

CHAPTER EIGHT

Shifting Sentiments: How Chicago Views Policing

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Introduction & Background

Chicago has historically terrible community-police relations. The most notorious instances of police misconduct carried out against Chicagoans were committed by Jon Burge and his “Midnight Crew” from 1973-1991.¹ During that period, Burge was promoted five times from uniform officer to commander – while Burge and his team electrocuted, beat, and burned false confessions out of over one hundred black and brown men. Because his conduct was covered up for such a long time, when he was finally ousted, the statute of limitations for most of his crimes had already passed. As a result, instead of being brought up against hundreds of criminal assault, negligence, and torture charges, Burge was simply charged with perjury for lying about his actions. He spent *four* years in jail from 2011 to 2014, during which he continued to collect his \$36,000 Chicago Police Department (CPD) pension.² Upsettingly, this story and ones like it are not outliers for CPD, and they are not a thing of the past.

For almost a decade, then-officer Ronald Watts, his partner Kallatt Mohammed, and members of the gang tactical team under his command cooperated with a drug ring running out of Ida B. Wells Homes, a public housing facility on the South Side. Watts and his team were accused of “taxing” drug dealers as compensation for knowingly turning a blind eye to their illegal activities and silencing residents who could potentially threaten the operation.³ Watts and Mohammed would plant drugs on residents who did not blindly comply with their orders to have them

¹ Evans, Maxwell. “Chicago Police Torture Archive Documents Decades of Abuse from Jon Burge and His ‘Midnight Crew.’” *Block Club Chicago*, Block Club Chicago, 5 Feb. 2021, <https://blockclubchicago.org/2021/02/05/chicago-police-torture-archive-documents-decades-of-abuse-from-jon-burge-and-his-midnight-crew/>.

² Moore, Natalie Y. “How Chicago’s Survivors of Police Torture Won Reparations.” *The Marshall Project*, The Marshall Project, 30 Oct. 2018, <https://www.themarshallproject.org/2018/10/30/payback>.

³ Kalven, Jamie. “Abuses by Ex-Chicago Cop Ronald Watts Are a Gross Injustice That Has Ripped a Hole in Our City.” *Chicago Tribune*, 21 Oct. 2022, <https://www.chicagotribune.com/opinion/commentary/ct-opinion-ronald-watts-chicago-police-abuses-prairie-courts-four-20221021-ikztf12ndrdednr7k7ehkqce-story.html>.

arrested. During the decade that they continued this practice, CPD's bureau of internal affairs and the FBI dragged out multiple open-ended investigations. In 2011, during one of these investigations, Watts and Mohammed were caught stealing \$5200 in an FBI sting operation. The two were convicted on a single charge of stealing government property and received sentences of 22 and 18 months respectively. Aside from these charges (and convictions), no other charges were brought against Watts and Mohammed or any officers who worked with them. Instead, 15 of the officers implicated were put on desk duty pending further investigation. Five of those officers have retired and have begun collecting their pensions prior to the investigation's conclusion, while the ten others remain fully employed and on city payroll. Today, because of Watt's false evidence and testimony, more than 200 convictions have been thrown out, with more convictions being re-evaluated still today.⁴

In 2014, (now former) officer Jason Van Dyke shot 17-year-old Laquan McDonald 16 times in the back within the period of 14 seconds. Initially formal reports of the incident claimed that McDonald lunged at Van Dyke and, as a result, the shooting was deemed to be justified. Van Dyke's partner Joseph Walsh⁵ corroborated this report, and, because the dash camera footage was hidden by CPD officials for over a year, for 13 months Van Dyke continued his position as a patrolling officer. After a hard-fought court ruling however, the dash camera footage of the shooting was released and it was made clear that Van Dyke shot McDonald as he was walking away, not during the erratic assault that McDonald and Walsh reported. Van Dyke was convicted of second-degree murder and was released for that murder *after six years*. Walsh was convicted of nothing.

These are a few in a long list of many horror stories created by CPD officials with new ones emerging seemingly every day. In 2021 alone, 4,036 complaints were filed against CPD officials: crime in the city as a whole has followed the same trend with a 35% increase in reported crimes compared to 2021. The department clearly has

⁴ Loevy, Debra. "Watts Team Scandal." *The Exoneration Project*, 13 Sept. 2022, <https://www.exonerationproject.org/stories/watts-team-scandal/#:~:text=Disgraced%20former%20Chicago%20Police%20Sergeant,mass%20exoneration%20in%20Chicago%20history>.

⁵ Tarm, Michael, and Don Babwin. "3 Chicago Officers Acquitted of Covering up 2014 Shooting of Teen." *Las Vegas Review-Journal*, 18 Jan. 2019, <https://www.reviewjournal.com/news/nation-and-world/3-chicago-officers-acquitted-of-covering-up-2014-shooting-of-teen-1575762/>.

a conduct problem which has blossomed into an optics issue as well.⁶ But despite those crime rate increases and CPD's ugly history, feelings of safety and trust in CPD have been steadily rising within certain areas of the city in the recent past.⁷

CPD partners with Elucd, a third-party survey company, to collect and release data on community sentiment towards police focusing on two factors: trust and safety. On a monthly basis, Elucd surveys 1500-2000 residents from across the city to gather data and consolidate scores. The trust score is based on the responses (on a 1-to-10 scale) to two survey items asking residents to rank how much they agree with the statements: The police in my neighborhood treat local residents with respect; and the police listen to and take into account the concerns of local residents. The safety score is based on responses (on a 1-to-10 scale) to the question: When it comes to the threat of crime, how safe do you feel in your neighborhood? These scores are then averaged and multiplied by 100. So, for example, a trust score of 45 means that the average response to the two trust questions was 4.5/10.

There are two considerations to take into account when evaluating these scores. The first comes from the nature of survey-based studies, specifically ones implemented by, or on the behalf of government officials. Retired Chief Cameron S. McLay explained this issue in *Sentiment Analysis: The Missing Link in Police Performance Management Systems*:

there is a level of trust involved in someone simply completing a survey. Those who distrust government and police and feel alienated from the larger community, often will not participate at all. Many people have no confidence that their efforts will yield positive outcomes, and some may even fear their participation may be used against them.⁸

This reluctance of some people to participate in police trust surveys suggests that the scores collected by Elucd are not based on a fully representative pool of respondents; further, the implication is that if a representative set of responses could be collected, they would result in lower trust & safety scores for CPD.

⁶ "Fanning the Flames of Distrust." *Crain's Chicago Business*, 6 Dec. 2021, <https://www.chicagobusiness.com/opinion/reporting-chicago-police-department-should-not-add-mistrust>.

⁷ "Chicago Police Sentiment Dashboard." *Chicago Police Department*, <https://home.chicagopolice.org/statistics-data/data-dashboards/sentiment-dashboard/>.

⁸ McLay, Cameron. "Sentiment Analysis: The Missing Link in Police Performance Management Systems ." *Policechiefmagazine.org*, <https://www.policechiefmagazine.org/sentiment-analysis/>.

The second consideration in interpreting the safety and trust scores is that the subjectivity of the 1-10 ranking system makes it difficult to perform any comparative or precise quantitative analyses. What is a 6 to one person could be an 8 or a 4 to another. Nonetheless, though the two considerations warn against over-interpretation of the monthly aggregate scores, monthly changes are still helpful for identifying how general sentiments are shifting over time. (That is, there is no reason to think that the non-representative sample problem, nor the subjectivity of the ranking numbers issue, change over time; so, marked changes in the aggregate scores over time are most likely capturing altered sentiments towards the police.) The department's aggregate safety and trust score in South Side (Area 4) increased from 47.5 in 2019, to 52.5 in 2022. In North Side (Areas 3 & 5) the aggregate trust score of the department dropped from 66.25 in 2019 to 60.75 today.

The change in sentiments could potentially be easy to understand when breaking down Elucd's aggregate scores. Within the North Side region, citizen trust in the police as an institution is stronger than their feelings of safety within Chicago in general, but, compared to the South Side, both the trust and safety scores have been high on the North Side. But with steady increases in crime within the city, increased uneasiness from Northern residents reduces their feelings of safety to a larger degree than on the South Side, where residents already felt unsafe; as a result, CPD's scores fall more drastically on the North Side. North Side residents had more safety & trust to lose, while sentiments on the South Side, which started off low, increased but still remained low in relative terms.

The improvement on the South Side's scores is less easy to understand. For every year that complaints against CPD officials were tracked and publicly distributed (starting in 2019 and continuing today), racial bias allegations were the most commonly reported concerns. With that in mind, the increased trust in CPD stemming from residents on the South side, which is populated primarily by Black and Brown residents, is confounding. Further, if the above hypothesis is correct, and North Chicago's decreased trust & safety score is a result of decreased feelings of safety, understanding South Chicago's increase is even more confusing. On the South Side, trust scores were constantly lower than safety scores. Decreased feelings of safety presumably would have lowered CPD's aggregate score on the South Side, in the same way it did in the North -- especially considering the recent national resurgence of distrust for police stemming from the murder of George Floyd and the subsequent national outrage.

Overall, positive sentiments towards police are still stronger in North Chicago, but in the recent past, South Chicago residents' sentiments have improved. South Chicago is still the most heavily policed region in the city, with the highest arrest rates, and the most misconduct allegations levied against the police. North Chicago experiences the opposite kind of treatment. Identifying why sentiments have shifted in each area could help to guide future policy aimed at improving the efficacy of police investigations, as well as improving industry retention.

Despite the recent drops in violent crime (perhaps as a result of increased policing and public aid programs targeted towards South Chicago residents¹³) non-violent crime rates have increased in the recent past. In part due to these increases and the decreased feelings of safety on the North side of Chicago, large companies are criticizing the city and in some cases moving away. Mirroring the general decline in feelings of safety on the North Side, many business leaders have emphasized a decreased sense of safety:

“We have violent crime that's happening in our restaurants ... we're seeing homelessness issues in our restaurants. We're having drug overdoses that are happening in our restaurants,” he said last month at the Economic Club of Chicago. “So we see in our restaurants, every single day, what's happening in society at large.” - CEO of McDonalds Chris Kempczinski.⁹

Multiple large corporations including Tyson, Boeing, Caterpillar, and Citadel have already announced moving their headquarters from the city -- with fear of increased crime sometimes cited as a factor:

“If people aren't safe here, they're not going to live here,” he said. “I've had multiple colleagues mugged at gunpoint. I've had a colleague stabbed on the way to work. Countless issues of burglary. I mean, that's a really difficult backdrop with which to draw talent to your city from.” - CEO of Citadel Ken Griffin.¹⁰

In addition to corporate distancing, some Chicago business leaders report concerns about the effects of crime on Chicago's travel industry. Today tourism-

⁹ Valinsky, Jordan. “Tyson Foods Joins Several Other Big Companies Leaving Chicago. What's Going on?” *ABC7 Chicago*, 7 Oct. 2022, <https://abc7chicago.com/big-companies-in-chicago-leaving-news-jobs/12303608/>.

¹⁰ Roeder, David. “Ken Griffin Pulling Citadel out of Chicago.” *Times*, Chicago Sun-Times, 24 June 2022, <https://chicago.suntimes.com/business/2022/6/23/23180173/ken-griffin-citadel-leave-chicago-miami>.

related employment has only risen to 60% of pre-pandemic levels, while total tourism spending is estimated at \$9.8 billion, about half that of 2019.¹¹ The president of the Illinois Hotel and Lodging Association, Michael Jacobson, emphasized the importance of fixing Chicago's dangerous image, "The Chicago economy can't afford for hotels to fail. It can't afford for tourism to go down, so that's why we need to figure out a solution to this issue." Understanding these decreased feelings of safety could help to direct policy aimed at maintaining and recovering the strength of Chicago's business sector.

Further, understanding what factors increase feelings of trust towards the police can help to improve feelings of safety within communities that have been historically abused by CPD, as well as increase CPD's ability to function effectively in the city.

I was talking to some community members, and we were all shot at, and I was like "Yo, did you see what type of car that red car was there?" And they're like: "Red car? That car was blue" I'm like "Yo, the car that just shot at us was red man, I couldn't tell what type of Ford it was." And they were like: "Nah, man, it was blue man, you better check your facts." So even when we collectively, police officers and committee members, were shot at, community members were still providing false information. - Officer Anonymous, 2020.

When community members distrust the police, investigatory impediment is an unavoidable outcome. Despite the fact that tools like Police Observation Devices and ShotSpotter grant CPD an increased level of independence in investigations, much of their work still relies on reports and interviews from local residents. Without resident trust and support, much of the work police officers hope to do is rendered impossible. With this in mind, identifying what factors lead to increased feelings of trust could improve efficacy of CPD.

With the goal of maintaining improved sentiments in South Chicago, and reversing the trends in the North, this chapter seeks to identify what initiatives or events, CDP organized or not, occurred within both regions to shift sentiments for its residents in favor of, or against the police. Understanding these sentiments would allow Chicago policy makers to better orient legislation aimed at attracting and

¹¹ Mayor Press Office. "Mayor Lightfoot Releases the Chicago Building Decarbonization Working Group Recommendations Report." *Chicago Records 86% Increase in Tourism in 2021 Compared to 2020*, 15 June 2022,

maintaining business connections in the city, and improving CPD efficacy. In order to identify these factors, this chapter will make use of interviews of local residents and community leaders, as well as analyze crime and sentiment data collected by CPD. It will conclude by summarizing community-police relational tensions and offering policy recommendations aimed at increasing feelings of trust and safety throughout the city.

Why the Shift?

The shift in sentiments between North and South Side Chicago seem to have occurred for opposite reasons. North Side residents have experienced a change in perception towards CPD and Chicago in general. While South Side residents have experienced a change in quality of life, which has improved their sentiments towards their communities and the police presence within them.

South Side

Substantive Change

In 2020, following massive national outrage towards the conduct/efficacy of the police, and a 9%¹² increase in shootings in the city compared to the previous year, Chicago Mayor Lori Lightfoot announced the development of a new plan aimed at improving Chicago's emergency response procedures. The plan's primary goal is to decrease violent crime in 10 community areas on the South and West side of Chicago. In 2019, 50 percent of the city's shooting victimizations occurred within only 10 of Chicago's 77 community areas. These communities are where low educational attainment, poor healthcare availability, and poverty are concentrated in the city. The plan, called Our City Our Safety (OCOS), outlines four major goals:¹³

- 1) **Prevention Activities** involve creating spaces for locals to occupy their free time and develop community: streets, libraries, parks, etc. Reclaiming public spaces like these allows for stronger community ties to form and also creates safe

¹² Struett, David, and Madeline Kenney. "Violent Death of Chinese Student in Hyde Park Sparks Calls for Action - but Few Specifics on How to Combat City's Rising Crime." *Times*, Chicago Sun-Times, 11 Nov. 2021, <https://chicago.suntimes.com/crime/2021/11/9/22772821/university-chicago-shooting-dennis-shaoxiong-zheng-hyde-park>.

¹³ City of Chicago. *OUR CITY, OUR SAFETY: A Comprehensive Plan to Reduce Violence in Chicago*. <https://www.chicago.gov/content/dam/city/sites/public-safety-and-violenc-reduction/pdfs/OurCityOurSafety.pdf>.

spaces for young people to occupy outside of school. This goal aims to prevent cycles of crime and violence from ever starting.

- 2) **Intervention Activities** involve facilitating access to resources like behavioral health services, living wage jobs, and officials who are dedicated to engaging with those who are at the highest risk of violence involvement. These resources will be organized and distributed by a comprehensive street outreach and victim support network that emulate similar programs implemented in cities like New York City¹⁴, Los Angeles¹⁵, and Oakland¹⁶. This goal aims to stop cycles of crime and violence that have already begun.
- 3) **Community Empowerment** involves reinforcing and financing already existing block clubs, non-profit organizations, etc. that are run by community stakeholders who are dedicated to protecting and improving their communities. This goal aims to bolster pre-existing intervention programs, and solidify long lasting support systems stemming from local leadership (as opposed to government initiatives).
- 4) Notably, the fourth goal, **Relationship-Based Policing**, is not expanded upon anywhere in the official report released by the city.¹⁷ No actionable steps were cited. No specific changes were promised. Nevertheless, Relationship-Based Policing it is still touted as the fourth pillar of the Our City, Our Safety plan with its aim of increasing police legitimacy in South and West side areas.

The plan has a 411.6 million dollar budget allocation split into six main parts:

- 1) Community Development - \$114.6 million

¹⁴ Department of Homeless Services. "Street Outreach." *Street Outreach - DHS*, <https://www1.nyc.gov/site/dhs/outreach/street-outreach.page>.

¹⁵ Hess, Nathan et al. *Unsheltered in Los Angeles: Insights From Street Outreach Service Data*. 24 Feb. 2021, <https://www.capolicylab.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Unsheltered-in-Los-Angeles.-Insights-from-Street-Outreach-Service-Data.pdf>.

¹⁶ Hill, Angela. "New Group of Street Outreach Workers Trains to Face Oakland's Toughest Neighborhoods." *East Bay Times*, East Bay Times, 15 Aug. 2016, <https://www.eastbaytimes.com/2011/02/02/new-group-of-street-outreach-workers-trains-to-face-oaklands-toughest-neighborhoods/>.

¹⁷ City of Chicago. *Our City Our Safety: A Comprehensive Plan to Reduce Violence in Chicago*. <https://www.chicago.gov/content/dam/city/sites/public-safety-and-violenc-reduction/pdfs/OurCityOurSafety.pdf>.

- 2) Crisis Intervention - \$85 million
- 3) Job assistance - \$80 million
- 4) Affordable Housing & Homeless Programs - \$62 million
- 5) Health and Welfare programs - \$40 million
- 6) Small Business Aid - \$30 million

In 2022, when asked about the state of her neighborhood, one CPS student explained:

Student: Okay, sometime back, our neighborhood was not safe at all. People used to carry guns around small kids doing drugs and stuff like that. So literally, I guess a number of guns are off the streets. The youth here have gotten something better to do with their lives, rather than drugs. And, yeah, I guess we're maintaining peace.

Interviewer: Wow. Do you have any idea how they managed to accomplish this?

Student: Yeah. A lot of community-based organizations have been formed and let's also say the neighbors are willing to cooperate with the government. That is, when it comes to ratting out those people that have those guns with themselves. Yeah.

Here we can see multiple OCOS pillars cited, and, notably, an acknowledgement of recent, and impactful change. Despite the fact that crime has increased recently on the South Side, sentiments of safety and trust in CPD have increased as a result of increased governmental intervention. CPD has a conduct problem, which has resulted in an optics problem, but increased funding from the city for violence prevention/intervention programs can hopefully improve both. The shifts in sentiments on the South Side are because substantive change is occurring, and in order to continue improving those sentiments that change needs to continue and evolve.

North Side

2020 Protests

In 2019, before the national outrage that erupted in 2020, many South Side residents already had negative perceptions of the police. As a result, instead of

worsening opinions of police, for many South Side residents, the 2020 police protests only reaffirmed their opinions. The protests and the ‘new’ issues they brought to light had little effect on trust scores for the already distrustful. Many of the injustices widely known by low-income black and brown citizens were brought to the national stage for the first time. So while South Side residents saw the murders of people like Breonna Taylor and George Floyd as two tragic additions to a long list of police atrocities, the largely white middle-to-high income North Side residents saw totally new domestic human rights violations¹⁸. They started off with better opinions of the police, which allowed their sentiments to drop more severely once those opinions were challenged.

Inflated Sense of Insecurity

While many North Side residents share similar opinions to Michael Jacobson, crime in Chicago as a whole has actually been steadily declining. These feelings of unsafety make even less sense when comparing levels of violent crime on the North and South Side. Areas on the North Side have homicide rates of ~3 residents per 100,000, which is notably lower than rates in less notoriously dangerous cities like Campaign and Springfield. It is also significantly lower than rates on the South Side which can reach upwards of ~150 residents per 100,000¹⁹. Despite these stark differences in safety, slight increases in non-violent crime on the North Side have caused many residents to experience inflated senses of insecurity. 35th president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners, Toni Preckwinkle spoke on this, pointing out “that residents in more affluent neighborhoods are now getting a taste of what it has been like to live in the Chicago ZIP codes that have heard gunfire and feared carjackings for years”.²⁰ Perceptions of police are decreasing because North Side residents have a low tolerance for crime. As a result, slight increases in nonviolent crime rates on the North side have strong effects on safety scores, even if those increases are marginal.

¹⁸ Stafford, Kat. “AP-Norc Poll: Sweeping Change in US Views of Police Violence.” *AP NEWS*, Associated Press, 18 June 2020, <https://apnews.com/article/us-news-ap-top-news-racial-injustice-politics-police-728b414b8742129329081f7092179d1f>.

¹⁹ HENDERSHOT, STEVE. “All Big Cities Have a Violence Problem. Chicago's Is Different.” *Crain's Chicago Business*, 24 Oct. 2022, <https://www.chicagobusiness.com/craains-forum-safer-chicago/chicago-violence-problem-debate-safety-inequality>.

²⁰ <https://www.chicagotribune.com/opinion/editorials/ct-editorial-toni-preckwinkle-endorsement-cook-county-president-20221017-4563c2yizrey3nuqyhdst4vhl-a-story.html>

Policy Recommendations

Multiple positive steps have been taken to improve the quality of life and security of residents in South Side and, as a result, improved trust & safety sentiments followed. Notably, despite the fact that this chapter is focused on sentiment analysis, it is important to acknowledge that pure optics are not what should be focused on here. The noticeable changes in sentiments on the South Side have not been caused by PR campaigns or Officer Friendly programs²¹, but by tangible change. In order to keep improving sentiments, impactful organization, resources, and legislation need to continue to be developed for and distributed to South Side residents. With this in mind, initiatives started by the Our City, Our Safety plan should continue to be supported, and further expanded.

South Side

Relationship-Based Policing

While the OurCity, Our Safety plan cites relationship-based policing as a necessary component of violence reduction, the plan never commits to any actionable steps towards that goal. Instead, weak, ambiguous claims are made. For example:

Therefore, we must simultaneously find ways to respond to the violence that is occurring now, by incorporating relationship-based intervention models and through community partnership with law enforcement.²²

In order to encourage healthy and productive interactions between community members and the police, real commitments need to be made and a cultural shift needs to occur. The image of CPD officers and the departmental policies that shape that image, needs to shift away from community control and towards protection and development. Officers need to view themselves as civil servants first and law enforcers second in order to fully address community concerns. There are multiple

²¹ Chicago Police Department. "Officer Friendly Program Policy Draft." *Chicagopolice.org*, 1 Dec. 2020, <https://home.chicagopolice.org/reform/policy-review/office-of-community-policing-policies-for-public-review-and-comment/officer-friendly-program-policy-draft/>.

²² City of Chicago. *Our City Our Safety: A Comprehensive Plan to Reduce Violence in Chicago*. <https://www.chicago.gov/content/dam/city/sites/public-safety-and-violenc-reduction/pdfs/OurCityOurSafety.pdf>.

ways to attempt to induce this culture shift and the first is getting officers more connected with the community.

Chicago Police Officer Pete Kalenik offers an understanding of how existing systems prevent these kinds of connections from occurring.

As a general patrol officer on the midnight shift, where you would say the normal community is sleeping, right. So it's very difficult to engage in community policing myself, I took initiative to perform those types of activities outside of duty hours.

According to Kalenik, with some exceptions, officers are generally assigned districts and schedules based on seniority. More senior officers receive preferential treatment which leads to an imbalance in which younger officers work more frequently, in more dangerous districts, and at later, more dangerous times. Kalenik described this system and explained how easily it could reinforce paranoia and cause bias to form, further separating officers from the communities they police. As a result, when the assignment system places junior officers in the worst conditions, their perceptions of the job and the communities they police is significantly negatively skewed: worsening community-police ties. In order to avoid this, some power should be taken away from senior officers who are currently allowed to disproportionately claim ideal assignments.

Officers should have a main district that they most frequently patrol which will allow them to gradually develop needed relationships with community members. Further, the timing of their shifts should change every once in a while. Officer Kalenik described the difference between patrolling at night and during the day:

Instead of beginning my day at 10 pm. I was beginning my day at 6 pm. During the daytime, when it was summer, and I was like, wow. There were kids waving at me. Like, there are people playing basketball. There were people barbecuing in the park, like, this is nice. This is not what I've been accustomed to, for the last six years.

This shift in schedule allowed Kalenik to form a different, less negatively skewed, perspective of his community. It also allowed him to have positive, non-criminal interactions with community members. In order to allow officers to reorient their perspectives of the community and begin to develop strong personal connections, officers should be assigned to irregular patrol times or districts. For example, every

week, if an officer would normally work night shifts in Forest Glen, instead, for a day they will work day-shifts in Englewood.

Further, efforts to connect community members with department officials should be a required part of the job. Alderman Leslie Hairston spoke on the value of this highlighting the importance of restoring community-police relations. As noted previously, there is a significant amount of negative history between the police and Chicago residents, specifically black and low-income residents, so attempting to bridge the gap is difficult. However, she started effectively bridging that gap with simple get-togethers:

Something that I've been doing for the past 20 years, 20 plus years, with the community is trying to foster that relationship between the community and the police department, at least the people that patrol our streets. And so, you know, pre COVID, we would have the beat officers, and we'd have the community come out to, you know, Promontory Park, and we'd do a cookout. Just, you know, *have a beat meeting out there to foster good relationships... understanding that this perception is there, but also trying to change that perception.*

This kind of direct positive engagement needs to be mandated at a departmental level. If a shift in assignment scheduling changes how officers view their communities, this kind of event takes the next step to shift how officers view their community members. This would allow officers to develop stronger community connections by forcing them to interact with, and view community members as regular people or even friends, instead of potential or active threats. These two steps are small but should begin allowing for officers and community members to develop stronger relationships.

Intervention Activities

UCPD Commanders Marcelis and Kalenik both discussed how uncertainty is a fear-inducing, albeit, inherent aspect of policing that separates them from their community members. Lack of effective training, lack of information when addressing calls, and conflicting responsibilities all lead to uncertainty and that uncertainty breeds paranoia and division. Kalenik described it like this:

In all those scenarios, *you don't know what you're responding to.* Like, it might come out one thing, and you get there and it's something totally different. You thought it was something that wasn't a big

deal, you get there, and there's blood everywhere. You thought something was a super big deal, and oh, the person's gone already. *So you're in this hyper state of vigilance and it's nothing.*

This is just one example of how uncertainty can lead to paranoia but a fix that could address multiple issues with uncertainty is triage.

When asked what ideal policing would look like, Commander Marcelis described a multifaceted triage system and notes from her discussion focused on:

Having way more community involvement and organization - triage centers that take calls and determine need for police based on calls to service - hybrid policing approach - mental health and behavioral health professionals.

In this scenario, a call to 911 would connect you with an operator who would gather detailed information and then determine the appropriate department to contact based on intel received. If there is an active shooter, send the police. However, if someone is injured, only send an ambulance. If someone is having a panic attack, only send a mental health professional. This kind of system would allow officers to enter into situations with far more understanding than they would have had previously. It would also reduce the amount of untrained officer interactions. Both of these effects would lessen officer uncertainty and subsequently reduce paranoia.

North Side

What Not to DO

If North Side residents are primarily influenced by surface-level public relations issues (slight shifts in crime statistics or media coverage, political trends, etc.), working to alter their opinions might require less investment or actual change. Some surface-level steps being taken right now by CPD include the reintroduction of the Officer Friendly program starting in 2020. This public relations effort is described in a policy draft quoted below:²³

II. Policy

²³ "Officer Friendly Program Policy Draft." *Policechiefmagazine.org*, 1 Dec. 2020, <https://www.policechiefmagazine.org/sentiment-analysis/>.

The Department is currently presenting the Officer Friendly Program curriculum to kindergarten through third grade students. The forty to fifty minute session will be taught only by uniformed police officers trained to present the Officer Friendly curriculum...By introducing kindergarten through third grade students to a personable uniformed Chicago police officer, the program aims to both enhance students' safety and to foster an ongoing relationship of trust between police officers and children who will soon be young adults.

III. Goals

The long-term goals of the Officer Friendly Program are to:

A. enhance student safety by providing instruction in general safety.

The students will:

1. learn how to identify a police officer, a firefighter, and a paramedic...

10. identify trusted adults such as teachers, police officers, etc...

C. make available officers who can act as mentors and provide mentoring for students as needed...

D. develop a positive relationship between members of the Chicago Police Department and young members of the community.

This kind of intervention is meant to influence (or indoctrinate) citizens at a young age. When the program was more widely implemented in the 1970s & 80s, it worked to paint the picture of a benevolent, trustworthy officer: a picture that would remain unchanged for many white, middle-to-high income residents, whose interactions with the police ended after these staged discussions. This could partially explain why the older, richer, and whiter North Side residents had trust & safety sentiments that started off so high. They were artificially raised by Copaganda.

While this strategy was effective in the past, the effectiveness and morality of the program is being brought more into question today.²⁴ Officer Friendly and programs like it have recently fallen under the umbrella term Copaganda:

²⁴ Bastian, Casey. "Would the Real Officer Friendly Please Stand Up?" *Criminal Legal News*, 15 Nov. 2020, <https://www.criminallegalnews.org/news/2020/nov/15/would-real-officer-friendly-please-stand/>.

Copaganda can come in multiple forms. It's often recognised in fictional, positive depictions of police in film and TV. In these areas, the role of the police is seen as one that protects the people, rather than being the wing of the state that enforces the law (regardless of the morals of said laws).²⁵

Police officers are not required to “protect and serve”²⁶ and oftentimes they do the opposite. The false image of the infallible neighborhood hero is not in line with reality and any initiative aimed at reinforcing that false reality is Copaganda. For many this false reality is easily accepted, but for others the effect is much less palpable.

Even at the height of the program's implementation “Black children had less favorable attitudes before and after the program.”²⁷ The treat of police violence is something entrenched in the average black child from a young age,²⁸ and a 40-minute presentation is not enough to erase that. With schools becoming less segregated, with black culture becoming more accepted, and with the most recent national outrage towards the police, this kind of program would face much more of a challenge in the modern day.

What to DO

Instead of investing in the kind of intervention that re-enforces a false reality, CPD should focus on reinforcing an accurate one. North Side residents have an inflated sense of insecurity, and instead of brainwashing them and their kids, CPD officials should be focused on promoting positive facts: social media announcements about corruption reduction (potentially with the support of the Civilian Office of Police Accountability), articles discussing reduced crime rates, advertisements

²⁵ Willow, Francesca. “What Is Copaganda, Why It's Important to Recognise It & How to Respond.” *ETHICAL UNICORN*, 25 Aug. 2022, <https://ethicalunicorn.com/2022/08/25/what-is-copaganda-why-its-important-to-recognise-it-how-to-respond/>.

²⁶ McMaken, Ryan. “Police Have No Duty to Protect You, Federal Court Affirms Yet Again.” *Mises Institute*, 20 Dec. 2018, <https://mises.org/power-market/police-have-no-duty-protect-you-federal-court-affirms-yet-again>.

²⁷ Onion, Rebecca. “Officer Friendly and the Invention of the ‘Good Cop.’” *Slate Magazine*, Slate, 27 Aug. 2020, <https://slate.com/human-interest/2020/08/officer-friendly-police-copaganda-history.html>.

²⁸ Guardian Readers. “‘They Are Taught to Fear Us’: Guardian US Readers on Explaining the Police to Their Black Children.” *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 30 Apr. 2021, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/apr/30/guardian-readers-on-explaining-the-police-to-their-black-children>.

highlighting crime reduction initiatives, etc. Better than indoctrination, but not going as far as telling the full truth (there is no point in recommending something that will not happen), CPD officials should focus on sharing as much positive, accurate, information as they can to offset North Side residents' paranoia.

Improving Elucd Tracking

Anatomy of Public Sentiments

While Elucd's survey questions could address some aspects of public sentiment, the three questions alone are not enough to sufficiently reflect the sentiments of Chicagoans. With the goal of more effectively capturing sentiments in the future so as to better develop policing practices and programs, Elucd should ask respondents to rank their feelings on three additional questions, each of which helps to fully encompass three components vital to sentiment evaluation. These three components, outlined by retired police chief Cameron McLay, are: Quality of Life, Quality of Service, Perceptions of Procedural Justice.²⁹

Quality of Life

Quality of Life refers to citizens' general feelings of security within their community. This component is based on questions like: are crime rates high, is there excessive loitering, is drug activity clearly present etc. But because police intervention is the only government service readily available at all times, many citizens look to police departments to also address noncriminal concerns like disease rates, infrastructure upkeep, and traffic or parking problems. Boiling it down, how comfortable you feel where you live and regularly travel to define how you evaluate the police's ability to protect your quality of life. This component is partially accounted for by Elucd's safety score.

Quality of Service

Quality of Service refers to citizens' general feelings of police efficacy within their community. This component is measured through questions like: are police responsive to community concerns, are they fulfilling their roles effectively, etc. This second component can be complicated when there are inconsistencies among views

²⁹ McLay, Cameron. "Sentiment Analysis: The Missing Link in Police Performance Management Systems ." *Policechiefmagazine.org*, <https://www.policechiefmagazine.org/sentiment-analysis/>.

of the purposes of policing. Many police precincts evaluate the efficacy of their department based on crime rates, and identify decreased crime rates as sufficient indicators of efficacy. As mentioned previously, however, many community members expect the role of policing to extend beyond criminal issues. For many people, if their quality of life is viewed as inadequate, the quality of police service is as well. Further, even if levels of criminal activity are how some community members evaluate effective policing, this issue is further complicated by the fact that government measured crime rates do not have to be accurate reflections of actual criminal activity. For example, within a specific region, recorded crime rates fall when fewer police reports are made, even if crime itself remains unchanged. Decreased measured crime rates could also indicate growing distrust of the police, so community members are less likely to report crimes. Decreased measured crime rates could also indicate increased levels of control by criminal organizations; community members might become too scared to contact the police for fear of retaliation by local criminal actors. This component is partially accounted for by Elucid's trust score.

Perceptions of Procedural Justice

Perceptions of Procedural Justice are defined by citizens' general feelings of police legitimacy within their community. This component of sentiment analysis is based on questions like: do police carry out their roles with care and without bias, are they respectful of community members, etc. McLay elaborates:

When police provide people with the chance to explain their perspectives (voice), treat people well (respect), make decisions in an unbiased manner (fair) and are honest and transparent in their actions (trustworthy)—police will be viewed as treating people with procedural justice.

This component is partially accounted for by Elucid's trust score.

Expanded Sentiment Tracking Questions

Life - Service - Legitimacy

Trust

1. The police in my neighborhood treat local residents with respect?
2. The police listen to and take into account the concerns of local residents?
3. *The police in my neighborhood are honest about their intentions?*

Safety

4. When it comes to the threat of crime, how safe do you feel in your neighborhood?
5. When it comes to everyday life, how comfortable do you feel in your neighborhood?
6. The police presence in my neighborhood is justified and helpful?

Question 3

The two preexisting questions associated with trust allowed for Elucd to evaluate direct actions, respectful & attentive conduct, however, despite the fact that this is supposed to be a trust score, neither question allows residents to actually rank their trust in police. Residents who distrust CPD, but have never had the direct personal interactions necessary to speak on their respectfulness or attentiveness, would be completely ignored by Elucd's current line of questioning. Question 3 allows residents to respond directly to the trustworthiness of police.

Question 5

The safety question allows residents to report the sentiments towards some level of police efficacy and personal security, however it is too narrow in scope. Police are supposed to address issues of crime but they are also expected, through departmental mandate or just public opinion, to keep the peace and support community stability. Question four allows residents to report, not only on their feeling towards crime, but also on the general, non-criminal welfare of their community. Are roads patched? Are dilapidated homes foreclosed and boarded up? Is there excessive light, noise, or particle pollution present? Each of these issues and more are associated with residents' feelings of safety and police efficacy, and yet Elucd's current line of questioning encompasses none of them.

Question 6

This final question allows residents to partially weigh in on all three components: identifying the necessity of police presence, the effectiveness of it, and the perceived legitimacy of it. In the original line of questioning, there was no opportunity for residents to indicate whether or not the police were necessary, whether or not they were legitimate or trustworthy. If there are four officers consistently patrolling the block, doing nothing of importance, that reflects negatively

on CPD for multiple reasons and, this scenario and more like it, should be able to be tracked.

Editorial note: For a related op-ed in the *Chicago Policy Review*, please see <https://chicagopolicyreview.org/2023/01/23/shifting-sentiments-public-opinion-on-policing-in-chicago/>.