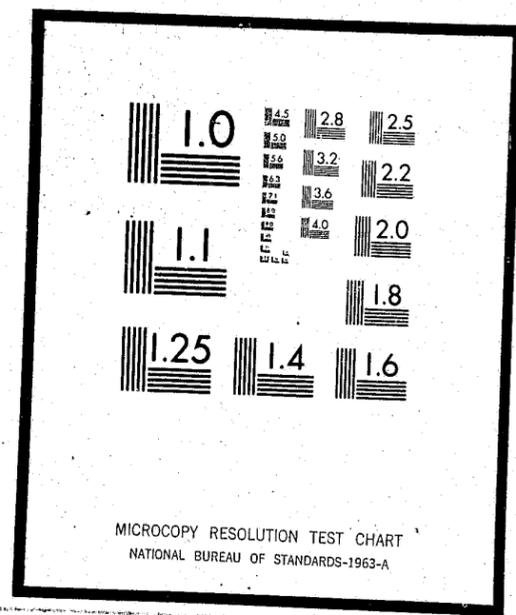


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AN EVALUATION OF HUMAN RELATIONS TRAINING FOR POLICE

by

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¹This project was funded by a grant from the Indiana Criminal Justice Agency to Howard L. Fromkin, principal investigator (Grant No. 3-88-70-A1).

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We recognize and appreciate the sincere interest in and loyalty to police work and the faith and trust in us shown by the officers who participated in the experimental and control groups in this study.

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INTRODUCTION

Overview

During the last decade, we have witnessed an intensification of mutual hostility and conflict between police and the communities which the police serve to maintain law and order. Riots, reports of police brutality, sniping and assaults against the police attest to the growing estrangement between police and citizens. The continued development of this adversary relationship between police and community creates a number of undesirable consequences. For instance, crime control becomes more difficult when citizens are reluctant to cooperate by reporting crime or serving as witnesses, etc. At the same time, police morale is significantly lowered and their behavior is frequently provocative when they are required to intervene in situations which are potentially explosive.

While there is a need for better understanding and improvement of police-community relations, most of these programs seem impractical, ineffective, or unknown in their effectiveness.

Instead of indolence in the face of immense cost and unknown effectiveness of large scale programs, it would seem advisable to examine other methods of approaching the problem. When the more comprehensive approach of community relations programs is not immediately possible, potentially useful inroads can be made by the development of human relations skills in individual officers. The average police officer does not receive enough human relations knowledge or training in interpersonal skills either in the police academy or as part of inservice programs. Among the many kinds of human relations training, there seems to be some agreement among law enforcement experts and social scientists that experience-based learning or sensitivity groups is one effective way of imparting human relations skills to police officers.

Our project is an unique attempt to design, implement and evaluate the use of sensitivity training to teach human relations knowledge and interpersonal skills to police officers.

This paper is divided into nine sections. The introduction reviews literature which documents some of our assertions and assumptions about the nature and extent of the conflict between police and the community and the need for projects such as this one. The latter sections describe the training program, the methodology used to evaluate the training program, a summary of the results of the training program, and a detailed exposition of the results of the training program.

Conflict and the police

During the last decade in America, large and small communities alike have experienced the need for better understanding and improvement of police-community relations. Most notable are dramatic clashes such as the Watts rebellion in 1964, the Detroit riots in the summer of 1967, and the 1968 National Democratic Convention in Chicago. At the same time many studies show an increasing number of charges of police brutality, prejudice and discrimination, and incompetence, which occur on a day-to-day basis and are not restricted to dramatic confrontations such as riots.¹

On the other side of the coin, although the mass media reports are somewhat inflated² the last decade has witnessed a significant increase in the number of assaults and sniping incidents directed against the police.³ In 1962, seventy-eight police officers were killed and more than 17,000 assaults on police officers (or one assault for every ten officers) were

¹ The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police. Washington, D. C., 1967, p. 154.

² Knopf, T. A., Sniping...A new pattern of violence. In M. Lipsky (Ed.), Law and Order: Police Encounters. Transaction Books, 1970, pp. 103-124.

³ National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1968.

reported in small cities alone.⁴ Similarly, the records in 1967 show 13.5 assaults for every 100 officers (International Association of Chiefs of Police).⁵ Finally, the rising curve in the number of ambushes of police was noted in the October 7, 1968 issue of U. S. News and World Report: at least eight officers were killed and forty-seven wounded during the summer of 1968.

When a combative and adversary relationship develops between the police and the community, there are a number of undesirable consequences. Foremost among these consequences is that the control of crime becomes exceedingly difficult in situations when the citizens view the police, rather than criminals, as their "enemy." Given such a viewpoint, citizens become more reluctant to report crimes.⁶ Evidence showing the surprising magnitude of this effect is seen in the large discrepancy between unreported crime and FBI statistics obtained in a survey of 10,000 households during the summer of 1968.⁷ Other implications for crime control extend beyond reluctance to report crime. An expert on police notes:⁸ "The police simply cannot operate effectively as long as they are viewed

⁴ Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Reports, 1967, p. 111.

⁵ International Association of Chiefs of Police. Current Approaches to Police Training and Community Relations, Washington, D.C., 1965.

⁶ Ennis, P. Crimes, victims, and the police. Transaction, 1967, 4, 36-44.

⁷ The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Task Force Report: The Police. Washington, D.C., 1967.

⁸ Radelet, L. A., Who's 'in charge' of law and order. Christian Science Monitor, December 6, 1968.

with skepticism or hostility by much of the population in large sections of the city ... Such attitudes mean that crimes are often not reported, that witnesses often refuse to identify themselves or testify in court, and that suspects resist arrest with the tacit or even open physical support of bystanders."

A second and often overlooked negative outcome of treating police as an adversary is discouraged and low morale by police who see themselves as targets of the public's lack of respect and hostility.⁹ Moreover, studies of police attitudes¹⁰ reveal that police tend to exaggerate the degree of citizen disrespect: "The public believes that the police officers are grafters and power happy. The average person doesn't like us. They don't appreciate the good we are doing. They think we are racketeers, power-crazy, parasites, bums, brutal men, no good, looking for trouble, and ready to abuse them."¹¹ There is a paradox. Where officers perceive lack of respect from the public as legitimate justification for their use of force, their self-justified behavior then further polarizes the negative attitudes of citizens toward police. Consequently, the attitudes of police

⁹ Wilson, J. Q. Police Morale, reform, and citizen respect: The Chicago Case. In D. J. Bordua (Ed.), The police: Six sociological essays. Wiley, 1967, pp. 137-149; Ennis, P. Crimes, victims, and the police. Transaction, 1967, 4, 36-44.

¹⁰ Wilson, J. Q. op. cit., 1967, p. 138; Wilson J. Q., The police and their problems: A theory. Public Policy, 1963, XII, pp. 189-216; McNamara, J. H., Uncertainties in police work: Recruit's backgrounds and training. In D. J. Bordua (Ed.), The police: Six sociological essays. N. Y.: Wiley, 1967, p. 217.

¹¹ Westley, W. A. Violence and the police: A sociological study of law, custom, and morality. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972, p. 93.

toward citizens undergoes continuous polarization.¹² Under these conditions of reciprocal hostility, communication between the two groups becomes guarded, restricted, and even eliminated. The absence of open dialogue reduces the possibility of disconfirming the mutually negative stereotypes each party holds about the other or the discovery of common ground and similarities, and so forth. Theodore Newcomb, a social psychologist, has described this process as "autistic hostility."¹³ In effect, the polarization of unfavorable attitudes and the consequent avoidance of communication reduces the potential for favorable interpersonal contacts which are probably necessary for the reduction of hostility. The process of autistic hostility becomes heightened and perseverated by the tendency of police and citizens both to behave in accordance with the degree of hostility each holds toward the other.

There are many individuals who myopically claim the police as convenient scapegoats for the somewhat chaotic social climate which operates as a catalyst for crime. Yet it is clear that while the police can and should be held accountable for their own behavior, the police did not create the social conditions

¹² Westley, W. A., *ibid*, p. 121; McNamara, J. H., *op. cit.*, 1967, p. 212.

¹³ Newcomb, T. M. Autistic hostility and social reality. *Human Relations*, 1947, 1, pp. 69-86.

which underly potentially explosive situations and hinder their efforts to reestablish or preserve order. For example, the rage and conflict over school busing, overcrowded and poor housing, chronic unemployment, poverty, inadequate recreational facilities, and pollution are but a few of the contemporary social issues. A snail-like progress toward immediate or observable solutions to these human dilemmas tends to foster a perpetual state of frustration, despair, hopelessness, alienation and powerlessness¹⁴ which, in turn, tends to promote a sense of disrespect for authority and discipline which is identified with the "establishment."¹⁵ The police, as the most visible and accessible representatives of the authority of the establishment have become an easy and frequent target for frustration and displaced aggression. For instance, for many Blacks, the police are seen as representatives of white racism. Thus, in some instances, the police become the recipients of hostility which has little to do with them.¹⁶

¹⁴ Report of the National Advisory Commission of Civil Disorders, Washington, D.C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968; Harrington, M. *The other America: Poverty in the United States*. N. Y.: Macmillan, 1963.

¹⁵ Newman, C. L., Observations of the past and the present. In W. H. Hewitt and C. L. Newman (Eds.), *Police-Community relations: An anthology and bibliography*. Mineola, N.Y.: The Foundation Press, 1970, p.9; Harrington, M. It is dangerous to raise up people's hopes and then dash them down. *The New York Times Magazine*, April 28, 1968, p. 111.

¹⁶ Blake, R. R., Mouton, J. S., & Sloma, R. L. The union-management intergroup laboratory: Strategy for resolving intergroup conflict. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 1965, 1.

To further complicate the picture, the acceleration of the civil rights movement in the 1960's and the recent higher courts restrictions upon police investigations and use of evidence by the courts also serve to exacerbate police-community relations.¹⁷ All of these factors interact in a web to make the contemporary police officer's job more complex and difficult, and unappreciated by the public he serves.

A third undesirable effect of the growing estrangement between the police and the community, and the confusing and changing social conditions described above, is that police are required to intervene in many situations which are potentially explosive.¹⁸ Indeed, the abrasive relationship between police and ghetto residents has been identified as a major source of grievances, tension, and disorder.¹⁹

¹⁷ Wilson, J. Q., op. cit., 1967, p. 138

¹⁸ Niederhoffer, A., Behind the Shield: The police in urban society. N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967.

¹⁹ President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. The challenge of crime in a free society. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967, p. 92; Germann, A. D. Community policing: An assessment. In W. H. Hewitt & C. L. Newman (Eds.), Police-Community Relations: An Anthology and bibliography. Mineola, N.Y.: The Foundation Press, 1970, pp. 63-82; Hewitt, W. H., The police, crime, social problems, and civil disobedience: An overview. In W. H. Hewitt & C. L. Newman (Eds.), Police-Community Relations: An anthology and bibliography. Mineola, N.Y.: The Foundation Press, 1970, pp. 139-157; Newman, C. L. op. cit., 1970; Newman, C. L., The constructive use of police authority with youth and families in crisis. Police, 1968, 12; Radelet, L. A., Who's 'in charge' of law and order? The Christian Science Monitor, December, 1968.

For example, the 1968 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders report on racial disorders in Newark and Detroit found at least 12 different and intense grievances. The grievance most often mentioned and the one expressed with most intensity was police practices. The Kerner Commission similarly identified the significant role of police behavior in provoking disorder.

"Disorder did not erupt as a result of a single 'triggering' or 'precipitating' incident. Instead, it was generated out of an increasingly disturbed social atmosphere, in which typically a series of tension-heightening incidents over a period of weeks or months became linked with a shared network of underlying grievances in the minds of many in the Negro community. At some point in the mounting tension, a further incident (in itself often routine or trivial) became the breaking point and tension spilled over into violence. Prior incidents, which increased tensions and ultimately led to violence, were police actions in almost half of the cases; police actions were final incidents before the outbreak of violence in 12 of the 24 surveyed disorders."²⁰ For example, a three year study of critical incidents in the New York police department revealed that inappropriate

²⁰ Summary of Report by the National Advisory Commission in Civil Disorders. In W. H. Hewitt & C. L. Newman, op. cit., 1970, p. 167.

police behavior often exaggerated relatively minor incidents to a point of violence, with the officer himself often becoming the target of a frying pan.²¹ Similarly, the way police officers approached Black women or children frequently "altercasted" Black males into the role of protector and resulted in resistance or violence.²² Thus, while one cannot attribute responsibility for the problems of contemporary society to the police, it seems clear that inappropriate police responses, with or without provocation, can arouse or heighten tension and/or 'trigger' a show of force and reprisals which eventually may erupt into full scale disorder.

While social unrest can predispose a community to riot, there are at least two theories which describe how police behavior can interact with prevailing social conditions to heighten or crystallize existing tensions or to precipitate violent confrontations with citizens. The most popular conception is euphemistically called "overreaction."²³ It is hypothesized that police expectations of sniper activity can result in surveillance and other police tactics which exacerbate the

²¹ Eilbert, L. R., McNamara, J. H., & Hanson, V. L. Research on selection and training of police recruits: First annual report. Pittsburgh, Pa.: American Institute for Research, 1961.
²² Weinstein, E. A., Some dimensions of altercasting. Paper read at the American Sociological Association Convention, Washington, D. C., 1962.
²³ Parmenter, T., Breakdown in law and order. In M. Lipsky, op. cit., 1970, pp. 39-56.

conflict.²⁴ Second, the premature identification of "potential assailants" ironically may instigate the very citizen behavior which the practice is intended to suppress.²⁵ That is, police often develop a "short hand" way to identify persons with whom they anticipate difficulty. For example, it is a common belief that poverty causes crime.²⁶ Given this belief, police may treat low income people with more suspicion and distrust. The low income person may act with great caution and fear, which then confirms the expectations of police. The low income person acts suspiciously because he feels he is in real danger in the police officer's presence, and also he is able to sense the apparent doubts on the part of the officer about "the legitimacy of his victim."²⁷

Unfortunately, the short hand practice is usually nothing more than simplistic overgeneralizations about persons with certain hair, skin color, hair style, or clothing style, etc. Police attitudes toward youth and students tend to be extreme, polarized, excessively stereotypic,²⁸ and lacking in under-

²⁴ Knopf, T. A., op. cit., 1970.

²⁵ Lipsky, M., Introduction, in M. Lipsky, op. cit., 1970, p. 3.

²⁶ Hewitt, W. H., op. cit., 1970, p. 153

²⁷ Wilson, J. Q., Varieties of police behavior. Cambridge, Mass.:

²⁸ Flint, R. T., Initiating community awareness among policemen: Community awareness training in the Minneapolis Police Academy. Paper presented at the 43rd Annual Convention of the Midwestern Psychological Association, Detroit, Michigan, May, 1970; Johanson, C. B., Policemen and recruits-vocationally risky, mechanical and military. Paper presented at the 78th Annual Convention Miami Beach, Florida, August, 1970.

standing.²⁹ A frequent outcome of stereotyping behavior is the "self fulfilling prophecy," which refers to behavior which confirms another person's expectations about the occurrence of a specific response. For instance, if police behave toward a person as if they expect the person to resist their requests, the person is more likely not to comply because of the way he is approached by the police. Similar stereotyping of Blacks, social deviants, or indigent populations may have contributed to their frequently being chosen as targets of police brutality.³⁰

Increased public recognition of the above conflict and the undesirable consequences which accompany the conflict has provoked newspaper campaigns, study commissions, changes in the criteria and procedures for the recruitment and selection of police officers, changes in personnel at high levels of police organizations, and innovations in riot and crime control equipment, and so forth. At the same time, the police-community relations programs represent one of the more direct attempts to remedy the problem. However, the findings which describe the effectiveness of these programs are rare and usually equivocal.

²⁹ Henig, P., & Furst, R., Cops: Same role, new tactics. In a Niederhoffer & A. S. Blumberg (Eds.), The ambivalent force: Perspectives on the police. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn & Co., 1970.

³⁰ Reiss, A. J., Jr., Police brutality - Answers to key questions. In M. Lipsky, op. cit., 1970, pp. 57-83.

Programs for improving police-community relations: a solution?

Problems and issues. The hostility, mistrust, and conflict which shroud the relationships between the police and citizens in most cities has sparked a renewed interest in programs for improving police-community relations. Unfortunately, most attempts fail to reach the roots of the problem and instead seem only to be temporary pacifiers. Many problems and questions remain unanswered. First, given the absence of evaluation studies,³¹ the large variety of ideas and programs - e.g., Brotherhood Weeks, Storefront Community Relations Centers, Television Programs, pamphlets, and free balloons, etc. - may be nothing more than nostrums and palliatives.³²

A second problem encountered in the sparse literature is the lack of any agreement as to what constitutes police-community relations. Definitions and goals vary from philoso-

³¹ Two notable exceptions are provided by Eisenberg, T., Fosen, R. H., & Glickman, A. S. Project Pace: Police and community enterprise - A program for change in police-community behaviours. Washington, D. D.: American Institute for research, 1971; Kelly, R. M., The pilot police project: A description and assessment of police-community relations experiment in Washington, D. C., Kensington, Maryland: American Institute for Research, 1972.

³² Radelet, L., op. cit., 1968.

phical abstractions to specific forms of behavior and from assertions of an art to proclamations of a science.³³ Some reduction in the vagueness of this concept is found in Kelly's³⁴ synthesis of the multiplicity of meanings and definitions: police community relations is defined with three interdependent dimensions of efficiency, responsiveness and representativeness.

At one level suggestions for improving police-community relations seem to concern amelioration of the quality and quantity of police service to the community. Increased efficiency

³³ Brandstatter, A. F., & Radelet, L. A., Police and community relations: A sourcebook. New York: Glencoe Press, 1968. Edwards, R., Police practices and the citizen. In N. E. Penrenke (Ed.), Police community relations. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1966, p. 146. Earle, H. H. Police community relations. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1967, p. 115. Hewitt, W. H. & C. L. Newman, op. cit., 1970. Germann, A. C., Community policing: An assessment. The Journal of Criminal Law Criminology and Political Science, 1960, LX, p. 93. Radelet, L., Police community programs: Nature and purpose. In N. Watson (Ed.), Police and the Changing Community, Washington, D.C.: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1965. International Association of Chiefs of Police. Police community relations: Policies and practices. National Survey, Washington, D.C., 1966. Eisenberg, T., Glickman, A. S. & R. H. Fosen. Action for change in police community behaviors, Crime and delinquency, 1969, July. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. Task Force Report: The Police, Washington, D.C.: 1967. National center on Police and Community Relations. Bibliography on Police and Community Relations. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1966.

³⁴ Kelly, R., op. cit., 1972, p. 47.

and smoother functioning of police power seem to be what is sought. Improving the existing police and political structure would be an aspect of this dimension. A second dimension would be the responsiveness of the police to the needs and aims of various groups of citizens in the community, as defined by outside police experts and the community itself, and vice versa - the aims of police must be taken into account by the community itself. Therefore, the desires and aims of the community and the interaction of these with the desires and aims of the police themselves are added to the goal of police efficiency. The third dimension of power is the representativeness of the police in relationship to the community they serve. Here, personnel is the core concern, for this is expressed by demands from the community to have direct access to power positions vital to the police, to proportional representation by various racial and ethnic groups to those positions and, indeed, to the entire police force.³⁵

The translation of all three of the above ideas into a single program aimed at improving police-community relations requires massive funding for a program aimed at improving and extending periods of time, and so forth. While it is true that "good police citizen relations (and police

³⁵ Kelley, R., op. cit., 1972, p. 47

professionalism) is, ideally, a total orientation in the attitudes and behavior of a police department, bearing upon everything it does, every facet and level of the organization."³⁶ The incorporation of such a program within the community political structure is often impractical, if not impossible for most police departments. At the same time, indolence in the interest of waiting for sufficient funds, time, etc. seems a tragic waste. When the most comprehensive approach is not immediately available, potentially useful work may still be accomplished by focusing on the development of community relations skills in individual officers. Indeed, "the hard fact is that every single member of the police agency must be a community relations officer if any real or lasting progress is to be made."³⁷

Human relations training. Comprehensive surveys by national law enforcement officials conclude with the suggestion that police community relations can be improved by a number of measures, but above all, by intensifying inservice training programs which emphasize human relations training.³⁸

In contrast to this need, the accumulated evidence shows that the average police officer does not receive relevant

³⁶ Radelet, L., Who's 'in charge' of law and order? In W. H. Hewitt & C. L. Newman, 1968, op. cit.

³⁷ Germann, A. C., op. cit., 1970, p. 73

³⁸ Task Force Report: The Police, op. cit.

human relations knowledge or training in interpersonal skills either in police academies or as part of some inservice training. Several police experts have recently noted the discrepancy between the nature of a police officer's training and his on-the-job activities which consume most of his time. Although the modern police officer devotes more than 90 per cent of his time performing service activities for the public, the curriculum of most police training academies is 90 per cent oriented toward the arrest and prosecution of criminals.³⁹ Similarly, a national survey reveals that police inservice training⁴⁰ is almost entirely directed toward the apprehension and prosecution of criminals ... while peacekeeping and service activities, which consume the majority of police time, receive too little attention.

Dr. Howard E. Mitchell, an expert on police at the University of Pennsylvania, suggests: "It's a different ball game now. The police are going to have to make a lot of changes, and it doesn't take any great intelligence to know that a person trained for riot control is not the one to send out to stop a family fight in a tense community."⁴¹ Among the many projects

³⁹ Germann, A. C. Community policing: An assessment. In W. H. Hewitt & C. L. Newman, op. cit., 1970, p. 63-82.

⁴⁰ The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. The challenge of crime in a free society. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, p. 103.

⁴¹ Mitchell, H. E. In W. H. Hewitt & C. L. Newman, op. cit., 1970, p. 127.

on improving police-community relations, there is a variety of approaches to human relations training. Most programs share an emphasis upon problems of communication and the effects of police attitudes upon discriminatory treatment of citizens with different racial, socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds.⁴² Contemporary conditions of social unrest demand greater communication between police and the community. A commander of the North Carolina Highway Patrol noted six reasons for the breakdown in communications between the police and residents of the community in which they serve:⁴³ "(1) the speaker and the listener are separate individuals living in different worlds; (2) we, as individuals and groups, hear what we expect or want to hear; (3) we have different perceptions; (4) we evaluate according to different concepts; (5) words mean different things to different people; (6) our emotional state conditions what we want to hear." It is apparent that it will require specialized methods of training to improve communications between police and the community. In addition to communication skills, the attitudes of police are very important for their attitudes toward citizens add to and confound their communication problems.

⁴² International Association of Chiefs of Police, Current Approaches: to police training and community relations. Washington, D.C., 1966.

⁴³ Speed, C., Police and their professional concerns in community relations. In N. Pomrenke (Ed.), Police-community relations. Chapel-Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1966, pp. 100-101.

For instance, police attitudes in general can become a source of community cohesiveness or divisiveness.⁴⁴ Furthermore, there is substantial evidence which reveals that prejudicial attitudes of police may lead to discriminatory treatment of citizens with different racial, socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds.⁴⁵ Therefore, training which focuses on police attitudes is not only important to minority groups and indigent populations but to the police and the community as a whole.⁴⁶

While human relations training typically focuses upon attitudes and communication, it can be designed to broaden the police officer's understanding of the human dilemmas which confront modern man. The police officer in contemporary society is frequently faced with the potential for an individual flash or explosion of violence; and to cope with this, he must learn more about his fellow man - "the mystery which can turn creative energy into brute force, a peaceful crowd into a mob, and an ineffectual weakling into a mass murderer."⁴⁷

Indeed, several police authorities link recent violent confrontations between citizens and police to training deficiencies in interpersonal relations, particularly in the areas

⁴⁴ Mencken, H. L., Prejudices: A selection on liberty. N.Y.: Vintage Books, 1956, p. 138.

⁴⁵ Radelet, L. op. cit., 1968.

⁴⁶ Terris, B. J. The role of the police. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1967, 374, pp. 58-69.

⁴⁷ Hewitt, W. H., op. cit., 1970, p. 147.

of discretionary arrest.⁴⁸ For example, more than 90 per cent of citizen complaints against the police stem from a lack of interpersonal skills.⁴⁹ It therefore seems imperative that the police officer obtain a better understanding of the emotions, frustrations, ambitions, failures, and aspirations of contemporary man.

There seems to be some agreement among law enforcement experts that sensitivity training programs and their kin can be one effective way of imparting human relations skills to police officers.⁵⁰ For example, a highly successful program which incorporated some sensitivity training exercises for the development of human relations skills is reported by Bard and his associates.⁵¹ The two-year experimental program was initiated

⁴⁸ Skolnick, J. H. Justice without trial: law enforcement in democratic society. N.Y.: Wiley, 1966; LaFave, W. R., The police and nonenforcement of the law Part I. Wisconsin Law Review, 1962, 103, 104-137. LaFave, W. R. The police and nonenforcement of the law Part II. Wisconsin Law Review, 1962, 104, 179-239.

⁴⁹ Finnerty, J. P., The police and politics. In W. H. Hewitt & C. L. Newman op. cit., 1970, p. 226; Radelet, L. op. cit., 1968.

⁵⁰ Siegel, A. I., Federman, P. J., & I. Schult. Professional police-human relations training. Springfield, Mass.: Thomas, 1963; Bell, R. L., Cleveland, S. E., Hanson, P. G. & W. E. O'Connell. Small group dialogue and discussion: An approach to police-community relations. The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1969, LX pp. 251-255. Cumming, I. M. & L. Edell, Policemen as philosopher, guide and friend. Social Problems, 1965, XII, pp. 276-286. Hannon, M. J., Building blocks, tinkertoys, and role-playing games for training police sargents and lieutenants. Law and Order, February, 1972, pp. 18-24.

⁵¹ Bard, M., Training police as specialists in family crisis intervention. Community Mental Health Journal, 1967, V, pp. 315-317. Sullivan, R., Violence, like charity, begins at home. The New York Times Magazine, November 24, 1968.

to train a small group of police officers to intervene in family quarrels in upper west Harlem, New York "...by giving ordinary policemen a new skill, one that will help him do better what he now does most-and that is help people in trouble."⁵² For nearly a month, volunteer officers learned about behavioral patterns, such as aggression, trauma, and neurosis, which are usually associated with a family quarrel. For instance, psychoskits without conclusions were improvised by patrolmen to show typical family crisis which were then analysed by the officers. Statistical evidence attests to the tremendous success of the program. In spite of the very high statistical probability of a police officer being physically harmed while intervening in a family quarrel, after more than 1000 interventions, or more than two interventions per night for almost two years, none of the 18 trained patrolmen sustained even a single injury and there has not been a single accusation of police brutality.⁵³

Favorable results of sensitivity training with police and citizens are shown in a report of a program designed to alleviate some of the tension between police and students at Stanford University. Three different types of encounters between police

⁵² Bard, M., op. cit., 1967

⁵³ Bard, M., ibid.

and students were employed and evaluated in this study. In group I, students shared police cars for 4 to 8 hours and participated in informal discussions with police officers. In group II, students had dinner with and participated in informal "rap" session with police officers for approximately two hours. In group III, students and police were involved in a three hour encounter group. The results of the study demonstrate that police and student attitudes were depolarized in a direction of more favorable attitudes toward one another. It is also important to note that students reported that their intended behavior toward police changed in a more positive and supportive direction. Although these differences occurred in all three groups, the greatest change occurred in the encounter groups of group III.⁵⁴

Sensitivity training techniques were also used to decrease tension between police and citizens in a program which began in 1966 in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The program had two major parts. Phase I involved seven steps. First, a three-day learning laboratory was conducted with 5 police officers and 5 members of the community to demonstrate methods of sensitivity training.

⁵⁴ Diamond, M. J., & W. C. Lobitz. When familiarity breeds respect: The effects of an experimental depolarization program on police and student attitudes toward each other. Journal of Social Issues, 1973, 29 pp 95-109.

Second, a five-day learning laboratory was conducted to help prepare the above participants to lead discussion groups more effectively. Third, step one was repeated with the persons who participated in the first two steps as leaders for ten new participants. Fourth, step two was repeated with the persons who participated in the first two steps as leaders for the ten new participants. Fifth, sensitivity training was conducted for all twenty of the above participants for five days in a residential laboratory setting. Six, during a subsequent program which lasted two days, the 20 participants, key residents, police, and public officials planned and scheduled a police-community relations program. Seven, the latter program was implemented in the community. In April, 1967, phase two of the program was initiated. New police and citizen participants were led by Phase I participants in a program which resembled Phase I. Observation of police-citizen disturbances reveal that some of the program participants were instrumental in defusing a potentially dangerous situation during subsequent interracial conflict in Grand Rapids.⁵⁵

Allen, R. F., Pilnick, S. & S. Silverzweig. Conflict resolution - Team building for police and ghetto residents. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 1969, 60 pp. 251-255. Look, White cop and Black rebel, February 6, 1968.

Sensitivity training was evaluated as a tool to help prepare Washington police for an expected civil rights demonstration. The author, Dr. Robert Shellow, noted that the trained officers showed more control and worked more effectively with the demonstrators than police who did not participate in the training program. Six points were stressed by Shellow in his evaluation of the program's success:

1. The program facilitated the discussion of personal values and opinions of police participants which were different from the point of view of the police department.
2. The program stressed behavior, rather than attitudes, toward the protestors.
3. The program formed a cohesive group of officers, within which, the new principles of behavior could be continually reinforced.
4. The program encouraged identification with the special unit and its special purposes.
5. The police officers reinforced the training by making it clear that orderly public demonstrations were constitutionally legitimate and therefore not to be inhibited.
6. The crisis atmosphere of the approaching demonstration prompted the police officers to seek alternative solutions to problems arising during the demonstration.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Shellow, R. Reinforcing police neutrality in civil rights confrontations. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1965, I, pp. 243-254.

An evaluation of sensitivity training techniques in police-community relations examined the effects upon 10 police officers and 21 ghetto residents who met in two groups for three hours per week for 12 weeks. Before and after the program, all participants completed the F scale and C scale. The F scale is a questionnaire designed to measure authoritarianism. The C scale is designed to measure identification with a community and perception of community problems. Both police and community participants showed an increase in their scores, on both instruments, from before to after the program. The authors of the study found the increase in F scores difficult to interpret without a control group. The increase in C scale score showed that participants increased their willingness to deal with community problems and to become involved in their solutions. Participants showed an increase in self-reported humanitarianism, willingness to help to change the community, and the perception that they were capable of reducing the problems in their neighborhood. Thus, the experience-based training, described above, leads to an increase in the perception of one's capacity to effectively cope with community problems and increased motivation to alleviate community problems.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Lipsett, P. O. & Steinbruner, M. An experiment in police-community relations: A small group approach. Community Mental Health Journal, 1969, 5, pp. 172-179.

The most ambitious use of laboratory training involved almost all of the officers (approximately 1400) in the Houston Police Department and a comparable number of residents of the minority community of Houston.⁵⁸ The program was designed as an analogue to Blake, Mouton, & Sloma's program to resolve conflict between labor and management.⁵⁹ Self reports of the participants indicated that most residents and many police perceived that the program was useful to them and increased their understanding of other group's views. For instance, 65 per cent of the community residents indicated that they held more positive attitudes toward police after the program. Only 11 per cent of the citizens reported no change and 4 per cent of the citizens reported more negative view attitudes toward police after the program. Thirty-seven per cent of the police officers reported more favorable attitudes toward citizens after the program. Sixty-one per cent of the officers reported no change in their attitudes and two per cent of the officers reported more unfavorable attitudes toward citizens after the program. A Community Attitude Survey (CAS) was developed to

⁵⁸ Bell, R. L., Cleveland, S. E., Hanson, P. G. & W. E. O'Connell. Small group dialogue and discussion: An approach to police-community relationships. Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science. 1969, 60, pp. 242-246.

⁵⁹ Blake, R. R., Mouton, J. S. & R. L. Sloma. The union-management intergroup laboratory: Strategy for resolving intergroup conflict. Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1965, I, pp. 25-57.

evaluate changes in police attitudes toward the poor, minority groups, and the community in general. Factor analysis of their responses to the CAS yielded four major factors: minority group prejudice, disrespect for the law, class discrimination, and police-community images which entail perception and acceptance of other groups. Police officers showed more favorable attitudes on all four factors after training. With the exception of class discrimination, all of these differences were statistically significant. Lack of pretraining for group leaders and too little police-community participation in designing the program were cited by the authors as one of the major problems in implementing the program.

To summarize, while techniques of experience-based learning are not always found to be extremely effective, the research, cited above, demonstrates their potential for the training of police officers. At the very least, it appears that sensitivity training is more effective than traditional methods for increasing interpersonal knowledge and skills of police officers. Therefore, the present program attempts to take advantage of the potential strengths and modify standard strategies of sensitivity training with a priori setting of specific training objectives and multiple measures of the degree of accomplishment of these objectives.

NATURE OF THE PRESENT PROGRAM

General Objectives and Strategy

The most general objective of the present training program was to increase community appreciation and support for police services by helping individual police officers perform their jobs more effectively within the constitutional framework in which they work - i.e., to help police implement the laws and guarantees of the constitution equitably for all citizens of their community.⁶⁰ It is assumed that this objective can be most successfully met when each participating police officer is provided with opportunities to think through his perception of his own values, his roles as a police officer and the consequences of his attitudes on the community. When police violate rights which are guaranteed by the constitution, this does more than anger the individuals who are directly involved. Such violations form the basis of citizens' attitudes and subsequent behavior toward the police as an institution.⁶¹ For example, the behavior of police during the 1968 Democratic

⁶⁰ Sullivan, R., Violence, like charity, begins at home. The New York Times Magazine, November 24, 1968.

⁶¹ Sullivan, R., op. cit., 1968.

Convention in Chicago probably affected citizen attitudes toward police officers in many local communities throughout the nation. Thus, police need to enlarge their perception of their role in the larger society and to increase their understanding of their role in the system as a whole.

It is also assumed that one way the above objectives can be met and the relationship between police and the community improved is by augmenting human relations knowledge and by increasing interpersonal skills of individual police officers. A major impediment to the transmission of specific information concerning interpersonal skills is the absence of any systematic body of knowledge which has application to the broad range of situations with which an officer is confronted in his daily face-to face encounters with citizens. Furthermore, what knowledge that does exist does not lend itself to the traditional classroom-lecture model of instruction, which is relatively routine, uninvolved, and temporary in effect. Instead, experiential learning or the laboratory training approach seems a more efficient and lasting method to impart both the necessary knowledge of human relations and the interpersonal skills which are relevant to police work.

In contrast to traditional learning practices, laboratory learning methods assume that knowledge is more meaningful when it is discovered by the learner. If it is to make a difference in his behavior, it is better if he learns it himself out of

his own experience. In general, the persons responsible for the training program set up conditions, including dilemmas and unresolved problems, where the learner can experiment with his own behavior to see if it is effective or ineffective for him, and then to generalize for himself to his work situation. When applied to human relations training for police, the learning process of the laboratory approach involves a series of relevant police problems, dilemmas, and simulated action situations, which are presented to the officer in various ways - including contacts with groups such as "hippies," Blacks, and college students; psychoskits or role plays; or stop-action films. These experiential events are then followed by discussion, reflection, discovery, and generalization.

A police officer learns in the laboratory setting by engaging in a number of experiences relevant to police problems. He observes what is happening to himself and to others in the situation. He tries to understand, think, or feel what may be needed in the way of behavior that will be helpful to other police officers, other citizens, or himself. He takes action to test his understanding and his hypothesis about what is happening or what is needed. In other words, he tests his understanding by acting on it. He then gets feedback from other police officers about the effects of his behavior. He learns how his behavior affects other police officers, and perhaps how other police officers have experienced the effect

of similar behavior on citizens in the past. In this way, he can test the adequacy of his understanding. Finally, he generalizes what he has learned about his own behavior, so that he has both an insight and an enduring guide for future use.

Laboratory learning may focus on various aspects of behavior: perceptions, e.g., the accurate or inaccurate perceptions that different groups and individuals have of one another; responses, e.g., how persons respond to various attempts to influence their thinking or problem-solving behavior; or values, e.g., how different values and objectives of police and citizens can interact to have desirable or undesirable outcomes. What is learned may also have personal relevance to the individual police officer. He learns how he perceives others, how his actions are seen by others and how his behavior is similar or different from the behavior of other officers on-the-job. Learning proceeds, as above, in repeated cycles as the learner continually takes advantage of new opportunities to view his own behavior, to observe others' reactions to him and to find out what is effective and why. Each police officer brings some relevant experience to the situation and the group of officers work together to create conditions where everyone can learn what he wants and needs to learn about police-community relations, expand his knowledge of human relations in general and expand his repertoire of interpersonal skills.

Specific objectives

The major focus of the training program is to provide participants with an opportunity to learn new interpersonal strategies which will help reduce uncertainties and increase voluntary compliance in their face-to-face interactions with citizens. Present day police are faced with ambiguity in the number and kinds of diverse tasks which fall under their purview and with uncertain support from the legal system which surrounds the performance of many of their duties. It is clear that an officer's task would be greatly facilitated by the use of interpersonal tactics and skills which increase the degree of voluntary compliance by citizens. The officer is often concerned with the voluntary disclosure of information and also with prevention of violent assaults against himself or other persons.

Awareness of discretion and responsibility. One of the major characteristics of the modern police practice is the number of diverse tasks which fall under the expanding umbrella of police department responsibility. Attempts to enumerate police functions have generated expansive lists of activities which reach beyond the enforcement of criminal law, and which include the direction and control of traffic, licensing and inspection, investigating complaints, arrest and interrogation of suspects, control of mobs and crowds, and an expanding social service role, such as family counseling, agents of socialization, medical emergencies, and legal counsel-

ing, etc.⁶²

Given that a major police role is to mediate between the law and the practice of the law, the legal network should reduce uncertainty by providing a coherent system of guidelines for police decisions and behavior which applies to the wide variety of situations facing an officer. "The legal system is not a seamless web of tightly articulated rules and roles, however, but a loose-jointed system held together at many points by microsystems of antagonistic cooperation and discretionary decision."⁶³ Unfortunately, then, the ambiguity of the law is a major source of uncertainty which compounds the problems engendered by the large diversity of public contacts.⁶⁴

Comprehensive searches of police blotters in large and small cities throughout America reveal that the greatest majority of police-citizen contacts occurs in situations involving disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace, and minor misdemeanors.

⁶² Cumming, E., Cumming, I. M., & L. Edell. op. cit., 1965; Siegel, A. E., & R. C. Baker, Police human relations training. Wayne, Pa.: 1960; McNamara, J. H., op. cit., 1967, p. 164; Reiss, A. J., & D. J. Bordua, in D. J. Bordua (Ed.), The police: Six sociological essays. N.Y.: Wiley, 1967, p. 26; Westley, W. A., op. cit., 1972, p. 56.

⁶³ Reiss, A. J., & D. J. Bordua, op. cit., 1967, p. 26.

⁶⁴ Schwartz, R. D., & J. C. Miller. Legal evolution and societal complexity. American Journal of Sociology, 1965, September, pp. 159-169; LaFave, W. R., Arrest: The decision to take a suspect into custody. Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, & Co., 1965; LaFave, W. R., op. cit., 1972; Goldstein, J., Police discretion not to evoke the criminal process: Low visibility decisions in the administration of justice. The Yale Law Journal, 1960, 69, pp. 543-594; Barrett, E. L., Jr., Police practices and the law - From arrest to release or charge. California Law Review, 1962, 50, pp. 11-55.

Few of these contacts involve infractions of the law. In fact, almost 80% of contacts with citizens are not directly related to investigation of a crime or the apprehension of criminals.⁶⁵ It appears that, "The patrolman's role is defined more by his responsibility for maintaining order than by his responsibility for enforcing the law."⁶⁶ For example, "A noisy drunk, a rowdy teenager shouting or racing his car in the middle of the night, a loud radio in the apartment next door, a panhandler soliciting money from a passerby, a person wearing eccentric clothes or an unusual hair style loitering in public places - all of these are examples of behavior which the 'public' (an onlooker, a neighbor, the community at large) may disapprove of and ask the patrolman to 'put a stop to'."⁶⁷ Needless to say, the targets of public disapproval (e.g., drunks, teenagers, and hippies, etc.) are very likely to view the matter differently. They probably have disdain for the complaining public and are irritated with the intervening officer. To further complicate our picture of what is facing the police officer, there is the fight, the bar brawl, or an assault on an unfaithful lover wherein even the participants are likely to condone the conflict and hostility. While there might be agreement about the right of an officer to intervene, the parties are likely to disagree over who is to blame and

⁶⁵ Germann, A. C. op. cit., 1970, p. 78.

⁶⁶ Wilson, J. Q., The patrolman's dilemma. In W. H. Hewitt & C. L. Newman, op. cit., 1970, p. 40.

⁶⁷ Wilson, J. Q., *ibid*, p. 40.

thus whom the police ought to punish.

In most situations where there is a threat to public disorder, the police officer is required to make decisions about the nature and degree of evidence, the innocence or guilt of involved persons, and whether the act violates some law, etc. The decisions open to him are many. His discretion is wide. He can decide to hold persons for investigation, to arrest, to hold and then to release, or to enforce a particular ordinance, etc. The officer is left with no alternative but to behave like a "Dutch uncle,"⁶⁸ that is, he treats individual offenders in accordance with the biases of his own values, experiences, and motives. All of the alternatives open to him require some "extension of legality," because acts of public misconduct require the enforcement of laws which are, "...the least precise and the most ambiguous." What constitutes "order" is more a matter of opinion and convention than law. The need for this discretion exists, not only because the statutes governing disturbances of the peace and public disorder are ambiguous, but also because police-citizen encounters of this nature, almost invariably occur in an emotionally apprehensive and hostile environment where many persons refuse to cooperate with the police. "The patrolman, in short, has the most discretion,

⁶⁸ Lerman, P., Child convicts. *Trans-Action*, 1971, July/August, pp. 35-44.

and the way he exercises it is both hard for the police chief to control and easy for the citizenry to resent."⁶⁹

While police blotters and court records seem to decry the tremendous degree of discretion afforded the police officer in the majority of his contact with the public, the possibility of voluntary compliance without conflict is significantly reduced when the patrolman is unaware of how much discretion and choice he can actually exercise. However, research reveals that many officers see their role as one of "merely carrying out orders," "following the law," or "doing my duty." When officers attribute the responsibility for their behavior to external forces, e.g., to "legal prescriptions," this tends to create a rigidity in their behavior and to restrict the number and kinds of alternative approaches they see open to them. It also inhibits the learning of new behavior. Similarly, a noted expert on police, A. C. Germann,⁷⁰ recommends a radical altering of police training to include special emphasis on learning to recognize and use the wide degree of discretion which is available. The need for discretion exists because "the law is only one resource, and a poor one at that, which the police officer can use to help him deal with disorder. Beyond that, the law is a constraint that tells him what he must not do but that is

⁶⁹ Wilson, J. Q., The patrolman's dilemma. op. cit., 1970, p. 39.
⁷⁰ Germann, A. C., op. cit., 1970, p. 78.

particularly unhelpful in telling him what he should do. Thus, he approaches incidents that threaten disorder not in terms of enforcing the law, but in terms of 'handling the situation'.⁷¹ As noted earlier, a police officer's attempt to handle minor incidents of disorderly conduct, such as family quarrels, etc., can often change the situation into a more serious conflict than before his intervention.

When an officer perceives that he has greater degrees of freedom and discretion than that which exists within the framework of the law, he is likely to be open to new learning and less likely to continue to rely on old habits. This recognition is a major avenue to improve the effectiveness of his interpersonal behavior. First, a person experiences more choice in his behavior. Next he learns to generate alternative responses which are not already part of his behavioral repertoire. Changes in attitudes and in behavior are most likely, when the officer learns he is not constrained by the need to "carry out orders," "do my duty," or to conform to the behavior of "more experienced" officers. The acceptance of greater responsibility for his own behavior and the outcomes of his interactions with citizens is an important objective and a pre-requisite to the adoption of new behaviors.

⁷¹ Wilson, J. Q., op. cit., 1970, p. 54.

The officer must increase his acceptance of the statement that "I am individually responsible for what I do." Increased personal flexibility is assumed to be a direct result of this insight. It is the increased personal flexibility which provides expanded opportunity for learning more about human relations and seeing the value of developing new interpersonal skills.⁷²

The foregoing discussion may be summarized in the form of two (somewhat overlapping) objectives for the training program.

OBJECTIVE 1: TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR OFFICERS TO BE AWARE OF HOW MUCH DISCRETION THEY ACTUALLY HAVE REGARDING THE DISPOSITION OF AN ENCOUNTER WITH CITIZENS:

OBJECTIVE 2: TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR OFFICERS TO ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR OWN DECISIONS AND THEIR OWN BEHAVIOR IN EACH ENCOUNTER WITH OTHER PERSONS (INCLUDING FELLOW OFFICERS).

Information gathering. The use of discretion to make fair judgements requires the officer to collect relevant and reliable information surrounding any police-citizen encounter. Awareness of the value of such information can significantly reduce the likelihood of stereotyping and increase the possibility of voluntary compliance by citizens. In most situations, there is a myriad of facts, such as the kind of neighborhood, the values of the inhabitants of

⁷²Flint, R. T., op. cit., 1971; Danish, S. G., & S. L. Brodsky, Training of policemen in emotional control and awareness. American Psychologist 1971, 25, pp. 368-369.

the neighborhood, the residents' attitudes toward the police, the climate of the neighborhood, and so fourth, which can be ascertained prior to the officer's actual entry into the neighborhood. In other situations, necessary information is unavailable prior to the officer's contact with the principles in the encounter. In both situations, the police officer can also be attuned to immediate informational cues (e.g., visual gestures, postures, verbal nuances, etc.) from which to make some tentative judgments regarding what other relevant facts need to be ascertained about the situation. The exercises in the training program focus upon what cues to look for and how to generate information in the immediate situation, i.e., how to more accurately gauge the salient features of the situation. For example, Adrian Hulphide, a 27 year old black police officer describes how he uses information gathering skills obtained in a similar training program: "We go into a family dispute and we pick up certain signs, statements, gestures, looks and facial expressions that enable us to get a basic idea of what's going on. For example, I notice whether a man is gritting his teeth, whether the veins in his temple are throbbing. Before, I only looked for whether he had a weapon, or whether he was bigger than me. Later, when they just wanted someone to yell at, I say, 'O. K., get mad at me.' Then everybody yells at me. But they're all yelling together at me, and that's groovy."⁷³

⁷³ Sullivan, R., op. cit., 1970, p. 118.

OBJECTIVE 3: TO EMPHASIZE THE VALUE OF COLLECTING AND UTILIZING RELEVANT AND RELIABLE INFORMATION ABOUT THE CONTACT SITUATION PRIOR TO ACTUAL ENTRY INTO AN ENCOUNTER WITH CITIZENS. OBJECTIVE 4: TO EMPHASIZE THE VALUE OF BEING RESPONSIVE TO SITUATIONAL CUES CONCERNING THE ATTITUDES, MOTIVES, AND BEHAVIORAL NORMS OF PERSONS INVOLVED IN THE ENCOUNTER.

Rather than examine both situational and interpersonal cues, police officers sometimes attribute attitudes, motives, or even guilt to ethnic or legal stereotypes while ignoring individual differences. The dynamics of various kinds of ethnic and legal stereotyping are largely similar, and much is known about ethnic stereotyping. Legal stereotyping, occurs when an officer selectively perceives elements of the situation and characteristics of the person in relation to the suspected crime. The officer fails to see beyond the label "speeder," "drunk," or "juvenile delinquent." Instead, the person's past, present, and future behavior are interpreted as if the association with the legal label served as a filter. The officer rejects contradictory clues and fails to gather all relevant information.

In addition, when officers stereotype people, the negative characteristics of the legal label are likely to be, either consciously or unconsciously, communicated to citizens. One consequence of stereotyping by police is that instead of voluntary compliance by citizens, they often respond with behavior which confirms the stereotype (i.e., self-fulfilling prophecy),

or with indignation and perhaps with violent assault against the officer or the community. Any of these responses make it more difficult or impossible for the officer to exercise discretionary judgment justly. Instead, the officer may exacerbate the situation to the point where voluntary compliance is impossible, where he has lost control of the situation, and he sees no alternatives remaining to him but the use of force. In lieu of stereotyping, police officers can improve the accuracy of their interpersonal perception through training in empathetic skills, so they are able to respond more empathetically to each citizen as an individual within the particular context in which the contact takes place. For instance, a recent study demonstrates how a potentially explosive situation between police and motorcyclists can successfully be negotiated when the police are able to appreciate the distinction between provocative appearance and unlawful behavior.⁷⁴ The officer can learn "role taking" or "interpersonal testing" to assess the characteristics, attitudes, motives, values, and behavior of individual citizens.

The present training program provides an opportunity for police officers; (1) to examine how damaging stereotypes can be; (2) the extent to which their own stereotypes affect their attitudes, perceptions, and behavior, and (3) the extent to

⁷⁴ Shellow, R., & D. V. Roemer. No heaven for hell's angels. In M. Lipsky, op. cit., 1970, pp. 125-144.

which the police officers themselves continually reinforce these interfering stereotypes.

OBJECTIVE 5: TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED TO AVOID ETHNIC, LEGAL AND OTHER FORMS OF STEREOTYPING.

Clarification of police situations. Often the degree of voluntary compliance to a police officer's request is a function of the degree to which the officer makes his expectations clear to the citizen. Most police-citizen encounters occur under conditions of considerable psychological stress for the citizen. Citizens frequently experience stress by the mere presence of a police officer. Under these stressful conditions, the citizen is likely to view everything an officer says with an extremely "narrow perceptual span." For example, when a person is apprehended for a traffic violation, the police can inform him either that he is "under arrest" or that he is to be "issued a summons." While the former nomenclature is technically correct, the person may expect that the officer will next handcuff him and then take him to jail. Thus, if an officer's requests are to be fully understood and viewed as appropriate or perceived as he intends, his statements must take into account the stress which the citizen is probably feeling. His requests should be specific and not vague or general.

OBJECTIVE 6: TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR OFFICERS TO MAKE THEIR EXPECTATIONS SPECIFIC AND CLEAR TO CITIZENS. A related problem is the manner in which the officer's expectations are

presented to citizens. Expectations, whether clear or ambiguous, can be transmitted in an undesirable and/or unacceptable manner. For instance, the presentation of ultimata is likely to result in resistance and provocation by potentially hostile citizens. Similarly, a patrolman can threaten the citizen by identifying more serious or damaging consequences for noncompliance which may provoke feelings of hopelessness and desperate attempts to escape the situation, with or without assaults against the officer.

Alternatively, the arousal potential of police requests can be reduced and the potential for voluntary compliance enhanced, when expectations are presented in a manner which reduces their threatening nature. For example, officers can explain the alternatives available to a citizen, and thereby provide him with some degree of choice. The advantages of this strategy are that it diverts the citizen's attention away from the stress he feels and toward the alternatives open to him. When a person exercises choice, he is usually committed to his chosen alternative.

OBJECTIVE 7: TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR OFFICERS TO BE AWARE OF THE EFFECTS OF DIFFERENT WAYS OF PRESENTING THEIR EXPECTATIONS TO CITIZENS.

Legitimacy of value differences. Another technique which can substantially improve an officer's opportunities for achieving voluntary compliance by a citizen begins with the officer's accurate assessment of the citizen's values, and then behavior by the

officer which does not violate these values. That is, he can behave in a manner which either enhances the person's values or which, at the very least, does not create a situation whereby compliance offends or threatens the person's values. A broad range of police-citizen incidents can be conceptualized under the rubric of value conflict induced by an insensitive officer. For example, it is often noted that physical assaults upon officers frequently occur while the officer is issuing a warning ticket or summons to a male motorist in the presence of his family. Officers often fail to consider that his admonition threatens the male motorist's position of authority in a manner which could only be re-established by noncompliance. Alternatively, the officer might have allowed the motorist to "save face" by discussing the violation with him in the patrol car where the family could not overhear their conversation.

Critical to the effective translation of value assessment to police action is the police officer's recognition that the citizen's values, although different from the officer's,⁷⁵ are legitimate. Differences in values need not be unacceptable or sources of immediate conflict. Indeed, there are large variations in values among police officers themselves. When an officer is sensitive to a citizen's values, this does not require him to adopt the citizen's values or to change his own beliefs, but merely to suspend his own values in the interest of cooperation.

⁷⁵ Rokeach, M., Miller, M. G. & J. A. Snyder. The value gap between police and policed. Journal of Social Issues, 1961, 27, pp. 155-172; Bayley, D. H. & H. Mendelsohn. Minorities and the police: Confrontations in America. N. Y.: The Free Press, 1969.

OBJECTIVE 8: TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR OFFICERS TO RECOGNIZE DIFFERENCES IN VALUES AMONG CITIZENS. OBJECTIVE 9: TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR OFFICERS TO RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMACY OF VALUE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POLICE OFFICERS AND CITIZENS.

Presentation of self. When a person who normally reacts uncritically to a police officer feels he is not being treated fairly before the law, he often reacts with outrage and anger. The perception of discrimination tends to occur most frequently when an officer fails to communicate in an objective, clear, and decisive manner - most especially in situations which involve threat of force, punitive action, a summons or arrest. An officer's open display of emotion, such as anger or hostility, is another common source of feelings of being discriminated against by the law. When a police officer loses his temper, citizens tend to perceive his actions as personal, arbitrary acts that are based on some criterion other than the violation itself. In short, behavior which is perceived as personally discriminatory is more likely to engender uncooperative, hostile and aggressive responses.

OBJECTIVE 10: TO EMPHASIZE THE NEED FOR POLICE OFFICERS TO ACT IN AN OBJECTIVE AND DECISIVE MANNER.

Evaluation of the training program. As noted earlier, while the number of human relations programs designed to improve relations between police and communities are many, the number of systematic scientific investigations of their effectiveness is negligible.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Two notable exceptions are Eisenberg, T., Fosen, R. H. & Glickman, op. cit., 1971; Kelly, op. cit., 1972.

Most evaluations consist of nothing more than opinion or "intuition,"⁷⁷ or some numeration of the people in attendance.⁷⁸ It is especially rare to find an evaluation which employs sophisticated designs with control groups or before-and-after measurement. Unfortunately, when programs are not evaluated, there is little or no chance of making informed decisions to alter programs to improve their effectiveness. It is imperative that programs of this nature be evaluated by professional social scientists in a manner which follows appropriate principles of research methodology.

OBJECTIVE 11: TO EVALUATE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM.

Description of training program

Orientation. The orientation was a significant part of the training program and is reported here in some detail. Approximately one month prior to the training program, the officers, who were to participate in the training program (experimental group), visited the Purdue University campus for a one-half day meeting. The events of this half-day are summarized as follows. First, the officers heard a general description of purposes of

⁷⁷ International Association of Chiefs of Police. Current Approaches: Police training in community relations. Washington, D. C., 1965.

⁷⁸ The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police. Washington, D. C., 1967, Germann, A. C., op. cit.

the training and a description of the history of the grant which supported the training program. Second, officers heard a description of the evaluation phase of the program. In order to reduce the officers' apprehension about evaluation of themselves as individuals which might potentially bias their questionnaire responses, it was explained that the purposes of evaluation was to compare the experimental group with the control group, and not to study or evaluate individual responses. It was clearly stated that there would be no individual evaluation, no reports back to police chiefs, no grades, no records, etc. It was also explained how the identities of each individual officer would be disguised and protected. Next, officers received a handout which compared and contrasted traditional approaches to teaching and learning with experiential teaching methods. A short question and answer period followed. The officers were then asked to think of situations in which they had more difficulty than usual in handling members of the public. That is, "think of a time when you would have liked some help from psychologists in dealing with a particular situation in your police work." The officers were divided into several groups and each group was asked to develop a list of situations. Finally, the groups reported back to the total meeting.

During this orientation, two suggestions were made by the police officers. First, the officers devised a code to use the last four digits of their social security number for their

questionnaires to be used in the evaluation study. Also, the officers requested that they receive individual feedback about their scores in questionnaires in relation to the average scores of the group. Both suggestions were incorporated into the program.

The following are some recurring themes for which the officers requested coverage in the training program:

- 1) Understanding the dynamics of handling hostile drunks (e.g., on a street or in a bar fight);
- 2) Controlling bystanders in a public place. They focused on handling crowds surrounding an arrest situation such as at a ball game or in a bar. They were concerned about harassment and verbal abuse from bystanders;
- 3) Arresting a hostile or intoxicated female and the verbal abuse which often surrounds this situation - particularly from the female;
- 4) Dealing with insults and pressures to reduce charges from influential or high status persons, such as doctors, politicians and college professors;
- 5) Understanding their own responsibilities for making decisions about the occurrence of a violation;
- 6) Controlling their own emotions, such as anger;
- 7) Managing their behavior during family fights, especially when personal injury was involved;

- 8) Dealing with a number of concerns about racial issues. The recurring theme was how to respond to a charge of prejudice when confronting a violator who is a member of a minority group. Of equal concern was dealing with an encounter between minority members and whites in a public place;
- 9) Handling day-to-day encounters with citizens;
- 10) Dealing with other officers who interfere in their contact with citizens. The officers also requested information about how to deal with older officers who disagree with them; and where they suspect another officer is dishonest;
- 11) Coping with juvenile problems - especially when they suspect that parental neglect is a key to the problem;
- 12) Dealing with their feelings concerning the lack of support from the legal system.

The meeting concluded with a question and answer period, after which officers responded to the pre-measures in small groups.

Content of the Training Program

The program was a five and one-half day residential workshop held at Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana. The officers arrived after lunch on Sunday afternoon and left before dinner the following Friday afternoon. All training sessions took place in the Behavioral Science Laboratories of the Krannert Graduate School of Industrial Administration. The content of the

program was designed with the following schedule.⁷⁹

The Sunday afternoon session involved activities which required each officer privately to think about and write: (a) what he wants to happen during the program in order for him to feel that the program is successful; (b) what would make the program unsuccessful for him; (c) his personal objectives for the training program and; (d) what he could do to ensure that the program is successful and that his objectives are accomplished. The officers met in several different small groups to discuss what they had written. An informal party was held that evening.

The Monday morning session involved a movie, "Eye of the Beholder," which focused on perception, stereotyping and snap judgments. The movie depicted an apparent murder and showed how different people viewed what had happened. After the movie, the officers met first in small groups to discuss what they had learned about police work from the movie. The officers then came together in one large group to share their views and learnings from the movie. In the afternoon session, each officer selected several adjectives which described "Who Am I." The officers individually recited their list into a television camera and met in small groups to discuss their list of adjectives. The

⁷⁹ The training staff consisted of Jeffrey Brandt, Howard L. Fromkin, Leonard D. Goodstein, and Orian Worden.

officers then gathered in one group to view the videotapes and receive feedback from other officers about their video-taped self presentations.

Monday evening, approximately twenty college students (age 18-22; 85% white, 15% black) joined the officers. Two groups of officers and one group of students each met separately to prepare three lists of five adjectives: (1) a list which described themselves; (2) a list which described the other group (i.e., student or police); and (3) a list which they thought the other group would use to describe them. Following this exercise, the three groups came together to share lists and ask questions about the lists prepared by the other groups. Although this activity was formally scheduled to end at 9:30 p.m., several officers and students remained until 1:00 a.m.

Tuesday morning the officers divided into two groups for a Lego Man exercise. This exercise focuses on the need for a person to plan ahead before tackling a problem. The rules require the two groups of officers to compete in the planning and execution of this task. Each group competed to construct a copy of a model of a man built with lego blocks. Following this task, the officers met in small groups and discussed what they learned about planning and working with other officers. During the afternoon session, the officers met briefly in one large group and discussed their reactions to what they had learned during the morning and how it related to police work.

Next, the officers viewed a film from the Police Experience Series by Robert Rubin of Film Modules, Inc. designed for training police in human relations. This film, "Anger and Humiliation," was produced using officers from the Mount Vernon Police Department as actors. The film shows two officers responding to a complaint about a noisy party and being verbally assaulted by the offenders. After viewing the film, the officers discussed what they had learned from the film and how the film related to police work. These discussions occurred first in small groups, and then in one large group. During the evening, the officers viewed the film "Obedience," - a film which presents the findings of research on the tendency of individuals to behave in an unusually aggressive manner when requested by an authority to do so. Officers discussed what they had learned from the film in small groups and ended that day by coming together in one large group to share their experiences with the film.

On Wednesday morning, the officers met in two small groups and wrote scripts to describe some of their more difficult on-the-job encounters with females. The task of each group was to develop three role-play situations. Each group selected officers from another group to play various roles. Since each group was unaware of what the other group was planning when individuals performed their roles, they were unaware of the other parts in the script or of the outcome of the script. Each role-play situation was performed several times by different officers and

was video-taped. Two female psychologists with acting experience⁸⁰ were used to make the video-tapes of the role plays. During the afternoon session, the officers viewed their video-tapes and discussed their own behavior on video-tape, and compared their own behavior with the behavior of other officers in the same role play situation. They also discussed general methods of dealing with difficult encounters with females on-the-job. Wednesday evening was a free night.

On Thursday morning, the officers met with 12 male and 6 female members (ages 21 to 48) of the Lafayette black community. A handout was distributed describing behaviors which block and facilitate interpersonal relations between blacks and whites. An exercise similar to the exchange of perceptions with students (described above) was then conducted. During the afternoon, officers viewed and discussed a movie, "Feeling Good," which was made with Mount Vernon Police as actors. The movie depicted an officer saving the life of a skid row bum and how his fellow officers responded. During the evening the officers had a banquet and performed skits which they had written to describe their experiences during the training program.

On Friday morning, the officers viewed and discussed another film by the Mount Vernon Police Department. This film,

⁸⁰ We are grateful for the help of Kay Deaux and Fran Cherry for their help and splendid performances in the role play exercises.

"Fear and Anxiety," focuses on racial issues, inter-officer relationships, and police behavior during a family quarrel. During the latter part of Friday morning, officers role-played several examples of how they might tell other officers about the training program and discussed how they might use what they had learned on their jobs. On Friday afternoon, the officers completed the post-training questionnaires for the evaluation study. All control officers filled out the same measures within seven days of this time.

EVALUATION METHODOLOGY

Participants

Twenty-three officers participated in the training program. They are referred to as the experimental group. In addition, twenty-seven officers, who did not participate in the training program, were selected to serve as a control group. The experimental and control officers were selected by their respective police chiefs according to the following criteria: First, officers were members of the police force for no more than four years and no less than six months. Second, the officers were rated by their supervisor as having good potential for effective human relations, i.e., the officers were not seen to be badly in need of human relations training. Third, it was requested that officers from minority groups be represented. Fourth, at least two persons from each department who have daily contact with

each other during their work were requested. Fifth, the police chiefs were requested to select twice as many members of their force who met this criteria as they would send to the training program. One half of the officers meeting the four criteria were randomly selected to serve as controls.

The officers represented seven Indiana municipalities (including one university police department). Each department sent between two and six officers. The communities and their populations, according to the 1970 census data, are given in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Population of Cities Represented in the Training Program

	<u>White</u>	<u>Negro</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
West Lafayette	18,465	155	537	19,157
Kokomo	40,409	3,464	169	44,042
Anderson	63,385	7,256	146	70,787
Speedway	14,951	68	37	15,056
Marion	35,035	4,380	192	39,607
Crawfordsville	13,633	171	38	13,842
Frankfort	14,899	23	34	14,956

Summary of research design

Two groups of officers (experimental and control) responded to several measures (described below) approximately one month before and immediately after the training program. Thus, the study can be described as a 2 X 2 design with group (i.e., before or after) as the independent variables. In general, the measures of training effectiveness were of two varieties: (1) officers' self reports and (2) reports by citizens about the officers' on-the-job behavior. These measures are described below.

Citizen sample

In order to examine the effects of the training program upon an officer's on-the-job behavior, a survey of citizens was conducted after the training. At the completion of the training program, an officer-citizen contact form was sent to each police chief. It requested the police chief to randomly select the names of five citizens who had contact with each officer

in the experimental and control groups during the two-week period immediately following the training program. The instructions explained random procedures were to be followed regardless of the nature of the contact between the officer and the citizen. According to follow-up reports, there was only one exception to the prescribed random procedures - the name and address of a juvenile offender was not submitted, because it was against county policy to identify any juvenile offenders.

Seven male and five female graduate students were hired to conduct telephone interviews with citizens.⁸¹ Approximately one week prior to the interviews, a letter was sent to each citizen which identified the sponsor and explained both the purposes of the study and the methods to be used to protect the identity each participant. A standard questionnaire, (described below) was used by each interviewer.

Instruments and Measures⁸²

Objectives 1 and 2

The first objectives state that there is a need for police officers to experience more discretion and to accept more responsibility for their own behavior in their

⁸¹ The design and performance of the telephone interviews was supervised by Dr. Jacob Jacoby. Prior to the study, all interviewers participated in a one-day training program conducted by Mrs. Eve Weinstein, Director of Field Training, National Opinion Research Corporation, University of Chicago.

⁸² Copies of all measures and experimental materials may be obtained from the first author.

interactions with citizens. Several measures were used to measure these objectives and related issues.

Problem analysis questionnaire. The problem analysis questionnaire was designed by Oshry and Harrison⁸³ to measure how a person attributes causality for his interpersonal problems. First, the respondent writes a description of some critical and unresolved interpersonal problem which is confronting him at work. Next, the respondent replies to a number of rating scales. Factor analysis has shown the existence of 12 subscales which focus on the attribution of causes of problems to oneself, to another person(s), or to the organization where one is employed. Closedness (C1) refers to the resistances of the self, others, and the organization to change and influence. Rational-Technical (RT) refers to the competence energy, and initiative of the self, others and the organization. The subscales are now described. The Self-Closed subscale contains 8 items, such as "I have been relatively difficult to approach" and "I have been competitive and this has gotten in the way of remedying the situation." The Other-Closed subscale contains 8 items, such as "The other person(s) have been relatively difficult to approach" and "Unwillingness of the other person(s) directly involved in the problem to cooperate." The Organization-Closed subscale contains 8 items, such as "The

⁸³ Oshry, B. I. & R. Harrison. Transfer from here-and-now to there-and-then: Change in organizational problem diagnosis stemming from t-group training. Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences, 1966, 2, pp. 185-198.

organization resists suggestions aimed at producing change" and "Organizational policies have not changed sufficiently with the times to handle this type of problem." The Self-RT subscale contains 8 items, such as "I have not taken as much initiative as I should have to remedy this situation" and "I have not been clear in communicating my own position to the other persons involved." The Other-RT subscale contains 8 items, such as "The other person(s) are lacking in initiative" and "The other person(s) tend to let the problem slide." The Organization-RT subscale contains 6 items, such as "The organization lets things go too long before taking corrective action" and "The situation is not receiving sufficient guidance from higher-ups in the organization."

There are three other subscales. A Self-Other-C1 contains 7 items, such as "The other person(s) and I have been unable to communicate with one another about this problem" and "The other person(s) and I don't really listen to one another." The Self-Other-RT subscale contains 8 items, such as "The other person(s) and I have not tried hard enough to work this problem out," and "The other person(s) and I have been unwilling to devote the time required to solve the problem." Last, the situational subscale contains 5 items, such as "Both the other person(s) and my jobs are such that we must work towards opposing goals" and "The organizational attitude breeds continuing competition between the other person(s) and myself."

In addition, the Oshry-Harrison questionnaire contains a number of scales to measure three orientations. Respondents rate

themselves and then rate other persons in their organizations who are relevant to their described problem. The Interpersonal Orientation subscale contains 6 bipolar scales, such as "Prefers to work with others - Prefers to work by himself" and "Likes to know what is expected of him - Prefers not to be directed." The Status-Influence subscale contains 6 bipolar scales, such as "High status in the organization - Low status" and "High ability - Low ability." The Integrity-Dependability subscale contains 6 bipolar scales, such as "Sincere-Insincere" and "Dependable-Undependable."

The respondent's written description obtained on the pre-measure was duplicated and stapled to the questionnaire so that he would rate the same situation during the postmeasure.

PIE questionnaire. The wide range of different situations which require police intervention vary according to the degree of discretionary freedom felt by the officer. Some situations are relatively routine and clearly regulated by the law or departmental policy, and so forth. In such situations, there is little room for decision or behavioral options; the officer has virtually no freedom to decide for himself. Other situations are less definitively circumscribed by law, are less routine. Objectives 1 and 2 of the training program state the need to increase the officer's ability to distinguish between situations and to increase their recognition of discretion where situations are flexible enough to warrant such a view. Accordingly, four situations were identified in pilot or preliminary research to

be used to study how officers deal with discretionary events. Two of the situations were chosen because officers stated that they involve very little discretion and few alternatives are available to them, e.g., a store door found open at night and a traffic violation of 40 m.p.h. in a 30 m.p.h. zone at 3:00 a.m. Two other situations were chosen because officers perceived that they involve some discretion and more alternative behaviors, e.g., handling a drunk and dealing with a family quarrel. The first item was a statement which referred to "the average situation in which you have contact with the public."

The instructions for rating these situations explained: "The outcomes of situations involving police and citizens can be explained in several ways. There are at least four factors which may influence these outcomes. These four factors are: (1) The behavior of the police officer; (2) The behavior of the citizen; (3) Departmental rules and regulations; (4) Situational factors (such as time of day, weather, where the incident occurred, etc.)." A circle appeared below each of the five situations. Officers were asked to divide the circles into four sections like a pie. "Draw lines through the center, dividing off areas which represent the portion of responsibility you believe would most likely account for the outcome of the event."

Objectives 3 and 4

Objectives 3 and 4 refer to the need for officers to collect relevant and reliable information about the citizens and the situation in order to consider alternative forms their approaches might take.

The Behavior Questionnaire was developed specifically for this study to measure the extent to which officers increased their observational skills and the extent to which officers formulate alternative solutions to problems which arise in the line of duty. During preliminary research with officers, three situations were selected that represent frequent kinds of contact between police and citizens. Three video-tapes were made of contacts between a police officer in the community with actors portraying citizens. First, a police officer investigates complaints about a noisy party and is confronted with a hostile black male who complains of discrimination. Second, a police officer pursues and stops a motorist for running a stop sign - the motorist proclaims his innocence. Third, the police officer investigates a family quarrel where the husband and wife are in an angry argument with each other. Each tape ends at a critical point before the officer takes any action about the incident. Each scenario is briefly described on a separate page of the questionnaire. Two open-ended questions ask the respondents to "list all the relevant cues in the situation that they would use to make a decision about how to handle the problem" and "list any alternative ways you might handle the situation."

Objective 5

Objective 5 refers to the need for officers to reduce the amount of ethnic, legal, and other forms of stereotyping.

Community Attitude Survey (CAS). The CAS contains 25 rating scales which were selected because they revealed the effects of police

training in other studies. In general, the CAS measures the beliefs of police about citizens and their perceptions about how citizens view the police. Some items measure attitudes and stereotypic beliefs about indigent populations, such as "If the truth were known about poor people, it is that they are lazy and really don't care to work" and "People living in poverty areas deserve as much respect and kind treatment as anyone else." Other items measure perceptions and stereotypic beliefs about minority groups and college students, such as "Policemen need a greater understanding of Negro people;" "Policemen need a greater understanding of college students;" and "Most students are more interested in tearing down society than patching it up."

Finally, four items request officers to "Describe their feelings about being a police officer" by circling a number from 1, "extremely bad" to 7, "extremely good;" "How important is the police officer's role in community relations?" from 1, "extremely unimportant" to 7, "extremely important;" and "In your opinion, how many more years do you think you will be a police officer. Write a number below."

Objectives 6, 7 and 10

Objectives 6 and 7 refer to the need for officers to be aware of different ways of presenting their expectations to citizens in clear and specific ways. Objective 10 refers to the need for officers to act in a nondiscriminating and decisive manner.

Citizen Interviews. In order to unobtrusively evaluate the above on-the-job effects of the training program, telephone surveys were conducted with a random sample of citizens who had contact with the

experimental and control officers after the program.

The telephone interview questionnaire contained rating scales and open-ended questions. The interviewers collected some general information about when the contact occurred, the reason or nature of the contact, and the number of officers, etc. In addition, the interviewer gathered information about: the citizen's perception of the officer's "friendliness," "politeness," "listening skills," "interests," "understanding;" the citizen's feelings during the contact with the officer, e.g., "frightened," "angry," "embarrassed," "uncomfortable," and "satisfied," etc; and the citizen's perceptions of the degree to which the officer was influenced by their age, appearance, sex, and race, etc. Lastly, some more general items were asked such as "did you feel that the officer had his mind made up before you told your side of the story, or was he ready to listen to what you had to say?"

Objectives 8 and 9

Objectives 8 and 9 refer to the recognition of differences and the perception of the legitimacy of differences in values within the police department itself and between police officers and different members of the public, e.g., indigent and minority populations or college students.

Rokeach's Value Questionnaire (RVQ). The RVQ measures the way a person rank orders the importance of 18 different personal values in his life, e.g., "a comfortable life," "freedom," "equality," "pleasure," "social recognition," "national security,"

and "family security," etc. Also, this questionnaire contains 12 rating scales. First, some items request officers to rate "How similar are your own rankings of these values to the way you believe other police would rank the same values?" This item was repeated three times with "people in general," "college students," and "Negroes" substituted for the words "other police." Following each of the above items, officers rated "How certain are you about the degree of similarity or dissimilarity between your own value rankings and the way you believe other police officers would rank them?" Other items requested officers to rate "How much agreement do you think there is among police officers regarding the ranking of these values." Lastly, three items requested the officers to indicate "How similar would most police officers' rankings of these values be to "college students," "Negroes," and "other people." Objective 10 refers to the need for police officers to act in an objective and decisive manner. The degree of accomplishment of this objective was assessed by some of the questions in the telephone interviews (described above).

Objective 11

Objective 11 refers to the evaluation of the effectiveness of the training program.

Training Description Questionnaire (TDQ). The TDQ contained 15 rating scale items plus four open-ended questions to assess the overall effectiveness of the training program, and 19 bi-polar ratings scale items were designed to assess the effectiveness of each exercise and activity in the training program. Some of the

items were taken from a previous study of training effectiveness at the Cincinnati Police Academy.⁸⁴

Some of the general items were: "What is your evaluation of the program in terms of what you personally learned?"; "Do you feel that other officers would benefit from this training program?"; and "What kind of understanding do you have of Negroes?" (college students, indigent populations, etc.). The four open-ended questions were: "What did you learn in the training program that you feel is most useful to you as a police officer? Please be as specific as you can." "In your opinion, what were the least helpful parts of the training program? Include both general concepts and specific ideas." "In your opinion, what were the most helpful parts of the training program. Please include both general concepts and specific ideas." "Any other comments which you feel would be helpful?"

Demographic Questionnaire. The questionnaire contained a number of items to measure demographic characteristics of the officers such as age, race, years of education, years of service, etc.

In order to explore if some personality factors facilitate or inhibit learning of interpersonal skills in this program, two personality measures were administered during the premeasurement.

⁸⁴ Reddy, W. Brendan. Report of the Cincinnati Police Human Relations Training Program. November and December, 1970, Personal Communication.

Internal-External. The internal - external scale⁸⁵ is designed to measure an individual's generalized expectancy as to whether or not he possesses power over what affects his life. Persons with external orientations tend to attribute the significant events in their lives more to factors external to them and beyond their control, such as chance, fate, luck, or due to the actions of powerful others, rather than their own actions. Persons with internal orientations, on the other hand, attribute the outcomes in their lives more to their own behaviours.

Dogmatism. The dogmatism scale⁸⁶ differentiates between people who are relatively open-minded (low dogmatic) and people who are relatively closed-minded (high dogmatic). According to Rokeach, a person's belief system is open or closed depending upon his ability to receive, evaluate, and act on relevant information received from the outside on its own intrinsic merits. The more closed the belief system, the more difficult it is for the individual to distinguish between information received about the world and information received about the source. Open-minded individuals are considerably more able to initiate new belief systems than closed-minded individuals. Furthermore, closed-minded (high dogmatic) persons confuse the content of a communi-

⁸⁵ Rotter, J. B. Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. Psychological Monographs, 1966, 80 (Whole No. 609).

⁸⁶ Rokeach, M. The open and closed mind: Investigations into the nature of belief systems and personality systems. New York: Basic Books, 1960.

cation with the communicator's authority. Conformity increases to high status authorities and conformity decreases to low status authorities. Open-minded (low dogmatic) individuals, however, are capable of discriminating source from message.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION*

Before summarizing the specific results of this research a brief discussion of five distinctive features of this study is in order. These features are the training methodology employed, the formulation of specific training objectives, the collection of data regarding on-the-job behavior after training, the use of multiple measures, and the use of a control group in the research. Each of these will be discussed briefly.

Training Methodology

The training model used in this study is the experiential or laboratory approach. In contrast to more traditional instructor centered approaches to training, the laboratory approach involves the learner more directly and actively in the learning process. It fosters more introspection on the part of the learner and provides opportunities for learners to discover for themselves relevant new data about themselves, others, or the problems they encounter rather than be told what they should learn. This

* A more comprehensive and detailed description of the analyses and results follows this section.

approach is not without its critics.⁸⁷ In particular some writers have doubted its value as a training technique for individuals in highly structured jobs. The highly favorable reactions of participants to the training and the demonstrated impact of the training on their subsequent attitudes and behaviors as police officers does not support this concern. The fact that officers scoring higher on the dogmatism scale appeared to profit less from the training might, however, suggest that, for officers with high needs for structure, the more open, non-structured environment of laboratory training may be less useful.

Specific Objectives

The researchers in this study believe that many training programs have not been based upon specific objectives stemming from the available research literature. A lack of specific objectives imposes two major limitations on studies similar to this one. First, in design of training experiences, it limits the ability of trainers to make intelligent choices among alternative training strategies. There are an infinite number of ways in which training programs can be designed. Specific objectives can help training staffs make better, more relevant decisions. Second, if training objectives are not clearly specified, evaluation of outcomes of training can not be specific. For both of these reasons the re-

⁸⁷ Dunnette, M. D. & J. P. Campbell. Effectiveness of t-group experiences in managerial training and development. Psychological Bulletin, 1968, 70, pp. 73-104. Eitington, J. E. Assessing laboratory training using the psychology of learning concepts. Training and Development Journal, 1971, February, 2-7.

search team in this project committed itself to the development of the eleven specific objectives described in the study. These objectives in turn provided needed guidelines both for the design of the training program and for its evaluation.

Investigation of on-the-job Attitudes and Behavior

A major limitation of most training evaluation studies is the lack of any evidence of transfer of training back to the job. Those studies which have investigated this question have frequently found that attitudinal and behavioral changes are very often left at the training site.⁸⁸ Accordingly we felt it imperative to follow the trainees back to their work and investigate what, in fact, was transferred back to the job. The design avoided the common problem of training being a one-shot, encapsulated experience which is not tied into the day-to-day work experience of participants. Trainees spent a half day at the training site before the training session and the impact of training was assessed after training back on-the-job.

Multiple Measures

Most training programs which include an evaluation share another trait. The dependent measure is typically limited to one instrument. This study, on the other hand, utilized multiple

⁸⁸ Campbell, J. P., Dunnette, M. D., Lawler, E. E., III., and K. E. Weick, Jr. Managerial behavior, performance, and effectiveness. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970.

measures which were designed to test the several objectives of the program. The use of multiple measures allowed fine discriminations to be made in the evaluation of the different aspects of this program and provided internal checks of the self consistency of measured changes.

Control Group

Another criticism of much training research is the absence of adequate control groups. Even if changes are demonstrated, the changes may be a function of factors other than the training itself. We therefore felt it necessary to include in the study a comparable group of officers who received no training.

Results Relating to Specific Objectives

We will now summarize the extent to which the eleven specific training objectives formulated in this study were achieved. Objects will be stated individually or in related groups. Data related to the objective(s) will then be summarized.

Objectives 1 and 2 refer to the need for police officers to be aware of a greater degree of decision and behavioral freedom and to accept more responsibility for their own decisions and behavior in their encounters with citizens.

The Problem Analysis Questionnaire (PAQ) was used to assess the degree to which a person attributes responsibility to himself, to other persons, and to organizational factors as the cause of his personal problems. Responses to this questionnaire

reveal that the training program did have some impact on the attribution of responsibility by officers. Trained officers perceived their lack of initiative and effort to be a greater determinant of their interpersonal problems in general after the training program than before the training program. Trained officers perceived their resistance to influence and change as a greater determinant of their interpersonal problems after the training program. There were no significant changes for control officers.

Trained officers assigned greater responsibility to themselves, after training than before training. Trained officers perceived that there was a greater need for them to be less resistant to change and influence on the postmeasurement than on the premeasurement. There was no change in the control group on either of these measures. At the same time it appears that the training program did not change the trainees' perceptions of their fellow officers or their police department in either a more favorable or unfavorable direction.

Objectives 1 and 2 were also examined in relation to officers' responses to the PIE Questionnaire. Responses to this questionnaire reveal that trained officers perceived that their behavior in a domestic situation was less dictated by the law or unwritten or written departmental rules and regulations. Also, training officers perceived that the decision to arrest a drunk

was more the responsibility of the investigating officer than other factors. It appears that trained officers changed their perceptions about the significance of their own behavior in determining the outcomes of citizen-police encounters. Thus, the training program was effective in helping police officers accept more responsibility for their contribution to the outcome of their interactions with citizens. More importantly, the training program promoted judicious application of the principle to only those situations where it seemed flexible to warrant their use of decision and behavior discretion.

Objectives 3 and 4 refer to the need for officers to collect relevant and reliable information and cues prior to and during the contact situation in order to consider alternative forms of approaches to their encounters with citizens.

The Behavior Questionnaire was developed specifically for this study to be used after the officers viewed video-tapes of officers in three different police-citizen contact situations. After viewing a contact between a citizen(s) and a police officer, the officer was asked to list all the relevant cues he would use in deciding how to deal with the situation and all the alternative ways he might deal with the situation. Experimental officers perceived more ways of handling the family quarrel after training than did post-controls. Experimental officers also perceived more cues in the traffic violation film after training than before training while controls perceived fewer

cues at the post-measure than the pre-measure.

To summarize, the training program had a slight effect on training officers' perceptions of the number of informational cues in each of the three situations. Similarly, the training program exerted a slight effect on the training officers' perceptions of the number of alternative behaviors in each of the three film situations. All of these findings, although nonsignificant, were in the predicted direction. When the number of cues were summed for all three situations, there was statistically significant confirmation of the objective---training officers perceived more information in general about the situations after training. When the number of alternative behaviours suggested by officers was summed for all three situations, the findings did reveal non-significant confirmation of the objective - the number of alternative behaviors perceived by training officers increased after the program. It appears that the training was more successful in helping officers become aware of the need to collect more information than in helping officers become aware of the need to perceive a greater number of alternative behaviors in the specific situations.

Objective 5 refers to the need for officers to reduce the amount of ethnic, legal, and other forms of stereotyping.

The Community Attitude Survey (CAS) was used to measure this objective. Agreement with the statement that "Negro and

white policemen should share radio cars" increased from pre- to post-training for experimental officers while in contrast, agreement from pre- to post- did not change for control officers. Second, agreement with the statement "Policemen need a greater understanding of poor people" increased from pre- to post-measurement for experimental officers, while there was no change for control officers. Experimental officers' agreed more with the statement than control officers at the post-measurement. It appears that the change in stereotyping was very specific to other police officers and the poor. For instance, the reduction in interracial stereotyping was specific to other police officers in a work situation, e.g., "share" a police car. This change may be attributed both to the more formal exercises in the training program and the more intimate interracial contact which occurred between different race officers during informal interactions surrounding the training program. Interracial researchers find that this is the first step toward reduction of prejudice and stereotyping which can generalize to all members of a different race in more than a specific work situation.⁸⁹

Second, the results showed that training officers perceived the need for greater understanding of the "poor." Yet, this perpetual change did not occur for other populations such as college students, Blacks, etc.

⁸⁹Fromkin, H. L. & Sherwood, J. J. *Integrating the Organization: A Social Psychological Analysis.* New York: The Free Press, 1974.

Objectives 6 and 7 refer to the need for officers to become more aware of different ways of presenting their expectations in a clear and specific manner to citizens. Objective 10 refers to the need for officers to act in a rational and decisive manner. One hundred thirty one citizens who had contact with the experimental and control officers within two weeks after the training program were randomly chosen to be interviewed by telephone. Citizens perceived that experimental officers gave more explanation of their decisions than control officers. This finding, albeit on only a single scale item, provides strong confirmation for objectives 6 and 7. Second, citizens perceived that the experimental officers were more influenced by their race than control officers. Since the number of interracial contacts was small, it is difficult to interpret this finding. To aid in the interpretation, separate means were calculated for the two black respondents, each of whom had contact with white officers in the experimental group, for the two white respondents who had contact with black experimental officers and for the one white respondent who had contact with a black control officer. On the basis of this admittedly small number of subjects, the data show that black respondents perceived white experimental officers to be less influenced by their race and black experimental officers were perceived by white respondents as less influenced by race than was the black control officer. While this

interpretation must remain tentative, it suggests that the training program was successful in aiding white officers in terms of being perceived as less prejudiced by black respondents, and in aiding black officers in terms of being perceived as less prejudiced by white respondents.

Since the training program stressed the importance of officers varying their behavior in different kinds of contact situations with citizens, a content analysis was performed on the nature of contacts which occurred between citizens and the experimental and control officers. Two major classifications emerged from this analysis. First, service contacts were citizen-police encounters in which the officer assisted at the scene of an accident, investigated reports of theft, etc. Second, enforcement contacts were citizen-police encounters in which the citizen was being cited for some form of misconduct or illegal action, e.g., disorderly conduct, traffic violations, alleged theft of property, etc.

The findings may be summarized with the statement that, regardless of training or no training, all officers were perceived more favorably when the contact involved the officer in performing some service for the citizen than when the officer was enforcing the law with a citizen who was accused of some form of violation.

Thus, in addition to the slight support for this objective found in the previous analyses, the effects which were predicted to occur as a result of training were more evident among citizens

who had contact with police officers performing a service role. This finding is of particular note since the greatest majority of police-citizen contacts arise when police are performing service functions, and indicates that since officers are viewed most positively when engaging in service functions, effective public relations work should stress officers in service as opposed to law enforcement functions.

Objectives 8 and 9 refer to the need for officers to recognize difference in values between themselves and other officers and between themselves and other citizens as legitimate. The first part of the Rokeach Value Questionnaire (RVQ) contained a list of 18 personal values to be ranked according to how important the officers' perceived each value. Experimental officers valued an "exciting life" less in the post-measurement than control officers. Second, experimental officers raised their valuation of "inner harmony" from pre- to post-measurement and experimental officers valued inner harmony more in the post-measurement than control officers.

Objective 11 refers to the evaluation phase of the training program. In addition to all of the foregoing analysis, the Training Description Questionnaire contained three parts: 19 ratings scales to assess officers' perceptions of the effectiveness of each of the exercises, 5 ratings scales to assess officer's perceptions of the effectiveness of the training program in general, and 4 open-ended questions.

The major findings for this objective are summarized as follows. First, training officers' ratings of each of the training activities revealed that living and informal interactions with other police officers, the female role play situations, the student encounters, and the "who am I" exercise were the most useful training activities. The interracial encounter was perceived as the least useful training activity. Second, analysis of training officer responses to other rating scales revealed that more than 90 percent of the training officers perceived the training staff and the training program to be moderately or very superior and useful. Third, officers ratings also indicated that other officers, i.e., peer and superiors, would benefit from a similar program. Third, when compared with responses of officers at Cincinnati police academy, the present program was rated as equal or superior on each of the rating scales.

Fourth, content analysis of officers responses to open-ended questions revealed that training officers perceived that they would benefit from another similar program of longer duration. Content analysis of officer responses to four open-ended questions also demonstrated that greater awareness of racial issues and the need to avoid stereotyping, new interpersonal skills, greater awareness of their own strengths and/or weaknesses, and greater understanding of differences among people were reported as the most significant contributions of the training program.

Assessment of Personality Variables

The study also shows the importance of considering personality variables such as dogmatism or locus of control. Regardless of whether or not they received training, officers who obtained high dogmatism scores tended to attribute more of the responsibility for their personal police problems to other persons than officers who obtained low dogmatism scores. Similarly, independent of training, officers who obtained external scores, relative to officers who obtained internal scores on the locus of control measure, tended to assign greater responsibility for their personal police problems to departmental policies and practices. Additionally, training and control group officers who obtained higher internal scores assigned greater responsibility for conditions of poverty to members of indigent populations than officers who obtained external scores.

Last, officers who obtained internal scores were perceived as more polite, more embarrassing, less ready to listen and as making citizens less comfortable than officers who obtained external scores. While none of these findings seem inconsistent with theoretical predictions derived from the definitions of these personality constructs, neither of the personality variables interacted with any of the other variables, e.g., pre- versus post-measurement or training versus control group, as a mediator of training effectiveness.

Limitations of the Study

In this study the research team addressed itself to many issues which limit the validity and generalizability of most evaluation research. It was necessary for us to develop a number of measurement instruments and techniques specifically for this study. Given the unknown reliability and validity of these measures, the degrees of support for the objectives of the study is highly encouraging. However, there are a number of compelling reasons for exercising caution before generalizing the findings of this study to other populations and/or training programs.⁹⁰ For example, the methodology involved only one before and one after measurements for a single training program, a single training staff, and a small group of officers. The small sample size reduced the meaningfulness of and thereby the value of more sophisticated statistical analyses to assess the reliability and validity of the scales. Furthermore, in the absence of replications with repeated measurements before and after training, with different officers, with a different training staff, and with different exercises for the same objectives, etc., it seems unwise to propose the present findings as anything more than an impressive demonstration study which provides strong encouragement for further applications of experience-based training techniques and extension of the research methodology employed.

⁹⁰ Campbell, D. T., and J. C. Stanley. Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Although the experimental and control groups were expected to be extremely similar, preliminary inspection of the data reveals many instances of statistically significant differences on the premeasures between the two groups. Given these differences, one may conclude either that the two groups were not matched or some other factor can account for the differences. While the former explanation must remain a plausible one, there is some evidence that the experimental and control groups' responses to pre-measures were different because they were obtained under different conditions. That is, the control officers completed their questionnaires in small groups in their respective police departments. Video-taped instructions were presented to control subjects via a portable television monitor. Although the experimental subjects received the same instructions, their questionnaires were administered at the end of the one-half day orientation session.

Prior to the study, it was predicted that the hypotheses would be confirmed by significant time by groups interactions which are shown graphically in Figure 1a below. The predicted interaction shows no significant difference between the experimental and control groups on the pre-measures, no significant change between the pre- and postmeasures for the control group, and a significant change - i.e., either increase or decrease

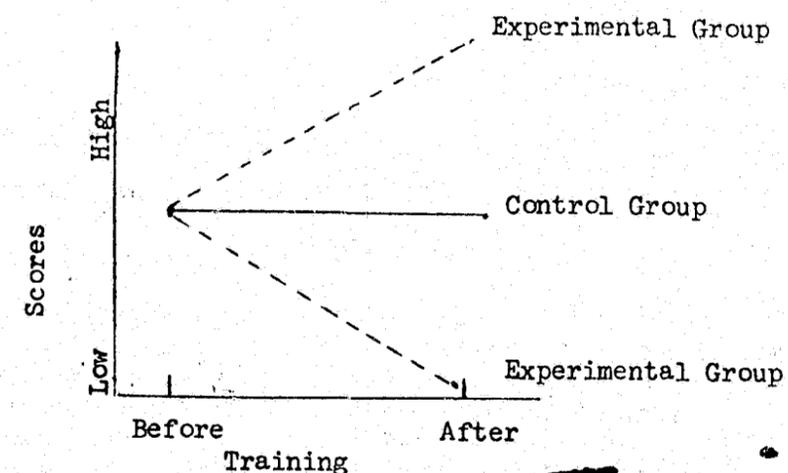


Figure 1a
Apriori Predictions of Support for Objectives

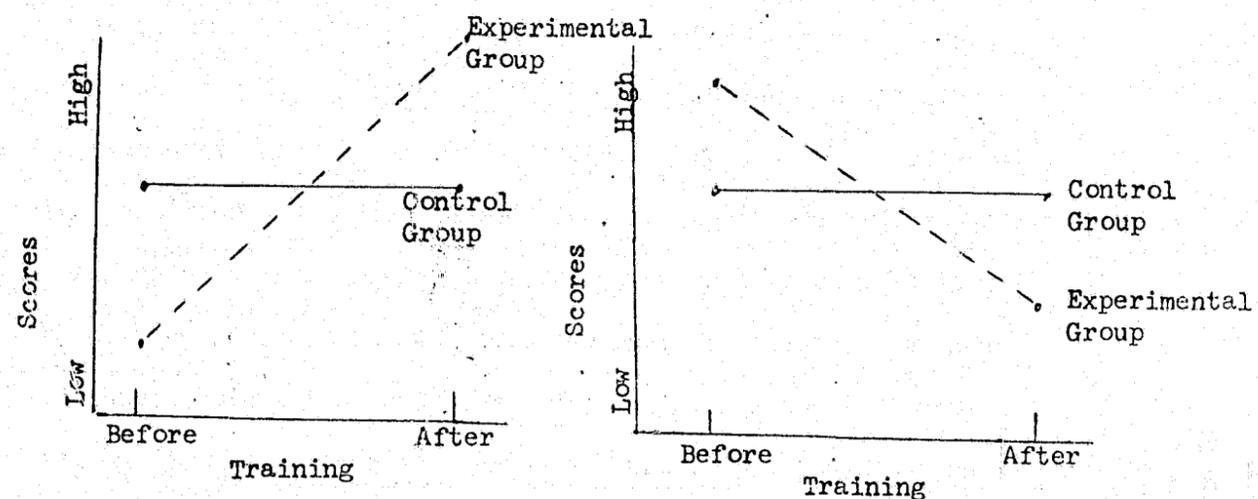


Figure 1b
Post Hoc Predictions of Support for Objectives

 Insert Figure 1 About Here

between the pre- and post-measures for the experimental group. However, in view of the fact that the orientation appears to have produced unexpected differences on the premeasures between the experimental and control group, it is necessary to change the specific predictions which represent support of the objectives.

Although the two groups may have different pre-measure scores, it is still meaningful to look for specific differences between the two groups in the direction and degree of change from the pre- to post-measurements, i.e., a significant time by groups interaction as confirmation of the original hypotheses (See Figure 1b above). However, an acceptable pattern of means for confirmation of the objectives does not include either a significant main effect of groups produced by initial premeasure differences between the experimental and control groups or a groups by time interaction when the interaction is a function of differences between the experimental and control groups on the premeasurements. Instead, the post hoc support for the objectives is obtained by an interaction when the control group does not change from before to after training and there is either a significant increase or decrease in the experimental groups from before to after training (see Figure 1b above).

Demographic Questionnaire

A demographic questionnaire requested officers to describe themselves in terms of age, education, and race, etc. The average police officer in the training program is described as relatively new in the department, having served an average of 2.3 years and holding the rank of patrolman (89%). The officers were mostly married men (89%) with an average of 1.6 children. The officers were predominantly white (93%), and most had been in the military service (70%). All officers had completed high school, and a few (15%) had some college. Table 2 below reveals a comparison of experimental (training) officers with control officers. It appears that, according to the characteristics measured in the

 Insert Table 2 About Here

questionnaire, the experimental and control officers were quite comparable in demographic character.

Objectives 1 and 2

Objectives 1 and 2 refer to the need for police officers to be aware of a greater degree of decision and behavioral freedom and to accept more responsibility for their own decisions and behavior in their encounters with citizens.

The Problem Analysis Questionnaire (PAQ) measures the degree to which a person attributes responsibility to himself, to other persons, and to organizational factors as the cause of

TABLE 2

Demographic Comparison of Experimental and Control Group Officers

	Experimental		Control	
	Mean	Range	Mean	Range
Age	26.7	21-35	28.8	22-40
Years in Department	2.3	.4-4.3	2.7	.2-10
Number of Children	1.6	0-7	1.5	0-4
Years in Military	2.6	0-8	2.3	0-5.1
None	2		3	
Army	8		7	
Air Force	2		0	
Marines	3		3	
National Guard	4		1	
Black	2		1	
White	25		20	
Rookie	0		1	
Patrolman	24		16	
Sargent	1		3	
Detective	2		0	
Lieutenant	0		1	
High School	23		19	
Some College	4		2	
Single	1		3	
Married	24		16	
Divorced	2		2	

his interpersonal problems. Assuming independence of the PAQ subscales, fifteen separate 2 x 2 analysis of variance were performed on the subscales of the PAQ (see Appendix Tables 15 to 28). Means for these analyses are shown in Table 3 below. First, as pre-

 Insert Table 3 About Here

dicted, there were significant interactions on the Self-RT and Self-CL subscales with $F=7.35$, $df=1/42$, and $p < .01$ and $F=6.71$, $df=1/42$, and $p < .01$, respectively. In support of objectives 1 and 2 of the program, these two interactions reveal that the training program did have some impact on the officers attribution of responsibility to themselves.

First, training officers perceived their own lack of initiative and effort to determine their interpersonal problems more after the training program ($M=27.54$) than before ($M=22.08$) the program, with $t=2.63$, $df=48$, and $p < .01$. That is, the degree to which training officers perceived that they had to exert more energy and initiative increased from pre-measurement to post-measurement. Also, after the training program, training officers ($M=27.54$) attributed greater responsibility to themselves for this factor than the control officers ($M=19.60$), with $t=4.20$, $df=48$, $p < .001$.

TABLE 3
Means on Problem Analysis Questionnaire Subscales

	<u>Experimental</u>		<u>Control</u>	
	Before	After	Before	After
Self RT	22.08	27.54	20.45	19.60
Self CL	16.71	22.25	16.15	16.65
Organization RT	21.54	21.50	18.50	18.55
Organization CL	24.75	27.46	22.50	21.00
Others RT	27.08	28.04	27.00	28.80
Others CL	23.67	23.13	20.20	20.70
Self-Others RT	30.92	35.29	29.70	29.50
Self-Others Closed	21.29	23.83	19.15	20.10
Self-Others Situational	14.67	15.88	12.40	12.10
Interpersonal Orientation (D of O)	22.26	22.09	23.22	25.28
Integrity & Dependability (D of O)	32.17	31.26	31.11	28.67
Status & Influence (D of O)	23.52	24.43	25.44	25.22
Interpersonal Orientation (D of S)	32.79	32.21	34.21	33.63
Integrity & Dependability (D of S)	30.25	31.08	30.16	28.37
Status & Influence (D of S)	36.83	36.17	37.58	35.68

CONTINUED

1 OF 3

TABLE 3
Means on Problem Analysis Questionnaire Subscales

	<u>Experimental</u>		<u>Control</u>	
	Before	After	Before	After
Self RT	22.08	27.54	20.45	19.60
Self CL	16.71	22.25	16.15	16.65
Organization RT	21.54	21.50	18.50	18.55
Organization CL	24.75	27.46	22.50	21.00
Others RT	27.08	28.04	27.00	28.80
Others CL	23.67	23.13	20.20	20.70
Self-Others RT	30.92	35.29	29.70	29.50
Self-Others Closed	21.29	23.83	19.15	20.10
Self-Others Situational	14.67	15.88	12.40	12.10
Interpersonal Orientation (D of O)	22.26	22.09	23.22	25.28
Integrity & Dependability (D of O)	32.17	31.26	31.11	28.67
Status & Influence (D of O)	23.52	24.43	25.44	25.22
Interpersonal Orientation (D of S)	32.79	32.21	34.21	33.63
Integrity & Dependability (D of S)	30.25	31.08	30.16	28.37
Status & Influence (D of S)	36.83	36.17	37.58	35.68

Second, training officers ($M=16.71$) perceived their resistance to change and influence to determine their interpersonal problems more after the training program ($M=22.25$), with $t=2.99$, $df=48$, $p < .004$. That is, training officers perceived that there was greater need for them to be less resistant to change and influence on the post-measurement than on the pre-measurement. Finally, after the program, training officers perceived that there was a greater need for them to be less resistant to influence and change ($M=22.25$) than did the control officers ($M=16.65$), with $t=16.65$, $df=44$, and $p < .002$. There were no changes for control officers from pre-measurement to post-measurement on either of the Self-RT or Self-CL subscales.

Third, there was a significant interaction of the Description of Self Integrity-Dependability orientation subscale with $F=5.87$, $df=1/41$, $p < .02$. t -tests performed on this interaction did not reach significance. Trends indicate that training officers saw themselves as being more dependable and possessing greater integrity after training. Control officers appeared to perceive themselves as possessing less of these qualities at the post-measurement time as compared to the pre-measurement.

The absence of additional significant differences is also interesting because the remaining scales focus largely upon the attribution of responsibility to other persons and to the organization. It appears that the training program did not change the trainees' perceptions of their fellow officers or their police

department in either a more favorable or an unfavorable direction.

Additional analyses were performed on all the data to determine whether individual differences between the officers, e.g., dogmatism or locus of control, were a determinant of the effectiveness of the training program. For these analyses, officers above and below the median score of 71 on the dogmatism scale were assigned to high and low dogmatism score groups and officers who scored above and below the median of 41 for the locus of control scale were assigned to external and internal score groups. Separate $2 \times 2 \times 2$ analyses of variance were performed on all of the data with time of testing (pre and post-training) as the first factor, group (experimental and control) as the second factor, and personality score (high or low) as the third factor. Only the statistically significant findings from these analyses are reported in the text of this paper. Instances when the interaction effects are nonsignificant or where the interaction effects are not interpretable are not reported.

It appears that the personality measures discriminate in relation to the attribution of responsibility to self on individual PAQ scale items. Both experimental and control officers with high dogmatic scores attributed more of the cause of their problems ($M = 4.10$) to "...the other person letting the problem slide" than officers with low dogmatic scores ($M = 3.30$), with $F = 10.40$, $df = 1/73$, $p \leq .003$. Both experimental and control

officers with high dogmatic scores attributed more of the responsibility for their problems ($M = 4.18$) to the "...unwillingness of the other person to adjust to the realities of the situation" than officers with low dogmatic scores ($M = 3.27$) with $F = 14.17$, $df = 1/73$, $p < .001$. Furthermore, experimental and control officers with high dogmatic scores assigned greater responsibility ($M = 25.91$) to the other person's lack of competency and initiative (e.g., Other-RT subscale) than officers with low dogmatic scores ($M = 29.38$) with $F = 4.16$, $df = 1/71$, $p < .05$. Finally, only one of the rating scale items on the orientation subscales showed a significant difference: both experimental and control officers with low dogmatic scores perceived themselves as more responsible for interpersonal difficulties ($M = 6.49$) than officers with high dogmatic scores ($M = 5.98$) with $F = 4.44$, $df = 1/69$, $p < .05$.

Thus, objectives 1 and 2 were not achieved with officers who scored high in dogmatism. That is, regardless of training, there was less acceptance of responsibility for the outcome of interpersonal problems for officers who scored high in dogmatism, i.e., officers with high dogmatism scores tend to attribute more of the responsibility for their personal problems to other persons. It is officers with low dogmatism scores who perceive themselves as more responsible. This finding would suggest that some other form of training or content might be more successful with these objectives for officers who score high in dogmatism.

Analysis of officers' responses to the PAQ with the locus of control as a personality variable yielded seven significant main effects that do not distinguish between control and experiential officers: internals ($M = 2.48$) attributed less of the cause of the problem ($M = 3.29$) than externals to "departmental inflexibility" with $F = 5.49$, $df = 1/73$, $p < .03$; internals ($M = 2.95$) attributed less of the cause of the problem than externals ($M = 3.81$) to "departmental policies which have not changed sufficiently with the times" with $F = 4.24$, $df = 1/71$, $p < .05$; internals ($M = 2.73$) attributed less of the cause of the problem than externals ($M = 3.82$) to "resisting of suggestions by the department" with $F = 7.60$, $df = 1/71$, $p < .01$; internals ($M = 1.88$) attributed less of the cause of the problem than externals ($M = 2.44$) to "tending to expect the other person to go their way more than is reasonable" with $F = 5.30$, $df = 1/71$, $p < .02$; internals ($M = 3.10$) attributed less of the cause of the problem than externals ($M = 3.89$) to "the fact that the department does not provide adequate resources for dealing with the problem" with $F = 4.15$, $df = 1/71$, $p < .05$; and internals ($M = 2.80$) attributed less of the problem to "difficulty getting favorable action from higher ups" than did externals ($M = 3.70$) with $F = 4.20$, $df = 1/71$, $p < .05$. In addition, externals obtained higher scores on the Organization RT ($M = 22.54$) and the Organization CL ($M = 28.34$) subscales than internals scores on the Organization RT ($M = 18.92$)

and the Organization CL ($M = 21.10$) subscales with $F = 4.33$, $df = 1/71$, $p < .05$ and $F = 8.86$, $df = 1/71$, and $p < .01$, respectively. Thus, regardless of the training, officers who perceive the outcomes of their interactions with the environment to be determined more by their own actions than by random or chance events (i.e., internals) tend to attribute less of the responsibility for their problems in police work to other persons and organizational rigidity, and more of the responsibility to causes within their own control. In contrast, officers who perceive the outcomes of their interactions with the environment to be determined more by chance events than by their own actions (i.e., externals) attribute more of the responsibility for their problems to other persons and to organizational rigidity.

Finally, on the Description of Self subscale, externals ($M = 6.24$) felt more comfortable with others ($M = 5.90$) than internals ($M = 5.55$) with $F = 3.88$, $df = 1/69$, $p = .05$; and externals perceived themselves to be of higher ability than internals ($M = 5.29$) with $F = 4.25$, $df = 1/69$, $p < .05$. These findings are also consistent with previous findings for locus of control. Externals, who do not feel as personally responsible for potential failures as internals feel more relaxed while dealing with others, and, since they attribute past failure more to outside causes, perceive themselves to be of higher ability than internals.

Objectives 1 and 2 were also examined in relation to officers' responses to the PIE Questionnaire. This questionnaire contained descriptions of four police-citizen situations (e.g., a drunk, a family quarrel, a traffic violator, and a store owner) and one general statement. A circle appeared below the description of each situation. Experimental and control officers divided each circle into four sections according to their perceptions of the degree to which each factor, e.g., police-citizen, rules and regulations, and situational factors) contributed to the outcome of police-citizen interaction. In each situation, the relative influence of each factor, e.g., rules and regulations, was ascertained by measuring the number of degrees which are circumscribed by the two lines that enclose the particular area of the circle labeled by the officer as "rules and regulations." For example, if an officer drew two lines for rules and regulations which encompassed exactly one-quarter of the circle, measurement with a protractor would show the numeric value of 90 degrees for rules and regulations. For each situation, a separate 2 X 2 analysis of variance was performed for each of the four factors, e.g., a 2 X 2 analysis of variance was performed on officers' ratings of the degree of police contribution to the outcome of the family quarrel situation; a 2 X 2 analysis of variance was performed on the officers' ratings of the degree of rules and regulations contribution to the outcome of the family quarrel situations, etc. Thus, four separate 2 X 2 analysis of variance were repeated for each of the five situations.

Objectives 1 and 2 stated the need to increase officers' perceptions of their degree of decision and behavioral freedom in those situations which seem flexible and safe enough to warrant it. In addition to the general case, traffic violation and store situations were selected during pilot research which afford less than usual decision or behavioral freedom. Therefore, no training differences were expected for either the general case or these two situations. Cell means are shown in Table 4 below. Four separate 2 X 2 analysis of variance were performed on the number

Insert Table 4 About Here

of degrees of responsibility which officers' assigned to each of the four factors, e.g., police, community rules and regulations, in the traffic violation situation. None of these analyses of variance yielded any significant main or interaction effects (See Appendix Tables 29 to 32). Four separate 2 X 2 analysis of variance performed on the officers' ratings of the amount of responsibility attributed to (a) police, (b) community, (c) rules and regulations, and (d) situational factors in the shopping center situation yielded no significant main or interaction effects (See Tables 33 to 36). Four separate 2 X 2 analyses of variance performed on the officers' ratings of the amount of responsibility attributed to police, community, rules and regulations and situational factors in the

TABLE 4
Mean Ratings of Attribution of Responsibility for Situations
Attributed Cause in Degrees

Situation	Police		Rules & Regulations		Community		Situation	
	Pre-	Post-	Pre-	Post-	Pre-	Post-	Pre-	Post-
Open Door Experimental Control	131.63	139.25	84.54	92.63	34.58	36.96	109.33	91.29
	123.57	133.70	75.04	102.13	38.96	30.43	116.52	93.43
Drunk Experimental Control	105.75	122.71	87.79	99.79	101.96	82.54	64.58	54.13
	142.91	106.83	67.35	87.61	84.35	89.39	69.74	76.17
Family Quarrel Experimental Control	113.50	106.38	44.54	34.21	79.25	83.08	122.71	136.33
	114.48	114.74	29.17	53.00	84.00	72.96	130.61	119.30
Speeder Experimental Control	98.13	117.71	75.96	68.17	113.46	87.00	72.13	87.50
	90.26	94.74	93.83	78.74	79.22	83.04	96.70	103.48
Average Encounter Experimental Control	131.83	129.88	81.38	81.46	81.88	94.42	64.92	53.83
	136.78	131.83	84.65	92.61	77.91	72.83	60.65	62.74

NOTE: The greater the mean, the greater the responsibility the officer assigned to a particular factor. Totals do not always add up to exactly 360 as means were used.

"average situation in which you have contact with the public" yielded no significant main or interaction effects (See Appendix Tables 37 to 40).

In contrast, differences in the degree to which officers accepted responsibility for the outcome of a police-citizen contact were expected for the situations rated in pilot research as having more than usual decision or behavior freedom, e.g., the family quarrel and arrest of a drunk. Four separate analyses of variance performed on officers' ratings of the degree of responsibility which officers attributed to police, community, rules and regulations, and situational factors in the family quarrel situation yielded only one significant effect (See Appendix Tables 41 to 44). A significant interaction ($F = 10.94$, $df = 1/45$, $p = < .001$) showed that: training officers attributed less responsibility for the outcome of the family quarrel contact to rules and regulations after training ($M = 34.21$) than before ($M = 44.54$) training with $t = 1.71$, $df = 50$, $p < .05$ and control officers attributed more responsibility for the outcome of the family quarrel to rules and regulations after training ($M = 53.00$) than before training ($M = 29.17$) with $t = 1.71$, $df = 50$, $p < .05$. Four separate 2×2 analysis of variance performed on the degree of responsibility which officers attributed to police, citizens, rules and regulations, and situational factors in the drunk person situation yielded only one significant effect (See Appendix Tables 45 to 48). A significant interaction

($F = 6.41$, $df = 1/45$, $p < .01$) showed that while training officers did not attribute, significantly, more responsibility for the outcome of the drunk encounter to police officers after training ($M = 122.71$) than before training ($M = 105.75$), control officers did assign less responsibility to police officers after training ($M = 106.83$) than before training ($M = 142.91$) with $t = 1.73$, $df = 50$, $p \leq .05$. There were not interactions of the dogmatism or locus of control personality variables with any of these measures.

Training officers perceived that the decision to take the wife to her mother's house in the family quarrel situation was less dictated by the law or unwritten and written departmental rules and regulations. Also, training officers perceived that the decision to arrest a drunk was more the responsibility of the investigating officer than other factors. It appears that training officers changed their perceptions about the significance of their own behavior in determining the outcomes of citizen-police encounters. Thus, it appears that the training program was effective in helping police officers accept more responsibility for their contribution to the outcome of their interactions with citizens. More importantly, the training program promoted judicious application of the principle to only those situations where it seemed flexible to warrant their use of decision and behavior discretion.

Objectives 3 and 4

Objectives 3 and 4 refer to the need for officers to collect relevant and reliable information and cues prior to and during the contact situation in order to consider alternative forms of approaches to their encounters with citizens.

The Behavior Questionnaire was developed specifically for this study to be used after the officers viewed video-tapes of officers in three different police-citizen contact situations. After viewing a contact between a male traffic violator and police officer, the officer was asked to list: all the relevant cues he would use in deciding how to deal with the situation and all the alternative ways he might deal with the situation. Two separate 2×2 analysis of variance performed on the number of cues and alternative modes of handling the situation yielded no significant interaction effect for the racial incident. ANOVA did yield a significant interaction for alternative modes of behavior for the Family quarrel ($F = 5.13$, $df = 1/43$, $p \leq .05$) and the number of cues perceived in the traffic violation scene ($F = 14.46$, $df = 1/44$, $p \leq .01$). Experimental officers perceived more ways of handling the family quarrel after training ($M = 4.27$) than did post-controls ($M = 3.27$, $t = 2.08$, $df = 44$, $p \leq .05$). Experimental officers also perceived more cues in the traffic violation film after training ($M = 3.83$) than before training ($M = 2.33$, $t = 3.27$, $df = 49$, $p \leq .01$) and post controls ($M = 2.59$, $t = 2.45$, $df = 45$, $p \leq .05$) while controls perceived fewer cues at the post-

measure ($\bar{M} = 2.59$) than the pre-measure ($\bar{M} = 3.55$, $t = 2.56$, $df = 54$, $p < .05$). The means for subjects' responses to this measures are shown in Table 5 below. Next, officers' responses

 Insert Table 5 About Here

to all three situations were summed to form two indices of total number of cues and total number of alternatives for all three situation. A 2×2 analysis of variance performed on the total number of cues yielded the predicted interaction $F = 7.54$, $df = 1/42$, $p < .01$. The number of cues observed by the experimental officers increased from before ($\bar{M} = 8.39$) to after ($\bar{M} = 10.83$) training ($t = 2.24$, $df = 48$, $p < .02$) while, in contrast, the total number of cues observed by control officers decreased, but not significantly, from before ($\bar{M} = 9.90$) to after ($\bar{M} = 8.14$) training.

A 2×2 analysis of variance performed on the total number of alternatives suggested by officers revealed a similar trend for training officers to increase and control officers to decrease the number of perceived alternatives from pre- to post-training. This trend was not significant, however (See Appendix, Tables 49 to 55). Neither of the personality variables interacted with the number of cues or alternatives generated by police officers.

TABLE 5
 Mean Number of Cues and Mean Number of Alternative Behaviors for Each Situation

Situation	Number of Cues		Number of Behaviors	
	Experimental Before	Experimental After	Control Before	Control After
Family Quarrel	3.39	3.87	3.09	2.68
Traffic Violation	2.33	3.83	3.55	2.59
Disturbing Peace	2.71	3.25	3.10	2.57
TOTAL	8.39	10.83	9.90	8.14
			7.67	8.57
			3.64	3.27
			2.05	2.38
			2.79	2.16
			8.47	7.74

NOTE: The greater the mean, the greater the number of cues/alternatives perceived by the officer.

To summarize, the training program exerted a slight effect on training officers' perceptions of the number of informational cues in each of the three situations. Similarly, the training program exerted a slight effect on the training officers' perceptions of the number of alternative behaviors in each of the three (not for traffic ticket film) situations. All of these findings, although nonsignificant, were in the predicted direction. When the number of cues were summed for all three situations, there was statistically significant confirmation of the objective - training officers perceived more information in general about the situations after training. When the number of alternative behaviors suggested by officers was summed for all three situations, the findings did reveal non-significant confirmation of the objective - the number of alternative behaviors perceived by training officers increased after the program. It appears that the training was more successful in helping officers become aware of the need to collect more information than in helping officers become aware of the need to perceive a greater number of alternative behaviors in the specific situations.

Objective 5

Objective 5 refers to the need for officers to reduce the amount of ethnic, legal, and other forms of stereotyping.

The Community Attitude Survey (CAS) contained 7 point rating scales to measure stereotypic beliefs about different

minority populations. Separate 2×2 analysis of variance were performed on officers' responses to each of the scales. The individual item analysis yielded only two significant interactions with $F = 8.01$, $df = 1/40$, $p < .01$ and $F = 4.34$, $df = 1/40$, $p < .05$ (See Appendix, Tables 56 to 57). Agreement with the statement that "Negro and white policemen should share radio cars" increased from pre- ($M = 4.29$) to post- ($M = 5.08$) training for experimental officers ($t = 2.16$, $df = 49$, $p < .05$), while in contrast, agreement from pre- ($M = 4.78$) to post- ($M = 4.67$) did not change for control officers with $t = .13$, $df = 43$, and $p = .89$. Second, agreement with the statement "Policemen need a greater understanding of poor people" increased from pre- ($M = 4.42$) to post- ($M = 5.25$) measurement for experimental officers with $t = -3.60$, $df = 49$, $p < .001$. There was no change for control officers from pre- ($M = 4.00$) to post- ($M = 4.11$) measurement with $t > 1$. Experimental officers' agreed with the "poor people" statement ($M = 5.25$) more than control officers ($M = 4.11$) at the post-measurement with $t = 4.09$, $df = 45$, and $p < .001$. It appears that the greatest change in stereotyping was very specific to other police officers and the poor. For instance, the reduction in interracial stereotyping was specific to other police officers in a work situation, e.g., "share" a police car. This change may be attributed to the more intimate interracial contact which occurred between different race officers during in-

formal interactions surrounding the training program: Research shows that reduction in stereotyping in personal contacts is a first step toward reduction of prejudice and stereotyping toward all members of different races beyond the specific contact situation.

A 2×2 analysis of variance performed on the sum of officers' responses to all of the CAS items yielded a significant interaction with $F = 4.23$, $df = 1/40$, $p < .04$. Inspection of this interaction revealed that training resulted in more positive feelings ($M = 101.63$, $t = 2.15$, $df = 49$, $p < .05$). The post-training officers were also more favorable ($M = 106.96$) toward the community than post-control officers ($M = 100.06$, $t = 2.45$, $df = 45$, $p < .05$. See Appendix, Table 58).

$2 \times 2 \times 2$ analysis of variance performed on training and control officers' responses to the CAS items did not yield any significant main effects on interactions with the officers' responses to the dogmatism scale.

$2 \times 2 \times 2$ analysis of variance which included officers' responses to the locus of control measure produced only three significant main effects.

First, officers with high internal scores agreed more ($M = 4.13$) than officers with high external scores ($M = 4.77$) with the statement that "If the truth were known about poor people it is that they are lazy and don't really want to work"

($F = 4.48$, $df = 1/75$, $p < .04$). This finding seems consistent with the tendency for internals to perceive that peoples' rewards are more a result of their own efforts and abilities than the result of chance or fate.

Second, officers with high internal scores agreed more ($M = 2.77$) than officers with high external scores ($M = 3.75$) with the statement that "Most of the time I can't understand why people from minority groups behave the way they do" ($F = 8.06$, $df = 1/75$, $p < .01$). Third, officers with high internal scores agreed more ($M = 3.62$) than officers with high external scores ($M = 4.36$) with the statement that "People with different social backgrounds can hardly be expected to understand or get along with each other" ($F = 4.95$, $df = 1/75$, $p < .03$)

In the latter two findings, there appears to be less understanding or empathy concerning the problems of people with different racial or social backgrounds. This likely arises from a tendency for individuals with high internal scores to believe that people are more in control of their own fate and therefore to also believe that people are more personally responsible for their problems.

Objectives 6 and 7

Objectives 6 and 7 refer to the need for officers to become more aware of different ways of presenting their expectations in a clear and specific manner to citizens. Objective 10 refers to the need for officers to act in an objective and decisive manner.

One hundred-thirty-one citizens who had contact with the experimental and control officers within two weeks after the training program were randomly chosen to be interviewed by telephone -- 105 were white males, 22 were white females, and 4 were black males. Forty-three telephone interviews were not completed because potential subjects could not be reached after repeated attempts, or they refused to answer interview questions.

Citizen responses to the telephone interview were subjected to a one-way analysis of variance with control versus experimental group. This analysis yielded no significant effects. Next, subjects were segmented by offense (i.e., traffic offenders, individuals involved in traffic accidents, individuals reporting thefts, individuals involved in misconduct). Only one of the segmented analyses yielded significant results. The analyses of traffic offenders (the largest contact group) yielded two significant effects. First, citizens perceived that experimental officers ($M = 2.86$) gave more explanation of their decisions than control officers ($M = 2.55$) with $F = 4.33$, $df = 1/32$, and $p < .05$. This finding, albeit obtained for only one scale item, provides confirmation for objectives 6 and 7. Second, citizens perceived that the experimental officers ($M = 2.59$) were more influenced by their race than control officers ($M = 1.91$) with $F = 4.76$, $df = 1/32$, and $p < .04$. Internal analyses were performed to help with this interpretation. There were only two black respondents

who had contact with a black officer. Separate means were calculated for two black respondents, each of whom had contact with white officers in the experimental group ($M = 1.00$), for the two white respondents who had contact with black experimental officers ($M = 1.0$), and for the one white respondent who had contact with a black control officer ($M = 3.0$). On the basis of this small number of subjects, it would seem that: black citizens perceived white experimental officers to be very little influenced by their race; and, white citizens perceived black experimental officers to be less influenced by their race than black control officers. While this interpretation must remain tentative, it suggests that the training program was related to both white officers being perceived as less prejudiced by black citizens and black officers being perceived as less prejudiced by white citizens.

Since the training program stressed the importance of officers varying their behavior in different kinds of contact situations with citizens, a content analysis was performed on the nature of contacts which occurred between citizens and the experimental and control officers. Two major classifications emerged from this analysis. The first was service contacts in which the officer assisted a citizen at the scene of an accident or investigated reports of theft, etc. The second was enforcement contacts in which the citizen was being

arrested or cited for some form of misconduct or illegal action, e.g., disorderly conduct, traffic violations, alleged theft of property, etc. 2 X 2 analysis of variance were performed on citizens responses to the telephone interview with officer group (e. g., experimental versus control) and reason for contact (e. g., service or enforcement) treated as independent variables. There were no significant interactions. The significant main effects of reason for contacts, shown in Table 6 below, may be

 Insert Table 6 About Here

summarized with the statement that, regardless of training or no training, all officers were perceived more favorably when the contact involved the officer performing some service for the citizen than when the officer was enforcing the law with a citizen who was suspected of some form of violation. Although the effects of training were most evident among citizens who had contact with police officers performing a service role, this finding is of particular note since the greatest majority of police-citizen contacts arise when police are performing service functions.

Lastly, there were some significant interactions between the personality variables and citizen perceptions of the police officers' behavior. A 2 X 2 analysis of variance with experi-

TABLE 6

Significant Main Effect Means for 2 X 2 Analysis of Variance of Citizens Perceptions of Officers According to Reasons for Police-Citizen Encounter.

Questionnaire Item	Service	Enforcement	F	df	p <
Friendly	4.47	3.90	23.38	1/120	.001
Polite	4.50	4.06	13.22	1/130	.001
Satisfied with my Treatment by Ofc.	4.64	3.90	25.69	1/130	.001
Frightened by Ufc.	2.14	2.86	28.63	1/130	.001
Angered by Ofc.	2.25	2.73	7.14	1/130	.001
Embarrassed by Ofc.	2.22	2.86	14.50	1/130	.001
Uncomfortable with Officer	2.21	3.05	27.76	1/130	.001
Considered my Feelings	4.25	3.40	15.91	1/130	.001
Treated me as equal	3.88	3.40	19.37	1/130	.001
Listened to me	2.95	2.67	16.35	1/130	.001
Interested in me	4.40	3.45	37.78	1/130	.001
Gave more Explanation	4.86	4.39	8.67	1/130	.005
Ready to Listen	2.86	2.36	34.88	1/130	.005
Understood my view	2.96	2.50	31.04	1/130	.005
Officer's Hasty Decisions	1.99	2.23	9.89	1/130	.003
Citizen Talked More	3.20	2.67	13.82	1/130	.001
Influenced by my Appearance	2.34	3.01	11.97	1/130	.002
Influenced by my Age	2.23	2.85	11.79	1/130	.002
Influenced by my Sex	2.07	2.37	5.77	1/130	.017
Officer Should Have Public Contact	5.36	4.67	12.49	1/130	.001
Officer well trained	3.55	3.15	6.95	1/130	.009
Treated me fairly	4.70	3.92	30.22	1/130	

NOTE: The greater the mean, the more the officer was perceived as friendly, polite, considerate, listening to the citizen, interested in what the citizen has to say, providing an explanation for his decisions, ready to listen as opposed to having his mind made up, understanding the citizens point of view, better trained, as treating the citizen more fairly, as more influenced by the citizens, appearance, age, and sex, talking less, and making less hasty decisions. The greater the mean, the more the citizen was satisfied with the final outcome of their contact with the police, more frightened, angered, embarrassed, and uncomfortable by and with the police officer.

mental versus control and internal versus external score was performed on all the officers' responses to the 28 telephone interview questions. This analysis yielded only four significant main effects. Officers' with internal scores were perceived as more polite ($\bar{M} = 4.45$) than officers with external scores ($\bar{M} = 4.13$) with $F = 3.99$, $df = 1/95$, $p < .05$. Officers with internal scores were perceived as making the citizens feel more embarrassed ($\bar{M} = 2.69$) than officers with external scores ($\bar{M} = 2.23$) with $F = 5.23$, $df = 1/95$, $p < .03$. Officers with internal scores ($\bar{M} = 2.81$) talked more, i.e., citizens talked less, than officers with external scores ($\bar{M} = 3.16$) with $F = 4.93$, $df = 1/95$, $p < .03$. Last, officers with internal scores made citizens feel more uncomfortable ($\bar{M} = 2.81$) than officers with external scores ($\bar{M} = 2.28$) with $F = 6.96$, $df = 1/95$, $p < .01$.

A similar analysis was performed on the 28 telephone interview responses with officers divided into two groups of high and low dogmatism scores. Although there are no significant main effects, there are some interactions. However, initial differences between the experimental and control groups inhibited unambiguous interpretation of these latter findings.

Objectives 8 and 9

Objectives 8 and 9 refer to the need for officers to recognize difference in values between themselves and other officers and between themselves and other citizens as legitimate.

The first part of the Rokeach Value Questionnaire (RVQ) contained a list of 18 personal values to be ranked from 1 to 18 according to how important the officers' perceived each value. Eighteen separate 2×2 analysis of variance performed on the ranks assigned to each of the 18 values yielded only two significant interactions (Appendix Tables 59 and 60). First, a significant interaction was obtained for the "exciting life" value ($F = 4.31$, $df = 1/43$, $p < .04$): experimental officers ($\bar{M} = 12.61$) valued an "exciting life" less in the post-measurement than control officers ($\bar{M} = 9.68$) with $t = 1.87$, $df = 45$, $p < .07$. Second, a significant interaction was obtained from the analysis of the "inner harmony" value with $F = 15.61$, $df = 1/43$, $p < .001$. Experimental officers raised their valuation of "inner harmony" from pre- ($\bar{M} = 10.74$) to post- ($\bar{M} = 6.35$) measurement with $t = 3.56$, $df = 48$, $p < .001$ and experimental officers valued inner harmony more in the post-measurement ($\bar{M} = 6.35$) than control officers ($\bar{M} = 12.55$) with $t = 4.24$, $df = 44$, $p < .001$.

Although there was no support for the predictions of greater valuation of values such as "equality" and "freedom," training officers valued at "exciting life" less and "inner harmony" more as a result of the training program. The mean ranks are shown in Table 7 below.

 Insert Table 7 About Here

TABLE 7
 Mean Ranking for the 18 Rokeach Value Rankings
 for Experimental and Control Officers

Rokeach Value	Experimental		Control	
	Pre-	Post-	Pre-	Post-
Comfortable Life	9.35	10.39	8.50	9.05
Exciting Life	11.65	12.61	11.45	9.68
World of Peace	7.48	8.87	6.41	7.32
Sense of Accomplishment	7.74	8.09	5.64	6.36
World of Beauty	13.78	13.35	13.95	12.95
Equality	8.00	8.35	8.41	8.91
Family Security	5.26	6.01	6.55	6.45
Freedom	4.57	5.17	5.86	4.72
Happiness	6.70	7.30	6.86	6.64
National Security	11.17	11.91	10.05	8.68
Inner Harmony	10.74	6.35	11.68	12.55
Salvation	11.09	11.04	14.09	12.68
Mature Love	11.91	11.00	12.23	12.41
Wisdom	8.48	7.61	7.41	8.73
Pleasure	13.30	12.48	12.59	12.18
Self Respect	5.61	5.48	5.91	6.41
True Friendship	10.26	10.39	10.59	10.50
Social Recognition	4.61	4.78	4.26	4.39

In addition, there were a number of rating scales to assess officers' perceptions of the amount of value congruency between themselves and other officers and between themselves and members of different minority groups. Separate 2 X 2 analysis of variance performed on officers' responses to each of these rating scales yielded no significant main or interaction effects. Also, neither the dogmatism or the I-E personality variable produced any significant main or interaction effects in these analyses.

Objective 10

Objective 10, i.e., the need for officers to act in a decisive and objective manner, received some equivocal support in the citizen responses to the telephone interviews. These findings are described under "Objective 6 and 7" above.

Objective 11

Objective 11 refers to the evaluation phase of the training program. In addition to all of the foregoing analysis, the Training Description Questionnaire contained three parts: 19 ratings scales to assess officers' perceptions of the effectiveness of each of the exercises, 5 ratings scales to assess officer's perceptions of the effectiveness of the training program in general, and 4 open-ended questions.

The TDQ contained 19 rating scales with 5 points labeled "not at all useful," "slightly useful," "moderately useful," "very useful," and "extremely useful." The frequency of responses to each response category and mean rating of each exercise are shown in Table 8 below. In general, the overall mean rating of

 Insert Table 8 About Here

TABLE 8

Frequencies and Means of Officers' Evaluation of the Training Program Exercises

Items	Response Categories					Mean
	Not at All Useful	Slightly Useful	Moderately Useful	Very Useful	Extremely Useful	
Orientation Party	1	1	8	11	2	3.52
Eye of Beholder Film		3	7	7	6	3.70
"Who Am I" Exercise		1	2	8	12	4.35
Student Encounter		1	2	8	11	4.32
"Lego Man" Exercise			3	8	12	4.39
Anger Film		2	5	10	6	3.87
Obedience Film			6	8	8	4.09
Female Role Plays			3	7	13	4.44
Interracial Encounter	1		1	4	17	4.73
Feeling Good Film		2	7	8	4	3.55
Banquet	1		7	8	6	3.95
Fear/Anxiety Film		1	5	7	9	3.96
Back-Home Exercise		2	3	12	6	3.96
Informal Disc. With Other Officers	1		2	7	11	4.09
Informal Disc. With Trainers		2	2	7	11	4.09
Living With Officers			2	8	13	4.48
Laboratory Facilities		2	2	6	15	4.51
Union Facilities		1	3	6	15	4.51
			3	10	9	4.17
				7	16	4.70
		2	5	8	8	3.96

all the exercises was 4.15 (SD = .36). It appears clear that officers found the exercises to be "moderately" to "extremely useful."

In addition, the TDQ contained eleven rating scale items which were adapted from a questionnaire used at the Cincinnati police academy to evaluate the officer's perceptions of Cincinnati's training program. Five items were seven point rating scales which requested the officers to evaluate: the overall program from "very inferior" to "very superior;" what they personally learned from "very useless" to "very useful;" their understanding of college students from "very much worse" to "very much better," their understanding of Negroes from "very much worse" to "very much better," and the trainers from "very ineffective" to "very effective." Table 9 below shows the number of officers who selected each category of response and the mean response of all officers to each item.

Insert Table 9 About Here

First, as may be seen in Table 9 above, 91 percent of the training officers perceived the program to be "moderately" or "very superior" within an overall mean of 6.43. Second, 96 percent of the training officers perceived the program as "moderately" or "very useful" in terms of what they "personally learned" with an overall mean of 6.70. Third, 70 percent of the training

TABLE 9
Frequency of Response and Mean Response
to General Evaluation of the Program

Items	Category of Response							Purdue Mean	Transformed Cincinatti Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Inferior-Superior Program				1	1	8	13	6.43	5.26
Useful-Useless Program					1	5	17	6.70	5.53
Understanding College Students					7	8	8	6.04	5.07
Understanding of Negroes				6	6	8	3	5.35	4.58
Training Staff	1						22	6.74	5.22

Note: The greater category of response number and the greater the mean, the more favorable the officers' evaluation. Cincinatti means converted from 5 point scale to 7 point scale by formula

$$(\text{Original Cincinatti Mean}) \frac{7}{5} = \text{transformed Cincinatti Mean}$$

officers perceived that they obtained a "moderately" or "very much better understanding" of college students as a result of this training program with an overall mean of 6.04. Fourth, 48 percent of the training officers perceived that they obtained a "moderately" or "very much better understanding" of Negroes as a result of this training program with an overall mean of 5.35. Fifth, 96 percent of the training officers perceived the training staff to be "moderately" or "very effective" with an overall mean of 6.74. Comparison of police ratings of the Purdue program and the Cincinatti program revealed that the Purdue program received superior ratings on every one of the items.

Five additional items requested officers to indicate their attitudes about the program by checking "yes," "no," or "don't know." Officers responses to these items are shown in Table 10 below. First, 65 percent of the officers perceived that the training program had raised new racial issues and 22 percent perceived that it did not. Second, 78 percent of the officers perceived the program to raise racial issues which they had not previously dealt with and 9 percent perceived that it did not. Third, 100 percent of the officers perceived that other officers would benefit from this training program. Fourth, 96 percent of the officers perceived that police superiors would benefit from this program. Fifth, only 13 percent

of the officers reported being involved in human relations training prior to this program. Again, comparison of the Purdue and Cincinnati officers, ratings reveal that Purdue officers perceived the present program superior to the Cincinnati program. In an additional question the three officers who had previous human relations training were asked to compare the training with the Purdue program on a seven point scale with 1 = Purdue Program "very inferior" to 7, Purdue was "very superior." One

 Insert Table 10 About Here

officer answered 6 and the two other officers responded 7, again indicating that the officers perceived the present program very favorably.

Last, four open-ended items requested officers to write a general evaluation of the training program. A verbatim transcript of the officers' written responses to these four items is contained in Appendix Tables 61 to 64. In general, more than 90 percent of the comments are very or extremely favorable to the program and the training staff.

Content analysis of the officers' responses to the open-ended question which requested officers to indicate what they learned that was "most useful" to them as police officers yielded seven categories, shown in Table 11 below. The most frequently

TABLE 10

Items	Category of Response				Cincinnati Mean
	No	Don't Know	Yes	Purdue Mean	
Aware of New Racial Issues	5	3	15	2.44	2.35
Racial Issues Not Dealt With	2	3	18	2.70	2.43
Other Officers Will Benefit			23	3.00	2.54
Police Superiors Will Benefit	1		22	2.91	2.38
Prior Human-Relations Training	20		3	1.26	NA
If Yes on Above - How does this compare 1-7 Very Superior				6.6	

NA = Not Applicable

occurring comment, e.g., 26% of the responses, refer to the officers' recognition of their tendency to stereotype, the

 Insert Table 11 About Here

problems which stereotyping create, and the need to avoid letting stereotyping interfere with their interactions with citizens. Next, 19% of the officers' comments refer to their recognition of new strengths and/or concern for the problems of other people. The fourth most frequent response, e.g., 12% of the officers' comments, mention some new interpersonal skills. Last, the fifth most frequent response e.g., 10% of the officer's comments contained some statement about the importance of their role as a police officer.

Content analysis of officers' response to the open-ended item about the "least helpful" parts of the training program yielded six categories shown in Table 12 below. The most frequent response, e.g., 39% of their comments, reveals that officers

 Insert Table 12 About Here

perceived the interracial exercise as least helpful to them. Second, 27% of their responses revealed that officers did not perceive any of the exercises as least helpful. Twenty-two

TABLE 11

Content Analysis Frequency and Percentage of Officer Responses to "Most Useful Aspects of Program for a Police Officer"

<u>Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
To Avoid Stereotyping	11	26%
Own Strengths & Weaknesses	8	19%
Understanding of Differences Between People	7	17%
Awareness/Concern for Other People's Problems	6	14%
Interpersonal Skills	5	12%
Awareness of Importance of Role of Officer	4	10%
Miscellaneous	<u>1</u>	<u>2%</u>
TOTAL	42	100%

TABLE 12
 Frequency and Percentages of Officer Responses to
 "Least Helpful Parts of the Training Program"

<u>Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Interracial Exercise	9	39%
None	6	27%
Miscellaneous	5	22%
Lego Man Exercise	1	4%
Group Discussions	1	4%
Films	<u>1</u>	<u>4%</u>
TOTALS	23	100%

percent of the officers' comments fell into a miscellaneous category.

Content analysis of officers' responses about the "most helpful" parts of the training program revealed eight categories shown in Table 13 below.

 Insert Table 13 About Here

First, 28% of their responses were coded into a miscellaneous category - the most frequently occurring response. Second, 15% of their comments revealed that the role play exercises and interactions with the training staff were perceived as most helpful. Third, the student encounter received the fourth most frequent endorsement, e.g., 13% of their responses, as the most helpful part of the program.

Last, content analysis of officers' response to "any other comments which you feel would be helpful" yielded six categories shown in Table 14 below. Foremost among officers' responses e.g., 29% of the comments was their perception that

 Insert Table 14 About Here

that they acquired more favorable insight about themselves. The second most frequent response, e.g., 21% of the comments, was an expression of the need for other officers to take part

TABLE 13

Content Analysis Frequencies and Percentages of Officer Perceptions about the most "Helpful Parts of the Program"

<u>Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Miscellaneous	15	28%
Role Plays	8	15%
Interactions With Trainers	8	15%
Student Encounters	7	13%
Films & Discussions	5	9%
Interracial Encounters	4	8%
Discussions With Fellow Officers	4	8%
Group Discussions	<u>2</u>	<u>4%</u>
TOTALS	53	100%

TABLE 14

Content Analysis Frequencies and Percentages of Officer Responses to "Any Other Comments Which You Feel Would Be Helpful?"

<u>Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Favorable Self Discovery	7	29%
Need for Other Officers to Participate in Similar Program	5	21%
Miscellaneous	4	17%
Favorable Comment	3	13%
Desire to Participate Again in Similar Program	3	13%
Program Should Be Longer	<u>2</u>	<u>7%</u>
TOTAL	24	100%

in a similar training program. Seventeen percent of the comments filled a miscellaneous category - the third most frequent response. Next, favorable comments about the trainers, e. g., 13% of the comments, and an expression of interest in participating in another similar training program, e.g., 13% of the comments, were the next most frequently occurring responses.

It is interesting to note that the strongest support for all of the objectives is found in officers' response to the open-ended questions.

TABLE 15

Mean scores for the Description of Self subscale,
Integrity & Dependability factor of the Problem Analysis Questionnaire.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	30.25	31.08
Control	30.16	28.37

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	44.57	42	
Group	41.78	1	.94
Error	44.64	41	
Within	6.94	43	
Time	4.85	1	.78
Group x Time	36.48	1	5.87*
Error	6.21	41	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 16

Mean scores for the Self-Closed Subscale of the Problem Analysis Questionnaire.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	16.71	22.25
Control	16.15	16.65

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	40.77	43	
Group	206.87	1	5.62*
Error	36.81	42	
Within	26.64	44	
Time	199.10	1	9.64**
Group x Time	138.65	1	6.71**
Error	30.66	42	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 17

Mean scores for the Self Rational-technical subscale of the Problem Analysis Questionnaire.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	22.08	27.54
Control	20.45	19.60

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	74.96	43	
Group	500.08	1	7.71
Error	64.80	42	
Within	35.03	44	
Time	115.84	1	3.92
Group x Time	217.06	1	7.35**
Error	29.53	42	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 18

Mean score for the Description of Self subscale,
Interpersonal Orientation factor of the PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	32.79	32.21
Control	34.21	33.63

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	67.29	42	
Group	42.83	1	.63
Error	67.88	41	
Within	15.15	43	
Time	7.16	1	.46
Group x Time	.00	1	.00
Error	15.72	41	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 19

Mean score for the Description of Self subscale,
Status and Influence factor of the PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	36.83	36.17
Control	37.58	35.68

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	51.24	42	
Group	.37	1	
Error	52.48	41	
Within	20.43	43	
Time	34.79	1	1.71
Group x Time	8.00	1	.39
Error	20.30	41	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 20

Mean score for the Description of Other subscale,
Integrity and Dependability factor of the PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	32.17	31.26
Control	31.11	28.67

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	66.40	40	
Group	67.52	1	1.02
Error	66.37	39	
Within	15.90	41	
Time	56.91	1	3.84
Group x Time	11.84	1	.80
Error	14.81	39	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 21

Mean score for the Description of Other subscale,
Status and Influences factor of the PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	23.52	24.43
Control	25.44	25.22

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	100.61	40	
Group	37.08	1	.36
Error	102.24	39	
Within	38.94	41	
Time	2.41	1	.06
Group x Time	6.51	1	.16
Error	40.73	39	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 22

Mean scores for the Self & Other Situational subscale of the PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	14.67	15.88
Control	12.40	12.10

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	27.92	43	
Group	199.10	1	8.35**
Error	23.85	42	
Within	13.41	44	
Time	4.50	1	.33
Group x Time	12.41	1	.91
Error	13.68	42	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 23

Mean scores for the Description of Other subscale, Interpersonal Orientation factor for PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	22.26	22.09
Control	23.22	25.28

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	82.10	40	
Group	87.04	1	1.06
Error	81.97	39	
Within	31.34	41	
Time	17.88	1	.56
Group x Time	25.10	1	.79
Error	31.73	39	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 24

Mean scores for the Organizational Rational-technical subscale of the PAQ.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	21.54	21.50
Control	18.50	18.55

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	54.06	43	
Group	195.82	1	3.86*
Error	50.69	42	
Within	21.75	44	
Time	.00	1	.00
Group x Time	.05	1	.00
Error	22.79	42	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 25

Mean scores for the Organizational Closed subscale of the PAQ.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	24.75	27.46
Control	22.50	21.00

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	132.03	43	
Group	413.65	1	3.30
Error	125.32	42	
Within	29.33	44	
Time	7.96	1	.28
Group x Time	96.60	1	3.40
Error	28.38	42	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 26

Mean scores for the Other Rational - Technical subscale of the PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	27.08	28.04
Control	27.00	28.80

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	49.59	43	
Group	2.49	1	.05
Error	50.71	42	
Within	23.76	44	
Time	41.50	1	1.75
Group x Time	3.86	1	.16
Error	23.77	42	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 27

Mean scores for the Other Closed subscale of the PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	23.67	23.13
Control	20.20	20.70

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	36.73	43	
Group	189.34	1	5.72*
Error	33.09	42	
Within	13.99	44	
Time	.01	1	.00
Group x Time	5.92	1	.41
Error	14.51	42	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 27 (a)

Mean scores for the Self & Other Rational - Technical subscale of the PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	30.92	35.29
Control	29.70	29.50

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	89.73	43	
Group	267.91	1	3.13
Error	85.49	42	
Within	37.56	44	
Time	95.08	1	2.73
Group x Time	114.17	1	3.27
Error	34.86	42	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 28

Mean scores for the Self & Other Closed Subscale of the PAQ

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	21.29	23.83
Control	19.15	20.10

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	46.89	43	
Group	188.27	1	4.33*
Error	43.53	42	
Within	21.84	44	
Time	66.50	1	3.15
Group x Time	13.82	1	.65
Error	21.11	42	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 29

Mean degrees assigned to "Police Officer" for PIE question #1--Issued a ticket at 3:00 A.M. for going 40 MPH in a 30 MPH zone.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	98.13	117.71
Control	90.26	94.74

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #1--Police Officer

	MS	df	F
Between	4965.21	46	
Group	5582.80	1	1.13
Error	4951.48	45	
Within	2074.46	47	
Time	3399.85	1	1.65
Group x Time	1339.85	1	.65
Error	2063.40	45	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

TABLE 30

Mean degrees assigned to "Community" for PIE question #1--"Issued a ticket at 3:00 A.M. for going 40 MPH in a 30 MPH zone.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	113.46	87.00
Control	79.22	83.04

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #1--"Community"

	MS	df	F
Between	4042.92	46	
Group	8568.02	1	2.17
Error	3942.36	45	
Within	2308.39	47	
Time	3007.92	1	1.35
Group x Time	5385.79	1	2.42
Error	2228.35	45	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

TABLE 31

Mean degrees assigned to "Situation" for PIE question #1--Issued a ticket at 3:00 A.M. for going 40 MPH in a 30 MPH zone.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	72.13	87.50
Control	96.70	103.48

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #1--"Situation"

	MS	df	F
Between	6113.48	46	
Group	9655.39	1	1.60
Error	6034.77	45	
Within	2334.24	47	
Time	2883.08	1	1.22
Group x Time	433.55	1	.18
Error	2365.38	45	

* p \leq .05** p \leq .01

TABLE 32

Mean degrees assigned to "Rules and regulations" for PIE question #1--"Issued a ticket at 3:00 A.M. for going 40 MPH in a 30 MPH zone.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	75.96	68.17
Control	93.83	78.74

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #1--"Rules and regulations"

	MS	df	F
Between	5146.54	46	
Group	4749.82	1	.92
Error	5165.58	45	
Within	2235.52	47	
Time	3073.78	1	1.36
Group x Time	312.53	1	.14
Error	2258.73	45	

* p \leq .05** p \leq .01

TABLE 33

Mean degrees assigned to "Police officer" for PIE question #3--"Checked doors in a shopping center and found one open. Called the station and reported it."
Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	131.63	139.25
Control	123.57	133.70

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #3--"police officer"

	MS	df	F
Between	5333.24	46	
Group	1088.41	1	.20
Error	5427.57	45	
Within	4342.30	47	
Time	1851.28	1	.41
Group x Time	36.86	1	.01
Error	4493.11	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 34

Mean degrees assigned to "Community" for PIE question #3--"Checked doors in a shopping center and found one open. Called the station and reported it."
Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	34.58	36.96
Control	38.96	30.43

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #3--"Community"

	MS	df	F
Between	1815.78	46	
Group	27.15	1	.01
Error	1855.53	45	
Within	1322.89	47	
Time	221.87	1	.16
Group x Time	697.28	1	.51
Error	1360.90	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 35

Mean degrees assigned to "Situation" for PIE question #3--"Checked doors in a shopping center and found one open. Called the station and reported it."
Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	109.33	91.29
Control	116.52	93.43

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #3--"Situation"

	MS	df	F
Between	6283.58	46	
Group	511.35	1	.08
Error	6411.85	45	
Within	3822.71	47	
Time	9933.44	1	2.64
Group x Time	149.48	1	.04
Error	3767.49	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 36

Mean degrees assigned to "Rules and regulations" for PIE question #3--"Checked doors in a shopping center and found one open. Called the station and reported it."
Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	84.54	92.63
Control	75.04	102.13

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #3--"Rules and regulations"

	MS	df	F
Between	3381.36	46	
Group	00.0	1	.00
Error	3456.50	45	
Within	3149.18	47	
Time	7263.79	1	2.36
Group x Time	2120.72	1	.69
Error	3076.98	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 37

Mean degrees assigned to "Police officer" for PIE question #5--"The average situation in which you have contact with the public."

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	131.83	129.88
Control	136.78	131.83

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #5--"Police officer"

	MS	df	F
Between	4343.17	46	
Group	279.61	1	.06
Error	4433.47	45	
Within	1885.71	47	
Time	280.79	1	.14
Group x Time	52.79	1	.03
Error	1962.00	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 38

Mean degrees assigned to "Community" for PIE question #5--"The average situation in which you have contact with the public."

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	81.88	94.42
Control	77.91	72.83

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #5--"Community"

	MS	df	F
Between	2209.87	46	
Group	3834.24	1	1.76
Error	2173.77	45	
Within	767.05	47	
Time	326.34	1	.43
Group x Time	1824.94	1	2.42
Error	754.08	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 39

Mean degrees assigned to "Situation" for PIE question #5--"The average situation in which you have contact with the public."

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	64.92	53.83
Control	60.65	62.74

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #5--"Situation"

	MS	df	F
Between	1948.90	46	
Group	126.50	1	.06
Error	1999.62	45	
Within	1288.12	47	
Time	475.28	1	.36
Group x Time	1018.60	1	.78
Error	1312.85	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 40

Mean degrees assigned to "Rules and regulations" for PIE question #5--"The average situation in which you have contact with the public."

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	81.38	81.46
Control	84.65	92.61

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #5--"Rules and regulations"

	MS	df	F
Between	4472.44	46	
Group	1222.35	1	.27
Error	4544.66	45	
Within	1411.79	47	
Time	379.58	1	.26
Group x Time	364.01	1	.25
Error	1457.67	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 41

Mean degrees assigned to "police officer" for PIE question #2--"After investigating a family quarrel the officer took the wife to her mother's house."
Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	113.50	106.38
Control	114.48	114.74

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #2--"Police officer"

	MS	df	F
Between	5807.61	46	
Group	512.54	1	.09
Error	5925.27	45	
Within	1861.35	47	
Time	276.68	1	.14
Group x Time	320.34	1	.17
Error	1931.10	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 42

Mean degrees assigned to "Community" for PIE question #2--"After investigating a family quarrel the officer took the wife to her mother's house."
Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	79.25	83.08
Control	84.00	72.96

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #2--"Community"

	MS	df	F
Between	2034.63	46	
Group	169.77	1	.08
Error	2076.07	45	
Within	1667.30	47	
Time	305.28	1	.18
Group x Time	1299.66	1	.76
Error	1705.18	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 43

Mean degrees assigned to "Situation" for PIE question #2--"After investigating a family quarrel the officer took the wife to her mother's house."
Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	122.71	136.33
Control	130.61	119.30

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #2--"situation"

	MS	df	F
Between	6042.13	46	
Group	489.35	1	.07
Error	6165.52	45	
Within	2512.71	47	
Time	31.63	1	.01
Group x Time	3649.50	1	1.44
Error	2542.94	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 44

Mean degrees assigned to "Rules and regulations" for PIE question #2--"After investigating a family quarrel the officer took the wife to her mother's house."
Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	44.54	34.21
Control	29.17	53.00

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #2--"Rules and regulations"

	MS	df	F
Between	1255.73	46	
Group	68.84	1	.05
Error	1282.11	45	
Within	770.80	47	
Time	1069.09	1	1.71
Group x Time	6852.23	1	10.94**
Error	626.55	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 45

Mean degrees assigned to "Police officer" for PIE question #4--"Arrested a drunk."

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	105.75	122.71
Control	142.91	106.83

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #4--"Police officer"

	MS	df	F
Between	5717.27	46	
Group	2659.42	1	.46
Error	5785.23	45	
Within	2871.19	47	
Time	2148.71	1	.83
Group x Time	16523.61	1	6.41**
Error	2578.40	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 46

Mean degrees assigned to "Community" for PIE question #4--"Arrested a drunk."

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	101.96	82.54
Control	84.35	89.39

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #4--"Community"

	MS	df	F
Between	4093.79	46	
Group	680.00	1	.16
Error	4169.65	45	
Within	1680.72	47	
Time	1213.16	1	.73
Group x Time	3513.41	1	2.13
Error	1652.39	45	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 47

Mean degrees assigned to "Situation" for PIE question #4--"Arrested a drunk."

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	64.58	54.13
Control	69.74	76.17

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #4--"Situation"

	MS	df	F
Between	3738.32	46	
Group	4346.10	1	1.17
Error	3724.81	45	
Within	801.72	47	
Time	95.07	1	.12
Group x Time	1675.83	1	2.10
Error	798.39	45	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

TABLE 48

Mean degrees assigned to "Rules and regulations" for PIE question #4--"Arrested a drunk."

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	87.79	99.79
Control	67.35	87.61

Summary of ANOVA for PIE #4--"Rules and regulations"

	MS	df	F
Between	5328.95	46	
Group	6241.16	1	1.18
Error	5308.45	45	
Within	1805.93	47	
Time	6111.72	1	3.51
Group x Time	400.74	1	.23
Error	1740.06	45	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

TABLE 49

Mean number of aspects detected in the Automobile Film of the Behavior Questionnaire.

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	2.33	3.83
Control	3.55	2.59

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	3.09	45	
Group	.01	1	.00
Error	3.16	44	
Within	3.06	46	
Time	1.71	1	.71
Group x Time	34.58	1	14.46**
Error	2.39	44	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 49a

Mean number of alternatives perceived for the Automobile Film of the Behavior Questionnaire.

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	2.39	2.26
Control	2.05	2.38

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	1.20	43	
Group	.27	1	
Error	1.22	42	
Within	1.00	44	
Time	.23	1	.22
Group x Time	1.18	1	1.16
Error	1.01	42	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 50

Mean number of aspects detected in the Family Quarrel Film of the Behavior Questionnaire.

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	3.39	3.87
Control	3.09	2.68

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	3.95	44	
Group	12.45	1	3.32
Error	3.75	43	
Within	2.80	45	
Time	.03	1	.01
Group x Time	4.43	1	1.57
Error	2.83	43	

* p \leq .05** p \leq .01

TABLE 51

Mean number of alternatives perceived for the Family Quarrel Film of the Behavior Questionnaire.

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	3.13	4.27
Control	3.64	3.27

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	2.16	44	
Group	1.31	1	.60
Error	2.18	43	
Within	2.68	45	
Time	3.31	1	1.35
Group x Time	12.55	1	5.13*
Error	2.45	43	

* p \leq .05** p \leq .01

TABLE 52

Mean number of aspects detected in the Party Film of the Behavior Questionnaire.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	2.71	3.25
Control	3.10	2.57

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	1.98	44	
Group	.48	1	.24
Error	2.02	43	
Within	2.13	45	
Time	.00	1	.00
Group x Time	6.36	1	3.05
Error	2.09	43	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 53

Mean number of alternatives perceived for the Party Film of the Behavior Questionnaire.

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	2.00	2.09
Control	2.79	2.16

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	.81	41	
Group	3.85	1	5.24*
Error	.74	40	
Within	1.15	42	
Time	1.54	1	1.41
Group x Time	2.69	1	2.45
Error	1.09	40	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 54

Mean number of total aspects found for the Behavior Questionnaire.

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	8.39	10.83
Control	9.90	8.14

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	19.07	43	
Group	7.51	1	.39
Error	19.34	42	
Within	14.45	44	
Time	2.49	1	.19
Group x Time	96.67	1	7.54**
Error	12.82	42	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 55

Mean number of total alternatives for the Behavior Questionnaire.

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	7.67	8.57
Control	8.47	7.74

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	5.83	39	
Group	.00	1	.00
Error	5.99	38	
Within	7.11	40	
Time	.14	1	.02
Group x Time	13.44	1	1.89
Error	7.13	38	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 56

Mean agreement with question 17 of the Community Attitude Survey--"Negro and white policemen should share radio cars."

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	4.29	5.08
Control	4.78	4.67

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	1.42	41	
Group	.03	1	.02
Error	1.45	40	
Within	.63	42	
Time	2.38	1	4.55*
Group x Time	4.19	1	8.01**
Error	.52	40	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 57

Mean agreement with question 20 of the Community Attitude Survey--"Policemen need greater understanding of poor people."

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	4.42	5.25
Control	4.00	4.11

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	1.68	41	
Group	12.44	1	8.80**
Error	1.41	40	
Within	.73	42	
Time	4.59	1	7.42**
Group x Time	2.68	1	4.34*
Error	.62	40	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 58

Mean total rating for all questions in the
Community Attitude Survey.

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	100.58	106.96
Control	99.89	100.06

Summary of ANOVA

	MS	df	F
Between	157.06	41	
Group	296.83	1	1.93
Error	153.56	40	
Within	52.94	42	
Time	220.08	1	4.70*
Group x Time	198.22	1	4.23*
Error	46.87	40	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 59

Mean rank for Rokeach Value #2--"An exciting life"

Time of Measurement

Group	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	11.65	12.61
Control	11.45	9.68

Summary of ANOVA for Rokeach Value #2--

	MS	df	F
Between			
Group	54.89	1	1.68
Error	32.76	43	
Within			
Time	3.75	1	.39
Group x Time	41.89	1	4.31*
Error	9.72	43	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 60

Mean ranking for Rokeach Value #11--"Inner harmony"

Group	Time of Measurement	
	Pre-measure	Post-measure
Experimental	10.74	6.35
Control	11.68	12.55

Summary of ANOVA for Rokeach Value #11--

	MS	df	F
Between			
Group	286.64	1	9.70**
Error	29.56	43	
Within			
Time	69.97	1	7.03**
Group x Time	155.25	1	15.61**
Error	9.95	43	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

Table 61

3. WHAT DID YOU LEARN IN THE TRAINING PROGRAM THAT YOU FEEL IS MOST USEFUL TO YOU AS A POLICE OFFICER? PLEASE BE AS SPECIFIC AS YOU CAN.

Be aware of people that we are not perfect, we are all Brothers

That people are concerned about other people, and that they want to help to make this a better society to live in.

1, don't prejudge people, 2, listen to what people say, 3, try to understand a situation and 4, help people

Learning that I also have faults and problems and try to learn others faults and problems.

Being able to relate to other people and talk to them. Being sure not to Stereotype a person before I get to know him better. Found out how to handle a situation better and not fly off the handle so easy. Better understanding of college kids and more facts about the black men and women of the community and I hope a better understanding of how to deal with their problems and maybe bring the police in better relations with them.

How I can do my job better, how to help change the department towards the "New Breed"

An awareness of the relationship between the police officer and individual members of society.

Never take any call as routine always handle every call as an individual experience.

I learned that as a police officer I sometimes see things in a different perspective from what others may see. I was also able to "see" myself as others probably see me, and to recognize my own Hang-ups.

I found out a few things about myself from the officers I came up here with, that I would of never known not given this opportunity. I feel that I should be more aggressive with myself and my feelings. It helps me to know that most all the other officers feel the way I do about, police thumpers.

I feel that I have become to know myself much better. I feel that I can look at a troubled person and understand the problem a little better.

Do what you can in each situation you come too. If not enough do better or try harder. Be objective about everything. Treat everyone as an individual. To apply myself more to each situation.

That I stereo-typed people and refused to look at everyone equal. and many other good things.

That everyone is very complex. People do stereotype. Even though people are complex, you, because of your also being complex, have the ability to cope. Tone of voice is important.

I learned that in order to get over the many problems imposed upon society today and the policeman I will have to get a better knowledge of the problem, look at it objectively, and deal with it to the best of my ability. I hope now, after this training I will be able to keep an open mind in all situations.

13. Continued

- 1) open minded, 2) not to make snap judgements, 3) look further into people, 4) be more concerned, 5) always be professionals.

I feel that I am more aware of the feelings and attitudes of others, I think I will think more of why people act as they, rather than just the act itself. With these things in mind I should be more able to cope with situations that arise. I feel I have brought my mind out of storage this week. I have just been getting stale in my thought patterns. In other words I have had to think this past week. I've really enjoyed this week and would highly recommend it for any policeman. In fact there are officers on my dept. that drastically need this program. I may not be more capable than others on my dept. because of this school but for myself I feel I'm more mature, and more capable than I was a week ago.

I learned that we are all different and that this difference is good, because it makes us aware of ourselves and how we deal with and relate with others.

I believe that I know myself much better than I did prior to the program. I believe I have a better understanding of others. My feeling of comradeship and brotherhood with fellow officer's has been reinforced.

I learned to recognize my own shortcomings and the fact that I do stereotype people. Knowing this has given me an insight into how to cope with people because I can now more effectively cope with myself.

1. Be aware of other peoples problems and ideals. 2. Continue to reevaluate myself at home and at work. 3. Exchange ideas

Has taught me to recognize my emotions and control them. To face reality. Avoid stereotyping persons. A greater knowledge of my duties that are requested by citizens of community. Made me more honest with myself and others.

Learning in how to stereotype people. How to get along with people better, trying to understand the students & Black people

I have a better understanding of myself. I feel that I can talk with people better and will be able to perform my duties better in general. Learning about other policeman and how others acted, as well as being able to criticize myself and others openly was a rewarding experience.

14. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT WERE THE LEAST HELPFUL PARTS OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM? INCLUDE BOTH GENERAL AND CONCEPTS AND SPECIFIC IDEAS.

Working with the Lego blacks did not apply as well as the rest of the program.

There should have been more variation among types of "blacks" involved in community/discussion. Should have been "lower-class" whites involved in discussion.

Confrontation with black community this should be done with more people in smaller groups. This because it is a major problem in almost all cities.

Just one phase seem to lack any helpful information that being the encounter with the people from the community

None

Least helpful was police function discussion and how it relates to people

When the black community came in. I can't say it was least helpful, but it was most confusing, and I'll admit depressing.

Talking with the community people

I don't feel there were any because I think I received something out of every minute of this week, even if it was the most minute. But the least was the meeting with the black community.

See last comment on # 16

I felt as though everything played a big part in the success of this program.

Don't know any.

I feel that the talk with the blacks should be changed in some way.

I'm not sure if this would fall under this question but in the choosing of the blacks for the "Community people encounter". This could of been more helpful for me if I could of been more open minded but when a guy tells me he's been to state pin a few times I can't listen to him very open minded. I can't relate to him on his level. I know he's a part of the community and I could learn something but it turns me off.

Continually going over other officers opinions over and over. I found it very difficult to speak while we were together as a group, because a few other officers constantly were talking.

Community people exercise

Films and situation descriptions that were based on out-of-state laws. I feel that Indiana law determines many of my basic actions and to view a situation, or a police officers actions, that would not be permitted under Indiana law is not as relative to me as viewing a situation or actions that are permitted under law. An example would be removing or arresting a man for a misdemeanor that did not take place within the officers presence.

14. Continued.

When we talked to some people who we felt were not telling us the truth.

None

I can not say at this time

They were all helpful. I cannot judge which was least helpful

A. The group of blacks that were brought in. B. Well because I am black and and I was raised up in the black comm. and I know what the black would say in general.

15. IN YOUR OPINION, WHAT WERE THE MOST HELPFUL PARTS OF THE TRAINING PROGRAM? PLEASE INCLUDE BOTH GENERAL CONCEPTS AND SPECIFIC IDEAS.

1. The role plays helped me be aware of situations I had never considered.
2. The student encounter helped clear up some concepts about feelings toward policemen.
3. The community people encounter -- although confusing will prove to be the most beneficial because I have a clearer understanding of the scope of the problem.

Group sessions, acting out the roles, talking to students

Obedience film, Role plays with females! Community project! Student Group! Instructors (big asset)

1. Talking to other officers from different types of departments and areas.
2. Excellence of training personnel.
3. The fact that it was a group scene and not a teacher-pupil situation.
4. Atmosphere in general.
5. We were able to expand ideas rather than follow a schedule.
6. Scenes on video that we participated in.
7. Mount Vernon, film

The training program as a whole was "fantastic". Especially the quality of the trainers. They made it easy for everyone to fulfill the contract agreed to by me on the first session. I believe this is also true for the other men in the group also.

Role plays and group encounters gave me the insight that I needed to better understand myself and others.

The very concept and the new techniques use as a new learning process.

Training films with discussion after. Most of all the leadership by the three most qualified professors, their guidance in a constructive direction.

1. All films.
2. The discussions within ourselves and others.
3. Showing others who I really am.
4. Relating different experiences.

Everything was helpful and beneficial in some way.

Breaking off into groups and then discussing things. Then regrouping and relating to the other groups.

The who Am I. The Role Acting. Really Everything

Making your own situations, acting them out and watching them. Then learning from them.

1. The talks in class with other officer.
2. The way the teacher would explain things.

The personality of the instructors was a big factor for me. Even though I go to college in Anderson, I learned more from the Student Encounter.

Being able to relate to other peoples opinions and beliefs. Also being outward and truthful.

Meeting other officers and discussing problems of other depts.

15. Continued

To me the most helpful part of the program was the closeness that developed among the members and between the members and the staff.

Do not know at this time. Will have to apply what I have learned, and see the results.

All

The parts about stereo type and how they can and cannot help you

1) Vitto tape, films, discussions

The group of college students that were brought in. Because I really didn't know why the student felt the way they do about policemen.

Meeting with students and Blacks. Letting us decide what we wanted as far as contracts we had.

Table 64

16. ANY OTHER COMMENTS WHICH YOU FEEL WOULD BE HELPFUL?

Would like to do this again

If the program was longer and if you could bring more people in to talk this would help a great deal.

A great deal of time was spent on Stereo Types of one self and I think this is important to help one find their own faults

I think the school training was very useful and helpful and would like to do it again sometime. I think it would be great for all Policemen to get to go to this kind of school and maybe there would be a closer contact between all Officers and they might be able to get along better together.

No night sessions. More actual police work. Tighter reign on all officers.

I feel that it is impossible to answer the last four questions well now. I would probably be able to do a much better job in about a month.

I believe there were many situations which were not covered or discussed properly. I believe this was due to the minimum amount of time. I would very much appreciate being able to attend another session.

I really hope that other members of Anderson Police Dept. (and all others) can take a class like this because theres alot to be learned from interaction with other Police officers. I know other officers that could possibly get even more from this than I did. And I got alot.

I really enjoyed this class very much and I do feel that I will be a better police officer.

This course is badly needed by everyone.

Give this class to more officers. It is a beautiful corse.

It is very necessary that there be 3 or more officers from the same force so one individual is forced into being honest. More black officers. A talk with average blacks, not known to anyone. Because people sterotype you should have seen that Jeff would hurt the program. i.e. Lafayette P.D.

The meals had a lot to be desired.

No comments but I would like to say I hope every one got as much from this as I have. Thanks for the opportunity.

Thanks for the oportunity to become a more educated, wiser, and mature individual. God knows in this complex society we need all the edges we can get.

I feel that the trainers Orian and Lynn were great and that a large part of my success in the program was based on their help and guidance.

If nothing else was learned from the program, we at least experienced the comradeship that is present in our profession. That in itself is enough to make us want to focus on how we can improve ourselves and the profession as a whole.

16. Continued

I think the session should be extended to two weeks with more emphasis put on the community encounter phase.

Hold your interest and keep up the good work. THANK YOU

"Good Luck" in future!

One of the most rewarding experiences I have ever had.

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