

Illinois State University

ISU ReD: Research and eData

Theses and Dissertations

7-5-2023

You Ca N't Police Your Way out of these Problems: Disregarding the Structural Components of Community Problems

Kian Spencer Gaines

Illinois State University, kian.s.gaines@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://ir.library.illinoisstate.edu/etd>

Recommended Citation

Gaines, Kian Spencer, "You Ca N't Police Your Way out of these Problems: Disregarding the Structural Components of Community Problems" (2023). *Theses and Dissertations*. 1744.

<https://ir.library.illinoisstate.edu/etd/1744>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by ISU ReD: Research and eData. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ISU ReD: Research and eData. For more information, please contact ISUREd@ilstu.edu.

YOU CAN'T POLICE YOUR WAY OUT OF THESE PROBLEMS: DISREGARDING THE
STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

KIAN GAINES

70 Pages

Community-Oriented Policing Services (COPS) emerged in response to longstanding criticisms revolving around police accountability and effectiveness. It emphasizes civilian participation in crime-prevention and problem-solving efforts to build trust between the police and minoritized communities with whom they have had an antagonistic relationship. Traditional policing is reactive in nature, with officers acting only after crime has been committed or a call for service has been made; it enforces the law; “legitimizes” use of violence; and emulates military structure and tactics. In this study I describe it as “enforcement” or “crime-fighting policing.” COPS programs are embedded within this structure. Unlike traditional policing, COPS is characterized by four dimensions: philosophical, strategic, tactical, and organizational (Cordner 1999). Kennedy and Moore (1995) argue that the proper unit of analysis is not the program, but the police organization and its capacity to be flexible, innovative, and collaborative. However, there is a lack of research that focuses on community-oriented policing programs and examines how they are embedded within police departments and communities. This study adds to the literature critical of COP philosophy and implementation. My research questions include: What are the purpose/goals of the CAPS program, and does the entire department share them? How does the program nested within the CPD seek to achieve these goals? Why has CAPS/COP been unable to resolve the critiques levied against policing? I used a combination of seven semi-structured in-depth interviews and eight observations of Beat Meetings. Interviews were conducted with both CAPS officers and “enforcement” officers. An analysis of the data revealed

that police officers can often be categorized as empathetic or punitive. The compassion and community-service background of empathetic officers makes them well-suited to CAPS work. Policing tactics cannot adequately address community problems because they disregard the structural components of crime, public safety, police misconduct, and other community problems. The CPD has used the CAPS program as a marketing strategy rather than adopting the transformative COP philosophy.

KEYWORDS: CAPS, community policing, community problems, defund police, structural problems

YOU CAN'T POLICE YOUR WAY OUT OF THESE PROBLEMS: DISREGARDING THE
STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

KIAN GAINES

A Thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY

2023

© 2023 Kian Gaines

YOU CAN'T POLICE YOUR WAY OUT OF THESE PROBLEMS: DISREGARDING THE
STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

KIAN GAINES

COMMITTEE MEMBERS:

Michael Dougherty, Co-Chair

Jason Whitesel, Co-Chair

Miltonette Craig

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Dr. Jason Whitesel for his guidance while starting this project; embarking on this journey was daunting, and he helped me materialize my ideas. I thank Dr. Michael Dougherty for reassuring me and ensuring that I did not give up during difficult times. I thank Dr. Miltonette Craig, whose advice helped me conduct this research with confidence. Special thanks to my parents, who act as the pillars that support me in all my endeavors, and to the rest of my family and friends, whose belief in me served as fuel throughout this process. Special acknowledgment to my brother Brandon Gaines who passed before I began this journey but was with me every step of the way.

K. G.

CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	i
TABLES	iv
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
The History of Promoting Police Accountability	6
Background and Context	9
CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW	14
CHAPTER III: METHODS	19
Geographical Context	22
Hyde Park	22
Roseland	23
Bronzeville	24
Rogers Park	25
CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS	26
Table 1: Demographic Information on the Police Officers	28
How Police Officers Talk about The CAPS Program	29
Beat Meetings	35
Resident-driven Interactions	37
CAPS Officer Response	38
Officer Compatibility with Community Policing	40
Bad Policing	43
Choosing Policing Despite Bad Policing	46
You Can't Police Your Way Out of These Problems	48
What Can be Done?	54

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION	60
CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION	63
REFERENCES	65

TABLES

Table	Page
1. Demographic Information on the Police Officers	28

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

There are as many styles of policing as there are officers, but most can be divided into the categories of empathetic and punitive styles. Officers with a history of community service are typically drawn to empathetic styles, as are officers who have had negative experiences with the police before becoming police officers. These officers are more likely to exhibit greater compassion, making them more suited for CAPS (Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy) work. Empathetic and punitive officers see the limits of policing's efficacy in solving community problems. Punitive officers generally point to a finite police presence, lenient sentencing, and insufficient community support as limiting factors. Empathetic officers are more likely to recognize the structural roots of community problems, the necessity of structural solutions, and the inefficacy of policing to address these issues.

We must ask why, thirty years after American police agencies seemingly adopted community-oriented policing (COP), these reforms have fallen flat. American police agencies developed out of slave patrols and have always been racialized. The concept of whiteness is maintained and given value through police work by determining who is deserving of protection or discipline. Police brutalization of Black bodies stems from this organizational racism and punitive thinking. This misconduct and the ensuing cover-ups represent a structural problem within policing being addressed on an individual level. Organizations responsible for addressing misconduct have favored individual personnel changes rather than holding the police department accountable.

The Chicago Police Department/CAPS program also attempts to solve community structural problems using individual-level solutions. COP philosophy was intended as a department-wide structural change; instead, it has been embedded as sub-departments within

traditional police departments. There are some cases where police departments utilize COP rhetoric to secure funding while still using traditional policing strategies. Even programs implemented in good faith, such as the CAPS program, are more aligned with traditional policing because they fail to address policing's structural issues, which maintains the status quo. These programs are little more than props to appease critics.

Funneling billions of dollars into CPD to provide crisis intervention has not been able to reduce crime or make citizens safer. Reducing crime and promoting public safety requires strong community infrastructure. To build and maintain this, policing funds should be reconfigured and divested into public goods. CPD should also limit the scope of issues they address; however, this might require the creation of new agencies or investment into preexisting ones. For example, mental health crisis interventions and traffic stops.

If CPD is serious about committing to COP philosophy, it should first prioritize recruiting empathetic individuals with community service backgrounds, perhaps making it a requirement. The hiring process needs to focus on finding the best candidates rather than eliminating the worst. The training process should also reflect this commitment to COP philosophy. Officers should receive extensive cultural competency and de-escalation training, and, in general, training should emphasize the service aspect of policing.

Critiques of inequitable and ineffective policing models have been shifting the law-and-order ideology as to what police agencies are and should be. In America, differing schools of thought compete; at one end of the spectrum lies an independent punitive agency that promotes safety by enforcing laws. At the other end, a restorative agency collaborates with residents to coproduce public safety. Officers along this continuum must find their place in a department where the emphasis historically has been what some officers have labeled "enforcement";

Chicago Police Department (CPD) now attempts to incorporate community-oriented policing throughout the department. This goal requires that COP's (community-oriented policing) philosophy is embodied in the policies of CPD and practiced by the officers that form its ranks.

CAPS is an attempt to incorporate COP philosophy into CPD. Community-oriented policing is a style of policing that emphasizes civilian participation in crime-prevention and problem-solving efforts, which emerged in response to longstanding criticisms revolving around police accountability and effectiveness. This new style hoped to address concerned communities and build trust between the police and minoritized communities with whom they have had an antagonistic relationship. Nearly thirty years after police departments across the United States received substantial funding for community policing programs, the over-policed and under-protected's criticisms of law enforcement persist and have only strengthened.

The CAPS program is a sub-department within the Chicago Police Department (CPD) working to build ties with residents through community engagement and involvement. Each of Chicago's 25 districts has its own CAPS office staffed by a subset of police officers who have self-selected or been informally recruited into the program. The personal philosophies of these officers intersect with the organizational ideologies of CAPS.

Police officers become CAPS officers because they have a service-oriented mindset; working in the CAPS program is an extension of the beliefs, values, and work done before becoming a police officer. The CAPS program's officers are committed to improving the communities where they work and live. They often volunteer, and some also act as mentors in non-profit organizations. Many of these officers lived in over-policed communities and have been subject to "bad policing." Their experiences with racial profiling and other forms of mistreatment inspired activism and spurred them toward police work. Knowing firsthand how it

feels to be mistreated, these officers sought to become the type of police they felt their communities deserved.

The CAPS program routinely hosts “beat meetings,” during which residents drive the interactions with officers, making complaints and petitioning officers to attend to issues within their communities. In beat meetings, CAPS officers act as intermediaries between residents and CPD, responding to residents using collective nouns such as “we” and “our.” Interactions between officers and residents are laden with power and information asymmetries. Residents and officers operate on uneven ground; residents make appeals to officers while officers speak from a place with more authority and the ability to control information. The CAPS officers’ responses attempt to assuage discontent in residents through explanations and advice. However, they rarely engage with criticisms in any substantive way. CAPS has also been incapable of resolving longstanding chronic issues within communities.

COP is an organizational philosophy promoted as a dramatic shift away from traditional enforcement policing models. Chicago’s interpretation of the philosophy through The CAPS program cannot change how policing as a resource is distributed and has not lived up to the radical change initially envisioned by some proponents. Despite the philosophy behind CAPS and the officers that practice its ideals, minoritized communities still suffer from the same conditions that sparked the initial criticisms. The CAPS program is only a subset of CPD and is subject to the department’s primary goals. It is difficult to say what, if any, effect CAPS has had in Chicago communities due to the inconsistent emphasis on the program from CPD. CAPS also primarily attempts to help build and strengthen communities; yet, it cannot solve many of the problems articulated by communities because it operates alongside the type of enforcement policing that has been criticized.

Citizens, legislators, and other public servants often view problems and solutions through an individualistic lens (Spicker 2013). Thus, crime is treated as a moral failing of individuals rather than a structural deficiency, punishing persons on a case-by-case basis and refusing to address the macro-level issues that drive people to commit crimes. Both community-oriented policing broadly and CAPS specifically share the same goals as traditional models of policing; that is, crime reduction and prevention, albeit by different means. Sharing the same goals as conventional policing has led CAPS to share the same major pitfall, attempting to police their way out of structural problems. Police have become the default option to respond to all of society's ills and are tasked with addressing issues that are or should be outside the scope of policing. Social services cannot function optimally because funds have continuously siphoned towards policing services since the 1994 Crime Bill. Ironically, police are expected to fill the gaps in coverage left by these now under-staffed and under-funded social services. When police are inevitably ineffective or detrimental in their interventions, they are criticized heavily. Requiring the police to do everything has overextended police departments and made them less effective.

Police departments cannot produce the structural changes necessary to prevent and reduce crime. To be a more effective agency, police departments' scope should be narrowed to focus on attainable goals suited to their skills. To this end, police funds should be reconfigured towards various social services and public goods, including mental health infrastructure, drug treatment programs, public education, welfare programs, libraries, parks, grocery stores, and community centers. Building strong communities is also necessary to reduce crime, and CPD/CAPS should be a part of this process; non-profit organizations are also pivotal in this process, as they can provide mentors that guide youth and increase social capital. Community

centers around the city could act as resource hubs where residents, service providers, and other stakeholders coalesce toward a shared goal of improving themselves and their communities.

The History of Promoting Police Accountability

Policing in America's history has roots in slave patrols, enforcing Jim Crow laws, and inequitable protection of communities (Singh 2014; Gamal 2016; Johnson 2014); the antagonistic relationship police have had with minoritized communities, especially with African American communities, is well documented. Nikhil Pal Singh (2014) argues that the concept of whiteness is maintained and given value through opposition to blackness via police work. He elaborates, arguing further that whiteness is a mechanism through which racial differentiation occurs, allowing some to enjoy the benefits of whiteness and excluding others. Police work "determines finally who requires discipline so that others are free to pursue their self-interest" (Singh 2014, p. 1092). The civil rights movement, through non-violent protests, shone a light on the inequities of policing in America, along with racial-relation problems and community mistrust.

In the following years, scholars and civil society began to pay closer attention to the police. The civil rights movement's critique of U.S. systems and the resulting social unrest eventually led to questioning the effectiveness of traditional policing strategies. Criticisms of the police mounted, as did holistic critiques of the criminal legal system, and "several high-profile studies, published in the 1970s, called into question the effectiveness of crime control strategies" (Reisig 2010, p. 2). The questioning of the crime-control model developed into dissatisfaction with that modus operandi. Writing in the mid-1990s about criminal legal systems relative to the world of public policy, Kennedy and Moore state that the promise of the crime-control "strategy over the last ten to fifteen years has been viewed with increasing dissatisfaction by both practitioners and scholars" (Kennedy & Moore 1995, p. 272).

Typically, complaints against the police, especially those involving violence, are handled through internal investigations, and “dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic internal review (into legitimate use of violence) has led to demands for external review by citizen review boards” (Reiss 1992, p. 74). When discipline is left to internal processes, solutions focus on individual personnel changes rather than organizational or structural changes. Often narratives about police misconduct depict a “bad apple” in an otherwise good barrel. This is a theme also found in the early research on deviance. Initially, theories explaining deviance focused on the individual and their propensity towards deviance rather than systemic corruption or “organization deviance” (Erman and Lundman 1978).

Beginning with Edwin Sutherland (1970), theorists focused more on the organization or group in which deviance occurs. In this organizational understanding of deviance, for an act to be deviant, it must: be contrary to norms outside of the group, have support within some section of the group, and be specific to the organization wherein new members are socialized to perform/accept it. Taking the case of police brutality, it violates the norms of peaceful existence in society, yet a subset of patrol officers is typically more accepting/supportive of it (Westley 1970; Rothwell and Baldwin 2007), high ranking officials may attempt to cover it up, and only police officers can engage in it, plus new members are socialized into the code of silence around this brutalizing behavior (Westley 1970). Erman and Lundman (1978) argue that groups engaging in collective unethical conduct typically go unchecked and that “complete and formal processing is also an exception [rather than the rule] for organizational deviance” (p. 63). They believe this is due to the bureaucratic structure hampering individuals outside the organization from discovering or addressing the deviance. They note that complaint systems are ineffective in dealing with organizational racism. Organizations tasked with controlling deviance are also

bureaucracies with an agenda that may not prioritize addressing all the deviance equally within an organization. Thus, police misconduct, motivated by patterns of informal influence, represents a social problem not dealt with and swept under the rug.

Civilian dissatisfaction with policing outcomes led to experimentation with the community and problem-oriented policing philosophies in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Reisig 2010). It was in the 1990s that community policing arrived in full force with financial and political support. Through the Community Oriented Policing Services program, the federal government awarded over 13 billion dollars in grants to local police agencies from 1995 to 2008 (Reisig 2010). Quickly, police agencies carried out the program, and “[b]y 1997 a majority of both police departments serving 100,000 or more people and sheriff’s offices serving 250,000 or more residents had personnel assigned to COPS” (Chappel & Lanza-Kaduce 2004, p. 84). Kennedy and Moore state that with the passage of the 1994 crime bill, “society has apparently paid its money and made its choice” (1995, p. 271). In sum, the Federal Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 contained 33 titles wherein Title I, Public Safety & Policing, focused on increasing police personnel and resources, supposedly in the spirit of enhancing the concept of community policing, while Title II, Crime Prevention, sought to provide grants to local and state governments to fund experimentation with police–community relation programs. As community policing programs are typically a subset of a police department, there can exist two police populations under one roof that have different *modus operandi*.

Some advocates for police reform have embraced community policing as the solution to heal the divisions between the police and the public. In contrast, others claim that it is ineffective or insufficient. Community-oriented policing is viewed by some simply as an insidious continuation of police occupation to keep a watchful eye on groups not afforded lives free of law

enforcement presence. From this perspective, embracing community policing detracts from efforts to enact policies that contribute to the well-being and health of communities, such as abolishing or defunding the police and diverting money towards other social services. Other hardliners and officers opposed to community policing as a solution argue that the major staples of community-oriented policing conflict with traditional views of crime-fighting policing and its organizational structure. These staples include a flattened hierarchy versus a vertical hierarchy, proactive problem-solving versus reactive crime-fighting, and partnership with the community versus the police historically operating independently.

Background and Context

Gary Cordner (1998) contends that there are four dimensions of community policing: philosophical, strategic, tactical, and organizational. The philosophical dimension refers to the ideas and beliefs about what the police are and what they should do. Central to community policing is the idea that police solicit input from communities and collaborate with them. This represents a fundamental shift in police officers and agencies regarding personal and organizational operational philosophies.

The strategic dimension refers to putting the philosophy into practice, and the police regularly seek face-to-face interactions with community members, e.g., does the program emphasize investing only during a “hot spot” time window, or is it proactive time spent building long-term relationships in small foot-patrol territories?

The tactical dimension refers to the specific actions and programs that emerge to reduce crime and improve community members’ quality of life. The organizational dimension entails moving away from the paramilitary structure towards a flatter hierarchical system and giving more decision-making powers to low-ranking officers while teasing out how the policing

infrastructure can be changed to better support the philosophical shift behind community policing, coming full circle.

Embracing the philosophical shift would be a dramatic change that both the officers and the department must do for community policing to be successful. The police department has shown varying levels of commitment to community policing in the decades since its inception. Since CPD was placed in consent decree due to the DOJ investigation into the Laquan McDonald murder, the focus on community policing has been reinvigorated. Each department in CPD must now incorporate community policing and have a plan for engaging with the community in place.

According to CPD's website, they have implemented the SARA model into CAPS/Community Policing. The SARA model utilizes *scanning, analysis, response, and assessment, typically* associated with Problem-Oriented Policing (POP) rather than Community-Oriented Policing (COP). Though these models are related and often implemented simultaneously, Reisig (2010) argues that the two models are conceptually distinct. COP and POP are similar in that they are both attempts to modify key aspects of policing; COP's approach focuses on bolstering social processes in communities so that they are better equipped to address crime and disorder, whereas POP emphasizes identifying and addressing the conditions that cause residents to repeatedly make calls for service to the police (Reisig 2010).

The process to become a Chicago police officer is nearly two years long. The hiring process includes multiple fitness evaluations, psychological evaluations, and background checks. Once hired, potential officers undergo training for six months in the Police Academy. Once officers complete training in the Academy, they receive additional field training and are placed on a probationary period, after which they become fully-fledged police officers.

As of 2020, the total population of the City of Chicago was over 2.7 million; 33.3% are White, 29.6% are Black or African American, 28.8% are Hispanic or Latino, 6.6 % are Asian, and the remainder are American Indian, Alaska Native, or multi-racial (U.S. Census Bureau). In comparison, the Chicago Police Department was 50% White, around 21% Black or African American, 25% Hispanic or Latino, 3% are Asian, and the remainder are American Indian, Alaska Native, or multi-racial as of 2017 (CPD Annual Report 2017, p. 24). More than half of Chicago's population is female, while only 22% of the police department is female (ibid., p. 25).

On October 20, 2014, police officer Jason Van Dyke murdered 17-year-old Laquan McDonald. Nearly a year later, the dashcam footage showed Van Dyke shooting McDonald 16 times. This sparked outrage and protests, leading to CPD wearing bodycams and also an investigation from 2015-2017 by the Department of Justice (DOJ) into the Chicago Police Department, which resulted in a consent decree. The consent decree is a settlement between the DOJ and CPD mandating broad police reforms, including changes in recruitment, training, accountability/transparency, use of force, and other areas. The investigation determined that CPD officers engage in an unreasonable pattern of using power resulting from poor police practices and insufficient training. The DOJ noted that “officers engage in tactically unsound and unnecessary foot pursuits, and that these foot pursuits too often end with officers unreasonably shooting someone—including unarmed individuals” (United States Department of Justice 2017, p. 3). The DOJ also discussed patterns of behavior that undermined accountability within the department. However, CPD was praised for the strides toward reform and accountability since the incident occurred; the introduction of body cameras was explicitly highlighted. To build trust between the police and the communities they serve, the DOJ suggested incorporating community policing philosophies into CPD's police practices.

The Chicago Police Department (CPD), like many other large metropolitan areas, receives large amounts of funding; in 2020, the City of Chicago allocated over 1.75 billion dollars to the CPD, about 90% of which goes to paying personnel (Lightfoot 2020, p. 115). After Mayor Lori Lightfoot eliminated 600 vacant positions in 2021, the city allocated 1.69 billion dollars to CPD (Yan 2020). The annual gross tax levy contributes most of the city of Chicago's funding (City of Chicago 2022, p. 26), supplemented by federal and state grant funds, or fees and fines in the case of the police department budget. The most significant grant of \$13,451,000 comes from the U.S. Department of Justice and is for Chicago's Community Oriented Policing, earmarked for hiring officers (Witzburg & Carlson 2022, p. 10). This has occurred in the context of civil unrest as citizens in Chicago and nationwide have begun calling for funds to be divested from police services towards various social services. Minoritized communities have voiced their outrage over being over-policed and under-protected for decades. These criticisms continue to fester after numerous "attempts" at police reform have fallen flat.

Chicago has recently elected a new mayor in Spring 2023, Brandon Johnson, whose campaign centered around increasing public safety. He is unique in the sense that other platforms with public safety at the centerpiece have been almost synonymous with increased police presence and stricter sentencing. Mayor Johnson has opted for a different approach, investing in youths, addressing community traumas, rebuilding mental health/drug addiction infrastructure, and holding CPD accountable. Notable policies on policing include ending no-knock warrants, ending the ShotSpotter contract, erasing the gang database, publishing arrest/traffic-stop demographics, and terminating officers affiliated with Proud Boys and Oathkeepers (brandonforchicago.com). These reforms remove racist policies/officers and increase transparency. His most progressive policy might be having non-CPD civilian positions address

nonviolent calls and concerns (ibid.). Mayor Johnson seems aware and committed to addressing the structural issues that precede crime. How much support he receives and success he sees implementing these policies remain to be seen.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

Both the public and the police themselves tend to define the role of police as crime control (Westley 1970; Lundman,1980; Kennedy & Moore 1995; Worden & McLean 2017). Crime control often necessitates using force or at least the viability of force as an option. As the State-appointed enforcers of law and order, the police exist as “a mechanism for the distribution of non-negotiably coercive force employed in accordance with the dictates of an intuitive grasp of situational exigencies” (Lundman 1980, p. 41). Police departments have historically been ill-equipped to achieve this lofty goal of crime reduction. The strategy has typically been to concentrate their scarce resources on combating “serious” crime for efficiency (Kennedy & Moore 1995).

Richard Lundman contends that a common trait of modern society is seeking peace through peaceful means. Paradoxically, in pursuit of peace, societies legitimize using force in specific settings or contexts, using power to “keep the peace” (1980, p. 29). Through the institution of a police agency, force is legitimized to play a crucial role in “keeping the peace.” These police forces are then asked an impossible task, to use violence to promote peace. Max Weber (1919/2021) considered authority granted via the law as “legal-rational authority.” William Westley (1970) notes that the police are legally entitled to use force while performing their duties. Many sociologists, including Westley (1970), Lundman (1980), and Worden & McLean (2017), reiterate this idea of a State monopoly of violence. Lundman (1980) adds that legitimization is coupled with limitations. These include limits on using deadly force, only using it in performing duties and not for personal gain or gain of another individual, and not using force maliciously or frivolously (Lundman 1980, p. 29).

Community-oriented policing (COP) emerged in response to criticisms of traditional enforcement policing models, including inequitable protection, over-policing, brutality, and a lack of accountability (Cordner 1998; Grabiner 2016; Johnson; Kennedy & Moore 1995; McLean & Worden 2016; and Skogan 2006). I use “COP” as a catch-all term to refer to the ideas typically associated with community policing and problem-oriented policing because there is no one agreed-upon definition. This has fostered extensive literature focusing primarily on defining the philosophy of COP, describing how specific programs are implemented, and their effect on communities. Critics have discussed police organizations' resistance, incompatibility, and circumvention of COP philosophy.

There is no consistent definition of community policing, but the common themes include community involvement/collaboration, problem-solving, and organizational decentralization (Chappell & Lanza-Kaduce 2004; Reisig 2010; Kennedy & Moore, 1995; and Cordner 1998). Michael Reisig states that, generally, there are two types of models for community policing. One follows the broken windows theory framework and utilizes disorder reduction police strategies. The other follows social disorganization theory, which aims to bolster community social processes to mediate adverse effects on structural constraints on crime, disorder, and analogous outcomes (Reisig 2010, p. 3).

Studies of COPS programs have utilized several methodologies, including pre/post-implementation surveys, focus groups, and qualitative observations. Scholars have focused on the program's effect on crime, perceptions of crime post-implementation, and residents' attitudes toward the program. They also focus on the attitudes of police officers toward their job duties and the program. COP programs have a limited capacity to lower crime rates and increase public safety (Gill et al. 2014; Walsh et al. 2014; Nguyen 2019). However, COP programs can increase

residents' satisfaction with the police and officers' satisfaction with their jobs (Gill et al. 2014; Lord & Friday 2008).

Contemporary police agencies “rely on a paramilitary management and administration, with a heavy emphasis on hierarchy and strict supervision” (Kennedy and Moore 1995, p. 272; *see also* Gamal 2016; Reiss 1992; Hill & Beger 2009; and McLean & Worden 2017). The police operate as a bureaucratic institution with a hierarchal structure like the military. Power and authority in such bureaucratic organizations are derived from official positions and formal rules. These rules govern the police body and grant them authority over the citizenry. From informal policing to modern American urban organizations, “Police departments in the United States became centralized public bureaucracies only in the late 19th and early 20th centuries” (Reiss 1992, p. 69). This transition from informal agencies varied by region. In the South, modern police departments developed from slave patrols and were originally a means to deny rights to formerly enslaved people (Hill & Beger 2009, p. 25). Police agencies later served to enforce Jim Crow laws that preserved a caste system that relegated Black Americans to second-class citizens (Hill & Beger 2009; Gamul, 2014).

Traditional styles of policing, which have been racialized since the Reconstruction Era, have focused on controlling America's minoritized populations and contributing to the Prison Industrial Complex (Singh 2014; Johnson 2014; Adachi 2016; and Gamal 2016). Jihang Zhao (2016) and Stephen Hill & Randall Beger (2017) discuss how COP has been implemented without disrupting the status quo, as does Sara McLean & Robert Worden (2017). In this sense, COP programs are more aligned with traditional styles of policing rather than COP philosophy. Eric Klineberg (2001) explains how the CAPS program was used as a community governance tool to legitimize policing without substantively changing policing as an institution. Nicole

Nguyen (2019) examines a program that used COP principles to garner support while still using traditional enforcement tactics and having communities perform carceral functions on themselves. She argues that law enforcement agencies used this ambiguous definition to cast some programs under the banner of COPS, although not in the spirit of the philosophy. However, even when programs are formed and practiced in good faith, dominant styles of policing in tandem with power asymmetries constrain progress (Armenta 2016; Rousell and Gascón 2014).

When police departments began to adopt community-oriented policing (COP) as a philosophy, it represented a potentially radical shift in policing. Much of the literature on COPS describes the programs, its effects, and its perception. Fewer studies critically analyze COP programs and their level of philosophical integration within the police department. After the 1994 Crime Bill was passed and COPS programs began proliferating nationwide, some proponents expressed reservations and considerations regarding the philosophy's implementation (Kennedy & Moore 1995; Scheider et al 2009; and Klinenberg 2001).

The unit of analysis in these studies has been the specific COPS program and often excludes contextual factors such as program design, organizational changes, and the locale in which the program is situated. Amada Armenta's (2016) work is an exception, as both the local and organizational contexts were highlighted in her study. Kennedy and Moore (1995) contend that the current state of COP literature is the opposite of how community policing should be studied. They argue that community policing is a philosophy about how policing should be done rather than a set of programs and that the benefits of an individual program may be more or less effective than embracing community policing as a philosophy. They argue that the proper unit of

analysis is not the program but the police organization and its capacity to be flexible, innovative, and collaborative (1995).

Different types of police officers, such as detectives, patrol officers, and those in various leadership positions, each fulfill specific roles. Although multiple paths are open to police officers, ultimately, they follow the lead of their department. Many of the available positions within the department are oriented towards crime-fighting, and working as a community-oriented police officer exists as the solitary alternative for the selected few. This study seeks to understand the purpose/goals of the CAPS program and are they shared by the entire department? How does the program/CPD seek to achieve these goals? Why has CAPS/COP been unable to resolve the critiques levied against policing? The scope of this qualitative study will be limited to interviews and data collected on Chicago Police officers with at least three years of experience.

This study adds to the literature critical of COP philosophy and implementation. Other critical studies have examined programs' adherence to COP philosophy. A gap in the literature exists following Kennedy & Moore's suggestion to use the police department's capacity for COP philosophy as the unit of analysis (1995). This study takes a holistic view of the CAPS program within the context of the CPD, evaluating COP philosophy's integration throughout the department. It calls into question the overall efficacy of the CAPS program and highlights the misalignment of policing tactics and goals. As police departments continue receiving billions in funding, it is imperative that they are critically analyzed as well as the programs that purport to be solutions to longstanding issues.

CHAPTER III: METHODS

After reviewing relevant literature related to policing / community policing, a combination of methods was chosen; in-depth interviews with police officers and observations of community-police meetings. Seven semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with officers for about 10 hours total, across the seven interviews. The interviews were conducted with officers working primarily within CAPS/COP roles, but also those working outside that dimension. It was essential to interview both groups as officers outside of the COPS roles have varying degrees of experience and understanding of that dimension of policing. In-depth interviews are best able to capture the lived experiences of the officers (Marshall & Rossman 2016). The seemingly contradictory roles (law enforcement and COP) led me to believe that officers occupying each position might have distinct mindsets and worldviews.

A qualitative methodological design was best suited to this study because of the contextual nature of the subject, coupled with the focus of the research questions (Marshall & Rossman 2016). The research questions center around the level of integration of COP's philosophy in the department. These questions included, what are the purpose/goals of the CAPS program, and does the entire department share them? How does the program nested within the CPD seek to achieve these goals? Why has CAPS/COP been unable to resolve the critiques levied against policing? Community policing is a subject that is heavily affected by the context in which it occurs; using qualitative methods would be among the best options to explore and incorporate this context into the study.

Officers might refrain from divulging any unfavorable information from straightforward survey questions, creating a strong social-desirability bias in the data. Additionally, it would be difficult to gain access to a large enough sample of police officers to be generalizable. If such a

sample were accessible, quantitative methods still would not be ideal because the richness of data collected would be less than that gained from qualitative methods (Marshall and Rossman 2016). Hypothetically, I would have designed the survey questions and answer choices, which means that the quality of data collected would be directly affected by my knowledge of policing or lack thereof (Marshall & Rossman 2016). Not only would the limits of my understanding constrain the quality of data, but it would also rob officers of the ability to share their full knowledge on topics in their field of expertise.

In-depth interviews allowed for the context of Chicago's history and political backdrop to be incorporated, putting police officers' perspectives front stage and using probing questions to extract richer data than would be otherwise possible. With each interview, I gained more knowledge and was able to refine questions. Hearing perspectives from both enforcement and COP officers was essential to compile a rich but insufficient data source; observations of police-community meetings, called "Beat Meetings," were also used as a supplementary method. These observations provided a direct experience of the CAPS program and how CPD interacted with community members in a collaborative setting. It was essential to gain experience with CAPS and community-oriented policing outside the participants' perspectives. During the interviews, I also suspected that participants might be interested in portraying the department and the CAPS program in the best possible light.

The seven interview participants were recruited via snowball sampling over six months from March–August of 2021. Initially, I attended CAPS's Beat Meetings (community-police meetings), conducted via Zoom to find participants. I tried to recruit the officers that were a part of these meetings. I would observe the meetings, and at the end, I would tell them briefly about the research I was conducting and then ask if I could send them more information to see if they

were willing to participate. Unfortunately, this method was unsuccessful, and I could not find any participants this way. A mutual colleague and a personal connection introduced me to the initial two officers; snowball sampling was used to recruit more participants. I was later introduced to another participant, then another until I stopped at seven.

The interviews were loosely structured in the following format: demographic questions, narrative history, role-specific and individual perspectives. This format was chosen so participants could get into a rhythm of answering the basic demographic questions before being asked to expound more on their history. The demographic questions collected the standard data on personal identity regarding age, sex, race, etc., the officer's role within CPD, and their rank, years on the force, and income range. After the demographic portion of the interview, we began to talk about their personal history. These questions were more intimate and allowed me to learn about the officer as an individual. In this section of the interview, I asked participants about where they grew up, their childhood, when/why they became police officers, and other questions of a similar nature. The following section involved asking officers low-risk, less intimate role-specific questions so that participants were able to regain any comfort that may have been lost by telling a stranger such personal information. Participants were asked to describe the process of becoming a police officer, what they do in their role, and how often and how they interact with the public. By this time, I hoped that officers were comfortable with me and that the interview momentum would allow me to ask riskier questions about their perspectives. These final questions were open-ended; for instance, "Describe your feelings towards policing before joining," or "Do you believe that CPD administers discipline to officers fairly?" These and similar questions were used to gain access to each officer's worldview. The seven interviews ranged from 58 minutes to an hour and forty-one minutes, with the median interview lasting one

hour and thirty-one minutes. Informants were asked to share their experiences with racism within the department. Police officers also discussed how discipline is administered in CPD and public criticisms of police. I explored police officers' views of Chicago's crime and gun violence issues and potential solutions.

Geographical Context

In addition to the in-depth interviews, from March to July 2021, I attended eight Beat Meetings in the 2nd, 5th, 11th, and 24th districts. There are 25 police districts in Chicago broken into 277 beats, about 1/12 of the district's size; these beats are located within one of the 77 Chicago community areas. The beat meetings I attended were primarily located on the South Side of Chicago. I observed one beat meeting in Rogers Park, located on the North Side, two beat meetings in each of the Hyde Park and Roseland communities, and three in Bronzeville communities.

Hyde Park

Hyde Park is community area #41, located on the southeast side of Chicago within CPD's 2nd Police District. The Hyde Park area is bordered on the north by 51st Street / Hyde Park Boulevard, Lake Michigan on the east, the Midway Plaisance (a park) on the south, and the Washington Park neighborhood on the west ("Hyde Park, Chicago" 2023). This community has seen several transitions throughout its history.

Due to the presence and funding of the University of Chicago, Hyde Park was almost exclusively a white neighborhood for much of the twentieth century. The community existed as a white pocket in the majority-Black South Side. An influx of Black Americans to Chicago from the South beginning in the 1940s affected the demographic makeup of Hyde Park ("Hyde Park, Chicago" 2023). To prevent the white flight from the area, the University of Chicago led the urban

renewal project in the 1950s. This project displaced around 15,000 residents as swaths of land were cleared for new apartment buildings, townhomes, and a shopping center (“Renewal and Revival”). Since then, Hyde Park has become more racially heterogeneous. Between 2016 and 2020, Hyde Park’s population consisted of 47% white residents, 7.5% Hispanic residents, 24.4% Black residents, 14.2% Asian residents, and 6.9% multi-racial residents; the median income for Hyde Park residents is \$52,423 (“Hyde Park Community Data Snapshot” 2022, pp. 3, 5).

Roseland

Roseland is community area #49 located on the south side of Chicago between 103rd and 115th streets on the north and south, respectively, Cottage Grove and Halsted being the eastern and western borders. In 1880, the Pullman Land Association purchased over 4,000 acres of land in Roseland for the Pullman Car Works company (“Roseland” 2005). This tied the fate of the community inextricably to the Pullman company, as many of the residents in the area worked for the company.

Roseland was also a white community until the 1960s, when Black people began moving into the community, and white people started leaving. Deindustrialization led to a decline in Roseland's economic growth and prosperity; when the Pullman company shut down in the 1980s, many residents were left without jobs and eventually had their homes repossessed (“Roseland” 2005). Roseland today is undoubtedly a Black community with just over 95% Black residents between 2016 and 2020 (“Roseland, Community Data Snapshot” 2022, p. 3). Roseland never fully recovered economically from the loss of the Pullman company. From 2016 to 2020, the median income for households in Roseland was \$44,041 (“Roseland, Community Data Snapshot” 2022, p. 5).

Bronzeville

Bronzeville is not a designated community area in Chicago. It overlaps Douglas and Grand Boulevard, community areas #35 and #38, respectively. Bronzeville is bounded on the north by 31st Street, the south by 51st Street, the west by the Dan Ryan Expressway, and the east by Cottage Grove.

When Black Americans emigrated from the south to Chicago in the Great Migration beginning in 1916, Bronzeville was one area where they settled. Because of the large Black population, the neighborhood was a target of disparagement in the media. Mainstream media referred to the neighborhood as the “Black Belt,” “Black Ghetto,” and “Darkie Town” (“The History of Bronzeville” 2023). The name Bronzeville was an act of resistance by a community seeking to define itself positively. The area became a cultural epicenter comparable to Harlem, New York; notable figures called Bronzeville home include Gwendolyn Brooks, Louis Armstrong, and Ida B. Wells (“The History of Bronzeville” 2023).

Recent efforts have attempted to revitalize the community; in 2019, Bronzeville was chosen as one of the ten neighborhoods in Mayor Lori Lightfoot’s INVEST South/West strategy (“Bronzeville” 2020). A 19.2-million-dollar project plans to build a six-story building with 12,000 square-feet of commercial space, 25 mixed-income residential units, creating “174 permanent jobs and 140 construction jobs” (“Bronzeville” 2020, para. 8). Bronzeville is not a designated community area, so gathering demographic data for the neighborhood poses difficulties. Therefore, I will report the 2016–2020 data for the two community areas it overlaps. For the Douglas community area, 65.1% of its residents are Black, 14.6% are Asian, 10.6% are White, 5.4% are Hispanic, and 4.4% are multi-racial with a median income of \$35,796 (“Douglas, Community Data Snapshot” 2022, pp.3, 5). Grand Boulevard’s residents are 89.6%

Black, 4.1% White, 3.3% Hispanic, 0.7% Asian, and 2.3% multi-racial, with a median income of \$39,111 (“Grand Boulevard, Community Data Snapshot” 2022, pp. 3, 5).

Rogers Park

Rogers Park is community area #1, located on the North Side of Chicago. Howard Street creates the northern border, Ridge Boulevard on the west, Devon Avenue on the south, and Lake Michigan on the east. During the mid-19th century, Irishman Phillip Rogers purchased over 1,600 acres of government-owned land, part of which would later become the Roger Park community. Colonizers continued to settle in this area and buy land. In 1878 the village of Rogers Park was officially incorporated into Illinois, and in 1893 it was incorporated into Chicago (“Rogers Park, Chicago” 2023).

Rogers Park remained a near-homogenous white neighborhood until 1960, when its white population was 99.3%. Even as different races moved into the area, it remained a majority-white neighborhood. In 1990, 54.7% of its population was still white (“Rogers Park” 2005). Today it is more diverse, though white residents are still overrepresented in its demographics. According to the 2016–2022 data, in Rogers Park, 44.3% of the residents are White, 27.1% are Black, 18.9% are Hispanic, 5.4% are Asian, and 4.3% are multi-racial compared to the entire city which is 33.3% white, 28.8% Black, 28.6% Hispanic, 6.8% Asian, and 2.5% multi-racial. The median income for Rogers Park residents is \$46,244 (“Rogers Park, Community Data Snapshot” 2022, pp. 3, 5).

CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS

This study attempted to examine the integration of COP philosophy in the Chicago Police Department. To that end, I interviewed both types of officers, COP and enforcement, I also observed CAPS Beat Meetings. Throughout the interviews, officers displayed various understandings of community policing, preventing crime, and criticisms of police. COPS officers often align with empathetic styles of policing, while enforcement officers espouse more punitive views. The observations of beat meetings showed police making efforts to build trust with communities and the limitations of such strategies. The CAPS program may be a viable tactic to build relationships with communities. However, it and enforcement policing are limited in their effects on public safety / crime because of the structural nature of these issues.

Enforcement officers often disregard the structural aspects of crime and safety problems in favor of individualistic perspectives, leading them to favor punitive responses. COP officers typically recognize and endorse the structural reconfigurations necessary to address these issues adequately. Nonetheless, COP and CAPS, by extension, are only partial solutions to the criticisms levied against police. They do not protect residents from mistreatment by police officers nor hold the department and officers accountable for misconduct. They cannot prevent crime and are limited in contributions to public safety. To adequately address these structural issues, resources and agencies distinct from policing must be created and receive consistent investment.

The table below contains demographic information regarding the police officers that participated in interviews, including whether they worked in an enforcement capacity, in a COP role, or both. COP is a catch-all term for officers working specifically in CAPS roles and those working in other community-oriented aspects of policing. In the context of this study, “enforcement” refers to all the roles that fall outside of COPS traditionally associated with police

officers. Three of the officers worked in a COP capacity at the time of this study; 3 officers worked in enforcement roles, one of which had worked in CAPS at a previous point in their career. An additional officer recently retired from a COP role but spent significant portions of his career in enforcement. All the names listed in the table are pseudonyms to protect the confidentiality of the participant.

Table 1: Demographic Information on the Police Officers

Name	Sex	Race	Age	Education	Years on Force	Rank	Enforcement	COPS
Terry	M	Black	47	Associate's	9	Police Officer	Past Exp.	Current
Amy	F	Black	45	Bachelor's	15	Police Officer	Past Exp.	Current
Cory	M	Black	29	Associate's	3	Police Officer	Past Exp.	Current
Leah	F	Black	55	Bachelor's	30	Sergeant	Current	Past Exp.
Brown	M	Black	60	Bachelor's	33	Retired	Past Exp.	Past Exp.
Frank	M	Black	31	Bachelor's	4	Police Officer	Current	None
Jack	M	Black	59	Bachelor's	20	Police Officer	Current	None

How Police Officers Talk about The CAPS Program

The CAPS program was first piloted as CPD's community-oriented policing program in 1993 and began operating in all districts in 1994 (chicagopolice.org). Yet, officers often became aware of the program only after they joined CPD. This speaks to how well COP philosophy has been integrated in CPD as it suggests that CPD is not known for this style of policing. Some officers that served in CPD before CAPS's inception consider it an evolution of preexisting programs.

CAPS officers often embody the COP philosophy, but the program does not fulfill its potential. CAPS officers build relationships with the community via hosting various engagement events and charitable works sponsored by the program. The most frequent engagement occurs via beat meetings, where CAPS officers host a monthly meeting for police officers and residents living in patrol areas. CAPS is one program, staffed by a subset of CPD officers adhering to COP ideals, but it cannot sufficiently embody these ideals for an entire department. Until the CPD can more holistically realize COP ideology, the efforts of CAPS appear as an attempt to improve public relations without promoting substantive change. Neither beat meetings nor charitable events substantively address any chronic issues within the community, identified internally or externally. These types of interactions are best at producing positive sentiments about policing.

Officer Leah joined the force before the inception of CAPS and posits that the program's roots were in a previous program called "neighborhood relations." She also worked as a CAPS officer from 1998-2001 before moving into a different role. Leah provides a brief analysis of the origin and goal of community policing in Chicago.

It was Neighborhood Relations in the beginning, and then it changed. They gave it a new name. They were supposed to be revamping it. It became CAPS. So, you

asked how it was before? I don't remember; I only know that CAPS is supposed to be the connection between the police and the community.... So, I think when they started is when they tried to put certain officers in each beat. And those would be the beat officers. And they were the Beat Officers because they wanted these officers to stay in this area to learn who the people were in that area. So that whenever there was an issue, they knew to go to this officer, whatever their problems were.

Although Officer Leah is unsure about the details of how “Neighborhood Relations” operated, she still claims that the CAPS program emerged from it. She speaks with more conviction regarding CAPS connecting the police and communities. For her, CAPS involves designating an officer to work in specific beats, so that the community and officer could build rapport; and residents, who might be wary of police, would still know someone to contact. It is unclear if this dynamic was unique to CAPS or also present during the “Neighborhood Relations” era.

CAPS is a micro-level strategy in which individual police officers build trust and relationships with individual residents. This strategy, other reforms like body cameras, and individual punishments such as job termination/suspension stem from the notion that the problems within policing exist on an individual level. This is evident in narratives promoted of police culture; for example, not all officers are bad, rather it is just a few bad apples. Critiques and solutions often focus too heavily on individual officers instead of the institution of policing and the systems that continue to produce racist outcomes. While these systems remain intact, they detract from any progress made in police reform.

Community-relations measures were once encouraged but not mandatory for officers, incentivized using overtime pay. In this following excerpt, Officer Jack praises CAPS before lamenting the recent lack of funding for the program.

When we had the CAPS program, that was the best thing that ever happened. I want to say, for probably about eight years, we did that, but then the funding more or less cut down.... They had cut the budgets, and now we don't even attend. I been working nights, and I was speaking some to some officers during the daytime, and he was saying they might have a CAPS meeting, now and then, and then we go, if we choose to, but when it's something going on, they don't. But in the past, we were assigned to it, and it was mandatory to go, and then it was considered overtime by attending a meeting.

Officer Jack believes in the work of the CAPS program, referring to it as, “the best thing to happen.” Mandatory attendance for the meetings and additionally rewarding officers with overtime pay suggests a commitment to the program by CPD, investing their human and financial capital into CAPS. I cannot be sure how much of the CPD budget was allocated to CAPS meetings in the past and how that may have changed over the years. However, other officers also expressed that CAPS was an intermittent focus for CPD. When the department prioritized CAPS, it invested in the program and required individual officers to do the same. Shifting mandatory attendance to optional attendance and removing incentives signals that investing in the CAPS program is no longer a priority. Officer Jack suggests that officers similarly became less invested in the program, emphasizing individual discretion and noting the infrequency of attendance.

The hierarchal structure of police departments denotes that respective officers' priorities stem from the larger goals and directives of the CPD. Deprioritizing CAPS signals to officers that "the department's focus is elsewhere, and so your focus should shift to that." This intermittent focus on CAPS produces the same results as if there were no focus on CAPS in the first place. Wesley Skogan (2006) posits that police are in an unwinnable situation because the effects of subjective experiences on attitudes toward police are asymmetrical. When there is a mix of positive and negative experiences, the negative tends to overshadow the positive experiences. Community policing was implemented to help repair the police's relationship with communities. The intermittent focus on community relations shows a lack of commitment to repairing that relationship.

It could also be interpreted as CAPS being used as a prop to appease critics. Officer Leah compares similarities between a pre-CAPS CPD to the current era.

Because before, it was just that the police were out there. We're dragged out here today, and you'd be working over there tomorrow. The next day, you're back over here. Although, in essence, it has gotten back to that now.

In Officer Leah's previous excerpt, she identifies that an initial strategy of CAPS was to place a specific officer in a beat and only have them patrol that one beat. This officer would learn about the community they patrolled and be able to build rapport with the residents, ideally becoming trusted members of the community themselves. By only working in one area, that community became an officer's focus for concentrated efforts to resolve community-specific issues. In contrast, officers, before COP programs such as Neighborhood Policing or CAPS, moved across various areas in Chicago over short intervals. This is not an ideal scenario for an officer to learn the intricacies of a neighborhood. Unable to address community-specific issues, officers were

only expected to enforce laws for whatever area of the city they found themselves. Officer Leah notes that the current era of Chicago policing more closely resembles this era before implementing COP philosophy.

From Officers Jack and Leah, we learn that CAPS, at some point, began regressing, possibly linked to reduced funding for the program, despite police budgets continuing to soar post the 1994 Crime Bill. The 1994 Crime Bill was supposed to represent a shift in how policing was done in this country; if Officer Jack is correct, then it is worrisome that the investment into CAPS waned even as the budget for CPD skyrocketed. If Officer Jack is incorrect, then why did CAPS become less of a priority for the City of Chicago and CPD? CAPS/COP was touted as the solution to the problems first highlighted by the civil rights movement. It has thus far been unable to resolve these criticisms despite the substantial financial investment, possibly because the city government and CPD have neglected the program. This question lies at the crux of the criticisms against COP programs: Is CAPS simply being used as a prop to improve public relations, or worse, is it a more insidious form of over-policing and under-protection, as some argue? Is there some other explanation for the neglect of the CAPS program? The neglect of the CAPS program is not the subject of this study and cannot be covered adequately here because it deserves a study of its own.

When discussing the CAPS program, officers often cited connecting with the community and provided strategies such as engagement events, beat meetings, and charity drives. Engagement events and charity drives could help connect officers to residents and build rapport, but they do not seek to address chronic issues. Beat meetings could address each of these considerations as an avenue for officers and community members to share information, identify problems in the neighborhood, and work together to develop solutions. Yet, the current strategies

used by CAPS are the same strategies used at the inception of the program and possibly even prior.

The CAPS program lacks innovation, deep engagement, and is in a state of stagnation. Officers are acutely aware of the strengths and deficiencies in the program. Officer Frank describes the CAPS program from his perspective.

CAPS is basically strictly community engagement and involvement. They do things in the community where we work.... They do outreach programs with the kids in the neighborhood, giving back. They host events for the elderly, the kids, and businesses—anybody that needs help. They do community programs to create—I don't want to say engagement, but they want people in the community to feel like, if they have any problems, they can reach out to someone without calling 911.

Officer Frank had been an officer for four years and, at the time of this interview, had not worked within CAPS. While he was aware of the program and had some degree of knowledge about its purpose, he was cautious of misrepresenting it. Officer Frank describes the CAPS program as a community outreach program led by the police to aid residents and build a community that is not solely reliant on the police to address every issue within the community. Over-reliance on police is a criticism that he and other officers would levy against contemporary communities, treating it as a sign that modern communities are not as strong as communities of the past. One of the first things he associates with CAPS officers is their charitable works, noting that they give back to the neighborhoods. However, he is reluctant to use the term “engagement,” wary of minimizing their role. Discussing the demographics that CAPS focuses on, Officer Frank first highlights the elderly, children, and businesses, and then quickly he expands this initially limited scope to “anybody that needs help.” Despite this expansion of coverage, the

CAPS program has officers mostly dedicated to the demographics he first stated, though in addition, there are officers dedicated to survivors of domestic violence and communities of faith.

Another officer describes the CAPS program similarly but is much more confident in his assessment. Officer Cory has been an officer for three years and has worked in CAPS for one year. He emphasizes CAPS's role in being of service to the community.

So, CAPS is Community Alternative Policing Strategy and is community policing. Every district has the CAPS program, and what we are, what we were created to do was to just to go out and engage with the community and show the community a different side of policing through service because we know it's on the side of our car, what everybody says policing is to protect and *serve*. We literally go out and serve the community in many ways. And as I said, I'm the youth officer; we also have a domestic violence officer. We do way more beyond the scope of what CAPS was created to do.

According to officer Cory, CAPS is the department in CPD that focuses explicitly on the service aspect of policing. These officers associate the CAPS program with community outreach and engagement, highlighting events that police hold in the community. Some events are “marketing” strategies for the police to interact positively with community members, while others are more charitable, for instance, bookbag giveaways. Another way CAPS engages the community is through community beat meetings, where residents can speak directly to the CAPS officers in their district and officers that patrol the beat where they live.

Beat Meetings

Beat Meetings are opportunities for residents of communities to speak directly to police officers about concerns and give feedback. These meetings ideally build trust and partnership

with communities in addition to problem-solving. They also allow officers to interact with citizens in a service capacity distinct from the typical enforcement capacity. During meetings, police reassure, explain, and advise residents on several topics and processes. On the other hand, residents may express complaints and request or praise officers. During these beat meetings, residents can voice ongoing concerns directly to police officers; this is perhaps no different than if residents had called 911. The only benefit of this route is that the issue may receive a higher priority if funneled through CAPS; however, residents also complained about longstanding problems needing to be addressed. The few critiques of policing offered by residents often resulted in minimal meaningful discussion. From my observations, the purpose and goals of beat meetings are unclear. Beat meetings seemingly exist as an outlet for residents' frustrations so that they can be appeased, if possible, and reassured that police officers are doing their best. CPD's use of CAPS is not truly in the spirit of COP philosophy, which has been delegated to the CAPS department when it was intended to be a mode of operation for entire police departments.

From February to July 2021, all the beat meetings I attended were conducted via Zoom to avoid the potential spread of COVID-19. It is unclear what if any, effect this had on community participation in beat meetings, which was minimal in all the meetings I attended. Before the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, these meetings were held in a public location within the beat. Each beat meeting was structured the same: an introduction of officers followed by an introduction of the residents, a brief report of crime statistics for the month, an update on issues raised from the last meeting, and finally opening for residents to raise new issues. Three to five police representatives attended the meetings: one officer from the CAPS office in that district to lead and facilitate the meeting, one commanding officer, and another officer from the CAPS office or one who worked the beat. Throughout this study, meetings were conducted via Zoom,

typically by three officers and a beat facilitator (a community member that may help conduct the meeting); however, only some meetings had a beat facilitator. The meetings lasted about an hour but never longer; some were considerably shorter. The discussions that ended early were due to a need for more residents/participation. Resident's participation in the beat meetings ranged from 3-7 residents; all the meetings observed had at most ten participants, including police officers and myself.

Resident-driven Interactions

Police dictate the beat meetings; however, it is not entirely dominated by officers. In the “New Issues” portion of the beat meeting, residents may speak about any issue they desire, but ultimately police decide what is relevant and deserves further discussion. “New Issues” is when residents share complaints, make requests, and praise CAPS officers. Each type of interaction can elicit one or a combination of officer responses.

When residents issued complaints, they were officer-centered, community-centered, or a combination of both. Officer-centered complaints often could revolve around response times, old unaddressed issues, and general critiques. In the beat meeting for 2nd district’s beat 222 (Hyde Park area), one resident complained about a previous meeting he attended where residents were not allowed to speak. Officers respond to these complaints with either reassurance, explanations, or a combination of both. In response to the previously referenced complaint, the officer ascertained more details about the meeting the resident had attended before explaining that the meeting in question was conducted by the alderman and not the CAPS office. By explaining that the CAPS office did not conduct the meeting, the officers shifted the criticism away from CAPS/CPD. Once it is made clear that the issue is not the responsibility of the police, the meeting proceeds to the next issue.

When residents issued community-centered complaints, they ranged in severity from non-resident loitering to drug peddling and prostitution. The residents that attended these meetings were homeowners in the neighborhood. Their community-centered issues typically were directed at those excluded from the community: non-residents, renters in the area, and those deemed “criminals.” In district 11’s beat 1132 meeting, a resident complained about the “rampant prostitution that had increased as the summer approached, occurring near bus stops and schools.” Often attached to complaints, residents routinely request police action via CAPS officers. During this study, Chicago was experiencing a crime wave of carjackings routinely discussed in beat meetings. During another beat meeting for beat 222, because of a recent carjacking, one resident requested information about why the increase in carjackings and additional police coverage at the daycare during pick-up times. Rarely will community members offer praise to the police or thank them for their service.

CAPS Officer Response

When the beat meeting is opened for new issues, residents can speak directly with representatives of CPD. During meetings, officers speak collectively, using terms such as “we,” “us,” and “officers.” Residents may complain, critique, or otherwise express negative sentiments. Faced with discontent among community members, police officers attempt to assuage these feelings with assurances of officers’ effort and efficacy. Embedded within the reassuring dialogue are explanations of what constitutes a police matter and explanations of police processes.

As the police’s role within society has expanded, calling 911 has become a default response for many issues. For some problems, residents are met with an explanation that their concern falls outside the scope of police work. The power asymmetries between police and

citizens are always at play during interactions, even when police act in a service capacity. These underlying dynamics make forming a partnership between police and citizens difficult. The police exercise their power in this relationship by dictating the structure of beat meetings and deciding which topics are relevant to the discussion. Also, there are often information asymmetries between police and residents which can cause distress for citizens depending on the nature of the information. For example, a resident expressed concern over a homicide that happened recently and wanted to know if there were any updates on the case. Meeting notes indicate: “In Beat Meeting 222 residents ask for an update on Jason Knightengale’s case. The commander asks the resident if he has a specific question before stating that it is an ongoing investigation, and they are looking into possible related incidents.” Police decide what information citizens have access to and when they get access. Citizens’ ignorance of police processes and reasoning can cause fear and confusion. When the police provide explanations, this can clear misinformation and misconceptions, which may be the root of the discontent. Efforts to show residents that police are addressing issues that are important to residents may positively impact their perceptions of officers.

Another key aspect of how officers interact with residents is by offering advice. During beat meetings, police advise residents on various strategies for personal safety and navigating police processes efficiently. The most common piece of advice given to residents was “Call the police.” Although some of the beat meetings I observed were in neighborhoods with racial heterogeneity, Black people were the most represented citizens in all the neighborhoods and meetings except for Rogers Park. The widespread distrust of police in Black communities and communities of color makes them more reluctant to “call the police” for help. This distrust is not

unfounded given that far too often, when police should be keeping the peace by protecting Black Americans, instead, they become the perpetrators of Black deaths.

Nevertheless, police officers in beat meetings repeatedly emphasized the importance of calling the police for help. In response, residents critiqued response times for calls and police explained how calls are prioritized and how residents can have their requests prioritized. Meeting notes indicate: “In a Beat Meeting in District 5, Officers suggest that residents download the Smart 911 app to be able to text officers to share information and have them respond. In the same meeting officers also instructs residents to form phone trees, where multiple residents call regarding the same issue to increase its priority.”

Officers will also advise residents on their safety, calling for the residents to take preventative measures so that they will not need to call for help. For example, during this study, a string of carjackings occurred in Chicago, so in one meeting, officers gave tips on how to avoid being victimized. They suggested, “Whenever possible have someone travel with you at night and also have your keys ready when going to your car.”

Sometimes, residents’ dissatisfaction comes from difficulties arising from their attempts to navigate the police bureaucracy. As agents of the bureaucracy, police officers possess in-depth knowledge of navigating processes that they can share with community members at beat meetings.

Officer Compatibility with Community Policing

After completing the hiring process and serving as a patrol officer, police can become CAPS officers. The CAPS / community policing officers I spoke to were unaware of the program before becoming police officers. One officer's tenure predates the program. Typically CAPS officers learned of the program during academy or field training or when a colleague brought the program to their attention. Budding community policing officers were noticed for how they

worked and interacted with the community and then were recruited by existing CAPS members. Their compassion and service-oriented mindset aligned with the CAPS mission. The hiring process of CPD focuses on disqualifying those unfit for police work. However, there needs to be a proportionate focus on attracting people that are service oriented. Incorporating COPS philosophy into the initial phases of the hiring process will ensure that each generation of officers is aligned with the department's goals.

First-line supervisors assist at the operational level by influencing promising officers to join the ranks of community-oriented police or shepherding those who express interest in CAPS. In the excerpt below, Officer Cory discusses the qualities necessary to join CAPS.

If you have a general heart for people, and it's shown throughout the district where you work—one of the bosses, one of the supervisors will come to you and say, “Hey, I think it'd be good for you to work in CAPS.” Or if you feel like you're a good fit to work in CAPS, you go to supervisors and say, “Hey, are there any positions open in CAPS? Can I come back there?”

Officer Cory discusses the informal recruitment process for CAPS wherein police leadership may notice how officers interact with the community and then suggest CAPS as an option or in which officers self-select into the program.

The “heart for people” that Officer Cory highlights sets CAPS officers apart from other officers. This character trait was present in these officers before joining CPD; not instilled nor cultivated by their training as officers. It shines in their police work and gets them noticed by their superiors. Officer Amy articulates the importance of service to her character.

Community building and strengthening is a part of who I am as a person. So, my not being on the job will not stop that work. I do a lot of stuff outside of my nine-

to-five that is community oriented. I volunteer for organizations and have long-standing relationships with other organizations to address some of the challenges we see in communities.

Extrapolating from Amy's interview excerpt, it would seem beneficial for police forces to seek out individuals with a community-oriented or "guardian" mindset in the recruiting process. This could help shift the focus towards serving and protecting the community, rather than the police using a militarized approach.

Police officers received minimal training on CAPS as part of their initial training in the Police Academy. The officers' predispositions towards service and worldviews regarding community constituted their character and served as their impetus for joining CPD. These traits were already a part of these officers; they were not a result of any cultivation by the department. In their interviews, the officers who had not been involved with CAPS did not exhibit this orientation toward service.

CAPS officers also revealed that the department's commitment to community policing has fluctuated over the years; CPD's current policy is for each department to have a plan to engage the community. Officer Brown speaks to CPD's evolving priorities in this excerpt below.

We see the pendulum go back the other way, away from community policing at one point. After the crunch of the crack cocaine coming into the cities and into our neighborhoods, they started returning to being more on the enforcement level. And they kind of took people out of the community policing office and put them back because now the emphasis was on enforcement, enforcement, enforcement, enforcement. And so, at the same time, the relationship building was lost. The community policing officer that may have dealt with domestic violence survivors

and youth was reduced to one or two people who had to do everything. So, people again started distrusting the police.

In Officer Brown's excerpt, he notes that CPD has not entirely moved away from this "enforcement" paradigm; instead, focus shifts between enforcement and the COP/POP paradigm. The department's focus seems to shift based on the city's current climate. The role of police departments in the previous paradigm is to reduce crime through law enforcement (Kennedy & Moore 1995). Due to dissatisfaction with the previous model of policing, community-oriented policing / problem-oriented policing is a style/philosophy of policing that has become popularized over the last thirty or so years. Over time, it has received increasing attention from scholars. Though it has gained traction and secured funding, COP is still neither the sole nor dominant ideology that guides CPD's decision-making. Since Laquan McDonald's murder and the subsequent DOJ investigation, CPD has had a renewed commitment to community policing.

Bad Policing

Police officers invest a significant amount of time and effort to join CPD, and it is not a decision that is made lightly, especially for Black officers. Police departments have a history of conflict with Black and other minoritized communities. Black officers must reconcile the larger relationship between police and minoritized communities, in addition to their own experiences with police, with their work and decision to become police officers.

In these following excerpts, Officer Amy understands the community's criticisms of policing; Officers Terry and Cory describe their personal experiences and feelings toward "bad policing." These experiences and feelings are shared within many minoritized communities and ultimately contribute to the participants' reasons for becoming police officers. As Amy explains:

I think it's important to acknowledge that the community has experienced bad policing. Because of what is experienced sometimes and what shows up in the news, it becomes a blanket thing. "That's how they are, and that's what policing looks like. It's just bad altogether." I think that's one of the challenges. People misunderstand policing because those bad experiences become people's understanding of what policing looks like.

Officer Amy acknowledges what she calls "bad policing" but does so in a way that minimizes its pervasiveness. "Sometimes" people experience "bad policing," the news media outlets create a narrative about police that is not entirely true; these underlying implications may result from her sentiments and history with policing. She was raised living around police officers and viewing them as role models. So, for her, "bad policing" is abnormal and for others, what she calls "bad policing" could be considered commonplace.

Officer Terry describes how his negative perceptions of policing developed in the following excerpt.

I started working and going to school, and as I was working and going to school, I traveled through the Roseland community quite a bit. And I would get pulled over almost every day. You know, get pulled out of the car, they searched my vehicle. Sometimes I was roughly handled. And I was never that guy. I was never that gangbanger type. I was never disrespectful. I'm a Christian. I was not taught to disrespect authority. I felt like the military and police had some things in common. And I never thought that I would be mistreated by the police. After enough of that, I had a negative view of the police. And I was not very fond of the police.

Officer Terry discusses how he became disillusioned with policing after multiple negative experiences with police. He accounts for all the reasons his treatment by the police is unwarranted: he is not a gangbanger, he is not disrespectful, he served in the military, and he is also a Christian. By listing the qualities that “should” disqualify him from mistreatment, he also signals what might justify “rough handling” and searches. Officer Terry would have been a young Black man traveling through a majority Black neighborhood “notorious” for its high rates of crime. After repeatedly experiencing unwarranted harassment and mistreatment from police, despite believing that police should help people, his understanding of the reality of policing became negative. These experiences are shared by communities of color in Chicago and nationwide.

Officer Cory briefly acknowledges his past discontent with the police. He expresses that he did not have a positive view of law enforcement while growing up.

I didn't really care for the police at all. I grew up in Inglewood. And I speak about this all the time I talk to my students that I mentor within my organization; I tell them all the time that I didn't grow up wanting to be the police—I didn't. I didn't care for the police at all.

Because so many of these negative experiences with the police that Officers Amy and Terry discuss are shared within, and between communities, sometimes community members develop these negative outlooks vicariously. After Officer Cory states that he did not like police, he notes that he grew up in Inglewood. Inglewood is a neighborhood on the southwest side of Chicago comprised of Black residents. It has gained notoriety as a neighborhood plagued by crime and often has a heavy police presence. Like many other minoritized communities, this community likely chafes against this occupation, and the negative experiences and feelings towards police

are disseminated through its members. Before joining CPD, several of the officers had experienced being mistreated by police officers and harboring mistrust.

Although some officers had negative feelings towards police in the past, it is essential to note that not all the officers interviewed had negative experiences with police and that some held police officers in high esteem. However, even these officers understood the problematic history of policing in minoritized communities. The officers' circumstances and external motivations to join CPD ultimately outweighed any previous animosity towards police. It seemed that positive interactions with police helped them to change their perspective and become police officers.

Choosing Policing Despite Bad Policing

I expected interviewees to talk about their decision to become police officers, and they certainly did, but I was surprised by the rationale behind their answers. Speaking with the officers reminded me that although police work holds a unique position in our society, as an agency with access to the state monopoly on violence, being a police officer is still a job, and officers must also sell their labor on the market. The circumstances and reasoning for becoming an officer were unique for each interviewee; however, common themes arose throughout the interviews. The participant highlighted financial compensation, stability, social responsibility, or some combination thereof. The officers' negative experiences with police and awareness of problems within policing sometimes acted initially as deterrents to pursuing a career in law enforcement, but also as a catalyst.

In the excerpt below, Officer Cory describes how his position shifted from being a critic of the police and participating in protests to becoming a police officer. His activism in protests was the impetus for his decision; policing was an extension of his activism, not a divergence.

I had a meeting with him, [the Director of Community Policing, and] ... he told me in so many words to be the change that you want to see. He said that you can't sit out here and always protest, protest, protest, you have to do more, and I had to figure out what my more was... I ended up doing it. I ended up applying. And my mindset with applying was genuinely being the change I want to see, finding a way to bridge the gap between community and police because I didn't grow up liking the police.

Social movements may dissipate through institutionalization, an agency may be formed dealing with the issues concerning the movement or the leaders are incorporated into existing agencies. This can appease the movement while simultaneously weakening it without necessarily meeting its demands. Officer Cory speaks about how his interaction with police leadership while protesting directly led to his becoming a police officer. The Director of Community Policing convinced him that protesting could not create a sufficient impact. Essentially, Officer Cory was co-opted from protest movements into police work. He discusses “being the change you want to see” and positions his work as a police officer as another form of activism.

Other officers also echoed this sentiment of wanting to be members of the police to ensure their communities were being policed correctly. For several of the Black officers I spoke with, the practical benefits of becoming a police officer were not a strong enough factor by itself to join.

Well, as a self-employed adult male who had been doing well, around 2007 and 2008, when the economy hit badly, my businesses were suffering. I considered the Cook County Sheriff's Department *because*, they weren't the police, they were working in courts, and they work in the jails. And I said, “you know, I could probably do that,” because I wanted pension, benefits, and paid days off and things

of that nature. So, I signed up for the Cook County Sheriff's Department. I worked there for three years. As I was there, many older gentlemen said you need to be the police. You should be out there helping people because you have a lot to offer, blah, blah, blah.... And then my father-in-law, a retired sergeant, encouraged me quite a bit, restoring my faith that there were good people.

Informally establishing positive personal relationships shifts the perception of police. Both officer Cory and Terry needed to make a positive personal connection to an officer to overcome their discontent. Even officer Amy mentioned growing up in a neighborhood where police officers lived. Officer Terry first step into law enforcement was working in the Sherriff's Department. He makes an explicit distinction between Sheriff's Department and the police. His disdain for policing at the time would not allow him to become a police officer. He even dismissed his colleagues' assurances that he was needed and encouragement to pursue police work. Officer Terry needed to have his faith in police officers restored. Only his personal connection to a police officer, his father-in-law, whom he held in good esteem, shifted his perception.

You Can't Police Your Way Out of These Problems

Police work is not a remedy for structural issues. Police have been tasked with responding to situations and issues created by deficiencies in public services due to underfunding and understaffing. For example, mental health crises are better handled by crisis intervention specialists, but the lack of infrastructure surrounding mental health results in police interventions. Crisis intervention is one of many topics covered in a police officer's one year of training; inevitably crises are mishandled or exacerbated by police, sometimes causing death, and worsening the relationships with communities. Experiences of unfair treatment at the hands of police can erode goodwill and the legitimacy of policing (Worden and McLean 2017).

Continuously relying on police this way is untenable; it impedes building trust and incorporating the police into communities. Speaking with officers revealed that they feel this phenomenon at play and that it can contribute to feelings of frustration. Officers may attempt to remedy the situation by becoming the type of police officers that restore/rebuild goodwill and legitimacy. However, the efforts of these police officers may be futile due to the weight that negative experiences with the police hold (Skogan 2006).

Police officers must respond to all types of calls, including both crisis and non-crisis situations. The 1994 Crime Bill divested social programs into law enforcement agencies; police have since been tasked with handling problems that would benefit from the attention of specialized professionals. Police training is extensive, but its coverage of each issue cannot be exhaustive due to the myriad of circumstances that must be addressed. Social services and public goods need reinvestment rather than tasking police departments with duties better suited to specialists. Officers described their frustration with what they feel can be unfair criticism without consideration to context. The shared sentiment is that they are tasked to do more in a thankless job while communities are doing less. This condemnation stems from police officers' unmet expectations of community contribution to public safety. While holding communities to this standard, police officers may overlook the way structures produce crime, police misconduct, and punitive thinking in favor of victim blaming in the guise of individual accountability.

Officer Terry uses gun violence in Chicago to show how criticisms of police officers can be unfair.

Let's use shootings as an example. There's no way you know who's about to shoot who. You don't know when, where, and how it will happen. Yet the police are blamed for allowing it. We get guys that get arrested all the time, and they get

bonded out; they get put on electronic monitoring. And they're right back out there doing the same thing they did to get there. I mean, it's ridiculous. You get a slap-on-the-wrist sentence. It's ridiculous.

Officer Terry views people released from prison committing more crimes as problem, but he does not recognize the structures that produced the initial crime, nor those that contribute to the later one. He does not envision citizens cycling out of the justice system as potentially productive citizens, instead he sees potential repeat offenders.

Officers likely have seen many repeat offenders move through the system and may attribute these outcomes to individual decisions, disregarding their structural roots. Structural disregard contributes to Officer Terry's punitive inclinations, evident in his solution of keeping people incarcerated for longer sentences instead of entertaining a way to rehabilitate and reincorporate people in the prison system to successfully re-enter society. The uninformed part of his solution is that most people will inevitably be released and perpetually punished by losing the right to fully participate in society, making it *more* likely for them commit and be convicted of crimes. The prison system does little if any to help reincorporate these former incarcerated people into the citizenry. Their criminal record places them in a marginalized caste restricting their life chances.

Officer Terry also points out that gun violence is ultimately out of the control of the police but makes no mention of calling for sensible gun control measures. Nevertheless, the uncertainty of the circumstances in which shootings can occur and the criminal legal system that may eventually reintroduce perpetrators back into society means that there is no feasible way for the police to prevent shootings from happening. Officer Terry feels that despite this, the police are expected to stop the gun violence and are ultimately blamed for their inability to do so. He and several officers argue that relying solely on the police to solve societal issues is neither

viable nor ideal and call on communities to play a more prominent role in public safety. The police officers I spoke with shared the sentiment that citizens can often expect the police to be able to solve any and every problem they might have. This expectation can be unfair to police officers who have also felt underappreciated amidst the mounting criticism of police.

In several interviews, police officers noted the expanding scope of police work and questioned the efficacy of having police address issues believed to be outside their scope (e.g., a truant child, curfew violations). Social issues like crime and public safety are too complex to place the burden on a single agency. The solutions require a commitment to structural changes.

In the following excerpt, Officer Amy discusses the over-reliance on police and calls for stronger communities that can respond to and address issues internally. This was Officer Amy in response to the question, “Do you believe people have unrealistic expectations of police?”

Absolutely. Absolutely. And I don't know that it comes from the idea that the police are supposed to do everything, as opposed to the idea that you can be in partnership with the police to address the issue....

After asking for more clarity on the question, Officer Amy elaborated on her answer.

But it's reasonable that people identify with calling the police when they need help. But it's unreasonable for us always to be that call. Certain things, it's not a police issue. We get calls; “my son won't go to school, my daughter won't go to school, they are staying out too late.” I'll come, you know, my job says I have to come. I'll try to talk to her. I'll try to talk to him. I'll see what I can do to help address that situation. It's not something for the police to do. That's why I think that if communities become more like the ones I grew up in and more connected, you go knock on your neighbor's door and say, “Hey, Johnny is having a bad day. Can you

come over and help me get him to school” that's where the community comes in. But the police's role in serving and protecting-- some of the services we're asked to do is outside what we're trained to do.

Officer Amy embraces regressive nostalgia to argue that in the past fellow citizens spent more time connecting with neighbors than we do today. Her words, in a nutshell, they had the community capacity to rely on social capital / networks and informal governance to solve more casual problems.

Since police departments became centralized bureaucracies, traditionally, their role has been to ensure public safety through law enforcement. However, their role has evolved so that police officers are now tasked with handling a variety of enforcement and non-enforcement tasks. Police officers often respond to crisis intervention calls, such as mental health episodes. As investment in community-led resources and infrastructure to address mental health, substance use, and violence prevention has gradually decreased, the task has fallen to the police by default (Vermeer, Woods, Jackson 2020). Police officers, advocates, and critics agree that police departments are spread thin with all the issues they are tasked with handling. A proposed intervention is defunding police departments and reallocating funds to social programs that can handle some of these responsibilities.

Throughout the interviews, police officers discussed the burden of public safety falling squarely on the shoulders of police rather than being shared with community members and programs. As mentioned in Officer Amy's excerpt, citizens' belief that police should handle everything them impedes the development of partnership with police, which she believes is necessary to address issues communities face. She also romanticizes communities of the past and

suggests that contemporary communities should emulate them and handle more issues internally without relying on the police.

Other officers share Officer Amy's sentiment that past communities were stronger and better equipped to deal with problems. Officer Brown also believes stronger communities are the key to resolving these societal issues, and relying solely on a police approach is doomed to fail.

But if we share our concerns, plans, and strategies with the community, the people will feel more likely to assist us because you can't do this alone. You can't police your way out of these problems that are presented.... You can get further with collaborative effort cooperative efforts from everyone. Everyone has a role to play. We used to think, point the police to the bad guy, point the police to where the crimes occurred, and move out of the way. Many times, it became heavier-handed and a heavy lift, and at the same time, it was jailing people. We now know that's not the only way; we're looking at other means of resolving problems and seeing how we can put fewer people in jail. That whole practice of throwing the police on an issue and letting them fix it works better when we let Mrs. Jones on the block help us, when we let the corner grocery store help us. When we allow the schools with kids hanging out on the corners to help us, the elected officials assist us with known outreach workers who have trained their specialties in this area because they may have once been on the other side. So, it is more of a village approach now and not just the police. I think that's more impactful and effective. And so that's what I mean when I say we can't police our way out. We got to have the community help.

Here Officer Brown alludes to issues discussed by Officers Terry and Amy;

legislation/legislators contributing to the cycle of crime, and communities not contributing

enough to public safety or other law enforcement efforts. He speaks about the communities working with the police; however, the strength of these communities is implicit in his discussion. Resident relationships, thriving businesses, effective political mobilization, etc., are all signs of a strong community. Even the ability to enter a partnership with the police is a sign of strength that is taken for granted, as partnership denotes a somewhat equal power dynamic.

What Can be Done?

Many officers who work in CAPS / Community Policing repeatedly talk about strengthening communities' social capital when they speak about potential solutions to crime and violence. They support investing in public goods such as schools, parks, recreational centers, and other social services and enrichment programs. The police budget is so inflated because funds have been siphoned away from social services and other public goods into policing services. Because these other services have been drained, police officers must serve in capacities better suited to professionals trained to provide specialized services.

The interventions that police officers, social service providers, and non-profit organizations provide represent unaddressed social problems. Officer Amy expresses her skepticism about preventing crime without addressing other societal issues.

Preventing crime? I think there's a way to address it. I don't know about preventing crime; there are social issues at play and economic issues at play. So, all that stuff has to get addressed if we want to prevent crime in our day. We can address it. We can mitigate it. I don't know that we can prevent it without addressing some of the larger societal issues.

She contradicts her thoughts about the feasibility of preventing crime, now discussing how crime should be addressed; again, she emphasizes solutions unrelated to policing.

An ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure, so the best way to deal with crime is to mitigate some of the factors that create crime. So, we're going to have to deal with socioeconomic issues. We will have to deal with how we educate our young people. Those are the things that are not police-oriented solutions, but those are, in my opinion, the best way to address crime.... How do you handle economic situations and with community building financial vehicles to help sustain itself? What would happen if a community like each neighborhood supported itself economically? Make sure everybody in the area ate; I don't know that we would have people robbing their way to eat.

Officer Amy highlights socioeconomic issues, then specifies education and economics as potential focus areas, envisioning a community where every neighborhood was economically self-sustainable. Creating such a community requires investments in schools and local businesses and for residents to access a pool of resources *within* the community. These types of solutions require government interventions that are outside of the scope of CAPS and CPD.

Officer Jack discusses the funding policing receives in relation to other services, including CAPS.

There's money out there, but they figured it's less important than putting it in other areas. It would help, but they say we need money for other things. If you ever heard them saying they are defunding the police, I look at it like not stripping the police, but you know, taking the money and use it in some other areas other than just spending money just on police.

Officer Jack notes that the money that CAPS and social services required to be effective is funneled toward traditional policing. This is the crux of the defund the police movement,

channeling funds from policing to services that can improve the quality of life for communities and increase their social capital. The movement to defund the police has been critiqued for its framing of issues and being anti-police; in his answer, Officer Jack intentionally addressed these critiques. He attempts to frame the movement in a way that, instead of being detrimental to police, is beneficial for communities. He believes that policing is receiving the funding because of the perception that it is more important than other services and programs. The police have been asked to fill a role tasked with addressing many of the issues that entire agencies are dedicated to solving, in addition to the broad category of crime.

I thought asking interviewees about their ideas on addressing crime was fitting. Officer Terry describes how he would begin to address crime in this excerpt.

Well, the first thing I would do if I had unlimited resources and power—Are you familiar with the Kroc Center.... Okay. I would build about 10 of those across Chicago and make them accessible to all youth. And they would have something to do with their time other than go out there and wreak havoc on the city. That would be the first step: tutoring, coaching, mentoring, and encouragement. I've never seen anything horribly dangerous happen at the Kroc Center. Since its inception, it's been a safe place with every resource you can think of. It's a community center's dream come true. So, I think that would be a start. They got billions to throw into this, millions to throw into that. How about let's start with something simple? Of course, one of the challenges is that some kids escape across gang lines to get to the location they need. But it's a start.

The Salvation Army Ray and Joan Kroc Corps Community Center, more frequently called the Kroc Center, is a community hub on the South Side of Chicago. The facility hosts various

educational, fitness, and worship programs for its members. Officer Terry believes that placing community centers, like this one, around the city while also making memberships accessible to youth will provide safe havens and more positive outlets for children, consequently reducing crime. He also highlights how the Kroc Center acts as a hub for resources that are easily accessible to its members. He criticizes the City of Chicago's willingness to spend billions without investing in communities.

During interviews, several officers pointed to non-policing solutions for crime, focusing instead on supporting and strengthening communities. Officers Terry and Cory talk about one of the ways they invest in communities through their involvement with non-profit mentor programs. Both officers discuss teaching young people trades. Officer Terry teaches them to cut hair while Officer Cory teaches them to cook.

I teach young people from Parkway gardens how to cut hair. So that they have an opportunity to learn to trade a skill that could make them money, where they won't feel like the only options they have on the street.

What we do is we mentor them, we invest in them, we teach all these young people job readiness training, and we prepare them for the real world. I'm a chef by trade, so I'm big on teaching young people how to cook. I taught kids how to cook and helped them get scholarships. We do all types of, but it's generally a mentoring group to show these kids that there's a different way other than the streets.

Both officers act as mentor figures that teach young people a trade; for Officer Terry that trade is barbering, and for Officer Cory, it is cooking. Both officers think this can give them an alternative option to “the streets.” These programs are investments into communities and residents' social capital. The solutions these officers have proposed are both service-oriented and focus on factors

outside the scope of the police. Police officers respond to crimes that have already been committed, which is misaligned with the goal of preventing crime. The recurring idea of strengthening communities reveals officers' understanding of this limitation in addressing crime.

Officer Terry believes in a more social service-oriented approach, but not all officers agree. He and other officers also acknowledge problems within the criminal legal system that contribute to crime. Unlike Officer Terry, they favored addressing issues within the system to impact crime. Officer Leah feels that the justice system can be too lenient and advocates for stricter sentencing.

They need to change the laws. That's the same thing the superintendent is saying right now, which is the same thing I've been saying for the past three years. They let all these people get locked up, and they let them back out. No penalty. You get this little slap on the wrist. They don't care—they don't care about a slap on the wrist. You can give me 55 million slaps on the wrist. If this is what I do, this is what I'm gonna do. But if you put that butt in jail for a couple of years and let him sit down and think about it, maybe he may change a little when he comes out, but some of them won't change. But I mean that one or two that you may get to change.

It may make a difference. But they are letting everybody out.

In her answer, Officer Leah espouses a more punitive philosophy than other officers, stating that “slaps on the wrists” aren't an effective measure against crime. She believes longer sentencing could lead to convicted persons reforming their life, if only a few.

However, the penal system is not designed to rehabilitate inmates; inmates are socialized into prison society and are often left ill-equipped to be reintroduced into mainstream society. Incarcerating people for extended periods is not always feasible, nor is it likely to reduce crime

through rehabilitation. The United States currently incarcerates the most people worldwide, continuously cycling people in and out of prison due to overcrowding. Though some incarcerated persons can reform, the Department of Justice found that in 30 states, about two-thirds of persons released from prison return within three years (Durose, Cooper, Snyder 2014). The evidence shows that although some can escape the revolving door of the prison system, the majority cannot.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

Community-oriented policing, as a philosophy, reimagines the role of police officers and the relationship between police agencies and communities. Ideally, the entire police department would embody this philosophy and foster community partnerships to coproduce public safety. My time speaking with police officers highlighted limiting factors, both on the side of police departments and of communities hindering the possibility of transforming this ideal into a reality.

Although CAPS has operated as CPD's community-oriented policing program since the mid-1990s, this aspect of policing has not always been a priority, nor has an investment in it remained consistent. The recent focus on community policing in Chicago can be traced directly to the murder of Laquan McDonald and the subsequent DOJ investigation. One criticism of community policing is that it is a public relations tactic used by police departments to create goodwill without making substantive changes. Without consistent investments into community-oriented policing in addition to equitable policing, events such as bookbag giveaways, community clean-ups, etc., will likely be perceived as charity and photo-ops instead of proactive relationship building. The inconsistent focus on CAPS has led to the current inability of CPD to embody the philosophies behind COP fully.

CPD has not been fully populated by individuals wholly invested in the service aspect of police work. There are officers whose backgrounds and worldviews align with that of COP philosophy; even so, not every officer is equally invested in this style of police. The officers that do align are noticed by supervisors and recruited into the CAPS program. Once in CAPS, their focus is on building relationships with community stakeholders, and while they may still answer calls for service, it is no longer part of their primary duties. This double-edged sword allocates the more community-oriented officers to building the partnerships but also takes the most

compassionate and service-oriented officers away from answering calls on the front lines. The potential power of community-oriented policing may be maximized when aligned police officers are placed in leadership positions outside of the CAPS department. In these positions, officers can become a driving force for the COP philosophy to help ensure that “each department has a plan for community policing.”

CPD’s change of preferences during the hiring process is a step towards this end. In earlier eras of policing, military experience was a preferential trait; now, CPD has begun favoring former educators. However, the hiring process for CPD and many other police departments are still primarily centered around disqualifying applicants not suited for police work rather than finding/hiring the best possible applicants. Additionally, fewer people have been applying for CPD in recent years. The department is becoming understaffed because the number of new officers each year is insufficient to replace the retiring officers. This has placed an additional strain on the remaining officers, asking more of officers who some already consider overloaded with responsibilities.

Modern police agencies' evolution into central bureaucracies has increased the duties and responsibilities of police officers until an expectation formed that many issues would/could be handled by the police. Police officers are aware of both the public’s expectations and the limitations of policing. In these interviews with officers, communities were often called on to become a more significant component in resolving their issues. Police want communities to develop a true partnership with the police instead of primarily relying on the police for interventions. Officers recognize that a lack of direct investment into community resources and structures limits any potential partnership communities can make with the police. Strengthening community infrastructure provides residents with the resources and opportunities to address

issues independently or with the help of specialists rather than relying on police by default. There is also a belief held among officers that interventions aimed at strengthening communities will indirectly reduce crime. There needs to be a significant investment into underserved communities' mental, physical, and financial well-being, along with a police department with a more focused scope of duties that embodies the COPS philosophy.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

The CAPS program is a sub-department within CPD responsible for building trust and community with residents. The police officers who work in CAPS are often service-oriented individuals who have experienced “bad policing.” These officers have resolved to improve policing by becoming the kind of officers their communities deserve. COP philosophy emphasizes civilian participation in public safety and proactive problem-solving, a considerable departure from the punitive reactionary model. Despite committed officers and a community-oriented model, CAPS fails to realize the transformative potential of the COP philosophy that it utilizes because it cannot make the necessary structural changes to transform policing fully.

CAPS uses different means from traditional policing models to attempt to achieve the same overarching goal of crime reduction. CAPS also has an additional goal of improving relations with minoritized communities. The program is ineffective in both endeavors because it has not received consistent support from CPD regarding funding, staffing, and emphasis; also, by sharing the same goals as traditional policing, it shares some of the same weaknesses. Viewing crime and the fractured relationships with communities as the result of individual failings requiring micro-level interventions, punishing offenses committed by immoral persons, scapegoating officers for misconduct, and using CAPS officers to build trust with residents. These solutions ignore the structural causes that led people to commit crimes and policing’s loss of legitimacy as an institution. The CAPS program does not seek to change how policing is done radically, nor does it remedy the root causes of crime.

To improve the relationships with minoritized communities and combat crime, CPD needs to be more effective. Rather than having police respond to all situations regardless of whether it falls within their expertise, the role of the police should be narrowed. Funds invested

in policing services must be redistributed to social services, non-profit organizations, and other public goods. This provides communities with the resources to problem-solve internally or with the help of specialists. Asking the police to address fewer issues allows them to become specialists and a practical resource for communities, as opposed to a weapon used against them. This shift could alleviate much of the criticism surrounding the effectiveness and harm caused by policing.

REFERENCES

- Adachi, Jeff. 2016. "Police Militarization and the War on Citizens." *Human Rights*, 42(1):14–17.
- Armenta, Amada. 2016. "Between Public Service and Social Control: Policing Dilemmas in the Era of Immigration Enforcement." *Social Problems*. 63(1):111-126.
- brandonforchicago.com. 2022. "Public Safety & Police Reform." Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://www.brandonforchicago.com/issues/public-safety>).
- Bronzeville. 2020. City of Chicago. Retrieved June 28, 2023 (https://www.chicago.gov/city/en/sites/invest_sw/home/bronzeville.html).
- Chappell, Allison T. and Lonn Lanza-Kaduce. 2004. "Integrating Sociological Research and Theory with Community-Oriented Policing: Bridging the Gap between Academics and Practice." *Journal of Applied Sociology*. 21(2):80–98.
- CPD Annual Report. 2017. Chicago Police Department. Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://web.archive.org/web/20190705065326/https://home.chicagopolice.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Chicago-Police-Department-Annual-Report-2017.pdf>).
- Chicago Police Department. 2023. Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://home.chicagopolice.org/>).
- City of Chicago. 2022. "Analysis of the Annual Proposed Budget—Fiscal Year 2023." Retrieved June 28, 2023 (https://www.chicago.gov/content/dam/city/depts/COFA/ProposedBudget/COFA_AnalysisOfAnnualProposedBudget_FY2023.pdf).
- Community Data Snapshots. 2022. Chicago Metropolitan Agency for Planning. Retrieved 28, 2023 (<https://www.cmap.illinois.gov/data/community-snapshots>).

- Cordner, Gary. 1998. "Problem-Oriented Policing vs. Zero Tolerance." *Problem-Oriented Policing: Crime-Specific Problems, Critical Issues and Making POP Work*. 24-34
- Douglas Community Snapshot. 2022. Chicago Community Area Series. Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://www.cmap.illinois.gov/documents/10180/126764/Douglas.pdf>).
- Duress, Matthew R, Alexia D. Cooper, and Howard N. Snyder. 2014. "Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 30 States in 2005: Patterns from 2005 to 2010." 28. Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://bjs.ojp.gov/content/pub/pdf/p19.pdf>).
- Ermann, M. David, and Richard J. Lundman. 1978. "Deviant Acts by Complex Organizations: Deviance and Social Control at the Organizational Level of Analysis." *The Sociological Quarterly*. 19(1): 55–67.
- Gamal, Fanna. 2016. "The Racial Politics of Protection: A Critical Race Examination of Police Militarization." *California Law Review*. 104(4): 979–1008.
- Gill, Charlotte, David Weisburd, Cody W Telep, Zoe Vitter, and Trevor Bennett. 2014. "Community-Oriented Policing to Reduce Crime, Disorder and Fear and Increase Satisfaction and Legitimacy among Citizens: A Systematic Review." *Journal of Experimental Criminology*. 10: 399–428.
- Grabiner, Gabe. 2016.. "Who Polices the Police?" *Social Justice* 43(2): 58–79.
- "Grand Boulevard, Community Data Snapshot." July 2022. In *Chicago Community Area Series*. <https://www.cmap.illinois.gov/documents/10180/126764/Grand+Boulevard.pdf>
- Hill, Stephen, and Randall Beger. "A Paramilitary Policing Juggernaut." *Social Justice*. 36(1): 25–40.
- "Hyde Park, Chicago." In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved June 28, 2023 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hyde_Park,_Chicago).

- “Hyde Park, Community Data Snapshot.” 2022. In *Chicago Community Area Series*. Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://www.cmap.illinois.gov/documents/10180/126764/Hyde+Park.pdf>).
- Johnson, Andrew. 2014. “Foucault: Critical Theory of the Police in a Neoliberal Age.” *Theoria*, 61(141).
- Kennedy, David M., and Mark H. Moore. 1995. “Underwriting the Risky Investment in Community Policing: What Social Science Should Be Doing to Evaluate Community Policing.” *Justice System Journal*. 17(3): 271–289.
- Klinenberg, Eric. 2001. “Bowling Alone, Policing Together.” *Social Justice*, 28(3):75–80.
- Lightfoot, Lori. 2020. “City of Chicago 2020 Budget Overview.” 1–195.
- Lightfoot, Lori, and David Brown. 2020. “Chicago Police Department 2020 Annual Report.” *Office of the Superintendent*, 1–58.
- Lombardo, Robert & Donner, Christopher. 2017. “Can community policing increase residents’ informal social control? Testing the impact of the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy.” *Police Practice and Research*. 19: 1-16.
- Lord, Vivian B., and Paul C. Friday. 2008. “What Really Influences Officer Attitudes Toward COP?” *Police Quarterly*. 11(2): 220–238.
- Lundman, Richard J. 1980. *Police Behavior: A Sociological Perspective*. Oxford, England: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Mastrofski, Stephen D. 2004. “Controlling Street-Level Police Discretion.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 593:100–118.
- McLean, Sara and Robert Worden. 2017. *Mirage of Police Reform: Procedural Justice and Police Legitimacy*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.

- Nguyen, Nicole. 2019. “‘The Eyes and Ears on Our Frontlines’: Policing without Police to Counter Violent Extremism.” *Surveillance & Society*, 17(3): 322–337,
- Reisig, Michael D. 2010. “Community and Problem-Oriented Policing.” *Crime and Justice*. 10(1): 1-53.
- Reiss, Albert J. 1992. “Police Organization in the Twentieth Century.” *Crime and Justice*. 15:51–97.
- “Renewal and Revival.” *The University of Chicago Centennial Catalogues - The University of Chicago Library*, Retrieved June, 28, 2023
(<https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/collex/exhibits/university-chicago-centennial-catalogues/university-and-city-centennial-view-university-chicago/university-neighborhood/renewal-and-revival/>).
- “Rogers Park.” 2005. In *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Retrieved June 28, 2023
(<http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1086.html>).
- “Rogers Park, Chicago.” In *Wikipedia*. Retrieved June 28, 2023
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rogers_Park,_Chicago#:~:text=Rogers%20Park%20is%20the%20first,the%20shore%20of%20Lake%20Michigan).
- “Rogers Park, Community Data Snapshot.” 2022. In *Chicago Community Area Series*. Retrieved June 28, 2023
(<https://www.cmap.illinois.gov/documents/10180/126764/Rogers+Park.pdf>).
- “Roseland.” 2005. In *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago*. Retrieved June 28, 2023
(<http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1094.html>).
- “Roseland, Community Data Snapshot.” 2022. In *Chicago Community Area Series*. Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://www.cmap.illinois.gov/documents/10180/126764/Roseland.pdf>).

- Rothwell, Gary, and J. Norman Balwin. 2007. "Ethical Climate Theory, Whistle-blowing, and the Code of Silence in Police Agencies in the State of Georgia." *Journal of Business Ethics*. 70: 341-361.
- Rousell, Aaron, and Luis Gascón. 2014. "Defining 'Policeability.'" *Social Problems*. 61(2):237–258.
- Singh, Nikhil Pal. 2014. "The Whiteness of Police." *American Quarterly*, 66(4):1091–1099.
- Skogan, Wesley G. 2006. "Asymmetry in the impact of encounters with police." *Policing & society* 16(2): 99-126.
- Skogan, Wesley G. 2009. *Police and Community in Chicago: A Tale of Three Cities*. New York City, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Spicker, Paul. 2013. *Reclaiming Individualism: Perspectives on Public Policy*. Bristol, England: Policy Press.
- "The History of Bronzeville." 2023. *Chicago Studies | The University of Chicago*, Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://chicagostudies.uchicago.edu/bronzeville/bronzeville-history-bronzeville>).
- Trojanowicz, Robert and Bonnie Bucqueroux. *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*. Cincinnati, Ohio: Anderson Publishing Company.
- United States Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, and United States Attorney's Office Northern District of Illinois. 2017. "Investigation of the Chicago Police Department." 1–161.
- Vermeer, Michael, Brian Jackson, and Dulani Woods. 2020. *Would Law Enforcement Leaders Support Defunding the Police? Probably—If Communities Ask Police to Solve Fewer Problems*. Santa Monica, California: RAND Corporation.

- Walsh, William F., Vito, Gennaro F., Tewksbury, Richard, and George P. Wilson 2000. "Fighting Back in Bright Leaf: Community Policing and Drug Trafficking in Public Housing." *American Journal of Criminal Justice*. 25(1):77–92.
- Weber, Max, et al. *Politics as a Vocation*. Hassell Street Press, 2021. (Original work published 1912).
- Westley, William A. 1970. *Violence and the Police*. Cambridge, Massachusetts. M.I.T. Press.
- Jeremy M. Wilson, Erin Dalton, Charles Scheer, Clifford A. Grammich. 2010. "Recruitment: Filling the Bucket." *Police Recruitment and Retention for the New Millennium the State of Knowledge*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.
- Witzburg, Deborah, and Megan Carlson. 2022. "Understanding the City of Chicago Police Department's Budget." *City of Chicago Office of Inspector General*, Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://igchicago.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Understanding-the-City-of-Chicago-Police-Departments-Budget-updated.pdf>).
- Yan, Jade. 2020. "What (Other) People Are Saying About Lightfoot's 2021 Budget." *South Side Weekly*, Retrieved June 28, 2023 (<https://southsideweekly.com/what-other-people-are-saying-about-lightfoots-2021-budget/>).