

Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago: An Update

**The Illinois Advisory Committee
to the United States Commission on Civil Rights**

June 1999

A report of the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights prepared for the information and consideration of the Commission. This report will be considered by the Commission and the Commission will make public its reaction. The findings and recommendations in this report should not be attributed to the Commission but only to the Illinois Advisory Committee.

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Letter of Transmittal

Illinois Advisory Committee to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

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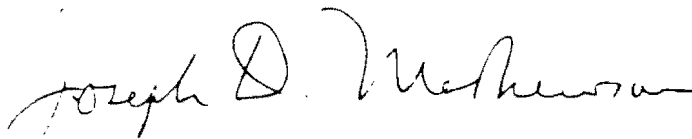
Ruby G. Moy, *Staff Director*

The Illinois Advisory Committee submits this report, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago: An Update*, as part of its responsibility to advise the Commission on civil rights issues within the State. The report was approved by the Advisory Committee by a 13-0 vote. The Advisory Committee is indebted to the individual participants for their time and expertise and to the Midwestern Regional Office staff for the preparation of this report.

This report is a summary of research and testimony obtained in revisiting the issues examined in this Committee's 1993 report, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago* (Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, September 1993). A factfinding meeting was held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 3, 1997, at which the Chicago Police Department, police officers, researchers, and individuals from the community testified. Pursuant to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights administrative rules, the Chicago Police Department was provided an opportunity to preview the report and respond to its content. The Chicago Police Department neither responded nor challenged the information contained in the report.

The Advisory Committee understands the Commission is charged to study and collect information relating to denials of the equal protection of the law, and trusts the Commission and the public will find the material in this report informative.

Respectfully,



Joseph D. Mathewson, J.D., *Chairperson*
Illinois Advisory Committee

Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background

In 1993 the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights released its study, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*.¹ The report demonstrated an unequal level of police officers assigned to patrol predominantly African American areas in Chicago. The study was prompted by the Advisory Committee's observation of disproportionately high-crime rates in the African American communities and the possible connection between these high rates of crime and the lack of a police presence in African American neighborhoods.

At the time of the 1993 Advisory Committee study, African Americans composed approximately 40 percent of the population in Chicago, a

of Cook County similarly show the African American proportion of the population unchanged from 6 years earlier.

Chicago's African American population resides for the most part in highly segregated neighborhoods on the city's west and south sides. This segregated housing pattern is reflected in the city's 25 police districts. The concentration of African Americans in police districts ranges from 99 percent African American (police district 2) to less than 1 percent African American (police district 16).

Seven of the 25 police districts have a population that is more than 90 percent African American, districts 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, and 15. Those seven police districts and two other police districts, police district 4 (61.6 percent African American) and police district 22 (60.9 percent African American), contain over 70 percent of the city's African American population.

TABLE 1.1

Racial and Ethnic Composition of the City of Chicago

White	1,187,168
Black	1,074,471
Latino	545,852
Asian	98,777
Native American	4,997
Other race	3,581
Total	2,914,846

Source: *Census of Population and Housing 1990 Public Law 94-171 Data*. Latino totals are also included in the other racial categories.

city of 2,914,846 residents.² The 1996 estimate of the city's population is 2,721,547, almost unchanged from 6 years earlier.³ Census estimates

1993 Study of Police Protection of the African American Community The African American Community and Crime Victimization

The Illinois Advisory Committee's 1993 study found that African American residents in Chicago are the victims of serious crime at a significantly higher rate than white residents. That situation has not changed in the years since the report's release. African Americans in Chicago continue to be disproportionately victimized by violent crime.

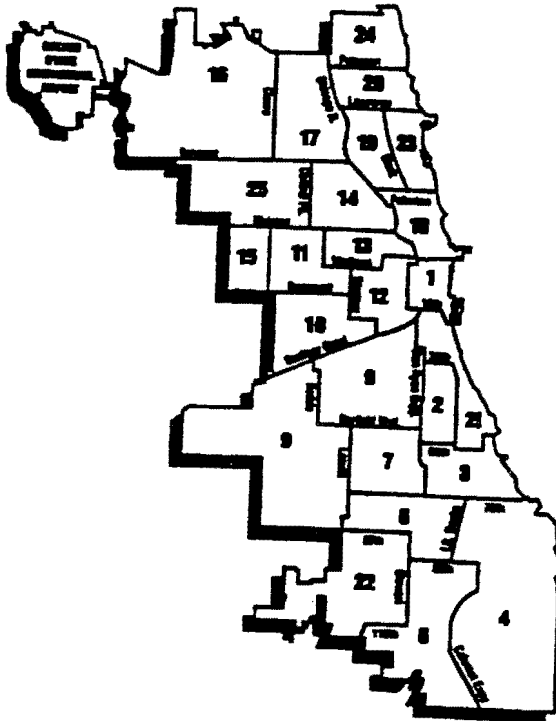
In the 1993 report, the Advisory Committee noted that African Americans—39 percent of the city's population—were 87 percent of the homicide victims. Half of all violent crime in Chicago, i.e., murder, sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault, occurs in the seven police districts that are over 90 percent African American,

¹ The Illinois Advisory Committee is structured to be bipartisan and diverse philosophically and geographically. The Committee includes equal representation from both major political parties, and is independent of any national, State, or local administration or advocacy group.

² 1990 U.S. census of the population, table STF 3A.

³ Estimate of population, U.S. census, July 1996.

FIGURE 1.1
Chicago Police Districts



Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Midwestern Regional Office, from Chicago Police Department 1996 Annual Report.*

though these seven districts are only 20 percent of the city's population.⁴

Examining the 1996 crime statistics finds the nine police districts with 70 percent of the city's African American population to be disproportionately violent areas. In these nine police districts, which contain 30 percent of the city's total population:

- 58 percent of murders were committed.
- 53 percent of sexual assaults were committed.
- 47 percent of robberies were committed.
- 52 percent of aggravated assaults were committed.⁵

Commenting on the high level of violence in the African American community, the Advisory

⁴ Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*, September, 1993, pp. 39–40.

⁵ The data are set out in table 1.3.

Committee reported in its 1993 study that there is a drug war raging in the African American neighborhoods. This pestilence is the cause of much of the violence in the black community. Killings and shootings are directly attributable to factions fighting over "selling turfs." Robberies are linked to users of illegal drugs seeking resources to feed their habit.⁶

The drug problem—identified as a leading contributor to crime in African American neighborhoods—persists as a problem for the African American community. This is evidenced by a significantly higher level of concern among African Americans about the drug problem than among white and Latino residents. In a 1995 survey of problems in their community, 35 percent of African Americans said the selling and using of drugs was the single greatest problem in their neighborhood.⁷

In contrast, only 12 percent of white and Latino residents listed drugs as the greatest problem in their neighborhoods.⁸ Whites most often cited social disorder (20 percent), e.g., prostitution and panhandling, as their neighborhood's greatest problem, followed by gang problems (16 percent), and property crimes (15 percent). Latino residents were most concerned about gang activity (37 percent), followed by social disorder problems (18 percent). Survey results are listed in table 1.4.

Police Patrols in the African American Community

The most significant finding of the Illinois Advisory Committee in its 1993 report was the significantly lower level of police patrol officers assigned to African American districts than expected from the police department's deployment strategy. The basis for this finding was a multivariate statistical analysis of the deployment of patrol officers in each district.

The Chicago Police Department has a deployment formula for assigning patrol officers to the city's 25 police districts. The deployment

⁶ Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*, September 1993.

⁷ Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, *Community Policing in Chicago, Year Two*, November 1995.

⁸ Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, *Community Policing in Chicago, Year Three*, November 1996, p. 56.

TABLE 1.2
Population and African American Population
by Police District

Police district	Total population	African Americans	% African American
1	17,456	5,049	28.9
2	65,834	65,460	99.4
3	87,456	84,054	96.1
4	143,334	88,981	61.6
5	99,897	94,771	94.9
6	114,324	112,017	98.0
7	106,538	105,275	98.8
8	207,482	22,135	10.7
9	156,370	37,844	24.2
10	131,832	47,847	36.3
11	98,554	91,099	92.4
12	69,822	20,343	29.1
13	66,084	15,634	23.7
14	129,007	12,078	9.4
15	63,956	60,652	94.8
16	184,081	677	0.4
17	135,309	2,401	1.8
18	97,370	17,007	17.5
19	107,271	4,415	4.1
20	104,507	13,726	13.1
21	68,944	43,306	62.8
22	117,190	71,314	60.9
23	94,965	14,612	15.4
24	137,681	23,104	16.8
25	177,462	33,910	19.1

Note. Districts with an African American population over 90 percent are in bold.

Source: *Chicago Police Department, 1996 Annual Report*

formula is a weighted score determined by the population and size of the district, the number of violent crimes, property crimes, and calls for service.

In the Committee's 1993 study, actual deployment numbers of patrol officers were used as the dependent variable in a weighted least squares regression analysis.⁹ The analysis showed that districts predominantly African American had significantly fewer patrol offi-

⁹ The weighted least squares (WLS) procedure formed a matrix for the regression by multiplying the incidents of crime in each district by the weight for that particular category and then dividing the variable by total crime in the district. WLS was employed instead of ordinary least squares (OLS) in an attempt to control for variance among high and low crime districts in the reporting of less serious criminal offenses.

cers assigned to the district than would be expected from the department's deployment formula.¹⁰

Moreover, the study found police districts 1 and 18 to be significant outliers from the other police districts in terms of police strength and the level of crime. Police district 1 is the primary commercial district of the city. Police district 18 is close to average in terms of population, has a small geographic area, relatively low levels of crime, is predominantly white, and the wealthiest police district based on per capita income.

The findings of the Advisory Committee had precedent going back 20 years. The new police districts created by the city in the 1970s and 1980s were established in predominantly white, low-crime residential areas. This allowed patrol officers in these districts to have more time to handle calls and to be available for immediate response to calls for service.

In a study released in 1983, the *Chicago Reporter* noted the disparity of police patrols in predominantly African American police districts. In the subsequent 10-year period, the disparity in police patrols persisted, as evidenced by the 1993 Advisory Committee's report.

Moreover, the Advisory Committee found the Chicago Police Department did not routinely reassess its district deployment with respect to its established formula. The 1993 report stated: "The current beat deployment allocation has not been revised in 7 years, nor is there evidence of any studies by the police department analyzing manpower patrol distribution relative to the effectiveness of crime deterrence in Chicago."¹¹

Community Policing

The Advisory Committee was aware at the time of its 1993 study that the Chicago Police Department had accepted as a concept and had begun preparation for the implementation of community policing throughout the city. This new policing policy is intended to involve patrol officers more intimately in the neighborhoods they serve, thereby preventing crime instead of reacting to crime.

¹⁰ Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*, September 1993, p. 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

TABLE 1.3
Chicago Crime in 1996 by Police District

District	Murder	Sexual assault	Robbery	Agg. assault	Burglary	Theft	Mot. veh. theft	Arson
1	4	29	484	249	443	9,722	581	9
2	41	210	1,643	2,950	1,343	3,674	902	60
3	52	174	1,581	2,200	1,847	4,163	1,536	60
4	53	184	1,147	2,064	2,110	4,435	1,832	85
5	50	142	1,003	1,994	1,431	3,204	1,760	101
6	46	144	1,517	1,935	2,429	4,268	1,851	60
7	65	235	1,700	3,391	1,985	3,855	1,575	111
8	22	107	1,168	1,440	2,955	7,400	2,705	88
9	48	95	1,090	1,953	2,216	4,931	1,798	93
10	56	129	1,282	1,773	1,588	3,077	1,524	77
11	102	220	2,248	3,319	1,378	3,616	1,270	90
12	25	82	913	1,290	942	4,528	1,113	37
13	17	89	771	888	1,096	3,340	854	59
14	22	98	1,327	1,740	2,151	5,496	1,845	130
15	43	116	1,330	1,530	1,267	2,736	979	67
16	3	36	333	368	1,645	4,594	1,083	41
17	16	72	636	811	1,737	4,203	1,576	53
18	7	52	819	791	1,391	12,334	987	29
19	7	57	467	449	1,603	4,729	962	19
20	12	54	530	684	998	3,041	834	27
21	25	117	882	879	1,001	4,784	1,095	39
22	18	74	680	1,002	1,304	3,040	1,126	50
23	10	52	594	635	795	3,754	670	8
24	16	78	867	950	1,740	4,462	1,159	52
25	29	106	1,848	1,812	3,080	6,106	2,474	115
Total	789	2,752	26,860	37,097	40,475	119,492	34,091	1,560

Source: Chicago Police Department, 1996 Annual Report.

Under the proposed community oriented policing system, the weighted workload, used by the Chicago Police Department to assign patrol officers, was to be abandoned. Instead, calls for service would be the basis for beat deployment, and the cumulative beat deployment in a police district would determine the number of patrol officers assigned to the district. In 1994 the city initiated pilot programs in five districts: Englewood, district 7; Marquette, district 10; Austin, district 15; Morgan Park, district 22; and Rogers Park, district 24.

The Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, supported by the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, the Chicago Community Trust, and the MacArthur Foundation Agency, has conducted annual evaluations of the community policing program, formally known as the Chicago Alternative Policing

Strategy (CAPS), in each of the last 4 years, issuing reports in 1994, 1995, 1996, and 1997. Wesley G. Skogan, professor at Northwestern University, led the research team and spoke to the Advisory Committee about the studies.

The evaluation focused on two major areas. One was the planning and implementation of the program, deciding what the program was going to look like and then trying to put it out on the street and make it work. Second, the impact of the program, trying to figure out its consequences for the residents of the city of Chicago. A series of reports have been issued, three to date. . . . The first year's report talked about the ideas behind the program and the planning of it. The second year's report focused on the five prototype districts where they experimented with making the program work in the field. That report provides the best data we have on the impact of CAPS. Since it was being done only at selected areas and not all over town, we could gather information about other parts of Chicago that we are continuing to receive the same

TABLE 1.4
Most Important Neighborhood Problems, Response Rates by Racial Group

Problem	Black	Latino	White
Drugs (selling or use)	35	12	12
Social disorder (prostitution, panhandling)	23	18	20
Gangs (wars, intimidation)	14	37	16
Physical decay (graffiti, abandoned buildings)	5	14	13
Property (burglary, car theft)	6	5	15
Predatory (robbery, rape)	8	9	9
Traffic (parking, speeding)	2	1	5
Government (streetlights out, trash collection)	4	3	1
Social breakdown (poverty, racism)	1	1	4
Police service (slow response, more patrols)	1	1	1
Businesses (sales to minors, rowdy customers)	1	0	1

Source: *Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium.*

quality and standard of service that they did before, and we can compare changes in the test districts with changes in the rest of the city.

The third report details the expansion of the program from a prototype to cover the city as a whole. . . . Next year's report and the subsequent reports will extend to the impact of the program citywide.

The first five prototype [police] districts [selected for community oriented policing] successfully represented the diversity of the city of Chicago. There were Latinos and African Americans of all social classes, as well as whites of a diverse background. Probably the only community which was significantly underrepresented was family highrise public housing; none of the five prototypes included any substantial family highrise public housing. Otherwise, they were diverse. Some of them, like Englewood at the time, had the second highest homicide rate in Chicago. They were real places.

Second, the department chose to pick whole districts and to deal with them as they were. That is, they were not staffed by volunteers. They did not seek special commanders. The department dealt with the personnel at these districts as they were at the start of the program.¹²

Police Department Diversity

In its 1993 report, the Illinois Advisory Committee noted that effective police protection in minority communities is often intrinsically bound to a diverse police force. Such diversity is important at all levels and in all positions. In

1993 the African American community was 39 percent of the city's population, but the African American composition of the Chicago Police Department was just 25 percent. This occurred despite 20 years of court-ordered minority hiring.

Moreover, minorities are severely underrepresented in police units that have a great impact on the safety of the African American community. These units include the detective positions, the youth officers, and the gang crimes unit. The Advisory Committee concluded that given the segregation of the city and the racial and cultural diversity, the serious underrepresentation in these units makes equal police protection for African Americans very difficult to accomplish.¹³

In 1993 the Chicago Police Department had over 13,000 sworn officers. Historically, the Chicago Police Department has been a predominantly white establishment. In 1956 "there were fewer than 1,000 blacks and only 10 Latinos on a force of some 9,700 police officers."¹⁴ To break the racially disproportionate hiring of the Chicago Police Department, United States District Judge Prentice H. Marshall, in the 1970s, imposed affirmative action requirements on the city in its hiring of policemen. "According to his formula, 42 percent of all new officers had to be black or Hispanic."¹⁵ By 1992, 65 percent of the 13,196 Chicago police officers were white, while

¹² Testimony of Wesley G. Skogan before the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, factfinding meeting, April 3, 1997, Chicago, IL, transcript, pp. 70-74.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¹⁴ Jeff Lyon and Jerry Thornton, "Uneasy Partners," *Sunday, The Chicago Tribune Magazine*, Sept. 16, 1984, p. 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

TABLE 1.5
1992 Chicago Police Department by Race and Bureau

Bureau	Total	White	%	Black	%	Other	%
Administration	361	194	53.7	129	35.7	38	10.6
Administrative Services	153	57	37.2	92	60.1	4	2.7
Technical Services	715	391	54.7	277	38.7	47	6.6
Investigation	1,919	1,487	77.5	338	17.6	94	4.9
Operations	10,048	6,448	64.2	2,688	26.7	912	9.1
Total	13,196	8,577	65	3,524	26.7	1,095	8.3

Source: Chicago Police Department, *Sex and Racial Composition Report, DPOL8159-48; July 2, 1992.*

just a little over 25 percent of the Chicago police force, 3,524, were African American.

The two police districts in 1993 with the highest number of police officers, police district 1 (Central) and police district 18 (East Chicago) are policed predominantly by white officers. District 1 ("the Loop") has 362 patrol officers and 40 supervisory officers; 286 of the 362 patrol officers (79 percent) and 33 of the 40 supervisory officers (83 percent) are white. District 18, which encompasses both the "gold coast" and the Cabrini-Green public housing development, has a total of 467 police officers assigned to the district; 350 of the 429 patrol officers (82 percent) and 36 of the 38 supervisory officers (95 percent) are white.

Detectives in the department are responsible for investigating reported crimes. There are five detective headquarters, each with a property crimes unit and a violent crimes unit. Each detective headquarters is responsible for certain police districts within the city. Most police officers are promoted to detective through competitive examination.

In 1992 there were 854 detectives in the Chicago Police Department; 778 (91 percent) were white. Similar to the detective ranks, the youth officers and the gang crime officers of the Chicago Police Department in 1993 tended to be white. There were 331 officers assigned to these two divisions; of those, 254 (77 percent) were white.¹⁶ These units and officers are centralized, working out of police headquarters.

The Update

In its 1993 report, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*, the Illinois Advisory Committee found:

1. The Chicago Police Department is not providing the same level of protection from violent crime to African Americans that it is providing to the white community.
2. The Chicago Police Department does not routinely reassess its district deployment with respect to its established formula.
3. The presence of police does deter crime.
4. Police services are only part of total services that provide protection for city residents.
5. The city has accepted a concept of community policing and is beginning to implement such a program.
6. Effective police protection of the African American community is intrinsically bound to a diverse police force.

The Advisory Committee concluded that public safety in the African American community in Chicago was a serious problem. It recommended that the Chicago Police Department begin to share information with the African American community, analyze its dispatch service, examine patrol officer deployment, and end minority underrepresentation in the police force, particularly in supervisory and detective ranks. The Advisory Committee also resolved to revisit the issue of policing in Chicago at a future date to determine whether any structural changes had occurred in the protection of the African American community.

¹⁶ Chicago Police Department, DPOL8159-48, July 2, 1992.

The purpose of this report is to determine whether the level and provision of police protection to the African American community in Chicago has changed since the release of the Advisory Committee's report in 1993. To replicate the original study, the same groups and organizations that testified at the first factfinding meeting in 1992 were invited to participate in a factfinding meeting held in Chicago, Illinois, on April 3, 1997. These groups included city aldermen from African American wards; the Chicago Police Department; the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority; the Fraternal Order of Police, the African American Police League, and the Guardians; academic researchers from Loyola University-Chicago, the University of Illinois-Chicago, and Northeastern University; the Cook County Bar Association; Citizens Alert and the Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety; the Urban League, the NAACP, and community organizations from the African American community.

Not all groups and individuals responded to the Advisory Committee's invitation. However, the Chicago Police Department, which declined to appear at the 1992 hearing, did accept an invitation to testify at the 1997 meeting.¹⁷ The Illinois Criminal Justice Information deferred its invitation to the Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, a research organization coordinated by the Institute for Policy Research, Northwestern University, which has extensively researched community policing in Chicago. Additionally, one neighborhood community policing group, the Northwest Austin Council, accepted an invitation to speak to the Advisory Committee.

This update has three parts. Chapter 2 examines patrol officer deployment, including beat distribution and deployment strategy. Chapter 3 looks at community policing with respect to the African American community. Chapter 4 reports on diversity in the Chicago Police Department. In the last section, the Illinois Advisory Committee presents its findings and recommendations.

¹⁷ Those who testified at the Committee's 1992 factfinding meeting on "Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago" and declined to participate at the 1997 factfinding meeting included Alderman Virgil Jones, Alderman William Beaver, the Chicago branches of the NAACP, the Chicago Urban League, PUSH, the Cook County Bar Association, and the Chicago Alliance for Neighborhood Safety.

Chapter 2

Patrol Deployment

The Chicago Police Department is directed by a superintendent of police, who is appointed by the mayor. Within the department are 11 major bureaus and departments. The five bureaus are Operational Services, Investigative Services, Technical Services, Staff Services, and Administrative Services. The six major departments are the General Counsel, Chaplains Unit, News Affairs, Internal Affairs, Office of Professional Standards, and Office of Emergency Communication. Figure 2.1 shows the organizational structure of the Chicago Police Department.

The Patrol Division of the Chicago Police Department is under the Bureau of Operational Standards. The division deploys patrol resources to the city's 25 police districts. Of the 13,342 sworn officers in the department, 8,934 (67 percent) are authorized to the Patrol Division. The Patrol Division does vehicular patrol, foot patrol, community policing activities, and responds to criminal acts and emergency situations. Officers in the Patrol Division are assigned to districts in a manner to equalize the department's workload.¹

Patrol Officer Deployment in Police Districts

To determine the workload within the city, verified crime and other calls requiring police service are weighted, and then officers are assigned to the district in accordance with the district's proportional "weighted workload" from the previous 12 months. The weights are determined by a formula that includes the total number of incidents by category and the time necessary to complete the assignments. Districts are subsequently apportioned a percentage of patrol resources related to their percentage of the city-wide weighted workload.² There are four weighted categories: violent crime, property crime, other crime, and other calls for service.

¹ Chicago Police Department, *District Beat Allocation*, 1993, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*

The categories and their weights are shown in table 2.1.

Violent crime has a weight of 15. Hence districts with more violent crime, when incidents in the other categories are held constant, should have a higher allocation of officers from the Patrol Division. Similarly, higher incidents of all crime and calls for service in any particular district compel a higher number of patrol officers to be assigned to that district over another district with less incidents of crime and fewer calls for service.

TABLE 2.1
Police Department Weighted Workload Categories

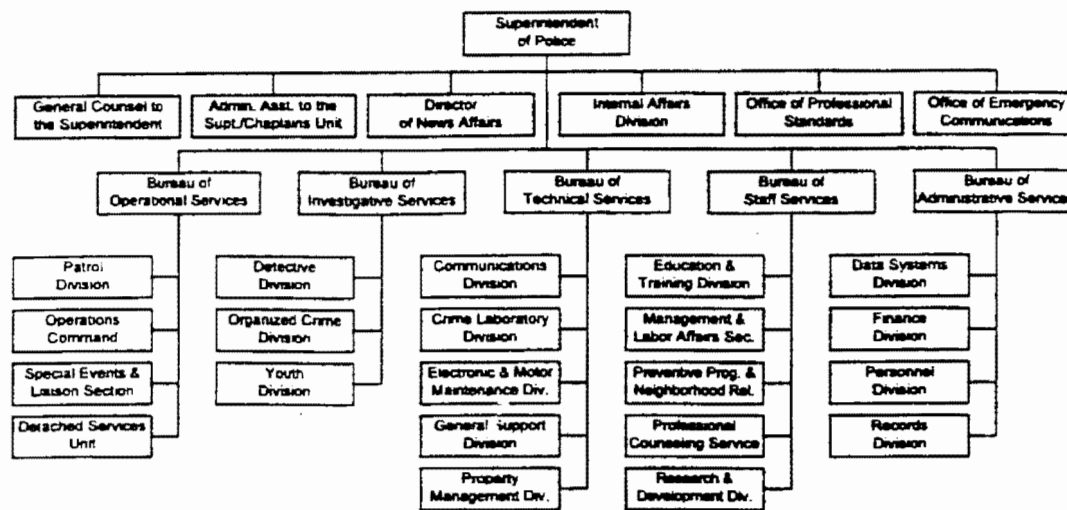
Category	Weight
Violent crime (homicide, rape, robbery, serious battery)	15
Property crime (burglary, theft and auto theft)	10
Other crime (battery and assault, forgery, counterfeiting, damage to property, other miscellaneous criminal conduct)	8
Other incidents (calls for service that require police action but are not of a criminal nature)	6

The weighted workload can be represented as an additive function of the form: $P = \alpha + \beta_1X_1 + \beta_2X_2 + \beta_3X_3 + \beta_4X_4 + \epsilon$, where P is the number of patrol officers, α a constant term, X_i the number of incidents in the category times its "weight," β_i the coefficient of the independent variable, and ϵ the error term.

Source: Chicago Police Department.

Testimony from the Chicago Police Department and research by the Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium confirm that the weighted workload system is still the operational strategy for determining police patrol deployment in the 25 districts. As attested by Jean Clark, deputy chief in the Patrol Division, the deployment of patrol officers and the beat structure of the Chicago Police Department have not changed since the time of the Advisory Commit-

FIGURE 2.1
Chicago Police Department Organization for Command



Source: Chicago Police Department, 1996 Annual Report.

tee's 1993 study. She stated that changes are anticipated, but the department wants to ensure its revised model is the optimal strategy consistent with community policing before redrawing beats and changing deployment formulas.

During the time from the release of [the 1993 Advisory Committee] study until now, [the Chicago Police Department] has not changed its beat structure [or] made any major changes in terms of redeployment. Yet the rate of decline of violent crime in the districts that you are concerned about has actually been greater than the citywide average. It is the change in the way we approach crime, in the way we provide policing services that has had a greater impact rather than just redeployment.

That does not mean we do not need to rethink how we deploy our people, because we recognize we have a new strategy on top of an old system. . . . We are sitting down and discussing that, but we lack the management information needed to make those decisions intelligently [and that puts us] at an impasse in terms of coming up with a new formula. The old [formula] is useless right now, because it was not made for community policing. It was made for the traditional policing model for dispatching calls for service in a rapid fashion. . . . We are still working with what we had in the past before we created our community policing strategy.³

³ Testimony of Jean Clark before the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, fact-finding meeting, Apr. 3, 1997, Chicago, IL, transcript, pp.

Employing the weighted workload formula, the Illinois Advisory Committee found, in its 1993 study, that police districts that were predominantly African American received significantly fewer police patrols than expected under the weighted workload plan. The Chicago Police Department provided the Advisory Committee with the 1997 authorized patrol deployment by police district.

Authorized patrol strength is shown in table 2.2.⁴ The highest authorized strength is 507 in district 18. Police district 7, which is 99 percent African American, has the second highest number of authorized patrol officers, 442. Overall, the seven predominantly African American districts, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, and 15, have an average authorized patrol strength rank of 10, and 2,611 of the 8,934 (29 percent) patrol officer positions are designated for the city's seven predominantly African American districts.

42-44 (hereafter cited as Chicago Police Transcript). Clark was promoted to deputy superintendent in 1998, the first female deputy superintendent in the history of the Chicago Police Department.

⁴ Patrol deployment was requested by the Illinois Advisory Committee at the April 3, 1997, fact-finding meeting. The information was provided to the Committee on May 12, 1998, by superintendent Terry G. Hillard, who was appointed superintendent on February 18, 1998.

TABLE 2.2
Authorized Police Patrol Strength by District

Police district	Authorized strength	Strength rank
*1	396	5
2	362	11
3	374	8
4	366	10
5	336	17
6	347	14
7	442	2
8	386	7
9	415	3
10	354	12
11	401	4
12	372	9
13	286	25
14	349	13
15	317	21
16	326	18
17	319	19
*18	507	1
19	341	15
20	290	23
21	319	19
22	288	24
23	312	22
24	338	16
25	391	6

Note: Predominantly African American districts are in bold
 * Districts with large commercial districts.

Source: Chicago Police Department, May 12, 1998

Testimony at the Committee's factfinding meeting and research by the Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium confirm that the weighted workload system is still in place. Don Zoufal, general counsel for the Chicago Police Department, testified that the department is committed to protecting equally the lives, property, and rights of all people.

Zoufal stated that the deployment of police officers and resources by the police department within the city is based on numerous factors, but the racial and ethnic composition of communities served has not been, and will never be one of the factors considered.

The effective and equitable deployment of police resources is obviously a matter of great concern to the department, and it is the department's firm belief

that the deployment strategies and methods that we have employed continues to be reasonable and equitable throughout all communities in the city of Chicago.

The deployment of police officers within the city is based on numerous factors, but racial and ethnic composition of communities that are served by the Chicago Police Department has not been, is not presently, or never will be a factor considered in the deployment of Chicago police officers. On the contrary, the Chicago Police Department is committed to working with all the communities in the city that we serve and to safeguard the lives and property of all persons.

The deploying of police officers is an issue upon which police, professionals, and academics can disagree as to what actually is the most appropriate strategy. However, researchers and criminal justice practitioners generally do agree that merely increasing the numbers of police officers in an area does not translate to either a decrease in crime or to an increase in the proportion of crimes that are solved. The department has moved to a community policing strategy, and the strategy that we are employing at the Chicago Police Department is how effectively the officers we place in any given place can be used in communities that they serve.⁵

The Illinois Advisory Committee tested the deployment of patrol officers in the different police districts to determine whether the racial composition of the district was a predictor in patrol strength authorization.⁶ A multivariate regression analysis was employed setting the authorized patrol strength as the dependent variable and (1) violent crime, (2) property crime, (3) other crime, and (4) calls for service as independent variables. Each independent variable was weighted with its appropriate workload factor.⁷ A fifth variable, a dummy variable for race, was added as an independent variable in those districts where the African American district population exceeded 90 percent.⁸ Regression analysis was conducted of the 25 police districts to determine whether police deployment

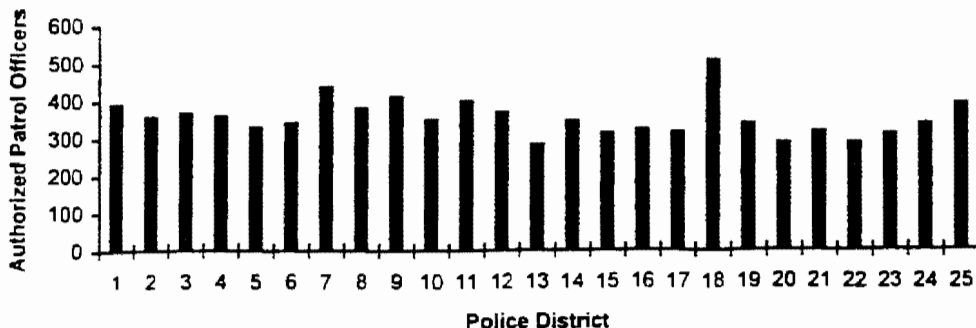
⁵ Testimony of Don Zoufal, Chicago Police Transcript pp. 4-8.

⁶ The analysis was performed by U.S. Commission on Civil Rights staff in the Midwestern Regional Office.

⁷ As an example, under the weighted workload deployment strategy, violent crime is weighted by 15 (see table 2.1). Hence, the amount of violent crime in a police district was multiplied by 15. Similarly, property crime in a district was multiplied by 10; other crime was multiplied by 8; and calls for service was multiplied by 6.

⁸ Police districts 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, and 15 (see table 1.2).

FIGURE 2.2
Authorized Police Patrol Strength by District



Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Midwestern Regional Office, from Chicago Police Data.

was adversely disproportionate to predominantly African American districts.

Unlike the Committee's finding in its 1993 report, the analysis did not show that the percentage of African Americans in a police district was significantly associated with fewer patrol officers authorized for that district.

With all 25 police districts included in the analysis, the amount of violent crime and property crime were shown to be significantly related to the number of patrol officers authorized in a police district. Calls for service for noncrime problems had a negative, though not significant, relationship to the authorized patrol strength in a district. Other crimes and a district's being predominantly African American showed no observable association with authorized patrol strength.⁹ (The regression results are set out in table 2.3).

Clark spoke about the deployment of police resources. In particular, she stressed that the 1st district and the 18th district have large commercial areas that require police patrol resources additional to routine patrol requirements.

The city is divided up into 25 districts. . . . Back in 1992, prior to [the Illinois Advisory Committee's] report, the Department looked at ways of deploying its manpower to the best advantage. Beat reallocation

⁹ The term *significant* is used in the statistical sense. Variables with a t-score having an absolute value of 2.0 or greater are said to have a predictive relationship with the dependent variable (in this case district patrol strength) with 95 percent confidence. Variables with t-scores less than an absolute value of 2.0 are not considered to demonstrate a proven predictive relationship with the dependent variable.

and beat restructuring was one of the options, but it was only one option to fight crime. We knew back in 1992 that the Department was going into the CAPS philosophy in which the basic unit [of police service] would be the beat.

Reassessing district deployment with respect to the established formula in terms of restructuring beats is not a routine process. Restructuring beats is a labor and information intensive process. We expect to have a management information system in place by 1997 that would be capable of giving us information in a way that would allow us to make decisions based upon it. . . . When that [system is in place the department will] look at beat reallocation and beat restructuring.¹⁰

There are 279 basic geographical beats in the city, but that's not the total resources that we send out on the street. It is much too narrow a view to look at the number of beat officers per population or per crime. If you look at the 1st district, it has one of our lowest populations and yet it has a great many officers. That is because if you come down here during the day there are more than a million people. Whereas at night, that population drops substantially. In the 18th district you have a Rush street area and Michigan Avenue, areas with a lot of entertainment and retail and visitors from all over the world and the suburbs.¹¹ It would be remiss by the Department not to address those issues with additional manpower.

The same thing with the crime problems. Crime is just one of the things we look at when addressing where we are going to deploy people. We have the

¹⁰ Testimony of Jean Clark, Chicago Police Transcript, pp. 30-31.

¹¹ The 1st district and the 18th district were singled out in the Advisory Committee's 1993 report as having a statistically disproportionate number of patrol officers based on the department's weighted workload formula.

TABLE 2.3
Regression Results of Police Patrol District
Authorization, All 25 Police Districts

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-score
Intercept	237.600	29.700	7.99
Violent crime	.002	.001	2.47
Property crime	.002	.003	5.91
Other crime	-.006	.006	-0.34
Calls for service	-.001	.002	-1.27
Race	-.357	20.778	-0.01

level of significance = 0.05
 population (N) = 25
 R² = .7397

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Midwestern Regional Office*.

TABLE 2.4
Regression Results of Police Patrol District
Authorization, 23 Police Districts
(Districts 1 and 18 Excluded)

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	t-score
Intercept	233.424	26.254	8.89
Violent crime	.001	.001	1.67
Property crime	.005	.005	0.98
Other crime	-.006	.006	0.91
Calls for service	-.000	.002	-0.32
Race	-18.227	17.875	-1.11

level of significance = 0.05
 population (N) = 23
 R² = .7379

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Midwestern Regional Office*.

basic beat structure and patrol. In addition to that, we have the rapid response cars which are cars that can be deployed in different numbers and at different times. [In addition], there are detectives, gang crime specialists, youth officers, auto theft detectives, bomb and arson people, and organized crime division people [supporting patrol deployment].

In terms of the coverage that we give to the African American community, we have the public housing section. Our officers are assigned to public housing, which are about 83 percent African American.¹²

Based upon testimony from the Chicago Police Department, a second analysis was conducted excluding police districts 1 and 18. Those two districts contain extensive commercial areas

¹² Testimony of Jean Clark, Chicago Police Transcript, pp. 32-34.

that draw thousands of nonresidents into the district on a daily basis. District 1 encompasses the area of the city commonly known as "The Loop," and district 18 contains the North Michigan Avenue/Navy Pier mercantile area. The inclusion of these two districts in an unrestricted analysis may skew the results because of the intrinsic need for additional police deployment unrelated to crime prevention and public safety.

In analyzing the city's 23 noncommercial districts with the weighted workload system, no independent variable was a significant predictor of the number of patrol officers authorized in a police district. The number of violent crimes and property crimes had a positive, but not significant, association with the number of authorized patrol officers. In contrast, other crimes and calls for service for noncrime problems had negative, though not significant, relationships with the authorized patrol strength in a district.

A district's being predominantly African American does not have a proven, significant (as defined in footnote 9) negative relationship with the authorized patrol strength in a police district. Nevertheless, the figures in table 2.4 do indicate that fewer patrol officers are assigned to predominantly African American districts.¹³ This means that the analysis does not allow for a definitive conclusion that police districts that are predominantly African American have a lower level of authorized police patrol deployment. Nevertheless, the strong negative t-score (-1.11) indicates that there is a tendency for the authorized patrol strength to be lower if the district is predominantly African American.

The regression analysis shows another interesting result. None of the weighted factors are shown to be predictive of the number of patrol officers authorized in a district. Weighted violent crime shows a strong positive relationship, but that relationship is not statistically significant. The other three factors: property crime, other crime, and calls for service, show almost no relation, negative or positive, with the number of patrol officers authorized in a district. These results indicate that the deployment formula is not

¹³ Districts are considered predominantly African American if the African American population in the district is greater than 90 percent. This includes districts 2,3,5,6,7, 11, and 15.

being used as a strategy for authorizing patrol strength, and other variables are the actual determinants of patrol strength.

TABLE 2.5
Police Beats Per District

District	Beats per sector	Beats in district
1	3	9
2	4	12
3	4	12
4	4	12
5	3	9
6	4	12
7	5	15
8	5	15
9	5	15
10	4	12
11	5	15
12	3	9
13	3	9
14	4	12
15	3	9
16	4	12
17	3	9
18	4	12
19	3	9
20	3	9
21	3	9
22	3	9
23	3	9
24	3	9
25	5	15
Total	93	279

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Midwestern Regional Office, from Chicago Police Department

Police Beat Analysis

The 25 police districts are geographically subdivided into sectors and beats. Each district contains three sectors, and a sector contains between three and five beats. Each of the city's 279 beats is numbered uniquely: the first one or two digits identify the district; the next digit is the sector number; and the last digit is the beat number.

Boundaries were most recently drawn in 1993 to equalize the police workload in each beat. Officially, the weighted workload formula was the determinant for the number of beats in a district. As a consequence, beats vary widely in population and crime. With the weighted work-

load as the strategy for beat design, the more crime in an area, the smaller the geographic area of the beat.

For example, the bottom fifth of the city's beats in terms of the total recorded crime rate had an average adult population of almost 12,000 in 1990, while the top fifth were home to an average of only 3,800 adults.

This would seem to indicate police deployment favorable to African Americans as the workload-driven strategy spills over into other beat characteristics such as race. For instance, the 77 police beats with an almost exclusively white population (95 percent or more) were home to an average of 11,000 adults. The 112 beats that were more than 75 percent African American housed only 5,300 adults.¹⁴

To test whether African Americans were actually benefiting from the redrawn beats, regression analysis was conducted to determine whether the number of beats in a district was determined by the weighted workload and whether race was a factor in beat design. The number of beats in a district was regressed on the weighted factors: violent crime, property crime, index crime, and other nonindex crime.¹⁵

Four other variables were added to the analysis: area in square miles, total population, percentage of the district African American, and the percentage of district white.

The results of the regression are shown in table 2.6. Overall, the weighted workload is a good predictor of the number of beats in a district. Statistically, weighted violent crime is a significant predictor, and weighted incidents of property crime and other index crime are positive, though not significant predictors. The geographic size of a district has no association with the number of beats; similarly, calls for service and total population have marginal relationships.

The analysis also shows that the percentage of the population in a district that is African American has no relationship, positive or negative, with the number of beats in a district. The

¹⁴ Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, *Community Policing in Chicago, Year Three*, November 1996, pp. 20-21.

¹⁵ The weights on each factor are those listed in table 2.2. Hence incidents of violent crime were weighted by a factor of 15, property crime was weighted by a factor of 10; other index crime was weighted by a factor of 8; and other incidents were weighted by a factor of 6.

TABLE 2.6
Regression Results of Police Beats Per District

I.V.	BETA	St. Error of BETA	B	St. Error of B	t-value	p-level
AfAm	-.005514	.274171	-.000354	.017589	-.020110	.984204
WTVC	.730974	.343761	.000076	.000036	2.126403	.049381
WTPC	.210254	.139035	.000020	.000013	1.512239	.149973
WTIC	.389760	.322233	.000032	.000027	1.209559	.244017
WTNIC	-.063838	.138713	-.000001	.000003	-.460217	.651553
Area	.005806	.102119	.001875	.032980	.056854	.955365
White	.474296	.356683	.036751	.027637	1.329741	.202251
TotPop	.083341	.176412	.000004	.000010	.472423	.643005

Dependent Variable: Beats per district
R = .92669518; R² = .85876395; Adjusted R² = .78814592
F(8,16)=12.161; p < 0.00002; Std.Error of estimate: 1.0931

Note: I.V. = independent variable; AfAm = percentage of population that is African American in district; WTVC = weighted violent crime; WTPC = weighted property crime; WTIC = weighted index crime; WTNIC = weighted nonindex crime; Area = geographic area; White = percentage of population that is white in district; TotPop = total population of the district. A constant was included in the analysis, but is not included in the table.

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Midwestern Regional Office.

same is not true, however, for whites. The larger the percentage of a district that is white is found to be strongly and positively, though not significantly, related to the number of beats in a district. Whites are found to be the beneficiaries of the new beat structure.

Zoufal noted for the Committee that resources to districts have actually increased in recent years with the addition of rapid response cars. This type of deployment was not in place in 1993 at the time of the first Advisory Committee report and represents an additional commitment by the department to increase public safety. He said, "It is a misconception if one talks about regular beat people and the beat structure as if it has not changed. For example, there is the addition of rapid response cars fanning each district. Those were not in place at the time you issued your [1993] report."¹⁶

Analysis by the Committee supports testimony from the police department that there has been additional patrol deployment since the 1993 study. Specifically, the seven predominantly African American districts appear to have an actual increase of 42 patrol officers, an average of 6 officers per district. Patrol strength also appears to have increased in the other districts

as well. Analysis indicates actual patrol deployment in the other 16 districts has increased by an average of 3 patrol officers.¹⁷ Actual patrol strength in the commercial districts, district 1 and district 18, appears to have declined.

Crime Trends in the African American Community

Clark also testified on the effect new policing strategies have had on crime in the city's African American community. In the African American districts, the rate of decline for violent crime has been 17.2 percent over the last 5 years.

In the last few years since this Commission met, crime overall has decreased in the city. Violent crime, in particular, has decreased; citywide, the rate of decline has been 19.9 percent. In the African American districts, the rate of decline for violent crimes has been 17.2 percent. We think we have made decisions that have worked.¹⁸

Analysis confirms a drop in crime rates in the African American districts and throughout the

¹⁶ Testimony of Don Zoufal, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 52.

¹⁷ The 16 districts exclude the 7 predominantly African American districts and the 2 districts, 1 and 18, which contain large central commercial areas. Note, the analysis was based upon an extrapolated comparison of 1992 actual patrol deployment numbers and 1993 authorized patrol deployment numbers.

¹⁸ Testimony of Jean Clark, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 34.

TABLE 2.7

Percentage Change in Violent and Property Crime Between 1990 and 1996 by Police District

District	Violent crimes 1996	Violent crimes 1990	% change	Property crimes 1996	Property crimes 1990	% change	% Af. Am. in district
1	766	940	-20.4%	10,755	12,980	-18.7%	28.9%
2	4,844	7,809	-46.9%	5,979	8,473	-34.5%	99.4%
3	4,007	4,552	-12.7%	7,606	8,625	-12.6%	96.1%
4	3,448	3,841	-10.8%	8,462	11,537	-30.8%	61.6%
5	3,189	4,052	-23.8%	6,496	7,883	-19.3%	94.9%
6	3,642	4,178	-13.7%	8,608	10,548	-20.3%	98.0%
7	5,391	5,916	-9.3%	7,526	9,069	-18.6%	98.9%
8	2,737	1,850	38.7%	13,148	13,542	-3.0%	10.7%
9	3,186	3,453	-8.0%	9,038	11,346	-22.6%	24.2%
10	3,240	4,247	-26.9%	6,266	7,588	-19.1%	36.3%
11	5,889	7,882	-28.9%	6,354	9,203	-36.6%	92.4%
12	2,310	3,288	-34.9%	6,020	7,396	-11.1%	29.1%
13	1,765	2,622	-39.1%	5,349	5,636	-5.2%	23.7%
14	3,187	3,695	-14.8%	9,622	9,490	1.4%	9.4%
15	3,019	4,380	-36.8%	5,049	5,874	-15.1%	94.8%
16	740	914	-21.0%	7,363	8,709	-16.7%	0.4%
17	1,535	1,638	-6.5%	7,569	8,874	-15.9%	1.8%
18	1,669	1,870	-11.4%	14,741	15,002	-1.8%	1.8%
19	980	1,352	-31.9%	7,313	8,796	-18.4%	17.5%
20	1,280	1,561	-19.8%	4,900	6,280	-24.7%	4.1%
21	1,903	2,932	-42.6%	6,919	8,811	-24.1%	13.1%
22	1,774	1,610	9.7%	5,520	6,562	-17.2%	60.9%
23	1,291	1,902	-38.3%	5,227	7,563	-36.5%	15.4%
24	1,911	1,865	2.4%	7,413	8,606	-14.9%	16.8%
25	3,795	4,379	-14.3%	11,775	13,402	-12.9%	19.1%

Note: Districts with an African American population over 90 percent are in bold.

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Midwestern Regional Office, from Chicago Police data.

city. Violent crime in the 7-year period, 1990–1996, has decreased in 22 of the 25 districts.¹⁹ Table 2.7 lists the number of violent and property crimes by district for 1990 and 1996, the percentage change, and the percentage of the district that is African American. The police districts where violent crime has increased in recent years are district 8, district 22, and district 24. Districts 8 and 24 have relatively small populations of African Americans, 10.7 percent and 16.4 percent, respectively. The African

American population in district 22 is 60.9 percent.²⁰ Similarly, property crime has decreased in 24 of the 25 police districts. Only police district 14, a district with a relatively small number of African Americans (9.4 percent), has shown an increase in property crimes in the last 6 years.

Analysis finds that the African American community, in particular, has experienced reduced crime in its neighborhoods. Violent crime, murder, sexual assault, armed robbery, and aggravated assault in the seven predominantly African American districts have declined 33 percent in the last 6 years. The coefficient of correlation between the percentage decrease in crime

¹⁹ The years 1990 and 1996 were chosen because crime statistics from 1990 were used in the Advisory Committee's 1993 analysis of police deployment, and crime statistics from 1996 are the most recent statistics available.

²⁰ See table 1.2 in the introduction.

and the percentage of a district that is African American is positive for both violent crimes and property crimes: r (the correlation coefficient) = 0.1627 for violent crimes and 0.363 for property crimes. The positive association implies a positive relationship between a higher percentage of African Americans living in a district and higher reductions in crime.²¹ In other words, the more heavily a district is populated by African Americans, the higher the observed decrease in crime has been.

Testimony on Police Deployment from Police Organizations

Representatives from three police organizations spoke to the Advisory Committee and addressed the issue of deployment. The consensus opinion was that the deployment was equitable throughout the city. The speakers, however, had contrasting perspectives on other problems related to deployment. William Nolan, president of the Fraternal Order of Police, told the Advisory Committee:

Just the presence of the police cars on the street is not going to prevent crime. It will prevent some crimes from happening, but only the outside crime. Most assaults, though, such as homicides and rapes, most are carried on indoors. So the presence of the squad car out in the street is not going to do a whole lot to prevent that type of an incident.

The department does use the amount of crime reported to deploy officers. I do not know if that is a fair way to assign squad cars, send them over here because there are more crimes being reported, don't send so many up here because there are not as many crimes being reported. Just because there are not crimes being committed in a neighborhood does not mean those people don't have the same right to have squad cars going up and down their streets as they do in any other neighborhood.²²

We need more [police] in areas where there's more crime, there's no doubt about that. We support that concept. But at the same token, in all of the high crime districts you will find beats, and each beat could be several blocks long, which is fine. But then you can get onto the far north side, an affluent community, or in the far southside, those beats are now stretched maybe a mile or more because there isn't

²¹ The correlation coefficient for violent crimes, r , is -0.1627 . The positive term, 0.1627, results when rates of crime reductions are expressed as positive numbers. This is the same for the correlation coefficient for property crimes.

²² Testimony of William Nolan, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 169.

the amount of crime reported there. So instead of having 10 beats, [these larger areas] may have just two beats. . . .

Look at the 1st district and the 18th district. The 1st district is the business loop and the 18th district is probably the most diversified district in the city. It has the poorest section of the city, the wealthiest section of the city, and all in between. But both of these districts have an extensive foot patrol program where they have officers out on foot. That's all they do is walk a beat, they are not assigned to squad cars. Those are the only two districts in the city that have that every day. That takes up maybe several hundred officers from both districts. Other districts have walking beat officers, but not as many as these two districts combined.²³

When asked whether in some sections of the city citizens feel their calls for service may not be answered because there are not enough police in the area, Nolan acknowledged it was a legitimate complaint.

If you go into an area on the westside or on the far southside where there is a constant calling for help, there are only so many police out there. If every single officer is tied up on a call and then another person calls, there's nobody left [to respond]. And you cannot call from another district to have them come in and handle something, that's something that isn't done. . . . So yes, there could be a big gap in somebody calling for police.²⁴

Nolan contested the notion that police officers develop an inbred suspicion of African Americans that breeds distrust and disparate service. For someone "to say that [police officers] are taught who is the enemy and who isn't the enemy is totally unfounded [and] a terrible statement by anybody to say without anything to back it up."²⁵

As police officers, our first concern is the protection of life and property of everyone, without regard to race, religion, or ethnic background. I have never heard of any police officer who would receive a call for help who would first stop and inquire about the caller's race or nationality before responding. For anyone to tell this Committee or to tell anyone in their own communities that racial or ethnic composition is a factor in assigning police protection is unaware of the facts and is doing a great disservice to the police officer assigned to their community.²⁶

²³ Ibid., pp. 170-71.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 172.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 179.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 163.

Regarding improvements by the department in recent years in building bridges of trust with the African American community, Nolan said there have been positive changes. This included a sharing of information with the public about victimization, response time, resources, and policing strategy. Nolan told the Advisory Committee the results today will look a lot more positive.²⁷ Moreover, Nolan did not think recent indictments of police officers in the Austin and Gresham districts for corruption would impede progress.

When you are talking about those [instances], it's more like a slight stumble and then we continue on. We have talked to numerous police officers on this, and they are as thoroughly disgusted as anybody else is, especially the Austin district, because at the time the people in Austin were all relatively brand new officers and had only 1 year, 2, 3 years on the job.

Still, it is something that the police department found out about it, nobody else, provided their own investigation, brought in the Federal investigators who worked in conjunction with the department, and then arrested everybody. There will be more to come, and once it's over with we just intend to put it behind us.²⁸

Patricia Hill, president of the African American Police League, and Vance Kimber, a member of the Guardian Police, also addressed the issue of police deployment in the African American community.²⁹ Both dismissed the notion that there was a lack of police patrols or a police presence in the African American community. Instead, both expressed concerns about the quality of service being provided. Hill told the Advisory Committee:

The punitive measures taking place in our [African American] communities are more than adequate. The percentage of African Americans in the penal institutions indicate that arrests are made, convictions are made. Our concern is not so much the policing aspect, we are policed. Probably per capita we are policed again more than anybody else. Our concern is the service, since that is what the [police] department is supposed to be doing, serving and protecting. It is as though our community is the criminal from whom the rest of society has to be protected. . . .

Within the context of the African American community, the biggest threat is the drug dealer and the so-called, 'gang banger.' Of course these individuals have rights under the Constitution, but there seems to be an inability on the part of the police department to effectively make a dent in that part of the criminal element that is vamping on the African American community.³⁰

Kimber said there is a difference in the quality of service provided to the African American community by the Chicago Police Department. Differences in the quality of service provided to the African American community result from the disparity in the numbers of African Americans who occupy the higher positions in the department.

It is an attitude, the attitude comes with leadership. Patricia Hill has mentioned the disproportionate number of African Americans who are promoted. That is where I think the CAPS program falls down. It falls down because of the perception of disrespect African Americans receive in the city as evidenced by the fact there are so few managers and leaders [in the police department] at the higher position ranks: lieutenant, commander, captain, and deputy superintendent.³¹

²⁷ Ibid., p. 175.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 198.

²⁹ Vance Kimber testified at the Committee's 1992 factfinding meeting, as did a representative from the African American Police League. The Guardian Police is the oldest African American police officer organization in the city.

³⁰ Testimony of Patricia Hill, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 126.

³¹ Testimony of Vance Kimber, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 132.

Chapter 3

Community Policing

On April 29, 1993, the Chicago Police Department officially launched its community policing program, Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS). As reported by the Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium in its 1994 report, the change in policing strategy resulted from an understanding by the city administration that crime had reached unacceptably high levels and provided an ominous intrusion into virtually every aspect of life in Chicago. The city's crime peaked in 1991, placing it fourth in the Nation in murder rates.¹ Moreover, the character of crime in the city seemed to be changing. The term "drive-by shooting" entered the public lexicon; assaults were becoming increasingly lethal; and the courts were being compelled to prosecute larger numbers of juveniles as adults.²

In response to the crime problem, the city commissioned the consulting firm Booz•Allen & Hamilton to study the Chicago Police Department in order to determine how the department could better serve the community. The study found significant variation in calls for service across the city's 276 beats, the geographic subdivisions of a police district, and recommended the beat structure be modified to reduce the disparity in workload, having both beat and sector assignments within a district. The new system of patrol deployment would be a neighborhood based strategy with beat officers responding primarily to nonemergency calls and sector cars responding to emergency calls.³

The Booz•Allen & Hamilton study advised that the department cease using the weighted workload to determine district beat allocation. In

its place, beat and sector patrols should be determined by call patterns, because calls for service are closely correlated with the department's measure of workload.⁴

A prototype strategy for implementing CAPS was proposed to test community policing in several districts before implementing the program citywide. Five police districts were selected: Austin (district 15), Englewood (district 7), Marquette (district 10), Morgan Park (district 22), and Rogers Park (district 24).

The five districts were diverse geographically and racially. The Austin district (district 15), on the city's far west side, is 95 percent African American, and 30 percent of the residents live below the poverty line. The Englewood district (district 7), on the city's south side, is 99 percent African American and has a poverty rate of 36 percent. The Marquette district (district 10), on the city's west side, is 36 percent African American, 59 percent Latino, and 31 percent of the residents live below the poverty line. The Morgan Park district (district 22), on the city's far southwest side, is 61 percent African American, 59 percent Latino; 80 percent of the residents live in owner-occupied housing and the poverty rate is 9 percent. Rogers Park (district 24), on the city's far north side, is 68 percent white, 17 percent African American, and 14 percent Latino and has a poverty rate of 16 percent.⁵

Evaluation of Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS) by the Police Department

Zoufal told the Advisory Committee that after beginning with five prototype districts, the CAPS program was expanded citywide in June

¹ Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, *Community Policing in Chicago, Year One: An Interim Report*, July 1994, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*

³ Booz•Allen & Hamilton, Inc., *Improving Police Service: Patrol Operations and Strategy*, vol. 1, Chicago, IL, 1992, p. A-1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. D-6.

⁵ Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, *Community Policing in Chicago, Year One: An Interim Report*, July 1994, p. 9.

TABLE 3.1
Racial and Ethnic Population of Prototype CAPS Districts

District	Black	Asian	Am. Ind.	Other	Latino	White	Total
7	105,275	120	105	183	594	855	106,538
10	47,847	403	321	57,059	76,874	26,202	131,832
15	60,652	173	51	271	836	2809	63,956
22	71,314	306	132	342	1,290	45,096	117,190
24	23,104	17,130	528	8,274	19,122	88,645	137,681

Note: The total population does not include the Latino totals. Latinos can be of any race and are included in the other racial counts.

Source: Chicago Police Department, 1995 Annual Report.

1994. The two key elements of the program are partnership with the community and problem solving.⁶

Partnership with the community has two components. One is beat meetings. Zoufal said that the department recognized that it needed to have some mechanism of identifiable accountability known to the people in the community and the police officer. In the previous policing model, there was no form of accountability because the department was incident-driven, i.e., police officers simply responded to calls for service.⁷

Currently, the department holds monthly beat meetings in each of its 279 beats. Officers assigned to a beat meet directly with community residents and business people who either live or work in that particular beat to discuss issues of crime and disorder that they are concerned about. Every beat team develops what is called a beat plan. Officers in partnership with the community sit down and actually develop strategies to address the crime and disorder problems that are occurring in their beats. This is a strong effort towards building those bridges that the Illinois Advisory Committee referred to in its 1993 report.⁸

The second way in which the department interacts with the community on a regular basis is through a district advisory committee that takes

a more global look at the crime issues in its particular district.⁹

Zoufal told the Advisory Committee that CAPS has opened up information lines between the community and the police.

Fundamental to this whole discussion around partnership and plan development is information. Without information you aren't going to go too far. Unfortunately, in the past not only did we restrict information going to the community, we did not even provide a lot of information to our own police officers.

We have since developed an information system that provides timely, accurate information to our officers about crime conditions on their beat where they can analyze these conditions. Not only do they have access to this information, the community has access to this information as well. We call it ICAP, which stands for information checked for automated mapping.

It is a point and click design with the mouse where you can get information you need. Community members are encouraged to come in and use this to find out what are the crime problems occurring on their beat. When our officers go to these monthly beat meetings... they come with plans, maps of the crime problems on their respective beat, and pass those maps out to the members of the community.¹⁰

Charles Ramsey, deputy superintendent in charge of the Bureau of Staff Services, was asked about the isolation of the African American community and how CAPS has worked to alleviate that segregation and involve the African American community in a partnership with the police department.¹¹ Ramsey admitted the

⁶ Testimony of Donald Zoufal before the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, fact-finding meeting, Chicago, IL, Apr. 3, 1997, Transcript, pp. 8-9 (hereafter referred to as Chicago Police Transcript).

⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 13 and 15.

⁹ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 18.

¹¹ Charles Ramsey has left the Chicago Police Department and is the chief of police for the city of Washington, DC.

police department still has more work to do in this area, but there have been improvements.

I think we have a long way to go in many communities, quite frankly. There are a lot of barriers that have been in place a long time, particularly in minority communities between police and the community residents. . . . It is due to a couple of things. Some of it is distrust between police and communities, but a lot of it is fear. Folks are scared to death to come up and really speak out against some of the activity taking place in their neighborhood. You have to be sensitive to that. You have to work with them, whether they want to come out publicly, whether they want to call you on the phone, whether they want to use voice mail, it doesn't matter. But we've got to establish those lines of communication anyway we can.

We are carrying a lot of baggage into this process as an organization. I think historically if you look at relations between the police and [minority] communities, not just in Chicago but nationally, there are problems with the minority community. We are working towards trying to correct that. It can only happen when people start to interact on a positive note, and our officers now are starting to do that.¹²

One of the things that is very encouraging is the finding that over 80 percent of our officers, when asked what they thought was the most positive aspect of CAPS, stated the new found relationship with the community was the most positive aspect. That is significant because we are talking about breaking down stereotypes. We are talking about really trying to build trust between a department and a community. That takes a lot of time and it's not perfect, but we're starting to see that we're making some progress.¹³

Zoufal told the Advisory Committee that the proof of the success of CAPS in providing better service to the African American community is in the decreased crime rates. There is a 21.2 percent decrease in violent crime in the African American community, compared with a citywide decrease of 19.8 percent. The strategy that the Chicago Police Department has adopted "has been more successful in the communities that [the Advisory Committee] is concerned about."¹⁴

¹² Testimony of Charles Ramsey, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 45.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁴ Testimony of Don Zoufal, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 61.

Evaluation of CAPS by the Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium

A prime concern of the Illinois Advisory Committee was whether bridges of communication were being built between the Chicago Police Department and the African American community as a result of community policing efforts. The Committee's 1993 report noted a lack of communication between the department and the African American community.

One of the initiatives of the CAPS program is to engage the community and form police-community partnerships to identify and respond to neighborhood problems. The model of community policing on which CAPS is based relies on two activities to build bridges between the police and community members. On an individual level, beat officers are encouraged to establish working relationships with citizens and interact with them while on patrol or while conducting investigations. The second collaborative effort consists of establishing a regular system of beat meetings: small groups of residents and police officers gathering in public meetings to exchange information and improve the community's relationship with the police.¹⁵

Two surveys were conducted by the Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium¹⁶ of residents in the five prototype districts. One survey was conducted before the program began and the other after CAPS had been in operation for more than 1 year in order to gauge whether CAPS has been effective. The survey asked respondents to rate the performance of the police on a number of matters, including their ability to keep order, prevent crime, and help victims. The

¹⁵ Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, *Community Policing in Chicago, Year Two: An Interim Report*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁶ The Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium is coordinated by the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University. It also includes faculty and students from Loyola University of Chicago, DePaul University, and the University of Illinois-Chicago, and staff members from the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority. It is supported by grants from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Illinois Criminal Justice Information Authority, and the National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice.

survey also asked how courteously, fairly, and helpfully police treated people in their area.¹⁷

The surveys indicated broad support for the police among many elements of the community. A majority of people in all five districts thought police officers generally treated people well and that police officers tried to be responsive to community concerns. There was less consensus, however, on whether the police were particularly effective at achieving some important outcomes of their work.¹⁸

The surveys further found that more African American and Latino residents expressed negative attitudes toward the police. Minorities, males, and young people held the most negative views of the police. Except for residents in the Morgan Park district, approximately one-third of those interviewed, including those in the heavily African American districts of Austin and Englewood, felt that the police were disrespectful, ineffective, biased, and indifferent to their problems.¹⁹ Though this is a minority of residents in those districts, it is still a large percentage of the population with a negative perception of the police.

A component of the survey asked about aspects of routine police activity. Residents in almost every area reported seeing more police activity. This included seeing them driving or walking by, checking buildings, or having a conversation with someone more frequently. On the other hand, despite all this activity, fewer residents reported being stopped by police in their neighborhood while they were driving or on foot although police-initiated stops did go up in the Austin district.²⁰

The survey also monitored potential police aggressiveness by asking people if the police stopped too many people, were too tough on people they stopped, or were verbally or physically abusive to people in the neighborhood. No changes in these measures were observed in the Marquette, Morgan Park, or Rogers Park districts. However, in Austin, a district 95 percent African American, and Englewood, a district 99

percent African American, there was a decline in perceived police aggressiveness. In addition, the percentage of Austin and Englewood residents who thought policing in their community had improved over the last year increased by nearly one-third.²¹

Specifically, the survey also found a substantial shift in opinion among residents on police responsiveness to neighborhood concerns. In the Austin and Englewood districts there were significant improvements in how effective people thought police were at keeping order on the streets and sidewalks. In addition, beliefs about the fairness with which police treat people in their neighborhood went up significantly in Austin and Englewood.²²

Finally, analysis of reported crime figures and survey reports of victimization and neighborhood problems compared the 5 initial prototype CAPS districts with the other 20 non-CAPS districts prior to citywide CAPS implementation. The analysis found significant decreases in perceived crime in all five prototype areas. In addition, compared with matched non-CAPS districts for the first 17 months after the program began, there was less officially recorded robbery than statistically predicted in all five prototypes and less burglary than predicted in three of the five prototype districts.²³

Skogan told the Advisory Committee that the CAPS program has had a positive effect on the African American community. Impact on white residents has been less, because they already rated police service highly. The Latino community seems to have been unaffected.

Bottom line, the program in the [five] prototype [districts] had very substantial impacts in the African American community. It had significant impacts among white Chicagoans as well, although their perception of the quality of police service were already high and their problems were relatively low, so there was less room for movement in their views. Hispanics were the left out group when it came to CAPS. We found that Hispanics did not know about the program. The program did not contact them or touch their lives in any way, and they perceived no par-

¹⁷ Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, *Community Policing in Chicago, Year One: An Interim Report*, July 1994, p. 31.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

²³ Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, *Community Policing in Chicago, Year Two: An Interim Report*, 1995, p. 5.

particular change in the quality of life around them as a result of the program.²⁴

There was good news and bad news. [Things] worked pretty well in the African American neighborhood. The program impacts in the neighborhood and in Austin in particular were impressive. They were less impressive among the African American parts of the 10th district, but the 10th district, frankly, had a bad program. It also didn't affect the Hispanics in the 10th district either. It simply was not a very successful program at the 10th district. But the places where a good program was put on had good impact, and people across the board noticed it and were affected by it unless they were Hispanic, at which case they missed the ball entirely.²⁵

We find the participation pattern in the African American community surprisingly high and not a problem when contrasted to participation in white and homeowner neighborhoods. Again, it is participation in the Hispanic beats which has been significantly noticeably lower and which provides a challenge for the department. . . .²⁶

Our surveys showed what people think the problems are, vary dramatically from place to place. . . Our surveys show that physical decay and kinds of low level social disorder bother the public just as much as the serious crimes that the department can measure. But these physical environment and social disorder things, which can not be measured, are very high on the public's agenda and are the types of things for which a problem-solving orientation can have a response.

Then there is the city services part which should not be forgotten. In Englewood, for example, CAPS gave the district commander the resources and the capacity to mobilize the building department, and to get health inspectors out, and to board-up buildings and close buildings, and start fast-track demolition. Englewood was the single biggest user of building inspections during that first 18 months of CAPS. There was one building inspection mobilized by the district commander for every eight residents of Englewood, and they made huge progress at dealing with that. You see this in our surveys; people's perception of abandoned buildings in Englewood went down very dramatically over the first 18 months. That is just as important a part of police work at the end of the 1990s as someone driving fast and somebody being burglarized. So I would urge you not to forget that the public has a much broader agenda for their police than just serious crimes.²⁷

²⁴ Testimony of Wesley Skogan, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 74.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 76.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 74.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[Some] cities that want to get community policing programs off quick staff it with volunteers and run it out of the chief's office and the research and development office. You can do that; you can have a community policing program up and running in 3 months. It will be very impressive and you will have well-motivated, bright, hard working officers who really want to do that kind of work and be pretty effectively managed because it is being run directly from downtown. It will get lots of special resources and attention, and those officers are going to be flying out to conferences in Washington. That's a recipe for disaster, because what happens is the regular rank and file does not get confronted in the regular way of doing business, and pretty soon you have got two kinds of police.²⁸

Appraisal of CAPS by Police Organizations

Nolan made three points regarding the CAPS program. First, the program is a good program and is working to provide better service to the residents of Chicago. Second, community policing has the support of the Chicago police. Third, the CAPS program has been a success in improving police service in the African American community. Nolan stated:

The CAPS program is a good program and has been working well. The city of Chicago is very big, so success can't be realized right away. But the program has been successful in the areas where it has been implemented. The small neighborhood stores, though, that were envisioned opening up manned by officers has never materialized.

The FOP is supportive of the philosophy behind the CAPS program. It has a CAPS committee in its lodge, and the lodge has been working very closely with the department. Members of the lodge have attended seminars and given the department any type of information they wanted.²⁹

Asked whether CAPS had an influence on improving the situations identified in the 1993 study, i.e., inadequate police patrols and protection in the black community, Nolan responded that it had had "a big impact on improving that."³⁰

The major crimes, murder, rape, assault, robberies, have declined, and it's declined through the efforts of the beat program where the officers are out on the

²⁸ Ibid., p. 86.

²⁹ Testimony of William Nolan, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 185.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 186.

street. In years past those people that might have had information [for the police] really had no place to go because there was a different beat officer all the time. With the CAPS program, you get, for the most part, the same people on the same watch, so you get to see the same person all the time and you build up a rapport where the citizen can tell the officer about what is going on.³¹

Patricia Hill addressed the CAPS program and its impact on the African American community in Chicago. Hill stated that CAPS, as implemented, is not a true partnership between the police and the community.

CAPS claims to be a partnership between the community and the police. Our definition of a partnership is when both parties are in agreement with policy and procedures, and both partners are aware of the components of a program. It is not when the program is dictated and constructed by one body, and then given to another as if to say, "Here, this is what is best for you."

A case in point, the African American Police League, the Guardians Association, the National Black Police Association (the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Officers), CLEO (the Coalition for Law Enforcement Officers), and the Chicago Westside Police Association created a model of community policing that these groups thought would be best for the African American community. At no point in time were those organizations consulted about CAPS or any type of community policing program in Chicago.

The predominant problem in terms of basic quality of life affecting most African Americans is the problem of gang bangers and drug dealers. The police department, in our opinion, has not adequately dealt with that problem in the [African American] community. The result is that the quality of life for African Americans is still not comparable to what it should be or what it is for other ethnic groups in Chicago.

The biggest question that arises is this: If [a citizen] knows that the drug dealer is on the block, calls the police, and the police come by and the drug house is still there, the perception is that the police are in on it. This is constantly the complaint [heard] in the African American community.³²

Other Testimony on Policing

La Donna Sanders spoke to the Advisory Committee on behalf of the Northwest Austin

Council.³³ The Northwest Austin Council is a community group in the Austin police district, one of the five community policing prototype districts. The Austin district, police district 15, is on the city's far west side. The population of the district is approximately 64,000 and is 95 percent African American; 30 percent of the residents live below the poverty line.

The Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium reported that the Austin district commander was very involved with the district advisory committee, the neighborhood civilian organization that works with the police to identify and resolve problems. The Austin district advisory committee has seven subcommittees: business, court advocacy, schools, youth, senior citizens, ministries and churches, and general enforcement. In many respects, the district advisory committee in Austin was considered a committee of special interests, that is, the business subcommittee only cared about businesses, the schools subcommittee was composed of teachers and principals, etc. Nevertheless, the district committee oversaw two successful undertakings: the city's Youthnet project, which brought programs and services to Austin's young people, and the federally funded Empowerment Zone, for which the Austin area was selected to receive grants for new and expanding businesses.³⁴

A survey of Austin residents was taken by the Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium to evaluate community reaction to community policing. In the Austin district, after a year of the program's operation, less than one-third of the residents were aware of the CAPS program. Nevertheless, a followup survey showed Austin residents indicating an increased optimism regarding police services. One-third of the respondents believed policing in the area had improved in the last year, specifically with respect to keeping order on the streets. There was also a significant increase among residents who believed police treated people fairly in their neighborhood.³⁵

³¹ Ibid.

³² Testimony of Patricia Hill, Chicago Police Transcript, pp. 130-32.

³³ LaDonna Sanders represented Leola Spann, president of the Board of the Northwest Austin Council.

³⁴ Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, *Community Policing in Chicago: Year Two, An Interim Report*, 1995, p. 70.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

Sanders told the Advisory Committee about her group's perception of the quality of police patrolling in the Austin district versus 4 years ago, stating that the situation had not improved and may have worsened. Her biggest concern was the open trafficking of drugs in the community. She also told the Advisory Committee that the CAPS program had had some positive impact in that it had given community residents a place to take their complaints and concerns. She expressed the sentiment found in the community survey, however, that beat meetings were dominated by the police rather than by the community.

We feel what is needed in Austin first and foremost is better patrolling. In other communities there is not any room for open air drug markets because the police presence is available, and the police are seen as a deterrent to open air drug markets. We feel if there were enough police to patrol, that would prevent drug dealers from taking hold of a community in the way they have in certain aspects of Austin.³⁶

I don't see a lot of police cars, and sometimes when I do see them, they are sitting or driving by [and not responding to] illegal activities that I can see are illegal. So I think that there needs to be more patrols, but also police officers who get out and really find out what's going on. When there are 15, 16 people flagging down cars, yelling "rocks" and "blows" and things like that. You can drive down the street on the west side of Chicago and actually be approached in your car from someone asking you if you want to buy cocaine or if you want to buy heroin. I don't know why that's allowed in our area. I can go to Oak Park and it's not allowed there, which is not in Chicago. There is nobody in Oak Park yelling "rocks" and "blows" when my car drives by.³⁷

We would also like to see more walking patrols in our area, as well as riding patrols, police officers actually out in the neighborhood, walking [around]. . . . In our community the police tend not to get out of their cars and they just ride by. Many officers seem to be fearful of working in the neighborhood, and I suppose that they would have a reason to be afraid with all the violence that's out there. But they took a job where they have to be willing to work in the community and get out of their cars and investigate what's going on at the corners.

We also feel there should be more investigations of open air drug markets; Who runs them? How they are established? Where do these people come from? . . .

³⁶ Testimony of LaDonna Sanders, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 237.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

We have found a variety of different types of people who are in the narcotics trading business. There's always a group of young men selling drugs on a corner at Division Street, and there's a police car or squad car that will drive right by them or the squad car will sit 2, 3 blocks away while there are 15 or 16 young people running drug trade up and down a particular street in Austin. And the question is, why don't they do anything?³⁸

The CAPS program has had an impact. I think community residents feel there is a place for them to take their complaints and concerns where police officers could hear them and respond to them. It has not worked extremely well, and it has worked better in some beats than it has in others. It still has some bugs in it that have to be worked out. . . . [For example], many police officers didn't want to be there, didn't want to respond to the complaints, and wanted to run the meetings. So there was this kind of vying for control. Another problem is that when there is a working arrangement between the community and the beat officer, the beat officer. . . transfers out of the district.³⁹

Mary Powers is the director of Citizens Alert, a 30-year-old police watchdog group dedicated to humane and effective law enforcement.⁴⁰ Powers testified that information received by Citizens Alert from individuals within the African American community conveys a message that people of color are overpoliced and underprotected. She further asserted that, in terms of issues of safety and dealing with specific problems brought to the police, there is a definite dissatisfaction with the degree of service.⁴¹ Powers repeated the theme of overpolicing and underprotection to the Advisory Committee.

The last time I was here I said across the board people of color with whom we have dealt have felt that their community has been overpoliced and underprotected. There may be a large police presence, and there may be [police]cars going by, but when it comes right down to dealing with the safety of the community and dealing with specific problems they bring to the police there is a definite dissatisfaction with that degree of service.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-39.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

⁴⁰ Mary Powers testified at the Committee's 1992 factfinding meeting.

⁴¹ See Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*, September 1993, p. 10.

I want to reiterate that point [4] years later, despite community policing... [the CAPS program] is certainly positive for the people who are into it, but there are many people who are not into it, who do not feel any [benefit] and probably are not encouraged [by the program]. It isn't a panacea. For those for whom it works, it is great, but everybody has not been welcomed into it. From what we hear from individuals, the attitude and the disrespect with which people are treated and the atmosphere in which they live regarding the police does not seem to have changed that much...⁴²

I know people read about the more serious incidents of brutality and police dealings and that sort of thing, but I made a point this time to talk with people in the community about their feelings. The one thing that came out all the way through was the disrespect with which people [of color] are treated; and I do not think that is true in the white community, certainly not to the degree that it is in the communities of color. Aside from the demeaning and degrading feelings that people end up with as a result of this, it has a real effect on the community housing patterns, for instance. It seems that the boundaries where people live really spell out how they are going to be treated frequently. There is some basic disregard for people's human rights and respect that somehow is ignored on a daily basis.⁴³

The simple truth is police officers treat black citizens differently than other citizens. It seems to be a game of power as scores of black men can testify and I think that is true. It is about power, the flashing lights, pulling their clubs, exerting total control over you at that moment where they expect complete cooperation. So this makes people suspicious of law enforcement, too. They are not going to be as cooperative as they might have been. They know that this is the way they are treated or may be.⁴⁴

Robert Starks, associate professor of political science at Northeastern Illinois University,⁴⁵ testified that the African American community is victimized, not only by higher crime, but also by higher levels of police brutality. He argued that in the white community police protection is protection primarily of people, whereas in the African American community police protection is primarily the protection of property and the containment of people.⁴⁶

⁴² Testimony of Mary Powers, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 108.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁴⁵ Robert Starks testified at the Committee's 1992 factfinding meeting.

⁴⁶ See Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*, September 1993, p. 13.

Obviously, the African American community has unequal [police] protection. On the streets of Chicago in the African American community, African American youngsters as well as adults, have changed around the motto of the Chicago Police Department, which says "We serve and protect," to "It serves and abuses." Not only is there unequal protection in terms of protection against rape and robbery and gang activity, there is unequal protection when it comes to the resolution of complaints concerning the police.

My overall assessment is that the Chicago Police Department is entrenched. It has no intention of changing its activity. It will do everything that it possibly can to give the appearance of change, but no substantive institutional change will occur until there is some serious commitment from the top down that will go to the very foundation, the very structure of the Chicago Police Department. It is obscene and savage that in a city where African American people constitute almost 50 percent of the population, the command structure is almost lily white. Even more savage is a police department that has 80 to 85 percent white detectives investigating serious crime in the African American community, where there are very, very few African Americans in the detective division of the city police department.⁴⁷

Starks also alleged that the African American community is targeted with abusive intrusions such as spying on domestic groups, and that such activity is part of the unequal police protection afforded the African American community.

Instead of having policemen that are there to serve and protect, the Chicago Police Department wants to engage in [increased] domestic spying... all under the guise of preventing domestic terrorism, such as what happened in New York, and to prevent gang violence and drug violence, which has escalated. The police are now saying they need even more powers to come into the African American community [to deal with] domestic terrorists [and crime].

Such domestic spying leads to and precipitates the brutalization of private citizens and members and representatives of groups just as much as police brutality and an abuse of police power as taking a gun and/or a billy club and beating someone on the street. With that sort of thing you are opening a door to even more abuse, which aggravates an already unprotected community.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Testimony of Robert Starks, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 232.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

Chapter 4

Diversity in the Chicago Police Department

Employment Patterns in the Chicago Police Department

Historically the Chicago Police Department has been a predominantly white establishment. In 1956 there were fewer than 1,000 (10 percent) African Americans and only 10 Latinos among the city's 9,700 police officers. To break the racially disproportionate employment pattern in the department, United States District Judge Prentice H. Marshall, in the 1970s, imposed hiring requirements on the city in its hiring of policemen. According to the judge's corrective action formula, 42 percent of all new police officer hires had to be African American or Latino.¹ The court's hiring order had an effect on minority hiring. By 1992, 35 percent of the department's 13,196 sworn officers were minorities and 3,254 (25 percent) were African American.

American representation has remained constant at 25 percent.²

Compared with other city agencies, the police department remains a predominantly white agency. In no other nonpolice or nonfire city bureau does the proportion of white employees exceed 60 percent, and in six of the nine bureaus the percentage of white employees is less than 50 percent. In all nonpolice and nonfire bureaus, African Americans are more than 30 percent of the employees, and in five of the city's bureaus African Americans are more than 40 percent of the Department's employees.³

Among all nonpolice and nonfire city employees, African Americans are 40 percent of the total employment—an employment rate equal to their proportion of the city's population. Similarly, total white employment is 46 percent,

TABLE 4.1
Racial Composition of City of Chicago Employees by Major Bureau

Department	Total	White	%	Black	%	Minority	%
Finance	1,980	900	45.5	806	40.7	274	13.8
Streets	2,184	1,230	56.3	681	31.2	273	12.5
Parks and Recreation	2,324	818	35.2	1,180	50.8	326	14.0
Health Department	1,289	247	19.2	758	58.8	284	22.0
Buildings	395	192	48.6	159	40.3	44	11.1
Community Development	442	188	42.5	201	45.5	53	12.0
Utilities	4,593	2,485	54.1	1,481	32.2	627	13.7
Sanitation and Sewage	3,324	1,598	48.1	1,306	39.3	42	1.3
Community Services	402	221	55.0	122	30.3	59	14.7

Source: *City of Chicago, EEO-4 Report, March 1996*

In 1997 there were 13,342 sworn officers in the Chicago Police Department. Of these, 4,958 (37 percent) were minorities, and 3,390 (25 percent) were African American. This is a slight increase in the minority proportion of police officers in the 5-year period, 1992–1997, but African

which approximates the proportion of city residents who are white. Table 4.1 lists the major bureaus, total employment, white employment,

¹ See Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*, September 1993, p. 32.

² Chicago Police Department, May 12, 1998.

³ City of Chicago, EEO-4 Report, March 1996. The EEO-4 Report shows white employment in the Chicago Fire Department to be 71 percent and African American employment to be 21 percent.

African American employment, and total minority employment.⁴

In 1993, the last time the exam was administered, only 42.8 percent of the “well-qualified” pool were minorities. The 1993 test was the first test administered after the city was forced to reconfigure its exam to comply with civil rights laws that outlawed the practice of race-norming, the practice of grading exams of different curves so that minorities could score better.

In August 1997 the results of the city’s most recent entry recruitment exam for patrol officer were announced. For the first time in the department’s history, minorities made up the majority of those considered “well-qualified.” Of the more than 9,000 applicants who took the June 1997 examination, 52 percent of those receiving “well-qualified” scores were minorities, 32 percent being African American, 16 percent Latino, and 4 percent other minorities.

Employment Patterns in Supervisory Positions

Promotions of personnel in the Chicago Police Department to the ranks of sergeant and lieutenant have historically been on the basis of written examination. At the time of the Committee’s 1993 study, African Americans had a lower representation in the sergeant and lieutenant ranks than their representation in the overall sworn work force.

In 1993 the total sworn work force was 13,196; African Americans numbered 3,524 (27 percent), and white sworn officers numbered 8,577 (65 percent).⁵ In the department at that time there were 1,140 officers holding the rank of sergeant. Whites held 807 (71 percent) of the sergeant positions, while African Americans held 261 (23 percent) of the positions. The disparity was greater for lieutenants; 199 of the 262 lieutenants (76 percent) were white, and 56 (22 percent) were African American. The racial composition is shown in table 4.2.

Before 1993 the city’s Department of Personnel drafted and administered police examinations. To deal with the increasingly complex task of fair and equitable hiring and promotion procedures for police officers, a blue ribbon panel was commissioned by the mayor in 1990 to study

TABLE 4.2
Racial Composition of Sergeant and Lieutenant Ranks, 1992

	White	Black
Total sworn work force	65%	27%
Sergeant	71%	23%
Lieutenant	76%	22%

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Midwestern Regional Office, from Chicago Police Department, DPOLB159-48, July 2, 1992.

police testing, hiring, and promotion. Based on the 1990 panel’s report, the city implemented a number of changes at a cost of \$5.1 million. These changes were adopted to establish a testing atmosphere that was objective and that minimized perceptions of political influence in the testing process.⁶

First, the city hired the outside accounting firm of Arthur Anderson & Co. to prepare and monitor examinations. Second, the city announced in advance and in writing the weights of the components in the test. Third, the police department issued a long range directive, advising candidates for promotion to sergeant and lieutenant, that they must attain the educational equivalent of 60 hours of college and a bachelor’s degree, respectively, after the year 2000. Finally, the city administered exams more frequently; between 1993 and 1997 the city gave four examinations—one each for entrance, sergeants, detectives, and lieutenants.⁷ The decision to go to test-based promotions stemmed from criticism that procedures in the past were subject to political favoritism. Controversy persisted, however.

In July 1994, the city promoted 115 police officers to the rank of sergeant based on exam results. The list included just 6 (5 percent) minorities. In early 1995, former police superintendent Matt Rodriguez announced 13 merit promotions to lieutenant. The 13 merit promotion recipients included 5 whites, 5 African Americans, and 3 Latinos. The merit promotions were in addition to 54 promotions to lieutenant based on test results, 51 (95 percent) of which were given to white officers. Mayor Richard M. Daley affirmed

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ See table 1.5.

⁶ City of Chicago, *Police Department Promotion and Testing Task Force Report*, January 1997, pp. 1 and 2.

⁷ Ibid.

the importance of a diverse police force reflecting the city:

You have to have diversity in the management of the police department in the next 10 to 20 years. It cannot be all white. It cannot be all black. It cannot be all women. It cannot be all men. It cannot be all Asian or Hispanic. This is basically a fairness issue.⁸

On March 29, 1995, a Cook County circuit court ruling struck down the 13 merit promotions. In the opinion, Judge Ellis Reid did not question the principle of promoting on the basis of merit. Rather, he said the city violated its announced process by using merit promotions after the lieutenant exam had been given and the results were tabulated. The city appealed.

In December 1995, the Illinois Appellate Court upheld the lower court ruling and affirmed the illegality of the 13 merit promotions to lieutenant. In the decision, the 54 test-based promotions were allowed to stand.

On April 23, 1996, the mayor appointed a task force to reexamine the hiring and promotion systems in place at the Chicago Police Department and make recommendations for improvement. The task force was asked to consider alternatives to promotions based strictly on test scores, including incorporating factors such as leadership ability, years of service, and job performance, while recognizing the need for a racially diverse work force.⁹ The task force received information from police associations representing a variety of groups within the police department, elected officials, union representatives, active police officers, and experts on testing, training, and other personnel issues. In January 1997 the task force issued a series of recommendations to the mayor, which included:

The police department should consider time in rank in determining who is eligible to participate in the promotional process and who is eligible for promotion.¹⁰

The police department should continue to implement the recommendation on educational requirements put forth by the 1990 blue ribbon panel.

⁸ Statement of Mayor Richard M. Daley, as cited in the *Chicago Tribune*, Mar. 31, 1995, p. 16.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁰ City of Chicago, *Police Department Promotion and Testing Task Force Report*, January 1997, p. 3.

The city should continue to administer written examinations for promotions to sergeant and lieutenant. In addition, the city should consider alternatives to traditional job knowledge tests. Greater focus should be placed on the ability of a candidate to apply important knowledge to job situations. In addition to written tests, the city also should consider, where practical, other formats such as oral examinations, in-basket tests, investigative logic tests, assessment centers and other job-related screening devices.¹¹

The department should identify police officers who have demonstrated superior ability, responsibility, and dedication to police service. In order to identify these exceptional leaders, the Chicago Police Department should institute a merit selection process for promotions to sergeant and lieutenant as an addition to a qualifying examination. Merit selection candidates should still be required to pass the qualifying exam.¹²

Zoufal, speaking to the Advisory Committee, addressed the department's efforts to increase diversity in the ranks of sergeant and lieutenant.

With regard to the promotional ranks of sergeant and lieutenant, [the city and the department] have engaged in a process of trying to create [new] testing. Those tests have also been let to outside consultants. The tests were developed [and administered], but the city was generally dissatisfied with the results of those promotional tests in the sense that they did not work to increase diversity in the [sergeant and lieutenant] ranks.

A subsequent task force has been commissioned by the Mayor to more specifically address promotion to the rank of sergeant and lieutenant. So the city is in the process of looking for a better way to increase diversity in those ranks. However, the process is not an easy one in light of the current restrictions of Federal law. . . . Part of the problem is that under the Federal guidelines and Federal law, the city must make sure that any criteria selected is job related. Then the criteria must be validated, and some things, for example the residency [requirement], may be difficult to validate. . . .

[Regardless] the city is amenable to looking for solutions to address the issue of diversity at the ranks problem. I think [that is evidenced] by the fact that the department has adopted the suggestions made by the first independent task force when it moved the promotion process outside with regard to test development and looked at what other jurisdictions were doing. And when those [processes] did not achieve for

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

us the things [sought] in terms of diversity, another task force was initiated.¹³

In January 1998, a sergeant's exam was administered to 3,000 police officers. The accounting firm of Ernst & Young administered this exam, and the exam results were challenged by allegations of widespread cheating and a poorly secured exam. Nevertheless, the mayor stood by the exam results.

In July 1998, the Chicago Police Department promoted the first group of officers under the new program, with 248 appointments to sergeant. The new class of sergeants is 72 percent white, 19 percent African American, and 8 percent Latino. All have at least 60 hours of college credit and at least 6 years of service with the department. Most of the 248 promotions were made from the highest scores among the 2,543 officers who passed the first round of testing in January and took the second exam in April 1998. Thirty percent of the new promotions were picked using the city's merit process.

Employment Patterns in Detective, Youth Division, and Gang Crime Positions

In its 1993 report, the Illinois Advisory Committee reported that although minority employment had increased in general in the department, three units with a particular impact on police protection in the African American community, detectives, gang crimes, and youth division, had a much higher rate of white officers than the overall white composition of the police force. Specifically, 778 of the 854 (91 percent) detectives in the department in 1992 were white.¹⁴ Similarly, 227 police officers were assigned as youth investigators, of whom 171 (75 percent) were white and 58 (26 percent) were African American. In the gang crimes unit, there were 75 gang crime specialists; 60 (80 percent) were white and 11 (15 percent) were African American.¹⁵

¹³ Testimony of Don Zoufal before the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, factfinding meeting, Apr. 3, 1997, Chicago, IL, transcript, pp. 27-28 and 62 (hereafter referred to as Chicago Police Transcript).

¹⁴ Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*, September 1993, pp. 33-34

¹⁵ Chicago Police Department, *Sex and Racial Composition Report*, DPOLB 159-48, July 2, 1992.

Zoufal addressed the issue of diversity in the detective rank, the gang crimes unit, and the youth division, since those were the units specifically cited for a lack of diversity in the Advisory Committee's 1993 report.

Promotions [to the detective rank, the gang crimes unit, and the youth division] involve examinations. The city of Chicago, similar to cities around the Nation, is struggling with the issue of examinations and the examining process. They are the subject of litigation in this city as they are around the country.

The last exam administered prior to your previous report was an examination administered in 1989 for the rank of detective. Detective is a D-2 rank. Patrol officer is a rank of D-1. Both are actually pay grades. Gang Crime specialist is also D-2, as well as youth officer. The D-1 and D-2 ranks are covered by the collective bargaining agreement between the city of Chicago and the Fraternal Order of Police, and that is important [to understand in this matter].

The exam that was given in 1989 by the city was a race-normed exam.¹⁶ The city took these affirmative action measures in response to [an] arbitration ruling in order to mitigate the adverse impact of the test [on minorities]. The test [was also] race normed. . . for females and Hispanics. The Fraternal Order of Police [challenged] this procedure.

Subsequent [to the union's challenge], there was a renegotiation of the collective bargaining agreement between the city and the Fraternal Order of Police. The city insisted during the course of those negotiations on the inclusion of an affirmative action provision. The issue went to arbitration, and there was another arbitration decision which precluded that provision from the contract, [but] it subsequently was permitted in the contract.

After 1991 and [in the aftermath of passage] of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, the city ceased using race-norming because it was no longer permitted. The city did, however, negotiate with the Fraternal Order of Police a measure with regard to the promotions from the D-1 to the D-2 rank that permitted the department, in addition to those individuals promoted through an examination process, to also include a merit promotion of 20 percent of individuals in any given promotion class into that rank.

¹⁶ A race-normed exam separates test takers by group, then calculates mean scores and variances separately for each group. Test takers in groups with lower mean test scores are then afforded additional points proportionate to their group's deviance from the highest scoring group's mean and consistent with a standardized between-groups variance.

TABLE 4.3
Minority Representation in Detective, Youth Investigator,
and Gang Crimes Specialist Positions, 1992 and 1998

Title	Total	White	%	Black	%
Detective					
1992	854	778	91	57	7
1998	795	655	82	95	12
Youth investigator					
1992	227	171	75	58	26
1998	223	162	73	48	22
Gang crimes specialist					
1992	75	60	80	11	15
1998	89	66	74	16	18

Source: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Midwestern Regional Office, USCCR, from Chicago Police data.*

In 1990, [during these developments], Mayor Richard M. Daley . . . created a task force to see if there was a way to develop examinations that would increase diversity and be consistent with the requirements of Federal law. . . . That task force made recommendations which were implemented by the city and the Chicago Police Department with regard to the selection of individuals for [promotion] to detective, [and also] for some of the supervisory ranks which were also made by examination. One of the suggestions of the task force was that the city no longer prepare the examination itself, do the security for the examination, and that the test be contracted out to professional test developers.

In 1993 the city administered another D-2 examination [using the task force guidelines]. It is one of the few examinations not currently the subject of any litigation. . . . The D-2 promotions, made pursuant to that examination, include 20 percent merit selection by the Department [along with other] individuals promoted to detective ranks by that test. There were two [sets of] promotions, one in 1995 and another again in 1996. Twenty-one percent of the individuals promoted to the rank of detective were African American; 16 percent of the individuals promoted to the rank of gang crime specialist were African American and 26 percent of the individuals promoted to the youth division were African American.

So, the report of the [Illinois Advisory Committee] recognized a problem that had been recognized by the department in 1990. The department struggled with a way to develop a testing procedure that would result in greater diversity in the ranks.¹⁷

Six years later, in 1998, the minority representation has increased in all three positions. In

particular, African Americans have almost doubled their numbers in the detective rank, increasing their representation in the position from 7 percent to 12 percent. Changes in the diversity of youth specialists and gang crimes specialists in the past 6 years have not been as noticeable. In the gang crimes specialist position, African Americans are now 18 percent of the unit, compared with 15 percent at the time of the last report; however, in youth investigator positions, the rate of African Americans has decreased from 26 percent to 22 percent.¹⁸ Table 4.3 gives total representation and minority representation in the detective, youth investigator, and gang crimes specialist positions for the years 1992 and 1998.

The most recent group of appointments to these ranks occurred in November 1996, when the department ordered 220 promotions to the D-2 rank, which includes detectives, youth officers, and gang crime specialists. Fifty-five of the 220 (25 percent) promotions were merit promotions. The police contract allows the superintendent to make 20 percent of all promotions to the D-2 ranks on the basis of merit. The city added an additional 5 percent for affirmative action purposes, citing a 1993 arbitrator's ruling that the union has contested. The other 165 promotions were rank-order promotions. The detective exam that produced the 165 rank order promotions was administered in the fall and winter of 1994. In February 1995, the exam was first used to make 150 promotions.

¹⁷ Testimony of Don Zoufal, Chicago Police Transcript, pp. 21-26.

¹⁸ 1998 data from Chicago Police Department, May 12, 1998.

Of the rank-order promotion recipients, 73 percent were white, 17 percent were African American, and 10 percent were Latino. African Americans and Latinos were 62 percent of the merit selections. The merit promotions were made by (former) superintendent Matt Rodriguez following recommendations from an "academic selection panel" composed of police commanders.

Testimony on Police Diversity from Police Organizations

Leadership of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) has been critical of some aspects of recent hiring and promotion procedures by the city and the police department. In several instances the FOP has successfully sued the city and forced it to abrogate or amend an implemented personnel policy.

Nolan emphasized that the FOP is supportive of diversity in the Chicago Police Department. He maintained that his organization's publicized opposition to personnel actions is based upon the city and the department either not having clear rules and procedures or not following agreed upon procedures. Testifying before the Committee, Nolan stated:

We have seen a large increase over the last few years in the amount of African Americans coming on the Chicago Police Department. But due to large diversity of our city, African Americans today makeup only 25 percent of the Chicago Police Department. The Fraternal Order of Police has supported the increase of minority hiring and will continue to do so in the future. While we have been accused in the past of hindering such efforts, these accusations are completely untrue.

It is true that the Fraternal Order of Police has gone into court on many occasions to stop the city from unfair and unjust methods of promotions from the rank of police officer to the rank of sergeant, and we will continue to do so if the city does not come up with a fair and equitable test for everyone.¹⁹

The Committee asked Nolan: (1) if there are certain times when the racial makeup of a police tactical force has an effect on policing; (2) if, specifically, the difference between the population of the city and the makeup of the police force might at times create problems for effective po-

licing; and (3) if the existence of such problems implies that the police department has to increase its own diversity to deal with the city. Nolan told the Committee:

There are . . . mixed [race] tacticals out there. It's true that in some areas of the city . . . that if there are drug dealers out there and they do not know who you are, the chances are that they would sell to you is very limited as opposed to somebody of their own race that they recognize or that they know from the neighborhood. So that can present a problem, but it is not a problem that cannot be overcome. That is why there is a narcotics unit to backup the tactical units that may not have that type of a makeup to get in on the ground floor of some drug arrest. . . .²⁰

The FOP has no problem with [diversity]. Approximately 25 percent of our department now is African American. To increase that number is fine, and the FOP has no problems with increasing that number. However, the one place where we draw the line is that the standard must remain the same. The established standards cannot be lowered.²¹

The FOP went to the city and requested that if they were going to have an entrance examination, they should give these people enough time to prepare. The city should say that in 4 months, 6 months, or a year there will be an entrance examination and tell publicly the things that that will be covered on the entrance examination. . . .²²

The FOP has brought in people from out of State to put on preparation classes. The FOP has also worked with NOBLE, the National Association of Black Officers, in providing materials and letting them know that we were there to help them in any way.²³

The city of Chicago has an ordinance requiring police officers—and all other city employees—to live in the city. An analysis by the *Chicago Sun-Times* showed that 60 percent of all police officers live in three police districts: Chicago Lawn (district 8), Morgan Park (district 22), and Jefferson Park (district 16).²⁴ In contrast, the Wentworth district (district 2), a district 99.4 percent African American, has the fewest resident police officers.

The situation is similar for other predominantly African American districts. Grand

¹⁹ Testimony of William Nolan, Chicago Police Transcript, p. 164.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

²⁴ Fran Spielman, "Where Cops Live," *The Chicago Sun-Times*, Apr. 28, 1996, pp. 1 and 24.

TABLE 4.4
Police Residency, Police District, and Crime

District	Police residents	% African American	Police residents/1,000	Crimes/1,000
1	85	28.9	7.9	1,075.8
2	51	99.4	0.6	123.5
3	231	96.1	1.9	100.0
4	879	61.6	5.4	74.3
5	406	94.9	3.7	87.5
6	459	98.0	3.7	101.9
7	103	98.8	0.8	100.3
8	2,956	10.7	15.5	79.5
9	457	24.2	3.2	84.8
10	119	36.3	0.8	66.6
11	60	92.4	0.5	114.8
12	114	29.1	1.5	120.1
13	95	23.7	1.2	96.8
14	182	9.4	1.3	99.8
15	186	94.8	2.0	93.2
16	3,297	0.4	16.9	41.3
17	501	1.8	3.9	71.3
18	97	17.5	0.9	145.0
19	265	4.1	2.2	71.4
20	237	13.1	2.4	58.9
21	263	62.8	2.7	92.2
22	1,857	60.9	15.4	64.7
23	123	15.4	1.3	75.5
24	241	16.8	1.7	62.2
25	393	19.1	2.3	96.7

Notes: Rates are based on police officer numbers for 1996, city population figures from 1990 census, and crime statistics for 1995.
 Police residents: Number of police officers living in the district.
 African American %: Percentage of district population African American.
 Police residents/1000: Number of police officers living in the district per 1000 residents.
 Crimes/1000: Number of serious crimes per 1000 residents. Crimes included are murder, sexual assault, armed robbery, burglary, auto theft, robbery, and assault.

Source: *Chicago Sun-Times*, from *Chicago Police Planning departments*

Crossing (district 3), has 231 police residents; Pullman (district 5), 406 police residents; Gresham (district 6), 459 police residents; Englewood (district 7), 103 police residents; Harrison (district 11), 60 police residents; and Austin (district 15), 186 police residents. The police residents, police residents per 1,000, and crimes per 1,000 residents are shown in table 4.4.

The city has enacted an incentive plan to persuade officers to disperse, offering those who agree to purchase homes in targeted neighborhoods and remain there for at least 5 years \$5,000 grants and 3 percent down payments. Fewer than 10 police officers have availed them-

selves of the program.²⁵ The Committee inquired whether the FOP objected to residency requirements or contacts in high-crime areas, and/or whether experience in high-crime areas should be a consideration in hiring or promotion.

Nolan commented on the issue of requiring police officers to live in certain neighborhoods.

I would think that if this is done... then there is one more criteria that has to be established. For instance, if somebody wants to volunteer to live in a neighborhood, maybe that would push him over the edge more so than someone else. But by the same token, what

²⁵ Ibid.

happens if a person does get the job [under this criteria], and after a year or two decides, "This isn't for me, I'm out of here." Then what are you going to do?²⁶

Kimber told the Committee that the lack of diversity in the Chicago Police Department, particularly the disproportionately few numbers of African Americans, has an impact on crime in African American communities.

What role does the police system play in that in terms of effectively eliminating that problem from the community? Part of it is the major distrust that the African American community has of the police system. . . that has been created over the years and generations by well documented incidents.

We can also attribute some of those reasons as being that the police department does not reflect the majority of the population of the city of Chicago. Even in the patrol division, with the city of Chicago civilian population being upward towards a 55 to 60 percent nonwhite, you have a police department that is 23 percent African American, 7 or 8 percent Hispanic, and 69 or 70 percent white.

African Americans are not represented in terms of population equitably on the police department. This

Committee is aware of all the controversy that has occurred based on the entry level and promotional exams. There's too much controversy. There are too many unanswered questions. There is an impression internally, with the African American police officers as well as the general public, that there is hanky-panky going on with these tests and with the promotional process. This adds to the distrust.

Last year, out of the lieutenants promoted, there was only 1 African American out of 36. Out of 75 Sergeants promoted, there were only 10 African Americans. The class before that of lieutenants, there was only one African American in that class. You are looking at ranks that eventually in the next 5 years will be all white, and with that comes the attitude of arrogance and elitism.

I think the issue of diversity goes to the management of the department. If management wants to diversify, they can. What has happened? In every organization, it seems, the African American male is seen as a threat. What appears to be happening is that when groups are able to choose an African American male, especially one that looks like an African American male, groups and organizations choose not to.²⁷

²⁶ Chicago Police Transcript, testimony of William Nolan, p. 195.

²⁷ Chicago Police Transcript, testimony of Vance Kimber, pp. 127-8.

Chapter 5

Findings and Recommendations

In its 1993 report, *Police Protection of the African American Community in Chicago*, the Illinois Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights leveled a serious charge against the Chicago Police Department. The Committee found that the Chicago Police Department was not providing an equitable deployment of police patrols in areas of the city that were predominantly African American.

In conjunction with this finding, the Illinois Advisory Committee further found that African American residents in Chicago were the victims of serious crime at a significantly higher rate than white residents; that much of the African American community was isolated and unprotected; and that a drug war was raging in the African American neighborhoods, causing most of the violence in the black community. In addition, the Advisory Committee noted a police force that differed significantly in racial composition from the community it served.

The Advisory Committee stated that at a minimum equal police protection requires: (1) equal preventive protection measures, (2) equal response to similar calls for service, (3) similar courtesy and respect for all citizens, and (4) a police force representative of the population served. So serious did the Illinois Committee consider its findings, that it recommended it revisit the issue of police protection in the African American community within 5 years of the release of its report. This report represents the Committee's compliance with its recommendation. The emphasis, focus, and findings of this update are in three areas:

1. **The equitable deployment of police officers in areas of the city that are predominantly African American.**
2. **Outreach to the African American community to terminate the community's feeling of isolation.**
3. **Diversity within the police department, so that the police force itself reflects the community being served.**

Chapter 2. Patrol Deployment

Background: In its 1993 study, the Illinois Advisory Committee found significant disparity in the number of police patrols in predominantly African American districts compared with the number of patrols expected using the Chicago Police Department's deployment formula. That formula allocates patrol officers to a police district based upon a district's weighted level of violent crime, property crime, nonindex crime, and calls for service. The deployment formula remains in place today as the basic measure for determining patrol strength in police districts.¹

Finding 2.1 The presence of police does deter crime. A police presence is not the only factor that contributes to safe neighborhoods. Other factors may also contribute to the deterrence of crime, e.g., community standards and neighborhood watch groups may also contribute to safe neighborhoods. Moreover, the presence in of itself may not prevent criminal mischief. Still, the visible presence of police in communities serves to make communities safer, and as such is a necessary first element in the protection of a community.

Finding 2.2 In light of a change in police patrol deployment in the African American community since the 1993 study, the deployment of police officers in areas of the city predominantly African American is not manifestly inequitable along racial lines. This finding stems from a statistical analysis of police patrol authorization levels in police districts using the police department's weighted workload strategy as a basis for district deployment. Furthermore, testimony received from individuals, police organizations, and community groups supports the Committee's analysis that there are not substantially lower numbers of pa-

¹ Findings in this part are based upon information in chapter 2 of the report.

trol officers assigned to districts in the African American community.

However, the Committee's analysis of patrol deployment still shows two disturbing trends.

(a) There exists a negative correlation between the seven predominantly African American districts and the authorized patrol strength in those districts. This means the analysis of patrol strength finds a tendency of fewer patrol officers authorized to districts in the African American community than is expected from the department's workload utilization strategy.

(b) The weighted workload formula is not being used to determine authorized patrol strength in a police district. Excluding from the analysis the two districts within the city's major commercial areas (districts 1 and 18), only violent crime is found to have any relationship with a district's patrol strength authorization. The other established factors, property crime, other crime, and calls for service, are nonpredictors of patrol strength.

Recommendation 2.2 The lack of a quantitative basis for patrol deployment can lead to severe inequities in service on the basis of race and socioeconomic status. The Advisory Committee recommends that the Chicago Police Department put forth and follow a measurable deployment formula for patrol deployment.

Finding 2.3 The Chicago Police Department has not revised or completed a reassessment of its district deployment with respect to its established formula in the past 10 years. The police department testified that changes in manpower patrol distribution, relative to the effectiveness of crime deterrence in Chicago, is under study and will be revised. To date, the manpower deployment study has not been completed, and revisions to the formulas for district patrol authorization have not been implemented.

Recommendation 2.3 The Advisory Committee and the public have heard for 5 years that revisions to the department's patrol deployment formula are in the process of being reassessed and revised. It is time for the job to be finished and for the resultant revisions and changes to

the formulas for district patrol authorizations to be implemented.

Finding 2.4 Patrol deployment is only one source of police resources devoted to crime and other disorder problems. Other resources within the police department are used in the protection of the community.

The Bureau of Operational Services, which includes the Patrol Division, also has the Special Functions group, the Public Transportation group, and the Traffic Division. Operational Services also has two public housing units: Public Housing North and Public Housing South. More than 90 percent of the city's public housing residents are African American.

Additionally, the Bureau of Investigative Services deploys personnel resources unaccounted for in the patrol deployment analysis. Those include the Detective Division, the Organized Crime Division, and the Youth Division.

Chapter 3. Community Policing

Background: In 1993 the Chicago Police Department began implementing the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS), a community policing initiative. In contrast to the response-driven police service in the past, the new policing strategy was intended to involve patrol officers more intimately in the neighborhoods they serve, thereby preventing crime instead of reacting to crime. The program formally began in 1993 with initial pilot programs in five police districts. Two of the pilot districts were high-crime neighborhoods in the African American community. Beginning in the fall of 1994, elements of the program began to expand to districts throughout the city, and by the end of 1996 the CAPS program had been implemented city-wide.²

Finding 3.1 The CAPS program acknowledges that crime prevention is an important aspect of police protection. The CAPS program also acknowledges that protection from crime is only a portion of the services police officers provide city residents. The majority of a patrol officer's time is spent in noncriminal activities. A significant so-

² Findings in this part are based upon information in chapter 3 of the report.

cial contribution can be made by police officers in this capacity, and the CAPS program allows for the police department to be engaged in these types of activities.

Finding 3.2 In recent years, crime in the city and in the African American community has decreased dramatically. Violent crime, murder, sexual assault, armed robbery, and aggravated assault, in the seven predominantly African American districts have declined 33 percent in the last 6 years. Moreover, each of those seven districts has experienced a decline in violent crime during this time period.

The CAPS program appears to have been a contributing factor in the observed crime reduction. A 1995 analysis of reported crime figures and survey reports of victimization and neighborhood problems, which compared the 5 initial prototype CAPS districts with the other 20 non-CAPS districts prior to citywide CAPS implementation, found significant decreases in perceived crime in all 5 prototype areas. In addition, compared with matched non-CAPS districts for the first 17 months after the program began, there was less officially recorded robbery than statistically predicted in all five prototypes and less burglary than predicted in three of the five prototype districts.

However, the African American community in Chicago is still disproportionately victimized by violent crime. The most recent crime statistics show the nine police districts, in which 70 percent of the city's African American population lives, are disproportionately violent areas. In these nine police districts, which contain 30 percent of the city's total population: 58 percent of the murders were committed; 53 percent of sexual assaults were committed; 47 percent of robberies were committed; and 52 percent of aggravated assaults were committed.

Finding 3.3 Prior to the inauguration of CAPS, the Chicago Police Department had a practice of being secretive and closed to the community about its policies, programs, and efforts. Under the CAPS program, there has been an effort to change this philosophy and work more openly and in partnership with the community. There are open beat meetings on a regular basis; information on crime is shared with residents; and

real working relationships between the community and the police are beginning to be forged in many parts of the city. The African American community has been receptive to this outreach by the police. The participation pattern in the African American community with the CAPS program is high and similar to participation in white and homeowner-neighborhoods.

Still, certain police information remains outside the public domain. District patrol deployment figures and the basis for patrol deployment are not readily available to the public. The current district patrol authorizations were obtained by this Committee from the Chicago Police Department only after great difficulty. The district deployment formulas were obtained independently of the Chicago Police Department by the Committee during its 1993 study. Neither patrol deployment strength nor the basis for patrol deployment is included in the annual report of the Chicago Police Department, CAPS information, or in any other public location. Other information affecting police-community operations is similarly unavailable. This includes response times and the deployment of nonpatrol police resources.

Recommendation 3.3 The necessity of some secrecy by the police about its operational strategies can be understood, and the Committee notes that the police department has implemented more communication with the public in its CAPS program. Nevertheless, to the extent the public's access to legitimate police information is impeded, feelings of isolation and distrust will continue to fester within the community. The Advisory Committee recommends that the police department open for public examination information on response time, policing strategy, and police patrol deployment.

Finding 3.4 The quantity of police deployment is not necessarily an indicator of the quality of police service to a community. This study and the Committee's 1993 study focused on the quantity of patrol deployment in the African American community. It did not examine the quality of service by those deployed in the African American community. Surveys of police performance in the third year of the CAPS program (1996) still show African Americans in the city registering significantly

less satisfaction with police performance than whites and Latinos. Moreover, with regard to police protection of the African American community, the constant criticism presented to the Advisory Committee concerned the *quality* of services by the police, not the *quantity* of resources.

Finding 3.5 Under the proposed CAPS system, the weighted workload as now used by the Chicago Police Department to assign patrol officers, will be abandoned. The weight of the work flow, which in the past was based on crime rates and calls for service, will in the future consider other factors and will have a set number of officers available for each beat. This revised policing strategy, if implemented, has potential for perpetuating proportionately less police patrol protection for African American communities.

Currently, the percentage of the population in a district that is minority has neither a positive nor a negative correlation with the number of police beats in a district. The same is not true, however, for predominantly white districts. Districts with a high percentage of white residents have a larger number of beats. This results in white communities having proportionately more beats than mixed and minority communities.

Recommendation 3.5 As the Chicago Police Department moves to implement a new police patrol deployment strategy, the Advisory Committee recommends that the department be careful so that the new deployment mechanism not only does not discriminate against any one ethnic and/or racial group, but also does not give preference to any one ethnic and/or racial group.

Chapter 4. Diversity in the Chicago Police Department

Background: Historically, the Chicago Police Department has been a predominantly white institution. In 1956 fewer than 10 percent of the police force were minorities, and that employment pattern persisted into the 1970s. To break the racially disproportionate employment pattern in the police department, a District Federal Court in the mid-1970s imposed hiring requirements on the city, ordering that 42 percent of all new police officer hires be minorities. As a result of the court order, by 1992 the percentage of mi-

nority officers had reached 35 percent, with African American police officers being 25 percent of the force. Those employment ratios have remained constant since that time. In 1997 there were 13,342 sworn officers in the Chicago Police Department. Of these, 4,958 (37 percent) were minorities, and 3,390 (25 percent) were African Americans. This exists in a city where 60 percent of the residents are minorities.³

Finding 4.1 There is universal support for a diverse police force reflecting the residents of the city. The city administration, the Chicago Police Department, the Fraternal Order of Police, and the community at large endorse and support a police force that is as racially and ethnically diverse as the city.

Finding 4.2 Efforts are being made to increase the number of minorities in the Chicago Police Department. The city and the police department have done outreach to the minority community that is beginning to be successful. For the first time in the police department's history, minorities made up the majority of those considered "well-qualified" in the city's 1997 entry recruitment exam for patrol officers. Of the 9,000 applicants who took the examination and received "well-qualified" scores, 32 percent were African Americans, 16 percent were Latino, and 4 percent were Asian American or American Indian.

Still, however, the Chicago Police Department has a significant underrepresentation of minorities in comparison with other city departments. Among all nonpolice and nonfire city employees, African Americans are 40 percent of the total employment—an employment rate equal to their proportion of the city's residents. Moreover, in no other nonpolice or nonfire city bureau does the proportion of white employees exceed 60 percent.

Finding 4.3 Leadership in the Chicago Police Department is disproportionately white. Whites hold 71 percent of the sergeant positions and 76 percent of the lieutenant positions. An African American, Terry G. Hillard, is the superintendent.

³ Findings in this part are based upon information in chapter 4 of the report.

The city has recognized this racial and ethnic disparity in leadership positions to be a problem and has attempted to address the issue in a fair and equitable manner.

In 1990 a blue ribbon panel commissioned by the mayor to study police testing, hiring, and promotion, and the city implemented a number of changes to minimize perceptions of political influence in the testing process.

In 1995 Police Superintendent Matt Rodriguez announced 13 merit promotions to lieutenant, in addition to the promotion of officers based on exam results. The 13 merit promotion recipients included 5 whites, 5 African Americans, and 3 Latinos. The merit promotions were overturned in the courts.

The mayor established a task force in 1996 to reexamine the hiring and promotion systems with the specific charge to consider alternatives to promotions based strictly on test scores, including incorporating factors such as leadership ability, years of service, and job performance, while recognizing the need for a racially diverse work force. In January 1997, the task force issued a series of recommendations to the mayor. The recommendations included: (1) the police department should consider time in rank in determining who is eligible to participate in the promotional process and who is eligible for promotion, (2) the city should continue to administer written examinations for promotions to sergeant and lieutenant, (3) the city should consider alternatives to traditional job knowledge tests with greater emphasis placed on the ability of a candidate to apply important knowledge to job situations, and (4) the department should institute a merit selection process for promotions to sergeant and lieutenant as an addition to a qualifying examination.

Finding 4.4 In the 6-year period of 1992 to 1998, African Americans have increased their representation in the detective rank from 7 percent to 12 percent. Changes in the racial and ethnic diversity of youth specialists and gang crimes specialists have not been as noticeable.

In 1992, 91 percent of detectives in the police department were white. In 1998 minority representation in the detective rank is 18 percent, with 12 percent being African American.

In the gang crimes specialist position, African Americans are now 18 percent of the unit, compared with 15 percent in 1992. In youth investigator positions, the rate of African Americans has decreased from 26 percent to 22 percent.

The most recent group of appointments to these ranks occurred in November 1996, when the department ordered 220 promotions to the D-2 rank, which includes detectives, youth officers, and gang crime specialists. Fifty-five of the 220 (25 percent) promotions were merit promotions. The police contract allows the superintendent to make 20 percent of all promotions to the D-2 ranks on the basis of merit. The city added an additional 5 percent for affirmative action purposes, using a 1993 arbitrator's ruling that has been contested by the police union. The other 165 promotions were rank-order promotions. The detectives' exam that produced the 165 rank-order promotions was administered in the fall and winter of 1994. In February 1995 the exam was first used to make 150 promotions.

Finding 4.5 The city's effort to diversify the police force is a legitimate affirmative action initiative. Affirmative action programs—either government mandated or voluntary—consist of activities to identify, recruit, promote, and/or retain qualified members of minority groups, women, and persons with disabilities. Affirmative action programs are forms of deliberate outreach to formerly excluded segments of society—not programs of preferences or quotas.

Recommendation 4.5 The Advisory Committee holds that efforts by the city and the Chicago Police Department in recent years have been genuine efforts to identify, recruit, hire, and promote qualified minorities. In these efforts, the city and the police department's actions have been grounded in the premise that the proportion of individuals with the skills and productivity deserving employment opportunities and promotions does not disproportionately reside with one particular racial or ethnic group of officers. Further, effective policing in a racially and ethnically diverse community is bound to the diversity of the police force at all levels and in all positions.

A fair, just, and legal way to obtain diversity throughout the Chicago Police Department re-

mains embroiled in controversy and an unfulfilled reality. Still, the Advisory Committee applauds the city and the leadership of the police department for their recent attempts to use various strategies to increase racial, ethnic, and gender diversity. Further, the Advisory Committee calls upon the public and all parties affected by these efforts to support such actions and thereby the effectiveness of the services offered by the department to the citizenry.

Finding 4.6 The city has engaged in a program to encourage police officers to live in areas of the city with higher crime rates. A city ordinance requires police officers to live in the city. Sixty percent of all police officers live in three police districts: Chicago Lawn (district 8), Morgan Park (district 22), and Jefferson Park

(district 16). In contrast, the predominantly African American districts have the fewest resident police officers. The city has enacted an incentive plan to encourage police officers to live in targeted neighborhoods. Officers who agree to purchase homes in targeted neighborhoods and remain there for at least 5 years receive \$5,000 grants and 3 percent down payments. To date, the program has had limited success, with fewer than 10 police officers choosing to participate.

Recommendation 4.6 The Advisory Committee commends the city and the department for enacting the incentive residency program in targeted neighborhoods and urges the city and the department to examine ways to increase participation in the program.

Addendum

On October 29, 1998, Police Superintendent Terry Hillard announced that police beats, unchanged since 1985, will be realigned in 1999. The realignment is the equivalent of police reapportionment and could significantly shift the quantity of police resources in the districts. Hillard did not rule out district changes as well, but stated that beat realignment must come first.

As reported in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Hillard stated: "Crime is more mobile now. With the advent of crack cocaine, drive-by shootings, and other things that are happening, we need to change and upgrade every few years."¹

The *Chicago Sun-Times* also reported that in 1992, the consulting firm of Booz, Allen & Hamilton recommended that the police department alter beat boundaries and shift them periodically according to a formula that weighs major crimes, all crimes, calls for service and population figures. The suggestion was never implemented amid fears that the realignment could shift protection to high-crime neighborhoods at the expense of neighborhoods with lower crime rates.²

Also on October 29, 1998, Police Superintendent Terry Hillard announced the promotion of 343 police officers to detective, youth investigator, and gang crimes specialist. With 20 percent of the promotions based on merit, the new group is 6 percent white, 22.5 percent African American, and 11 percent Latino.³

¹ Fran Spielman, "Cop beats will be realigned in city next year," *Chicago Sun-Times*, Oct. 30, 1998, p. 42.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

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