PROBLEM SOLVING CASE STUDIES

by

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PARTNERSHIPS IN ACTION

For the evaluation we used not only public opinion and crime statistics as measures of program outcome, but we also examined police and citizen problem-solving initiatives at the grassroots level. To do this we examined in detail instances of problem solving in each of the five prototype districts. The case studies were initially selected using newspaper indexes, observations at beat meetings, and through personal interviews with community leaders and police. Each case study used a variety of data including personal interviews with key informants, observations of neighborhood meetings and court cases, observations of the area under study, and newspaper and other media sources. The case studies were conducted by advanced criminal justice students under the guidance of the principal investigator, the project director, and the course professor. The following summaries describe each of the 11 case studies that are the foundation of the analysis that follows.

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

Marching Against Drugs

The community of Englewood is located in Chicago's South side. It is a poor community with murder rates that rank among the highest in the city. Englewood, where 36% of households live in poverty, was chosen as one of five prototype districts for the Chicago Alternative Police Strategy in April 1993. The physical signs of decay and disorder are prevalent in Englewood, however they are more concentrated in the neighborhood's business districts where graffiti markings, abandoned buildings and gang members are particularly noticeable. The drug trade has flourished in Englewood. With the drug trade has come an increasingly well organized network of gangs.

In Englewood, a group of community activists has decided to take an active step in the fight against gang loitering and drug dealing on their streets. Their activity involves peace marches and positive loitering around street corners known to be heavily populated by gangs and drug dealers. These community activities were organized by a neighborhood minister and the police as a response to citizen complaints at neighborhood beat meetings.
The goal of the marchers was to "hit" every drug-dealing corner of the beat until the drug dealers left the area. More than 60 residents participated in the first March for Peace. Hopes were high that this message of strength and community intolerance could be sustained. The second planned march was in stark contrast to the first. Turnout was much smaller and it consisted mostly of older residents. While the marchers had police protection, many residents have pointed to fear of retaliation as one of the major factors in explaining the low turnout.

During the marches, the minister uses a megaphone to preach about the evils of drugs, and he leads the marchers in chants. Gang members, who stand on their corners as the marchers chant, tend to laugh as they walked by. Residents who were involved came back from the second peace march with the pessimistic sense that they had been successful in halting the drug trade for only a few minutes.

In general, residents of Englewood's Beat 735 have mixed feelings about the success of the marches. Many believe they are only pushing the drug dealers into the alleys, others fear retaliation, and others only hope that they can divert the drug trade to another area.

Some major obstacles stand in the way of Englewood eradicating the drug trade. First, the reverends and ministers from the district’s other 244 churches must get involved in the problem. One reverend’s work will have to be supplemented by the work of others. According to district police, the community must also organize across beats to fight the problem of corner drug dealing. If each beat continues to focus solely on its own street corners, the battle will not be won. The participation of the neighborhood’s youth is also necessary to the success of the marches and the positive loitering activities. In a community such as Englewood, this is a serious obstacle, as a large percentage of the community’s young people are already involved in gangs or in the drug trade. While the idea for the peace marches originated in a beat meeting, and has received the support of the district police, the community must take a greater stake in Englewood if CAPS-sponsored projects are to have a lasting impact here.

An Automatic Teller Machine

Englewood, in Chicago’s south side, is ranked 68th in annual income of the 77 communities in Chicago. One half of its residents are single mothers, and most receive some form of public aid. Many residents of Englewood do not have bank accounts. For many of them the only way to get checks cashed is through currency exchanges. In an area such as Englewood, which has one of the highest crime rates in the city, currency exchanges can and have quickly become targets for an increasing number of robberies. Street corners that become hot spots in Englewood invariably have currency exchanges.
The number of currency exchange robberies tends to coincide with the time in which public aid checks are received. As the volume of customers increased at the beginning of the month, so too did the robberies. As time went on, the frequency of the robberies required police action. The Englewood police district commander joined forces with an area bank and a philanthropic organization to come up with an alternative.

The bank had long realized that the Englewood area was "underbanked" and had been looking for a location to place an automatic teller machine. The three parties met to discuss a location, and came to the conclusion that the area would be best served by placing the ATM in the district police station. This idea had never before been attempted. The parties involved lobbied the City of Chicago to get approval for installations. After some haggling, they received approval for a six month trial.

Funding for the program was assumed solely by the bank. The bank also instituted a "Smart Money" program in order to motivate Englewood residents to open bank accounts with low start-up costs and minimum balances. The bank also enabled residents to use direct deposits, thereby circumventing dangerous currency exchanges. The philanthropic organization held banking information days for residents.

At the end of the trial, and six months later, there is still no conclusive data about the effectiveness of the program. The police are pleased with the initial results, stating that the program has provided a safe haven for bank customers. It also represents a first step in the service-oriented image the police wish to forge with residents of the community. The police have been regarded with hostility and suspicion by residents of Englewood for many years. The commander hopes that this and other service-oriented ventures between the police and the community will help change this history of antagonism.

The bank is satisfied with results, though they have lost some money in the venture and the transactions remain limited to a small number of residents. Most residents of Englewood still do not have bank accounts. This may be the result of a traditional fear of the police, or of banks, or it may be the result of poor information transmission and public relations. In addition, the number of currency exchange robberies has not decreased significantly, largely due to the fact that few residents have taken advantage of the ATM, or the Smart Money program. Ultimately, a more profound change in the relationship between the police and other institutions such as banks must occur in Englewood if an effective solution to the problem of currency exchange robberies is to occur.
Graffiti Cleanup

On a residential block in Marquette, a young man was shot and injured by a group of known gang members. Approximately 60 other children live on this block, and the shooting led to a call for action on the part of frightened parents. One parent circulated a flyer requesting a group meeting. The meeting was attended by 30 people.

The area in which the shooting occurred is a predominantly Hispanic community known as the Little Village. While 31% of the families in the community live in poverty, many of the houses, though small, are well kept. The community also has a viable commercial district. While gangs have been a problem for the neighborhood for some time, they had never affected residents of this block as closely as on the day of the shooting. At the time of the first meeting, residents had never before met as a block club.

Upset and frustrated, the thirty residents in attendance at the first meeting decided to clean up graffiti and gang markings that had been accumulating for some time on garages in the alley behind their homes. This was seen as a place to start, and it represented a first step. Residents also hoped that by their actions they might teach their children respect for the community.

With help from donations from area businesses, and from Chicago's graffiti removal services, the group was able to get enough paint and brushes to begin the project. Many residents' children were involved in the Saturday afternoon cleanup. While this was not considered a community policing project, one area police officer also attended the cleanup effort.

The graffiti on the residents' garages was painted over. Unfortunately, after this show of community involvement, the block did not meet again as a group. No efforts were made to monitor the effectiveness of the cleanup. In fact, residents with children in gangs now have graffiti on their garages once again.

The instigator of the first block meeting did not want to take a leadership role, and no one else has been willing to step in. District police have not attempted to contact residents, nor have residents met in block clubs or in beat meetings. While residents of the block do not appear particularly unhappy with the current state of affairs, it would seem that without a resident leader, no further action will be taken by this group until yet another incident motivates them.

Gang Unrest at a Bus Stop

The Marquette district is the 5th largest district in Chicago in terms of total population. Located in the near southwest side of the city, it is a largely Hispanic area. In recent years, two Hispanic gangs have plagued the southern edge of the
district. These gangs tend to gravitate towards a Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bus stop near a local high school. Their members harass and sometimes beat up high school students who are waiting for the bus. While the police who service the area have described the problem as one of gang unrest, the district alderman sees it as a consequence of racial tensions, specifically between Hispanics and African Americans.

The problem eventually escalated, leading to the shooting murder of a student by a gang member. This incident became the subject of numerous monthly beat meetings in the district. At these beat meetings concerned citizens voiced the need to take action. Various solutions were attempted, most of which involved cooperation between the high school staff and the district police. The first attempt to remedy the problem involved stationing a police car at the bus station in order to provide a visual deterrent. A second approach to the problem consisted of releasing students from the high school at staggered times in order to increase the monitoring capacities of the police and school officials after school hours.

These initial problem solving attempts did not remedy the problem. At this point, ward officials and the police decided to meet with CTA officials in order to establish a more permanent solution. The CTA officials decided to remove the problem bus stop entirely, and reroute the buses to create four new stops. In this way, students could avoid contact with the gangs.

The perceived magnitude of the problem is evidenced by the fact that the CTA's rerouting is illegal under federal law. Under the law, no bus routes are allowed other than those that are officially designated. In addition to the rerouting, which may or may not be permanent, police cars remain stationed at the original bus stop and additional patrols are often sent to write up their paperwork in the vicinity of the bus stop, further adding to the visual deterrent.

Nonetheless, when asked, the police officers in charge of monitoring this stop are unaware of any CTA route changes and claim that there is still tension and gang harassment at the original stop. Other police officers in Marquette, as well as ward officers, take a more positive view of the situation, seeing it as an example of community policing in action and of joint problem solving. The community believes it has made some progress towards securing a greater level of safety for its children.

While on the surface this project appears to have attenuated a serious problem, there is lingering confusion as to whose efforts were responsible for the solution and its implementation. CTA officials believe that they have had to do everything without the help of high school officials, and patrol officers appear unaware of the route changes. The community's involvement was evident only at the onset of problem identification, in monthly beat meetings. There must be more effective inter-agency cooperation and community involvement in the future if problem
Spanish-Language Radio Broadcasts about CAPS

The Marquette district of Chicago has witnessed a series of demographic shifts in the last 10 years. Now a predominantly Hispanic area, the major problem facing residents is an increasing number of youths involved in gangs. As an inner city neighborhood, it must combat the effects of drugs and violence. Another obstacle facing the Marquette district is a lack of involvement in the CAPS program by Hispanic residents. A traditional fear and animosity towards the police have led many residents to believe that the police cannot understand or solve their problems. Many residents are also fearful of communicating with the police and calling 911 because English is not their first language. In an attempt to seek solutions to these obstacles, "Organization Uno", a lose affiliations of Latino leaders, began working with the Chicago Police Department to improve Hispanic involvement with the police and with the CAPS program in particular. Organization Uno invited a Spanish radio station -WIND/WOJO - to one of their meetings with the CPD, and it was agreed that the radio station would air a one hour talk radio show about CAPS once a month. The show is a way of informing Hispanic listeners about the CAPS program, about beat meetings, and about crime prevention. The intent of the program is to reach out to Hispanic residents in a non threatening way and improve their knowledge of CAPS. Hosted by a Marquette district neighborhood relations officer, the show has been on the air since May 1993. The radio station broadcasts on both the AM and FM bands, and it reaches a large number of Marquette residents. Neighborhood relations officers are confident that the radio show has improved residents’ knowledge about CAPS, however improvements in turnout at beat meetings have not been measured. The show will continue to air for the foreseeable future.

Battling the Proposed Re-Opening of the Windsor Hotel

The Austin police district was chosen as a prototype district for the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy in April 1993. The neighborhood of Austin is situated in the city’s west side. Since the 1970’s Austin has experienced a large increase in crime, transience, poverty and racial tensions.

The reopening of the Windsor Hotel, and its conversion into a form of "halfway" house, is an example of a problem that could have had serious consequences for this downtrodden community if residents and the police had not worked together.

In August 1994, a community resident noticed a sign on the abandoned Windsor Hotel indicating that it was to be converted into a rehabilitation home for drug addicts and newly released prison inmates. The program, named the "Reach Out and Touch Prison Ministry", is being initiated by two men who are in the business of running recovery homes for early release inmates and addicts. Inmates
under their supervision are known to live freely in the community and do not receive treatment.

Alarmed by the potential consequences of the conversion, the community sought police involvement. Residents were particularly concerned that the prison ministry would attract more crime to the area. Also, they were suspicious of the founders' motives, viewing this as a money-making venture and not a rehabilitative program.

At beat meetings, where the problem was repeatedly addressed, a decision was made that the police and community would use legal channels to stop the opening of the Windsor Hotel. The police undertook title searches of the hotel. These searches uncovered $50,000 in unpaid taxes and code violations on the building. The searches also revealed that the building was not owned by any of the individuals involved with the proposed prison ministry. The police and the community took their findings to court, and on the 27th of October 1994, a court order required that all construction on the building be ceased, as the building permits had been received under false pretenses.

Nonetheless, the future of the Windsor Hotel is still uncertain. A title transfer is still possible, and if it is transferred to the individuals involved with the prison ministry, the project may be resumed. The ward alderman has not been willing to vote to have the area surrounding the hotel re-zoned. Re-zoning would put a final stop to any plans to convert the hotel into a rehabilitation home. Furthermore, if the present owner does decide to transfer the title and the building is brought to code, the "Reach Out and Touch Prison Ministry" may yet open in the building that once housed the Windsor Hotel.

According to residents and the police, the Windsor Hotel incident, while still unresolved, provided a catalyst to the creation of a community/police network that has the capacity to tackle future problems when they arise. Through participation in beat meetings and other CAPS activities, the residents and police of Austin have developed a stronger relationship that has enabled them to leverage additional support from city services and the mayor's office. With greater access to city service resources, the community of Austin is attempting to rebuild itself from the ground up.

**A Program for Youthful Offenders**

The Beverly/Morgan Park area is situated in Chicago's Morgan Park police district. Located in the city's southwest side, the area is the largest urban historic district in the U.S. Beverly/Morgan Park is solidly middle class and it provides superior education to its young residents, as well as a strong and active network of community groups.
Nonetheless, the area has its problem, one of which is a progressive increase in juvenile crimes. As a result of resident complaints about juvenile activity, the Beverly Area Planning Association (BAPA), a non profit organization of many neighborhood groups within the community established a Safety Committee. As a response to specific crimes, the Safety Committee launched a pilot program entitled "The Alternative Consequence Program for Youth Offenders" in July 1993.

The issue of juvenile crime in Beverly/Morgan Park involved graffiti and gang tagging as well as underage drinking in a neighborhood park. The problem, according to community members, involved not only the nature of juvenile activity, but a systemic lack of punishment of juvenile crime. Juvenile courts were unable to prosecute many juvenile offenses because of chronic overloads. As a result, offenders were receiving the message that their criminal behavior could go unchallenged.

The Safety Committee of BAPA was composed of youth officers, the commander of the Morgan Park district police department, the alderman, an assistant state's attorney and community referral agencies. The philosophy behind the Alternative Consequence Program is that if a juvenile commits a crime he or she will have to pay back the community in some way, namely through community service. The hope behind the program was that if juvenile offenders were taught accountability early enough, it might deter them from future criminal activity while also giving them a sense of membership in the community.

Eligibility to the program was limited to misdemeanor offenses such as drinking, graffiti, retail theft, property damage and bicycle theft. The offenders had to be between the age of 12-16 and receive parental consent to enter the program instead of entering the Juvenile court system. The offender must sign a contract to perform a certain number of hours (between 8-100) of community work for a certain neighborhood agency. Much of this work involves beautification projects in Beverly/Morgan Park. If an offender does not adhere to the contract, his or her case will be referred to Juvenile court.

There has been no survey of the pilot program to determine its effectiveness. One factor that has been noted with respect to effectiveness is that the program may only work well in the case of a first offense. Repeat offenders will know that the outcome, should they choose to go through Juvenile court, will be minimal. As a result, they generally do not opt for the Alternative Consequence program, and there is no way of making this program mandatory as of yet.

While the effectiveness of the program has yet to be determined, there is a sense among community members that this is a step in the right direction, that it is providing a vehicle for community empowerment, and that it is an example of the CAPS philosophy of police/community cooperation. Nonetheless, the program, while unique, rests on uncertain ground, particularly with respect to its voluntary nature.
Beatlink

The Beverly/Morgan Park area was chosen as one of five prototype districts in the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy in April 1993. The area is part of the Morgan Park police district and is located in Chicago's southwest side. Beverly/Morgan Park is considered a comparatively stable community, characterized by low levels of disorder and a strong permanent network of community organizations. In addition to the CAPS program, this community has independently expanded its relationship with the police by means of a program called Beatlink.

Beatlink is a cooperative effort that links business establishments on a commercial artery in Morgan Park with foot patrol officers of this police district through the use of alphanumeric pagers. The effort to increase cooperation between business and police in Morgan Park comes from two factors: 1) business' dissatisfaction with the prioritization of emergencies and responses to emergency calls through the 911 system and 2) attempts at improving the nature of the contact between area businesses and foot patrol officers. While the community and the Chicago Police department have not always viewed the matter of call prioritization from the same perspective, in the early months of 1993, an area businessman recommended the use of pagers by the foot patrol officers at a community business meeting which was also attended by members of the Chicago Police department. This suggestion initiated the pager program. The process of implementation was not, however, without obstacles.

The obstacles to implementation included the financing of the program, city approval and the pagers themselves - where would they come from and who would pay their operating costs. The police department and business organizations split the responsibility for solving these problems, with the CPD seeking the city's approval for the program and area businesses looking into means of financing it. Area businesses were able to secure donated pagers from Ameritech. In the meantime, the commander of the Morgan Park district police department sought approval from the CPD for a three-month pilot program. The CPD's principal opposition to the program involved concerns that the pager program would supplant the 911 system, and that area businesses would be unable to determine when to call the foot patrol officers and when to call 911. The commander of the Morgan Park district was able to inform the CPD that flyers were being circulated to educate area businesses on how to use the pagers, and that they were to be used only in non-emergency situations. The commander eventually received approval for the pilot program.

With the primary obstacles removed, the Beatlink program went into effect in December 1993. In March 1994, the outcome of the pilot program was studied by means of a survey of area businesses. Business owners' response to the program has
been positive. They feel safer, they perceive that their concerns are better appreciated now than under the 911 system alone, and they feel that the program has improved their relationship with district police. The only negative response involves situations where a foot patrol officer is pulled off his beat and reassigned. The officer is then unable to answer the pager and the caller must then rely on the 911 system. These occurrences appear to be rare.

Police officers are also responding positively to the program. Approval by the CPD to extend the program at the end of the pilot came almost immediately, and this has sent a message to the Morgan Park district police that the program is a success. The police department is happy to report that the Beatlink program has improved the perception of effectiveness on the part of the police in handling non emergency calls, and it has also taken some of the pressure off what the police considers an overburdened 911 system.

As a result of Beatlink, the police and residents of the Morgan Park district have observed an improvement in their cooperative efforts, particularly during beat meetings. One potential cooperative venture has been suggested to enhance the Beatlink project: the use of cellular phones by foot patrol officers and residents. The rationale behind the cellular phone project is that it would provide immediate accessibility for both police and residents. In an atmosphere of cooperation, the use of cellular phones may improve the community’s response to crime.

A Bad Building

A recurring problem in the community of Rogers Park on the city’s Far North side is bad buildings and slumlords. In particular, one building, located at 1210 W. Granville, was deemed a "hot spot" by residents of Chicago Police Beat 2433 and by the police department. The building was at the center of an alarming level of criminal activity in the neighborhood of Edgewater. In 1993, residents and police of the 24th district determined that 1210 W. Granville was the number one problem building in Beat 2433.

The building at 1210 W. Granville was managed and owned by an individual who also owned a number of other bad buildings in the area, and the main goal of beat 2433 members and the district police department was to have the manager convicted of criminal housing management in Criminal Housing court. The building in question is a four story residential/store front apartment building on an otherwise well maintained street. The problems with 1210 W. Granville began in 1993, when residents complained about homeless children, gang members and prostitutes using the building. At the time, the building was still half occupied. Problems then escalated when a part of the ceiling fell on one resident, indicating the extent of the disrepair. Then, a woman who was not a tenant was found dead in an apartment.
According to activists in the Edgewater Community Council, the owner was not always a bad landlord. The problem began slowly, when he began to rent to drug dealers. This set in motion a process of gradual deterioration as responsible tenants began to move out of the building. With more vacant apartments and pressure to rent them, the owner was unable to choose his tenants selectively. Eventually, the building was converted into a section 8 housing unit, enabling low income residents to live in the building with federal funds to cover their rent. At this point, the owner abandoned the building because he was no longer making a profit. Nonetheless, he remained the legal owner of the building, and beat members and community activists at the Edgewater Community Council decided they would take action against him to remedy the problem. In addition to the community’s response, the 24th police district commander and the 40th ward Alderman took a personal interest in the building, largely because of the extent of youth criminal involvement in and around 1210 W. Granville.

The community’s first attempts at negotiating with the owner through informal meetings did not work. The only alternative was to pursue him through legal channels. The State Attorney’s office contacted the owner with a list of demands for improvements to his building which he was largely able to ignore. It was necessary that he be charged for three instances of reckless conduct in order to be charged with criminal housing management. Getting these charges demanded a sustained commitment on the part of the community and the police. A central element of the community/police relationship was the presence of community residents and police officers at all court hearings for the 1210 W. Granville building.

In September 1994, the continued involvement of the community and the police paid off when the owner was sentenced to a $1000 fine and 200 hours of community service for three counts of criminal housing management. All concerned believe that this is the type of message that must be sent to other bad landlords in the district. The sentence is the highest levied against a landlord in the area. The building is now in the process of being sold to a developer. The next step for the community and the district police is to maintain pressure on the owner to become a responsible landlord in his other buildings. The Edgewater Community Council and Beat 2433 representatives also have plans to combine efforts with other community and beat groups who have problems with this and other irresponsible landlords.

The experience has had broader effects on the relationship between the community and the police, indicating that if problems arise in the future, they will be tackled by a more cooperative and supportive network of residents and police officers.
"Morse Matters - Operation Beat Feet"

In April 1994, 60 residents of Police Beat 2431 in Rogers Park joined forces with district police and the 49th ward alderman’s office to launch "Morse Matters" - Operation Beat Feet. The project is a unique variation on the idea of positive loitering by residents. Operating without any identifying clothing, and armed only with flashlights, cellular phones and note pads, residents of the beat have staged nightly walks, ranging in length from one to three hours. The walks take residents along a busy commercial artery as well as surrounding streets. The project has generated rapid success: as of November 1994, the area police were reporting a 33% decrease in five key crimes from 1993.

When the residents of Beat 2431 first began to organize, CAPS was in its infancy. The group’s goals were to develop a way for residents to know their neighbors, to create an atmosphere of safety in and around Morse Avenue and to reclaim the streets for responsible citizens. Their target was a group of panhandlers, loiterers and gang members who appeared to have taken over the streets, creating problems for businesses and area residents near the elevated train station. The group’s solution was to begin nightly resident walks in order to repopulate the area and set limits on the behavior that would be tolerated in the neighborhood.

The group does not refer to itself as a "patrol", shying away from the confrontational connotations of the term. They prefer to think of their walks as establishing a "people presence". While they do not wish to be confrontational, the walkers are active and do maintain regular contact with the evening foot patrol officer. They take notes and are not afraid of being recognized while they walk along the streets of their neighborhood.

A major obstacle to implementing the program was establishing a reliable group of walkers. This took the sustained efforts of certain members of the 2431 Civilian Beat Team. The group has now established a core group of walkers. One reason for the continued success of the walks is that they are only one expression of the activities of a well established community organization. The area around Morse Avenue has received the attention not only of the beat organization, but also of the Morse El Community Association, a business-led beautification project. These two organizations lend each other support, and between them, they have also been able to establish strong links with the Rogers Park Community Council, DevCorp North, the 49th ward alderman’s office and the Rogers Park district police department.

The show of continued commitment on the part of the community has not only resulted in a tangible reduction of crime on Morse Avenue. It has also led to the creation of a particularly close relationship between the community and the neighborhood relations office of the police department. The Beat 2431 walkers have coordinated with the foot patrols to ensure a visible presence at all court hearings for arrested panhandlers and loiterers and gang members. The group’s buildings
The committee has established close ties with the alderman's office in order to ensure that bad landlords in the area are held to a higher standard of responsibility.

Recently, the group received city-wide attention when Ameritech recognized their efforts and donated cellular phones to the group. Prior to this, the cellular phones and their operating costs were the responsibility of individual walkers.

The group has cut down on the frequency of the walks during the winter months, however, they plan to return to the streets nightly in the spring and summer of 1995. Having established supportive relationships with the police, the alderman's office, city services and business groups, the members of the 2431 Civilian Beat Team are confident that they can help reduce crime in the area by another 33% in the months to come.

Citizens Picket a Slumlord

In the last two years a group of residents in Rogers Park have been picketing the home of a local slumlord. The group has also picketed the bank that holds this individual's mortgages. Other unique approaches to the problem of slumlords have been attempted by this irate group of homeowners in a residential area of this Far North side community. Some of the slumlord's worst buildings are interspersed among turn of the century private homes that are owned by young professional couples with children. These home owners are fed up with the noise, crime, violence and general unrest that are directly related to these problem buildings. They are afraid for the safety of their children, and are watching the property value of their homes decline, as the neighborhood undergoes a progressive deterioration.

One incident in particular sparked the residents' decision to organize: in May 1993 a shooting incident occurred directly outside the home of one resident. Two of his cars were shot at. The resident called a meeting which was attended by 60-70 people as well as a beat officer. At this meeting, the group decided to stage a "creative demonstration" in front of the slumlord's home, which is located in a residential suburb of Chicago. The goal of the demonstration was to make him as uncomfortable in his home as he was making them in theirs. After the demonstration, things cooled off somewhat until a second shooting, this one fatal, in the fall of 1993. Again, the relationship to the problem buildings was indisputable. A new round of pickets ensued, including a picket of the bank that holds the slumlord's mortgage. At this time the group received the support of local and state politicians.

The pickets have not had any tangible effect, largely because the group has not been able to influence the investors in the slumlord's real estate corporation. Their identities remain secret under Illinois law, and the group believes that influencing these mystery investors is the key to achieving "success", defined as ridding the neighborhood of this individual. In attempting to contact his investors, the group
has come up with its most unique strategy. They are now in the process of locating a list of members of his synagogue, believing that this may be an avenue to uncovering the identity of some of his investors. What the group hopes to do is send a message to the investors, explaining that they may have unwittingly invested in a slumlord enterprise. If the investors pull out, the group believes the slumlord will have to sell all 13 of his buildings in the area. At this point, the group lacks the manpower to undertake a lobbying campaign to contact investors, and under Illinois law, this process is a long and complicated one. The frustration of the group is palpable, and some residents have suggested that a more dramatic demonstration may be necessary, as the slumlord remains unmoved by petitions, demonstrations, and the warnings of the ward alderman and his own rabbi.

The residents of the street have attempted to keep their organization *ad hoc* and have not given themselves a name. Part of their rationale is that they do not want to give the slumlord access to a legal entity he could then tie up in court. Part of the explanation also lies in the fact that the principal organizers of the demonstrations and the other unique strategies are not particularly involved in the broader Beat 2424 community network. Within the beat there is a community network that works with the alderman's office, city services and the State’s Attorneys Office to rid the area of slumlords. These residents have been successful in getting the same slumlord to sell some of his buildings on the northern edge of the beat. Perhaps if more cross-over occurs between the *ad hoc* residents group and the broader beat network, greater success will be achieved.

### Citizen Involvement

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

### Identifying the Problem

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

In other situations, a specific perception of general disorder in the vicinity led citizens to identify a specific problem. Their frustrations with panhandling,
loitering and gang activity were the motivation for "Operation Beat Feet". Perceptions that the 1210 W. Granville building was serving as the locus for criminal activities spurred citizen involvement in that case. Frustration with a systemic failure on the part of the juvenile justice system initiated the "Alternative Consequences for Youth Offenders Program," Businesses' perception that the 911 system was not adequately handling emergency calls led to the creation of "Operation Beatlink." Residents' concerns about the consequences for their neighborhood from the proposed re-opening of the Windsor Hotel led citizens to organize to oppose a transfer of ownership. Finally, a generalized sense that gangs are at the root of the Englewood District's decline has motivated citizens to undertake Marches on Violence there.

**Developing and Implementing Solutions**

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

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

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

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

Finally, citizens sometimes suggested problem solving strategies in order to achieve better communication with the police, as was the case in "Operation Beatlink" as well as "Operation Beat Feet".
The Role of Established Organizations

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

Neighborhood and Area Associations

Community based associations are generally well established and have numerous contacts and affiliations with other organizations. They often provide assistance in coordinating the actions of smaller community groups. These non-profit associations may make referrals and provide services to area block clubs and Beat associations. Some of the partnership case studies highlighted the critical role played by community based associations in developing and implementing solutions to neighborhood problems.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The city's Corporation Counsel played a role in developing the Alternative Consequences for Youth Offenders Program, verifying the legality of various aspects of the program. The Corporation Counsel's office also advised the Beverly Area Planning Association on the extent to which neighborhood groups that were willing to provide work for the juvenile offenders could be liable. The Park District was also involved in this program, providing an opportunity for juvenile offenders to do their community work in the public parks of the Morgan Park District.
Businesses. Businesses and non-profit organizations played a role in problem solving in some of the case studies. While businesses did not appear to be involved at the problem identification stage of the problem solving process, their cooperation was indispensable in implementing proposed solutions in some case studies.

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

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

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

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

The Chicago Transit Authority played a central role in implementing a solution to a problem with gang unrest at a CTA bus stop in front of a high school in the Marquette District. When parents complained to the high school, the police and the alderman's office attempted to solve the problem. When their attempts proved insufficient, the CTA was contacted. Their decision to reroute the bus that serviced the high school, relieved the potential for gang clashes and racial unrest in the area.

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

**Police Involvement**

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

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

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

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

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

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

Increasing Cooperation and Protection

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

The two problem buildings cases, while different, shared similarities in the ways that police neighborhood relations, beat officers and at times district commanders approached the problem. In the Windsor Hotel case, the police were first informed of the problem in a beat meeting. When the case was turned over to the courts, the police helped with transporting citizen activists to and from court, as well as distributing information about court dates to residents. The police and residents active in the South Austin Community Council conferred at Court Advocacy meetings to discuss what their next cooperative steps would be. In addition to this, the police worked with residents at the very onset of the case, volunteering the services of their personnel for title searches. In fact, it was through these title searches that the police and community were able to get this case into Buildings Court.
In the 1210 W. Granville case, there was visible police presence at all levels of the organization. When the community informed police about problems in and around the building, it became a priority location in the officers' beat planners. Later, the district commander took a personal interest in the case, touring the building with a police photographer. Photos sent by the commander to the State's Attorney's office provided evidence of another instance of Criminal Housing Management. Finally, when residents picketed the offices of the building manager, the police sent an escort, even though the picketing was not within the confines of the community group's beat.

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

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

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

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