Winning the Hearts and Minds of Police Officers: An Assessment of Staff Perceptions of Community Policing in Chicago

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The success of community policing depends on the police officers who are responsible for implementing the programs. In essence, their attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors must be substantially changed before community policing can be put into practice. Chicago's community policing program, known as CAPS, became operational in March 1993 in five prototype districts. Before the program started, officers were surveyed about their job satisfaction, their supervisors, and their opinions regarding community policing. Results showed that officers were very ambivalent about CAPS. They were supportive of some CAPS-related activities (e.g., solving noncrime problems), but not others (e.g., foot patrol), and were dubious about the program's effects on crime and neighborhood relations.

The concept of community policing translates into a variety of specific operations and practices. Many of the directives of community policing are beyond the traditional capacities and roles of officers, who were initially selected and trained to perform only the basic activities associated with law enforcement, such as patrol, investigation, order maintenance, arrest, and report writing (Stone and DeLuca 1985; Walker 1992). Hence the transition

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to community policing is frequently a battle for the hearts and minds of police officers. Community policing requires them to do many of their old jobs in innovative ways: It forces officers to attempt unfamiliar and challenging tasks, to identify and solve a broad range of problems, and to reach out to elements of the community who were previously outside their purview.

The battle must always be waged, however, because police officers can be quite resistant to change. From their perspective, the battle is usually justified. Officers typically hear about new programs when they are announced from the highest levels of administration, and they feel that most initiatives are adopted without their input or prior acceptance. They are quick to observe whether civilians played a major role in instigating or planning department programs, which touches a deep and sensitive nerve in the police culture. They are resentful when the community is consulted about internal police business, and they are cynical about the role of politics in the appointment of their leaders and the definition of their missions. Officers who have survived previous policing reforms often derisively recall the acronyms that designated those projects and can recount the inevitable acrimony that eventually led to their failure. Police are particularly dubious about notions such as empowerment and participatory management; in reality, their agencies are managed mostly by the threat and fear of punishment from supervisors.

Effects of Community Policing on Officers

Although the battle for the hearts and minds of the police force can be spirited, community policing is supposed to be worth the effort because it produces a "new breed" of police officers who have greater knowledge about and expertise in problem solving and community engagement activities, and who experience greater job satisfaction, self-worth, and productivity. The few investigations examining community policing's effects on police personnel have reported favorable results (Lurigio and Rosenbaum 1994). For example, in an evaluation of a neighborhood policing project in Madison, Wisconsin, Wycoff and Skogan (1993) reported that involvement in the city's experimental police district changed the views of participating officers. Specifically, experimental district officers, compared to those assigned elsewhere, saw themselves working as a team, maintained that their efforts were supported by their supervisors and the department as a whole, and believed that the department was truly engaged in a process of reform. They were also more satisfied with their jobs, more strongly committed to the organization, more customer oriented, more invested in the principles of problem solving and community policing, and more pleased with their relationship to the commu-

nity. Moreover, department records indicated that disciplinary actions, absenteeism, tardiness, and sick days were reduced in the experimental area.

These changes are consistent with those reported in Wycoff's (1988) interviews with officers doing community policing in several different cities. Generally, these officers thought that their work was more important, interesting, and rewarding, and less frustrating. They felt that they had more independence in and control over their jobs, two factors that are important determinants of job satisfaction. Finally, they tended to adopt a more benign and trusting posture toward the public.

Along the same lines, McElroy, Cosgrove, and Sadd (1993) found that officers assigned to New York's Community Police Officer Program (CPOP) had changed their attitudes toward community residents. CPOP officers reported that in walking their beats they were more exposed to "the good people" of the community, they got to know neighborhood residents as individuals, and their interaction with citizens was not limited to just crisis situations.

In Saad and Grinc's (1993) study of community policing in Hayward, California, officers reported that the community had gained a better understanding of the role of the police and had acquired more realistic expectations about what police could actually accomplish. In addition, officers became more knowledgeable about the community and more empathic toward neighborhood residents' problems. From their perceptive, residents found the police to be more receptive to change and more willing to help them with local problems.

Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy

Recognizing that many traditional policing practices are no longer effective, the city of Chicago commissioned the consulting firm of Booz, Allen, and Hamilton to conduct a study of the Chicago Police Department (CPD). Booz, Allen, and Hamilton recommended a series of operational changes designed to place more police officers on Chicago's streets to combat crime, drugs, and gang activity, and to pave the way for the implementation of a community policing program. Overall, they proposed a neighborhood-based strategy for CPD, which essentially represented a transition from incident-driven to community-oriented policing. As Chicago Police Superintendent Matt Rodriguez noted,

> These specific management changes will help make community policing work. . . . The police districts that we know today will be reconfigured to create efficient coordination of beat officers patrolling the streets and alleys of every

neighborhood on foot and in patrol cars. They will be backed up by sector cars responding to 911 calls, specialized units, and tactical teams.

In January 1993, Mayor Richard Daley announced the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS), which was initially implemented in five prototype districts that were chosen to reflect the diversity of Chicago's neighborhoods. At the planning stage, Chicago's community policing program had six basic features:

1. *Neighborhood orientation.* CAPS gives special attention to the residents and problems of specific neighborhoods, which demands that officers know their beats (i.e., crime trends, hot spots, and community organizations and resources) and develop partnerships with the community to solve problems.
2. *Increased geographic responsibility.* CAPS involves organizing police services so that officers are responsible for crime control in specific areas. A new district organizational structure using rapid-response cars to handle emergency calls allows newly created beat teams to engage in community policing activities. The beat teams share responsibility for specific areas under the leadership of a supervisory beat sergeant.
3. *Structured response to calls for police service.* A system of differential responses to citizen calls frees beat team officers from the continuous demands of 911 calls. Emergency calls are handled primarily by rapid-response sector cars, whereas nonemergency and routine calls are handled by beat officers or by telephone callback contacts. Sector officers also attend to community matters, and sector and beat teams rotate so that all officers participate in community policing.
4. *Proactive problem-oriented approach.* CAPS focuses on the causes of neighborhood problems rather than on discrete incidents of crime or disturbances. Attention is given to the long-term prevention of these problems and to the signs of community disorder and decay that are associated with crime (e.g., drug houses, loitering youths, and graffiti).
5. *Community and city resources for crime prevention and control.* CAPS assumes that police alone cannot solve the crime problem and that they depend on the community and other city agencies to achieve success. Hence part of the beat officer's new role is to broker community resources and to draw on other city agencies to identify and respond to local problems. The mayor's office ensures that municipal agencies are responsive to requests for assistance from beat officers.
6. *Emphasis on crime problem analysis.* CAPS requires more efficient data collection and analysis to identify crime patterns and to target areas that demand police attention. Emphasis is placed on crime analysis at the district level, and beat information is recorded and shared among officers and across watches.

Chicago's community policing program is expected to yield favorable results in several key areas. Specifically, CAPS is designed to (a) improve responses to calls for police service; (b) increase street presence of police

(i.e., the number of officers visible on the beat); (c) optimize the use of crime information for problem identification and interventions; (d) facilitate law enforcement (i.e., increase the number of arrests and quality of clearances); (e) focus police efforts on resolving the underlying conditions that lead to neighborhood crime and disorder; (f) expand police capabilities by improving access to other resources in Chicago (e.g., community groups and other city agencies); and (g) reduce crime over a 3-year period.

The implementation of community policing in Chicago demanded dramatic modifications in CPD's entire approach to law enforcement, including its philosophy, structure, operations, and deployment strategies. The gradual evolution toward full-scale community policing essentially continues to redefine both the "means and ends" of policing (Moore 1992). Although all levels of the department have been affected by these changes, the onus of implementation devolved on the operational staff, whose roles were fundamentally reshaped in terms of problem solving and community relations. Community policing necessitated not only sweeping revisions in department policies and procedures, but also basic attitudinal and perceptual shifts by officers. Hence the program's success depends in part on the department's ability to prepare officers to make an effective adjustment to the unique rigors and demands of community policing.

This article examines police officers' views at the beginning of the CAPS program. Prototype officers completed questionnaires before they began their initial orientation training and before virtually anyone in the CPD knew much about the program. The survey probed their assessments of their jobs, their supervisors, and their relationships with the communities they served. The results provide insight into the potential impediments to the implementation of CAPS and a baseline for evaluating subsequent changes in officers' attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors.

METHOD

The survey included questions that formed 22 scales measuring the various components of factors such as job satisfaction, officers' relationships with peers and supervisors, and their attitudes toward police work and community policing.

Procedure

Arrangements were made with police academy staff to administer the instrument at the beginning of each orientation training session. Orientation

sessions were scheduled on consecutive days from March 22 through April 1, 1993 (excluding Sunday). Sessions were held in three rooms at the police academy during the second and third watches, except for the final 2 days when sessions were held only during the second watch. Five make-up orientation sessions were later conducted for prototype personnel who could not attend the initial orientation training. The last day of training was April 20, 1993. A total of 24 orientation sessions were completed.

Surveys were distributed after attendance cards were completed by police trainees and after the trainers and training agenda were introduced by the training commander or his representative. In addition, the CAPS evaluation and its immediate staff were introduced prior to questionnaire implementation. To standardize the administration of the survey, evaluation staff were given a script, which they were told to follow (but not read verbatim) before distributing the questionnaire. The script contained the following key points:

- The purpose of the CAPS personnel survey is to give Chicago police officers a chance to have input into the CAPS evaluation. We really value your opinion and want to know how you feel about CAPS.
- Unless we hear from police officers and learn what they truly believe, we will not be able to determine whether CAPS is effective.
- The Chicago Police Department will never have access to your individual responses. Researchers will only report summary or aggregate statistics.
- Questionnaires are completely confidential. The only reason we are asking for your name is so that we can track you within the police department for a follow-up survey. Names will be kept secure by the research staff and will never be shared with the police department.
- Read the instructions preceding each group of items before filling them out. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions. In general, we want to know about your opinions or attitudes. Answer each item only once, and circle the one response that best fits your attitude or opinion.

Surveys were handed individually to respondents who were asked to fill out the first page of the instrument, which contained general instructions for completing the questionnaire, the respondent's identification number, the study identification number, and space for the officer's name, district, and star number. On top of each survey was a letter from CPD's superintendent, which stated his support for the evaluation and reassured the officers of the confidentiality of their survey responses. The trainees were also told to return the cover sheets immediately to the survey administrator, who placed them in an envelope that was promptly sealed to protect the identifying information. Respondents returned their completed surveys to an evaluation staff

person. Completion times ranged from 10 to 40 minutes—the average completion time was 20 minutes.

Scale Analyses

Interitem correlations were examined for each of the questionnaire's scales, with an initial alpha less than .60. Items with the lowest interitem correlations were dropped, and the scales were recomputed until the .60 criterion was reached. Scales with final alphas less than .60 were not included in subsequent analyses. A total of 17 of the original 22 scales met the .60 standard; their alphas ranged from .60 to .95. Table 1 presents the alpha, mean, standard deviation, response option range, and *N* for each of these scales. Regression analyses were performed on some of the scale scores to test for differences based on officer age, rank, gender, and race.

Measures

Job dimensions. Officers responded to a series of items relating to six scales of job dimensions: (a) Job Autonomy measures the degree to which employees believe that their jobs afford them discretion and independence; (b) Task Identity measures the extent to which work tasks have definite beginnings and ends and leave employees with a sense of having completed a whole job; (c) Skill Variety measures the amount of variation in the skills and responsibilities that employees experience in their daily assignments; (d) Peer/Supervisor Feedback measures the degree to which employees feel that their supervisors and coworkers provide them with information about their job performance; (e) Job Feedback measures the extent to which employees perceive that their jobs provide them with information about their performance, which is separate from peer or supervisor feedback; and (f) Working With Others measures the degree to which employees feel that their jobs require them to work cooperatively with other people. Participants scored each of the job dimension questions on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), which rated how closely each item correctly described their current job assignments.

Job satisfaction and participatory management. Four scales examined officers' job satisfaction: (a) Individual Growth Need measures employees' needs for opportunities to be creative, independent, and imaginative in their work; (b) Job Involvement measures the extent to which employees feel that

TABLE 1: Chicago Police Scale Scores

Scale Name	*Alpha*	*Mean*	*Standard Deviation*	*Minimum*	*Maximum*	N
Job Autonomy	.72	3.52	.90	1	5	1,400
Task Identity	.61	3.12	.95	1	5	1,399
Skill Variety	.60	3.64	.87	1	5	1,403
Peer/Supervisor Feedback	.86	3.12	1.03	1	5	1,402
Job Feedback	.75	3.56	.82	1	5	1,403
Working With Others	.71	3.93	.80	1	5	1,404
Growth Need	.95	4.21	.82	1	5	1,401
Job Involvement	.70	3.45	.70	1	5	1,396
Mobility	.69	3.52	.99	1	5	1,408
Policy and Practice	.81	2.80	.85	1	5	1,395
Participatory Management	.64	2.72	.88	1	5	1,404
Orientation Toward Community Policing	.77	3.49	.61	1	5	1,407
Optimistic-CAPS Traditional	.87	2.09	.67	1	3	1,395
Optimistic-CAPS Nontraditional	.85	2.35	.61	1	3	1,395
Pessimistic	.71	2.69	.51	1	3	1,381
CAPS Capability	.84	2.83	.61	1	4	1,398
CAPS Resources	.83	2.92	.60	1	4	1,406

NOTE: CAPS = Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy.

their job is enjoyable; (c) Extraorganizational Mobility measures employees' perceptions of how difficult it would be for them to leave their jobs; and (d) Organizational Policy and Practice measures employees' overall satisfaction with the organization and its management staff.

Respondents scored each of the questions on individual growth need on a scale of 1 (*very undesirable*) to 5 (*very desirable*), which rated how much they would like certain characteristics to be present in their current jobs. They scored each of the questions pertaining to job involvement, mobility, and policy and practice on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), which rated their agreement with items that described their attitudes and feelings toward work and management.

A separate scale measured participatory management, that is, employees' perceptions about the degree of influence they have over management decisions and job changes. Respondents also scored these questions on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*).

CAPS-related measures. Six scales were constructed to explore how police officers felt about community policing and the CAPS program: (a)

TABLE 2: Background Characteristics of Wave 1 Prototype Respondents

Characteristic	*Percentage*
District assignment	
Austin	18
Beverly	18
Englewood	23
Marquette Park	19
Rogers Park	21
Rank	
Patrol officer	86
Sergeant	11
Lieutenant	3
Captain or above	>1
Shift	
First shift	12
Second shift	22
Third shift	31
Rotating shift	35
Formal education	
High school graduate or GED	13
Some technical school, but did not graduate	2
Technical school graduate	2
Some college, but did not graduate	44
Junior college graduate	9
College graduate	16
Some graduate courses	8
Graduate degree	6
Gender	
Male	79
Female	21
Marital status	
Married	57
Married, but living alone	4
Unmarried	33
Unmarried, but living together	6
Current assignment	
Bureau of Operational Services	83
Bureau of Investigations	1
Bureau of Administrative Services	3
Bureau of Technical Services	4
Bureau of Staff Services	9
Race	
African American	26
Hispanic	9
White	63
Other	2

NOTE: N = 1,405. Category percentages may not total 100 due to rounding. GED = general equivalency diploma.

Orientation Toward Community Policing measures officers' attitudes regarding contact with the community to jointly solve neighborhood problems; (b) Optimistic About CAPS-Traditional measures officers' perceptions concerning the likelihood that CAPS will lead to favorable changes with respect to traditional police services; (c) Optimistic About CAPS-Nontraditional measures officers' perceptions concerning the likelihood that CAPS will lead to favorable changes with respect to nontraditional services; (d) Pessimistic About CAPS measures officers' perceptions concerning the likelihood that CAPS will lead to unfavorable changes in police authority and autonomy; (e) CAPS Capability measures officers' perceptions concerning their ability to perform CAPS-related activities; and (f) CAPS Resources measures officers' attitudes regarding the allocation of police resources toward CAPS-related activities and services.

Survey Participants. A total of 1,405 completed surveys were collected during 22 of the 24 orientation training sessions. As shown in Table 2, nearly 80% of the officers were male; 63% were White, 26% were African American, and slightly under 10% were Hispanic. The majority of respondents (57%) were married, and their ages ranged from 21 to 63 years with an average of 38 years. Most of the respondents (69%) had a 4-year college degree, had attended some college, or had graduated from junior college; 14% had a graduate degree or had taken some graduate courses.

The vast majority of police officers were assigned to the Bureau of Operational Services (83%). On average, officers had been in their current assignments for 8 years, with CPD for 12 years, and had joined the department when they were 27 years old. Officers' ages when they joined the department ranged from 19 to 55 years old. More than 85% of the respondents were patrol officers. Slightly more than one third were on a rotating shift, whereas slightly less than one third were on the third shift. Respondents were fairly evenly distributed among the five prototype districts, with about 20% participating from each.

RESULTS

How Do Police Feel About Their Jobs?

Job dimensions. The 5-point scale means ranged from 3.93 to 3.12. Officers rated their jobs highest with respect to working with others and lowest with respect to peer/supervisor feedback and task identity. For exam-

ple, high percentages of officers either agreed or strongly agreed that their jobs required them to work closely (79%) and cooperatively (69%) with others. Considerably lower percentages of respondents either agreed or strongly agreed that their supervisors let them know how well they are performing (34%) and that their jobs provided them with a chance to complete all the tasks they had started (31%).

Officers rated the remaining job dimensions—job autonomy, skill variety, and job feedback—toward the upper limit of the middle (i.e., neutral) range of score values, from 3.52 to 3.64. More than one half of the participants either agreed or strongly agreed that their jobs gave them a lot of opportunities for independence and freedom in how they did their work (52%) and that their jobs provided them with information about their performance (56%). More than one third either agreed or strongly agreed that their jobs required them to use a number of complex and high-level skills (35%).

Job satisfaction and participatory management. Most of the officers wanted their jobs to include the following experiences, which were rated either desirable or very desirable by the percentages of officers shown after each job characteristic: stimulating and challenging work (86%), a chance to exercise independent thought and action (87%), opportunities to learn new things (89%), opportunities to be creative and imaginative (86%), opportunities for personal growth and development (86%), and a sense of worthwhile accomplishment (89%).

The averages for extraorganizational mobility and job involvement were much higher than those for organizational policy and practices and participatory management. Nearly 60% of the respondents either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "staying with the police department is as much a necessity as a desire" and nearly 50% either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that "it would be very hard for me to leave the department now even if I wanted to." In terms of job involvement, high percentages of officers either agreed or strongly agreed that they liked very much both the kind of work that they did (80%) and their fellow employees (74%), and that they enjoyed nearly all the things that they did on their jobs (66%). However, much lower percentages of officers either agreed or strongly agreed that they were personally involved with their jobs (41%) or that the major satisfaction in their lives came from their jobs (18%).

Although half or more of the officers either agreed or strongly agreed that the city's police department is a good organization to work for (58%) and that the department is one of the best in the country (50%), only 23% either agreed or strongly agreed that management treats employees very well (less than 1%

strongly agreed with this item) and that the department is open to suggestions for change, and only 6% had confidence that command staff pick the most qualified candidates for jobs. (The organizational policy and practice scale consisted of these items.) In relation to participatory management, the following percentages of officers either agreed or strongly agreed with these statements: "I have much say and influence over what goes on in regard to my job" (35%), "It is easy for me to communicate my ideas to management" (28%), and "My supervisor frequently seeks my opinion when a problem comes up involving my job environment" (24%).

How Do the Police Feel About CAPS?

Orientation toward community policing. Participants rated each of the statements concerning police work and law enforcement in Chicago on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Overall, officers' responses were neutral on this scale ($M = 3.4$). A large majority of them either agreed or strongly agreed that "the prevention of crime is the joint responsibility of the community and the police" (87%), "police officers should work with citizens to try and solve problems on their beat" (73%), and "assisting citizens can be as important as enforcing the law" (70%). However, much lower percentages either agreed or strongly agreed that "an officer on foot patrol can learn more about neighborhood problems than can an officer in a patrol car" (36%) and "police officers should try to solve noncrime problems in their beat" (28%).

Differences on this scale were analyzed by race (African American, Hispanic, White), rank (patrol officers vs. sergeants and above), gender (men vs. women), and age (20s, 30s, 40s, and 50s+). African Americans scored higher than Hispanics and Whites ($p < .05$), and Hispanics scored higher than Whites ($p < .05$); higher-ranking officers scored higher than patrol officers ($p < .05$); officers age 50 and over scored higher than officers in their 40s, 30s, and 20s ($p < .05$); and officers in their 40s scored higher than officers in their 20s and 30s ($p < .05$).

Optimistic about CAPS-traditional. Respondents scored these questions on a scale from 1 (*less likely*) to 3 (*more likely*) to rate the likelihood that a variety of positive changes in traditional police services would occur after CAPS was implemented. Overall, their average response was no change ($M = 2.0$). Approximately one fourth of the officers believed that more arrests, better responses to calls for police service, and a reduction in crime rates were

more likely to occur after CAPS, whereas one third believed that expanded police capability, more effective use of resources, and a more balanced deployment of officers would be more likely to occur after CAPS.

Female respondents were more optimistic about traditional services occurring after CAPS ($p < .05$); African Americans were more optimistic than Hispanics and Whites ($p < .05$), and Hispanics were more optimistic than Whites ($p < .05$); and older officers (age 50 and over) were more optimistic than officers in their 30s and 20s ($p < .05$), and officers in their 40s were more optimistic than officers in their 20s ($p < .05$).

Optimistic about CAPS-nontraditional. Respondents scored these questions on the same 3-point scale they used with optimism about CAPS-traditional. Overall, officers were only slightly more optimistic about nontraditional changes taking place after CAPS is implemented ($M = 2.3$). More than 60% believed that better police-community relations were more likely after CAPS; 48% and 47%, respectively, believed that a greater resolution of neighborhood problems and a more effective use of crime information were more likely after CAPS; and a little over 40% believed that a greater willingness of citizens to cooperate with the police was more likely after CAPS; but only 29% believed that better police relations with minorities were more likely after CAPS.

African American officers were more optimistic than White and Hispanic officers ($p < .05$); sergeants and above were more optimistic than patrol officers ($p < .05$); older officers (age 50 and over) were more optimistic than officers in their 40s, 30s, and 20s ($p < .05$), and officers in their 40s were more optimistic than officers in their 20s and 30s ($p < .05$).

Pessimistic about CAPS. Respondents scored these questions on the same 3-point scale that they used with the optimism about CAPS scales. On this scale, however, officers rated the likelihood that negative changes would occur after CAPS. The average scale score was 2.6, which indicated that they were quite pessimistic about such changes. Over 70% believed that community groups would place more unreasonable demands on police (73%) and that there would be greater citizen demands placed on police resources (72%) after CAPS. High percentages of participants also believed that greater burdens on police to solve all community problems (65%) and blurred boundaries between police and citizen authority (51%) were more likely to occur after CAPS. On this scale, a difference was found on only one of the subgroup variables: Whites and Hispanics were more pessimistic than African Americans ($p < .05$).

CAPS capability. Participants scored each of these questions on a scale of 1 (*very unqualified*) to 4 (*very qualified*) to rate their own ability to perform CAPS-related activities. Overall, officers felt fairly qualified to engage in such tasks ($M = 2.7$). At least 7 out of 10 respondents felt either qualified or very qualified to identify community problems (84%) and to develop (71%) and evaluate (77%) solutions to those problems. However, only 42% felt either qualified or very qualified to use the CAPS model to analyze problems.

African Americans felt more capable than Hispanics and Whites ($p < .05$); higher ranking officers felt more capable than did patrol officers ($p < .05$); and officers in the 50-and-over age category felt more capable than did officers in their 20s and 30s ($p < .05$).

CAPS resources. Respondents scored these questions on a scale from 1 (*none*) to 4 (*a large amount*) to rate their opinions regarding the amount of resources that the department should commit to CAPS-related police activities. On average, officers felt that a moderate amount of resources should be devoted to such activities ($M = 2.9$). The following percentages of participants indicated that a large amount of resources should be committed to these CAPS-related activities: coordinating with other agencies to improve the quality of life in the city (43%), explaining crime prevention techniques to citizens (42%), getting to know juveniles (32%), working with citizen groups to resolve local problems (32%), understanding problems of minority groups (30%), researching and solving problems (30%), marketing police services to the public (22%), handling special events (8%), and patrolling on foot in neighborhoods (7%).

Female respondents were more likely than male respondents to want large amounts of resources devoted to CAPS ($p < .05$); African Americans were more likely than Hispanics and Whites ($p < .05$); and Hispanics were more likely than Whites to want large amounts of resources devoted to CAPS ($p < .05$).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The current survey examined the views of police officers before CAPS was implemented in the prototype districts. Findings indicated that most respondents were looking for a job that allowed them to exercise independent thought and action, to be creative and imaginative, and to learn about new things. However, less than one half of those surveyed felt deep personal involvement in their present positions. Approximately one half of the officers reported that their jobs actually gave them opportunities for independence

and control over how they did their work. Less than one third thought that the structure of their jobs enabled them to really see work through to its completion. Only about one quarter agreed that they had any influence over their jobs, that their supervisors sought their opinions, that management treated its employees well, and that they could easily communicate ideas to management. Only about one third felt that their supervisors let them know how well they were performing, and even less felt that the department was open to change.

Results also indicated that officers were very ambivalent about community policing in Chicago. At the outset, officers expressed only moderate enthusiasm for involving themselves in solving noncrime problems. They were not very keen on adopting new tactics such as foot patrol or on marketing their new services to the public. They were willing to devote department resources to community policing, but only in moderate amounts. They did not think that the program would have any marked impact on the crime rate or their ability to make arrests, or that it would improve their relationship with racial minorities. They were clearly concerned about the impact of community policing on the department's autonomy and on the nature and volume of work that would result from CAPS.

Finally, analyses of gender, race, age, and rank differences showed consistent trends in respondents' attitudes toward CAPS. In general, minority officers (especially African Americans), older officers, and higher-ranking officers expressed more favorable attitudes toward community policing in Chicago. They were more inclined to endorse CAPS-related police activities; they were more optimistic that CAPS would lead to positive changes in both traditional and nontraditional police services; they also were less pessimistic about CAPS leading to negative changes in policing; and, along with most female officers, they wanted larger amounts of resources devoted to CAPS.

In conclusion, the current findings indicate that police officers in Chicago are neither unanimously in favor of community policing nor are they equally disposed toward all the elements of such programs. Hence the data suggest the importance of a department examining the attitudes and feelings of staff before implementing community policing. At the outset, such an investigation can identify potential pockets of resistance among officers and can assist the administration to shape program operations to be more palatable to line staff and their supervisors. Furthermore, it would be useful to assess officers' relationships with peers and management as well as other factors concerning job satisfaction prior to program implementation. To be successful, community policing initiatives must be compatible with the existing culture and organizational climate in a department and with the basic concerns and needs of police personnel.

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