety of options for continued citizen training are being reviewed at the time this report was written a choice had not yet been made about how it would be organized. The Chicago Police Department has emphasized its continuing commitment to citizen training, and it appears likely that a citizen training effort will continue to be mounted during the coming year.

Police Training and Education

The Chicago Police Department is in the process of revamping its internal training operation. Now called the Education and Training Division, its new focus is on inservice and continuing education, in addition to the traditional mandate of preparing recruits for law enforcement careers. The academy's mission statement has been changed to reflect the department's partnership with the community.

New leadership was brought into the Education and Training Division, and the superintendent demonstrated his commitment to enhancing training by naming an assistant deputy superintendent to take charge of re-engineering of the division (the previous head was a commander). The assistant deputy superintendent and a recently appointed training and continuing education coordinator have performed audits and self-assessments of the Academy's operations, and community policing has been incorporated into the preservice training curriculum (instruction for officers about to be promoted). New technology is being introduced to the instruction process, and stricter codes of conduct have been established for recruits. A grant was secured to do a needs assessment and impose stringent academic requirements for instructors.

In addition to developing inservice and ongoing education offerings, the Education and Training Division is planning to reinstate field training officer (FTO) education — the need for which was cited repeatedly by informants during our interviews — and explore the potential of decentralized learning via computers. Additional training is scheduled for development and

implementation during 1996 and 1997, including curricula for deputy chiefs, commanders, watch commanders and patrol officers.

The updating and enhancing of the department's education and training operation is clearly an area of fundamental importance, and the division's ability to deliver curricula that reflects the department's commitment to its community policing strategy and professionalism will be of great interest in the coming year.

Implementation of the General Order

Many specific organizational features of Chicago's community policing program were codified on April 29, 1996, with the release of a new departmental General Order. The order specified procedures for differential dispatching and maintaining beat integrity; formats were specified for recording and tracking progress on specific beat problems; mechanisms were described that should facilitate intra-shift communication within beat teams; and the responsibility police have for coordinating the delivery of city services was documented. The general order also outlined a departmentwide planning process that enhances the role of sergeants and district commanders in allocating resources, and it created area-level management teams. New roles were specified for lieutenants to accommodate the gradual disappearance of the rank of captain. The new order also describes how beat meetings are to be run and how the districts' advisory committees are to be organized.

The development and issuance of the order appears, at least on the surface, to be antithetical to the CAPS philosophy, which calls for more individuality and creativity on the part of officers and managers alike. Though they were cognizant of this disjuncture, the department's executives were aware that all of the elements of CAPS needed to be spelled out to provide a baseline for assessing how carefully various units were implementing the program and to make the strategy a reality for the thousands of tradition-bound officers who do not easily adapt to new ideas and procedures unless required to do so. From the point of view of the department's executives, though, community policing is no longer an "alternative" strategy; it is supposed to be the routine stance of the organization, and the acronym was scarcely mentioned in the new General Order.

To help with the implementation process, the Research and Development Division developed and distributed a "fact sheet" that highlighted and simplified the mission statement, key terms, and the key features of the new Order. Sergeants from each district attended five days of orientation to instruct them on conducting roll call training using sets of bulletins that broke the order down into discrete sets of goals and tasks. The bulletins covered team work, beat integrity, beat profiling, city services, partnerships with the community, the daily watch assignment record, the beat plan, the district and area plans, and intra-departmental support. Roll call training for the rank and file began in the spring of 1996.

At this writing it is too soon to tell how the new Order is being implemented. However, our interviews indicate that most of the districts intend to begin holding beat team meetings by

late summer; some had already started having them. Commanders from each district selected first-line supervisors as beat team leaders, and the department provided a two-day training to help the new appointees better understand and perform the duties associated with this new role. District and area plans, and the management team meetings at which the plans will be developed, have not yet gotten underway.

The department presented a 16-week management training seminar to district commanders and other exempt personnel and, though much of the training dealt with broad management issues such as effective dealings with the media, time management, skillful negotiation and conflict resolution, there were also significant sections on the CAPS model, community policing and implementation of the new Order. The decision to alter the curriculum to focus on CAPS was made almost mid-stream, as it became clearer that commanders and other exempt staff members wanted application-oriented instruction on community policing administration. One day-long session was presented by the CAPS co-managers, and several commanders interviewed as part of the Citywide Implementation Study mentioned that they found this practicum particularly helpful and motivational.

The methods used to implement the Order, the conditions that facilitate or hinder its implementation and how thoroughly the Order is implemented will be an important focus for the evaluation during the coming year.

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