# NCJRS

This microfiche was produced from documents received for inclusion in the NCJRS data base. Since NCJRS cannot exercise control over the physical condition of the documents submitted, the individual frame quality will vary. The resolution chart on this frame may be used to evaluate the document quality.

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A
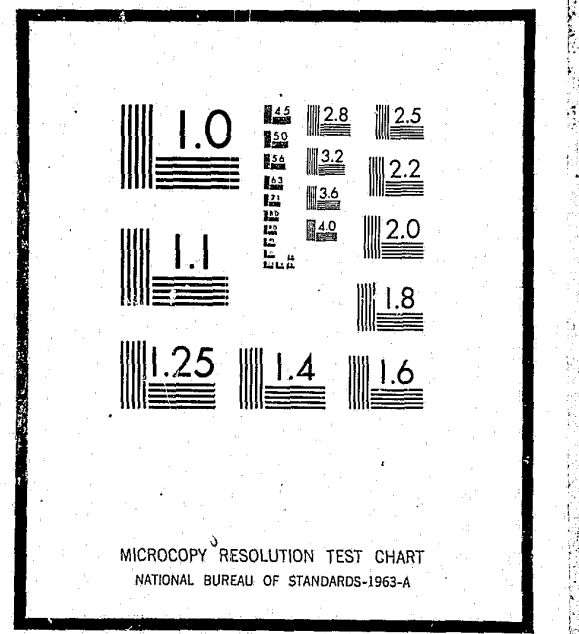
Microfilming procedures used to create this fiche comply with the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504

Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION
NATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFERENCE SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20531

Date filmed 5/26/76

POLICE MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICTS AMONG PEOPLE

Final Report[*]

Submitted to
National Institute of Law Enforcement
and Criminal Justice

Morton Bard, Ph.D.
Project Director

Joseph W. Zacker   Elliot Rutter
Staff Psychologist   Research Assistant

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDICES

SUMMARY

POLICE MANAGEMENT OF CONFLICTS AMONG PEOPLE

Interpersonal conflict is an increasingly important
element in our highly complex society. As a system of social
regulation, the police are most intimately concerned with mon-
itoring the dimensions of conflict among people. Analysis of
contemporary law enforcement leads to the conclusion that the
police are frequently expected to serve as instant arbitrators
or mediators of disputes approaching violent outcomes.

The present project is an outgrowth of a recent program
which demonstrated the feasibility of training police for ef-
fective family crisis intervention. In the present program,
policemen of the New York City Housing Authority were trained
in the exercise of conflict resolution skills within an experi-
mental design which would permit further determination of
feasibility and, in addition, permit the elaboration of method-
ologic refinements. Also, the present experiment offered
prospects for furthering understanding of conflict, aggression,
and violence; for bringing about effective collaboration between
the police and professionals in the academic and mental health
communities; and for determining impact upon the community of
police trained in conflict resolution skills.

The program described involves the training of recruits
and patrolmen of the Police Department of the New York City
Housing Authority, which is responsible for the security of

individual public housing projects. The presence of permanent police complements in intact and discrete inner-city communities offered an unusual opportunity to evaluate the effects of conflict-resolution training.

The present program was organized in two stages:

1) <u>Recruit training phase</u>. Concurrent with 13 weeks of Police Academy training, an entire recruit class attended The Psychological Center of The City College, The City University of New York, 1/2 day/week for 12 weeks. The recruit class was randomly separated into two groups:

Conflict resolution group: 24 recruits and 6 senior patrolmen received 42 hours of affective-experiential training designed to improve their conflict resolution skills

Behavioral and social science (BASS) group: 30 recruits received 42 hours of conventional, cognitive training covering a broad range of the behavioral and social sciences.

Just prior to graduation and assignment to patrol, 14 of the recruits from the conflict resolution group were randomly selected and assigned to staff two preselected housing projects, with three of the conflict resolution-trained senior patrolmen in each. Five of the recruits from the BASS group were randomly selected and assigned as 2/3 the police complement of a third preselected housing project. A fourth preselected housing

project served as a control--its normal complement left unchanged.

2) <u>Consultation phase</u>. Subsequent to assignment, the police staffing the two conflict resolution projects took part in once-weekly discussion groups and in once-weekly individual consultations with graduate students in clinical psychology or with Fellows in Community Psychiatry. This phase lasted three months.

Subsequent phases which will follow the current project include: (1) an on-call consultation phase (including continued data collection) lasting until February 7, 1971, and (2) a phase which will result in the analyses of data deriving from both the current project and the previous demonstration in family crisis intervention.

Extensive procedures to evaluate the effects of conflict resolution training undertaken during the current project include:

    a. Evaluation of attitudes and social awareness of recruits before and after the initial recruit training phase.

    b. Evaluation of attitudes of police and consultants before and after the consultation phase.

    c. Evaluation of community attitudes toward the police of the four study housing projects just prior to assignment of the police to their projects and again one year

later. This will measure changes in community attitudes
toward officers with increased awareness of human
behavior.

d. Longitudinal evaluation of a number of police
performance criteria in each of the four study housing
projects.

e. Analysis of data regarding interpersonal con-
flicts in which conflict resolution-trained officers
intervened.

f. Analysis of data regarding family crises in which
family crisis intervention-trained officers intervened
(during the previous demonstration project).

A number of impressions and observations bearing upon
the present project are discussed.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND AND GOALS

Conflict is an inevitable part of the human condition. To some observers, it is a disruptive and deviant form of behavior which needs to be treated as if it were a disease; to others, conflict is a form of socialization which has positive and constructive aspects. In either case, it is for each society to define the tolerable limits of conflict and to contain those conflicts which go beyond acceptable limits. For example, an ordinary fistfight is tolerated far more readily in the ghetto than it would be in the more affluent suburbs. Virtually everywhere, it is the police who have been assigned the responsibility for monitoring the dimensions of conflict and for checking excesses. Yet it appears that many people fail to recognize that police actions in this regard are derived from society's proscriptions. Unfortunately, it may be that the failure to properly acknowledge the increasing importance of these highly complex conflict resolution functions has been partially responsible for the deteriorating effectiveness of the police as a system for social regulation.

Aggressive and violent outcomes of conflict are derivative of increasing social complexity, particularly in urban areas. While various social, economic and political factors may be directly causative of disorder, the fact remains that the police are used most frequently as the instant mediators of interpersonal conflict. Since some social theorists are convinced that conflict can serve a constructive and unifying purpose, it can be said that the function of the modern policeman is not so much to repress conflict completely (an unattainable ideal) as it is to forestall its negative and destructive escalation.

The paucity of systematic research into the
conflict resolution role of the police attests
to a general insensitivity to this aspect of law
enforcement by both police administrators and
social scientists. However, a recently concluded
experiment, of which the present project is an
extension, may mark a shift in efforts to further
our understanding of the intricacies of conflict
resolution in natural settings.[1]

The recently concluded innovation[2] suggested the crime

prevention and preventive mental health implications inherent

in skillful police management of the domestic dispute. During

the formal study period, the experimental New York City Police

Department 30th Precinct Family Crisis Intervention Unit (FCIU)

processed 1,375 interventions with 962 families in a police

patrol area of about 85,000 population. Evaluation of that

program revealed that, despite the high hazard involved in police

domestic disturbance intervention (high injury and death rates

of patrolmen nationwide), there had been no injuries to FCIU

patrolmen due to an assault; there was a steady decline in the

absolute number of domestic disturbances in the experimental

area; the FCIU intervened in a significantly greater number of

domestic disputes than did the members of the comparison pre-

cinct; other police patrol activities of FCIU members remained

on a par with, if not higher than, non-FCIU patrolmen of the

same command; the experimental precinct made significantly

fewer referrals to Family Court and a significantly greater

number of its referrals to social and mental health agencies

than did the untrained patrolmen of the comparison precinct;

and there were no homicides in families known to the FCIU.

Like most demonstration efforts, the police family crisis project was intended to show the potentiality of trained police response to family disturbances.[3] On completion of that prototypical program, the focus of evaluation was upon gross features of the total program rather than the interrelationship of specific variables. As it is with most experimental social innovations, the methods are empirical and must proceed in stages. The family crisis project was a first-stage study and, as such, was more broadly conceived than those which are to follow. The present project in conflict resolution concerns itself with a succeeding step and flows naturally from the previous program.

> Succeeding experiments with other community subsystems might well be organized around different social tasks and group compositions. It is inherent in the experimental process to proceed from gross to finer comparisons. Each succeeding experiment thus contributes new and more refined knowledge to solution of the social problem under consideration.[4]

Further, the present project entails methodological refinements in experimental social innovation which logically conduce to the development of further insights into the problems of urban law enforcement.

Police and community. The police today stand at the interface of the confrontation between the citizens of the community and its institutions of social regulation. Law enforcement agencies have brought their traditional approaches to the unprecedented

and complex demands made upon them with frequently unfortunate results. Acknowledging a tarnished image, the police have attempted to assuage public resistance and hostility through the expedient of "community relations" programs. These palliatives have advantages which are more apparent than real; in fact, they have a negative effect in that they give the impression of change while tacitly supporting outmoded operational methods.

It was one of the aims of the project to demonstrate further that community response to the police can be modified by real alterations in what police actually do rather than in what they say they do. A community relations program is seen by the public and by police officers themselves as alien to "real" police work. The present project sought to extend a crucial police service into normal patrol functions with an expertness consistent with present-day knowledge of human behavior.

Collaboration between the urban thinkers and the urban doers.
Leading opinion makers in any community are the intellectuals, academicians and professionals. Much of the antipathy of this group toward law enforcement personnel is rooted in important value considerations and in certain realities. Most intellectuals are expected to think and rarely, if ever, are expected to act. The police, on the other hand, are often required to act instantaneously and rarely have the opportunity to think through

highly complex human problems. The operating worlds of both groups seldom intersect, thus contributing to increasing distortion by each of the other with resultant acrimony and criticism.

It was one of the objectives of the present project to break down the separation between the academic opinion-makers and the police establishment; to increase collaboration between the two and to demonstrate to each that areas of mutual interest converge through the medium of police service. In the present instance, local academicians and professionals were brought into active collaboration with local policemen, thus effectively opening channels of communication, despite the usually alienating influences of urban communities.

Training mental health professionals specifically for consultative functions with police. A myth exists among most mental health professionals that their training inherently prepares them for consultative roles. Only recently have they been caused by circumstances to examine the validity of that assumption. The realization has grown that the consultative role is a highly complex one, particularly in a society undergoing rapid change. A body of knowledge has begun to emerge which attests to the exquisitely sensitive and delicate dimensions of the consultative process. Furthermore, professionals are becoming more alert to the need for actual training in consultation if they are to render such services effectively.

Most mental health consultations to the police in the past have proven sterile, inappropriate, or counter-productive. It is our impression that this unfortunate circumstance is directly traceable to the mental health professional's omnipotent regard for his own power (an occupational hazard), his failure to counteract his own natural biases and his lack of understanding of the real life experience of policemen. One of the aims of the present project was to provide specific training to mental health professionals as they provided consultative support to local police operational units.

Understanding aggression and violence. The disciplines of the behavioral sciences have long been preoccupied with the issue of aggression. Sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and ethologists have speculated on the phenomenon. Yet decades of theorizing, sometimes accompanied by elegant laboratory experiments, have failed to provide substantive clarification of aggression...a behavior known intimately to the policeman.[5] Repeatedly, crime statistics reflect the fact that the preponderant expressions of human aggression and violence occur in the context of intimate relationships. Even a superficial inspection of statistics on assault and homicide testifies to the fact that most such behavior occurs when victims are related or known to the perpetrators. There is, in fact, increasing evidence that the intensity of aggressive interactions is related to the closeness of human relationships.

The project utilizing police as skilled specialists in domestic disturbance intervention yielded considerable data on the many dimensions of aggressive human interaction. The data should provide valuable clues to the dynamics of violence as well. In addition to various clinical hypotheses to be tested, there is a range of sociological issues which can be clarified. For example, what are the daily, weekly and seasonal variations in incidence of aggressive behavior for which police intervention is requested? Do potential homicides signal their intention to kill, just as an intended suicide does? Do frequent and repeated requests for police intervention in the family fight presage a fatal outcome? What role does alcohol play in assaultive and murderous behavior? Are there certain styles of family interaction which are predictive of violence and aggression? Can these data form a basis ultimately for a predictive homicide or assault index which can be used by police officers?

These are but a few of the questions for which answers can be asked of the data presently available as a result of the initial demonstration project in police family crisis intervention. The opportunity to use the data to answer these questions and others is an unusual one in social science. But, in addition, the answers to these questions and others will provide significant possibilities for modifying police performance along constructive and preventive lines.

It was one of the aims of the present project to begin
to ask these questions in the data analysis stage and then to
incorporate elements of the findings in the action experiment
which constituted the second phase of this over-all effort.

Housing Police: A paradox in urban law enforcement.

> Rather than patrolling on foot or on bicycle,
> today's policeman usually has an automobile,
> even a helicopter. His basic tasks, however,
> are essentially what they were in 1910, and his
> increased mobility has reduced his casual day-to-
> day, informal involvement with members of the
> community. The modern policeman is undeniably
> better trained and educated than his 1910 counter-
> part, but the definition of his job and the scope
> of his training have done little to improve his
> relationship with the community or his ability
> to change with its changes.[6]

If there is any aspect of our society in which the
citizen is still in direct and regular association with the
police officer, it is, paradoxically, in the most congested
communities of inner New York City: the public housing projects.
And one thing is clear: the role and functions of the housing
police officer have in no way "reduced his casual day-to-day,
informal involvement with members of the community...." If
anything, they have increased it.

The New York City Housing Authority manages 206 housing
projects, with 166,957 apartments and an estimated population
of 583,600 in 2,051 residential buildings.[7] "Taken alone, the
tenant population would constitute the twenty-ninth largest
city in the nation, equivalent to a city the size of Cincinatti,

Ohio."[8] Police services are provided by officers of all ranks,
a force which ranks fifth largest in the state of New York and
twenty-sixth in the nation.[9]

It is indeed surprising that, in the largest and perhaps
most alienated urban complex in the country, there should exist
these islands of community. Public housing projects are social
microcosms which probably mirror in many ways aspects of a
bygone era of social relatedness. How the potentials inherent
in this phenomenon have been exploited is, of course, a question
yet to be answered. In any event, the housing police offer an
opportunity for examining a variety of issues relative to com-
munity cohesion as well as to law enforcement. Since housing
police in New York are assigned on a permanent basis to specific
housing projects, they constitute a system ideally suited to
experimental social innovation.

> To the tenants the Authority's "man in blue" rep-
> resents a return of the patrolman on the beat. His
> very presence acts as a deterrent to the mischief-
> bent youngster and the more determined law violators.
> He is also friend, philosopher, arbitrator, neigh-
> borhood advisor, and guardian of the young and old
> alike.[10]

Summary. Interpersonal conflict is an increasingly important
element in our highly complex society. As a system of social
regulation, the police are most intimately concerned with mon-
itoring the dimensions of conflict among people. Analysis of
contemporary law enforcement leads to the conclusion that the

police are frequently expected to serve as instant arbitrators or mediators of disputes approaching violent outcomes.

The present project is an outgrowth of a recent program which demonstrated the feasibility of training police for effective family crisis intervention. In the present program, policemen of the New York City Housing Authority were trained in the exercise of conflict resolution skills within an experimental design which would permit further determination of feasibility and, in addition, permit the elaboration of methodologic refinements. Also, the present experiment offered prospects for furthering understanding of conflict, aggression, and violence; for bringing about effective collaboration between the police and professionals in the academic and mental health communities; and for determining impact upon the community of police trained in conflict resolution skills.

CHAPTER II

THE DESIGN

It was originally intended that the present project
methodologically replicate the project in family crisis inter-
vention. However, collaborating with a different, though similar,
law enforcement sub-system (Housing Authority Police Department)
offered unusual opportunities for validating some of the im-
pressions gained in the previous demonstration. The success
of the family crisis intervention project raised important
questions which had to be answered if the innovative approach
developed was to be given legitimacy. As always, the experi-
mental process is the method of choice for answering such
questions...particularly when they bear upon social problems.

Discrete inner city communities. The organizational structure
of the New York City Housing Authority Police Department was
naturally congenial to an experimental design. While it is a
centralized department, its operational elements function within
individual housing projects. That is, a staff of patrolmen is
assigned as the permanent police complement to each of the
city's public housing projects. Each housing project, therefore,
takes on the characteristics of an intact and circumscribed com-
munity wherein the police and the community maintain an ongoing
relationship. In alienated urban centers, where the police and

the citizen rarely "know" one another, continuity of relation-
ship, as represented by the way that the housing police are
organized, is of critical importance. For one thing, it of-
fered an opportunity to determine if conflict resolution skills
would spontaneously influence the relationships among the
police and the residents of a community with defined demo-
graphic and geographic features.

Manpower considerations. Furthermore, given these well-defined
communities, housing projects served entirely by conflict
resolution-trained police might show clear differences in crime
patterns and community attitudes from housing projects staffed
entirely by patrolmen who were traditionally trained. But
which patrolmen? Selected volunteers who might have the per-
sonal qualities and talents to be effective without any training
at all? It was just this question which loomed so large after
the initial project in family crisis intervention with the New
York City Police Department whose participants were selected
volunteers. Could unselected men be trained to be effective
in conflict resolution...even more important, could rank be-
ginners in police work be effectively trained? (In the pre-
vious program, volunteers with at least three years' police
work had been selected.)

Early in the design phase, we considered providing con-
flict resolution training for unselected recruits during their
regular recruit training and then assigning them as the entire

police complements of specific housing projects. It was, how-
ever, at this point that reality imposed a limitation. Experi-
enced senior officers despaired of the consequences of staffing
a housing project entirely with beginners. They felt, and
justifiably, that some experienced men should be trained in
conflict resolution along with the recruits and then be assigned
to these projects as well. It was decided that the staff com-
position of the conflict resolution (CR) housing projects
consist of approximately two-thirds recruits and one-third
experienced officers.

When the two projects to be staffed with conflict reso-
lution patrolmen had been determined, three senior officers
from each were selected to participate in training at The Psy-
chological Center along with the recruits being so trained.
The three constituted approximately one-third of the comple-
ment of officers in each project.

Two methods of training. The spectre of the "Hawthorne effect"
determined who among the recruits were to be trained. Even if
randomly selected from among a recruit training class, the men
given conflict resolution training could be said to be responding
to the fact of their atypical and highly valued experience (time
on a college campus, attention by professionals, being "special,"
etc.) rather than to the substance of the training. Hence, a
decision was made to offer training to all members of an entering

recruit class, but of two different kinds. Half the class would be afforded more or less traditional classroom instruction in a broad range of behavioral and social sciences (BASS). This group (designated as Group B) was to spend as much time (one-half day per week) in class at The Psychological Center as would Group A (who would receive specific training in conflict resolution) during a 13-week recruit training period. The recruits were told that two different educational methods were being employed to determine which was more appropriate for giving policemen knowledge about human behavior which would enable them to do their jobs more effectively, with greater safety, and with greater satisfaction.

There were two basic differences in the training methods employed:

(1) Group A was to be more specifically concerned with human conflict and their educational experience was heavily weighted toward the experiential-affective mode rather than the cognitive mode used with Group B.

(2) After the conclusion of recruit training, those men of Group A randomly selected for assignment to the conflict resolution housing projects were to return for at least one-half day per week (for at least 3 months) for regularly scheduled individual consultation and group discussion.

These design features were intended to test the validity of the initial project's assumption that affectively-oriented

training methods are superior to those which are purely cog-
nitive. The regularly scheduled Group A consultation and
group meetings after recruit training were part of that con-
cept (as they were in the prior family crisis program). Also,
it was hoped that this design would permit examination of the
effect of reducing training time.* Most police organizations
desirous of developing a similar program would find it dif-
ficult, if not impossible, to economically sustain the exten-
sive expenditure of time and manpower in the two-year training
which took place in the initial experiment. The manpower de-
mands in the present project could be managed by most police
departments without too much difficulty. Further, while the
consultation-group experience following the initial training
was an inherent part of the affective-experiential approach,
its elimination from the Group B experience was consistent
with the traditional police instructional method...no such
training in the Academy and no further formal classroom training
once the recruit is "in the field."

Final selection of housing projects. The selection of the
housing projects to be included in the study was determined
by a number of factors. First of all, it was decided that four
projects were to be involved and that they should be matched

----

*In the original program, intensive training was 160 hours'
duration and weekly individual and group consultations took
place over a twenty-one month span. That experience suggested
that reduction of intensive training time and of consultation
time would be well tolerated.

as nearly as possible on a number of demographic and geo-graphic indices: age of project, average income, racial distribution, average family size, age of residents, number receiving welfare assistance, number of broken homes, crime rates, and similarity of external or surrounding neighborhood.

The four projects selected were Grant, Jefferson, Manhattanville, and Wagner Houses (Appendix A indicates points of comparison). Two of the projects, Manhattanville and Wagner, were to be staffed by police trained in conflict resolution. The reason for choosing two was related to an opportunity to measure differential effects of conflict resolution-trained police on two public housing communities that differed only slightly: Manhattanville had residents with a somewhat higher income level, a somewhat lower crime rate, and lower percentages of broken homes and welfare families. Except for the three experienced men from each project who had undergone training, the 14 recruits to be assigned were to be randomly selected from among the 24 recruits in Group A.

Jefferson Houses was designated as the project to which would be assigned recruits randomly selected from among the 30 men in Group B. This would permit comparisons to be made with Wagner and Manhattanville and give some evidence of the relative merits of affective-experiential conflict resolution training and cognitive-behavioral social science training. To afford further control in the experimental design, Grant Houses, in which no

change in police personnel was made, was also to be studied
and compared with the other three projects. (See Fig. 1)

In addition, there will be comparisons made during both
the current year (2/70-2/71) and the two previous years (2/68-
2/70) with respect to citizen utilization of the police and
police performance (see below) both within each project and
among the four projects. That is, there will be comparisons
made longitudinally to provide greater control and permit
finer discrimination of change over time. (See Fig. 2)

Data collection and evaluation.

(1) Dispute Data Form. A data collection system, based
essentially on the one originally designed for use in the family
crisis intervention program, was devised for the present proj-
ect (Appendix B). This basic data form was constructed in order
to eliminate the costly and confusing coding operation of the
previous program which compromised reliability somewhat. In
the present instance, each officer performs his own coding;
reliability will be enhanced by direct translation to key-
punch, sorting and computer analysis. The officers assigned
to Manhattanville and Wagner (CRI and CRII) have been trained
in completing the form and are expected to complete one after
every conflict intervention, regardless of the relationship
of the disputants (unlike the family restriction of the previous
project).

Fig. 1 Staffing Patterns in the Four Study Housing Projects

2/1970-2/1971
MANHATTANVILLE CRI
6 recruits
3 senior men
9

Group A

2/1970-2/1971
WAGNER CRII
8 recruits
3 senior men
11

Group A

2/1970-2/1971
Grant CONTROL Police (existing)
11 senior men

2/1970-2/1971
JEFFERSON B.A.S.S./CONTROL
5 recruits
4 senior men
9

Group B
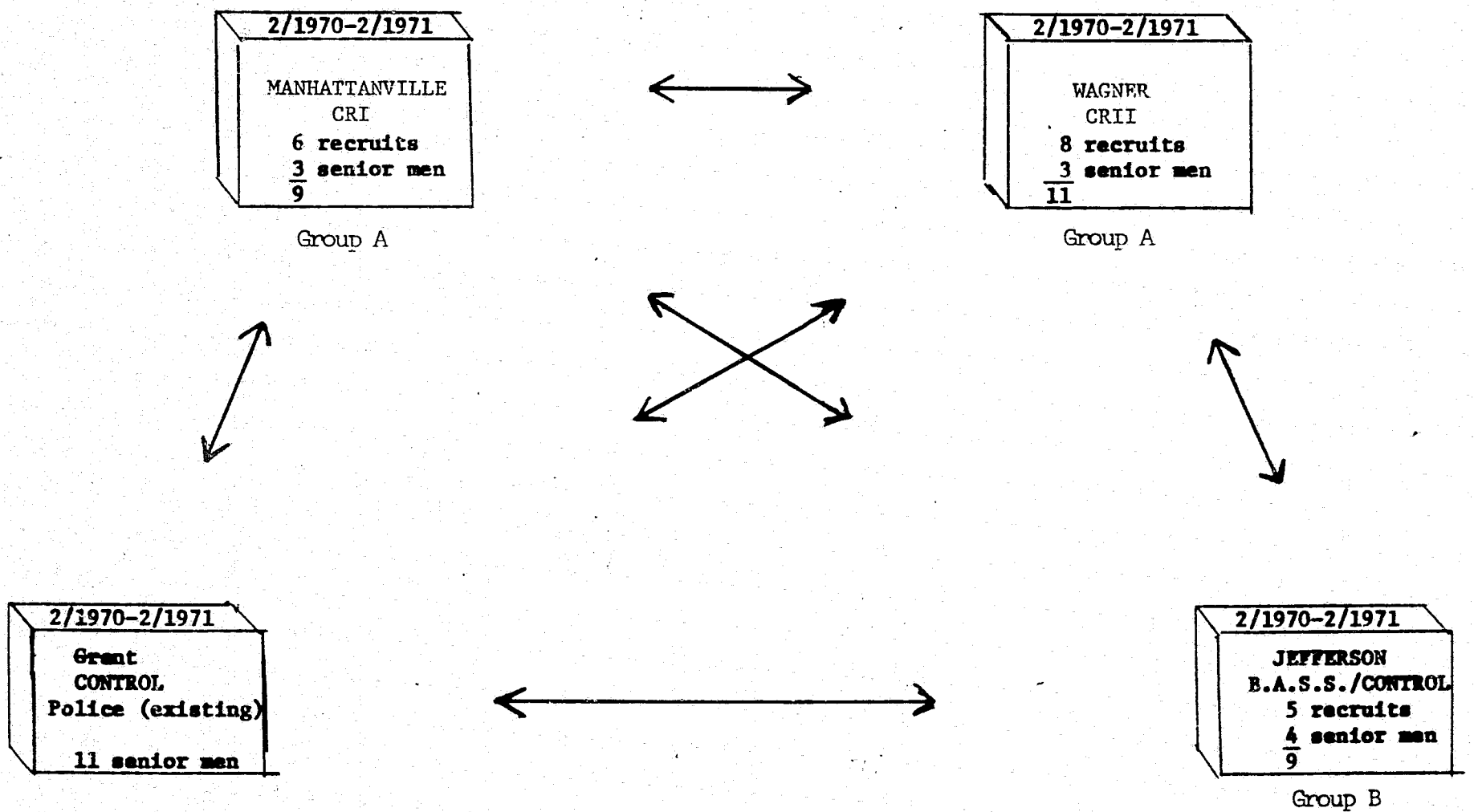
Fig. 2 3-year Longitudinal Comparison
among the Four Study Housing Projects

```
┌ 2/68 - 2/69 ─ ─ ┐
 ┌ 2/69 - 2/70 ─ ─ ┐
  ┌ 2/70 - 2/71 ─ ┐
  │  MANHATTANVILLE │
  │      CRI        │
  │                 │
  │   6 recruits    │
  │   3 senior men  │
  │   ─────         │
  │     9           │
  └─────────────────┘
      Group A
```

```
┌ 2/68 - 2/69 ─ ─ ┐
 ┌ 2/69 - 2/70 ─ ─ ┐
  ┌ 2/70 - 2/71 ─ ┐
  │    ·WAGNER      │
  │     CRII·       │
  │                 │
  │   8 recruits    │
  │   3 senior men  │
  │   ─────         │
  │    11           │
  └─────────────────┘
      Group A
```



```
┌ 2/68 - 2/69 ─ ─ ┐
 ┌ 2/69 - 2/70 ─ ─ ┐
  ┌ 2/70 - 2/71 ─ ┐
  │     GRANT       │
  │    Control      │
  │ Police (existing)│
  │                 │
  │  11 senior men  │
  └─────────────────┘
```

```
┌ 2/68 - 2/69 ─ ─ ┐
 ┌ 2/69 - 2/70 ─ ─ ┐
  ┌ 2/70 - 2/71 ─ ┐
  │   JEFFERSON     │
  │ B.A.S.S./Control│
  │   5 recruits    │
  │   4 senior men  │
  │   ─────         │
  │     9           │
  └─────────────────┘
      Group B
```
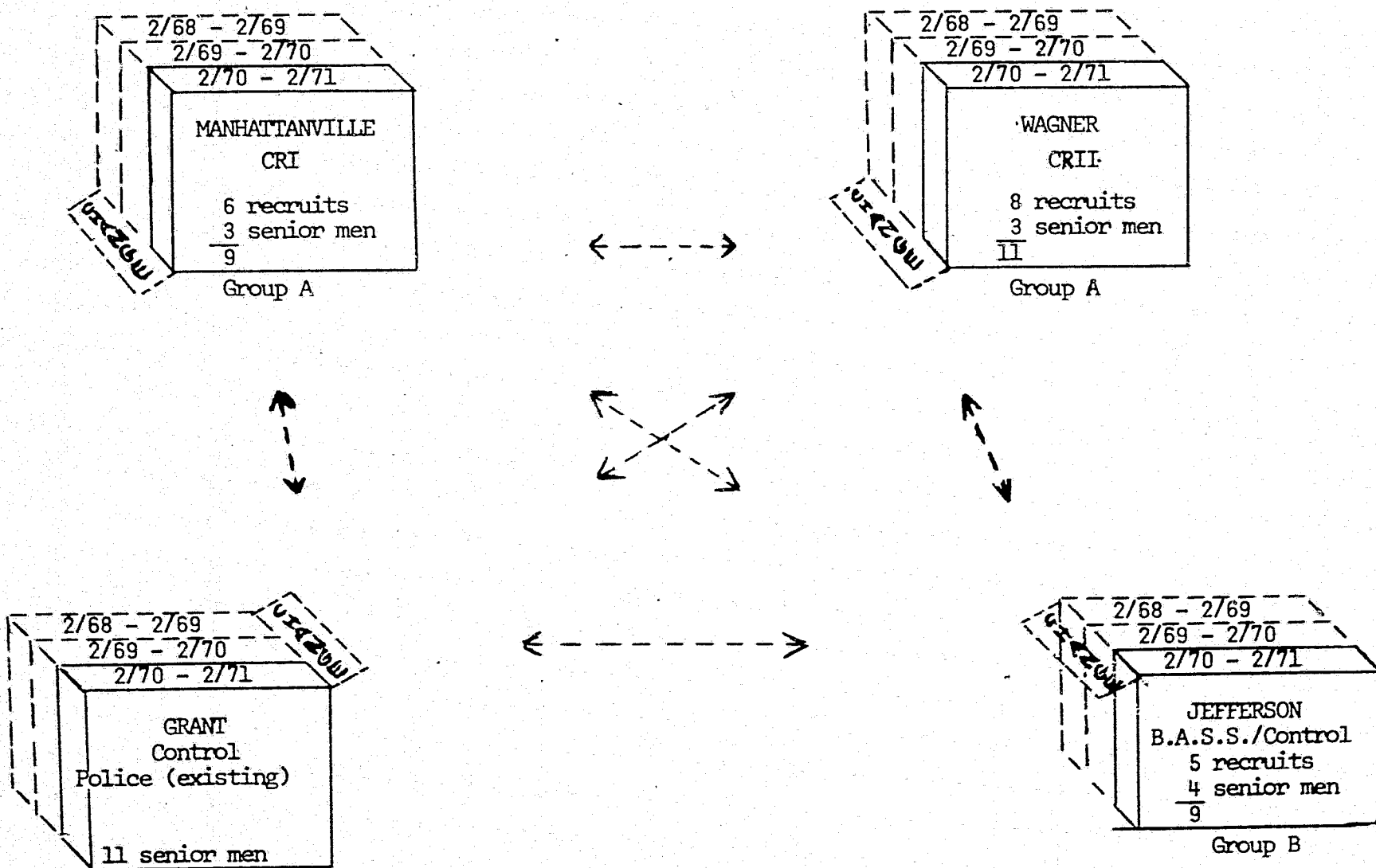
(2) Community Attitude Survey. In collaboration with
the Center for Social Research, The City University of New
York, an attitude survey was designed, pre-tested and ad-
ministered to a scientifically drawn sample of residents in
the four housing projects under study prior to the changes in
police assignments. The survey will be re-administered at the
end of one year (see pp. 41-43). Comparison of changes
in attitude will be made among the four projects to determine
if training had an effect upon this variable.

Police performance and consultation evaluation. If the theory
underlying our approach is correct, there will be measurable
changes in citizen utilization of the police. For example,
changes should be apparent in the number of appeals for police
assistance and in the nature of these appeals. It should be
possible to assess changes in assault arrest statistics, in
the number of court referrals, and in referrals to social and
mental health agencies. We should be able to note whether or
not the incidence of malicious mischief and vandalism under-
goes any change over the course of the experiment. These events
often reflect a passive-aggressive citizen response toward an
authority structure that is seen as repressive and insensitive
rather than as reasonable and helpful. Such data should be
further supported or negated by changes in citizen complaints
or commendations about the officers assigned to their projects.
Naturally, police injury rates and supervisory reports should

offer further validation of this view of the police as skilled conflict resolution agents.

Also, the research design affords a particularly good opportunity to determine the effects of the training methods upon several dimensions which appear to be relevant to effective police work: the ability both to understand and to predict others' behavior; the officer's attitudes concerning his job, other people and society. It hardly needs repeating that bitterness and disillusionment with one's work tends to have negative effects on how well one does his job. It would seem that the police are particularly susceptible to such feelings, largely traceable to the disparity between ideals they are taught during training and the "practical" advice they receive from the senior men in the field; between exhortations that they be fair, flexible and human, on the one hand, and their being immersed in a rigid, authoritarian organization which requires enforcement of law without fear or favor, on the other.

When a person's cynicism about his work reflects his view of society as a whole and he sees other people as manipulative, uncaring and emotionally distant, he is a victim of alienation. The dimension of alienation is one about which little is empirically known regarding policemen. The very nature of police work--the para-military organization, the

continual contact with the amoral and violent aspects of
society, the hostility from society (whether expressed directly
or as awe or fear)--has led observers to the conclusion that
the police are an alienated and isolated minority in our
midst.[11,12]   If this is an accurate assessment, then the
alienated policeman will share with other alienated individuals
such characteristics as social isolation and introversion,[13]
authoritarianism,[14] and a conformity to peer group pressure.[15]
Analysis of the data from the objective measures employed in
this study (see p. 25) will contribute much to understanding
the extent to which changes in police recruit training may
modify empathy, interpersonal sensitivity, cynicism and
alienation.

CHAPTER III

IMPLEMENTATION

Moving from design to implementation always raises unforeseen challenges and often severely tests the very best intentions. The emotional investment involved in creating a design can seduce the experimenter into subtle forms of bias in order to give his offspring the greatest advantage. This danger existed throughout the present project and was particularly evidenced by the conscious effort necessary to conform scrupulously to the design in making manpower selections randomly.

How the Housing Police processes applicants. Men selected for probationary appointment to the Housing Police undergo evaluation similar to that of appointees to the New York City Police Department. A civil service examination is the first stage: at times one examination serves for Housing, Transit, and New York City police departments (the three municipal police departments in New York City); at other times, each department gives its own examination. In any case, the applicant chooses the department he prefers, either by joint or separate examination. Often an applicant applies to all three departments, intending to accept appointment to whichever first accepts him.

On passing the civil service examination, the applicant receives physical and medical examinations. An investigation is conducted into his employment and military service records, as well as into previous criminal record, if any. There is no routine psychological or psychiatric screening for any of the three New York City police departments.

On appointment, a New York City Housing Authority patrolman shares with the other municipal police department officers the responsibilities of a peace officer as defined by the laws of the State of New York. Indeed, uniforms are the same (except for a distinguishing sleeve patch), and the men are similarly armed, have the same powers, and receive the same salaries. Housing Police jurisdiction, however, is restricted to public housing projects administered by the New York City Housing Authority. When off duty, the housing policeman's responsibilities and powers are the same as those of off-duty officers of the other municipal police departments.

The November 1969 recruit class. After several administrative delays, November 10, 1969, marked the swearing in of 53 probationary patrolmen on their first day of training at the Housing Police Academy; one man began training shortly thereafter. Of these 54 men, most were minority group members (34 were Negro, 5 were Puerto Rican, and 15 were Caucasian) and ranged in age from 21-34 years, the average being 26+.

During that first day, the Project Director introduced elements of the present program design to the entire recruit class. Little was communicated beyond the fact that the present experiment entailed an effort to evaluate two different methods of training, each intended to increase the policeman's effectiveness and safety by increasing his knowledge of human behavior. Immediately thereafter, the following measures of attitudes and social sensitivity were administered to the group:

    (1) Cynicism about police work[16]*

    (2) Alienation[17]

    (3) Empathy: The Empathy Scale[18]; measures of person
        identification through the use of the film,
        "Judging Emotional Behavior"[19]

    (4) Interpersonal sensitivity[20]

Selection of Groups A and B. Upon completion of these measures, the recruit class was immediately divided into two groups: one group (Group A) to receive conflict resolution training, and the other (Group B) to receive conventional education in the behavioral and social sciences. It was originally intended that there be 15-20 men in Group A, so as to limit numbers during small group discussions. However, to conform to the practical needs of the Academy training staff, it was necessary that neither group be larger than 30 men. Thus, of the 53 men

---

*Slightly modified for use with Housing policemen. In addition, for the present study, response choices were randomized.

present during that first day, 23 were assigned to Group A
and 30 to Group B.

To ensure random selection and group participation, the
name of each recruit was written on a small slip of paper which
then was placed in a small box. In full view of the entire
class, one recruit picked names from the box, one at a time.
The first name chosen was assigned to Group B, the second to
Group A, the third to Group B, and so on until 23 men had been
assigned to each group. The remaining 7 men were assigned to
Group B, for a total of 30 in that group. The man who began
training later was assigned to Group A, thus bringing the total
number of recruits in that group to 24.

Prior to November 10, 1969, three senior patrolmen from
each of the two housing projects subsequently to be assigned
Group A personnel had been selected to attend training sessions
with the Group A recruits. Selection of these senior men was
made by senior officers of the Housing Police Department with
a view toward their providing, by their maturity, a steadying
influence for the new, inexperienced officers.

The effectiveness of the randomization process used to
select the recruits for each group can be judged somewhat on
the basis of group comparisons of age, race, intelligence, and
scores on the measures administered during the first day. There
were no statistically significant differences between the re-
cruits in the two groups by race, age, intelligence, cynicism,

alienation, empathy, or interpersonal sensitivity. For example, Group A was comprised of 20 Negroes, 2 Puerto Ricans, and 8 Caucasians (including senior officers); Group B was comprised of 18 Negroes, 3 Puerto Ricans, and 9 Caucasians.

Circumstances of training. Training for both groups took place in The Psychological Center of The City College of The City University of New York. The Center was then in the process of moving to new, off-campus quarters, and during the first four weeks of training these new quarters were used exclusively for the training of the men in this program.

(1) Group A. While the recruits and senior men in Group A met for classes in a large room, much of their time was spent in one of two smaller rooms, with about half the men in each. In these smaller rooms, 12 recruits and the three senior men from one housing project met with the same group leaders for one-half day during each of the 12 weeks of their 13-week recruit training.

The two group leaders on the project staff were graduate students in the clinical psychology doctoral program at the college: Elliot Rutter, who had previous experience leading a group of hospitalized patients as well as participating in T- and encounter groups; Joseph Zacker, who has had five years of psychotherapy experience with individuals, families and groups. Also serving as group co-leaders were members of

the 30th Precinct Family Crisis Intervention Unit.[21] Usually
one FCIU patrolman was present as co-leader in each of the
two Group A discussion groups.

(2) Group B. Group B classes were held in the same
large room used by Group A for their class work. Instructors
for Group B included faculty, graduate students, and visiting
specialists who lectured on selected topics.

(3) Police Academy training. The Housing Police De-
partment provides 60 days (12 weeks) of Academy training to
its recruits. To accommodate the additional 42 hours of train-
ing at The Psychological Center, the Academy training for this
particular recruit class was extended by one week, for a total
of 13. During its time at the Academy, the current recruit
class received the same course of training as is normally given.
A typical weekly schedule is shown in Appendix C.

The Housing Police Academy is located in the basement
of a housing development. The inadequate facility has one
classroom (barely able to seat 60 men), one similarly sized
room that serves as a gymnasium, one room for office personnel,
and a locker room. Instruction is provided by Academy staff
members and visitors from other police and police-related
agencies.

Group A conflict resolution training. In accord with the
project's design, there were two phases of training.

Instructional training was provided Group A once weekly during each of 12 weeks of their 13-week Academy training (Appendix D). Upon completion of instructional training (and concommitant with assignment to field duty), 20 men from Group A began the second training phase--consultations.

Content/Methods. The various training methods employed for the men in Group A are presented below in an order reflecting the frequency employed (with the most frequently used presented first):

(1) Group discussion. These were held each week in two groups, A_1 and A_2. In each group the men sat in a circle which included the leaders. No rules were prescribed for the ways the discussions were to go. In general, the leaders listened to spontaneous comments made by the men and tried to articulate the themes underlying their comments. Individual opinions were sought and obtained and interaction was encouraged. There were times, however, when the leaders did introduce topics for discussion. Some of these were.

a. Conceptions of the ideal police officer. To stimulate consideration of the complexity of the policeman's role and the diversity of opinion which the officers themselves might have about which elements of this role were crucial, each leader during the first week introduced this topic. In A_1 there was discussion about reasons for having chosen to become a policeman (the

two most commonly stated being financial security and
prestige). In A2 discussion centered on each man's
conception of what the "ideal" policeman should be
like. After considerable discussion, the leader of
this group articulated the most common theme: that
the ideal policeman requires **flexibility** in order to
be effective. From the outset the leaders were im-
pressed with the verbal ability and openness of the
men.

b. Individual feelings about being a policeman.
Strong emotions were expressed relating to physical
danger and power. These feelings were greatly heightened
when the men were given concrete vestments of their new
roles: when issued pistols, when they qualified in
their use, when they received shields and uniforms,
and when they began field duty. Deep feelings of con-
cern for personal safety and feelings related to aware-
ness of their newly acquired power were expressed at
these times. To the surprise of many of the recruits,
they found that others shared their concerns. It
appeared that sharing such feelings was particularly
helpful in phases of their training which aroused
anxiety. It may be that open discussion of feelings
promoted a greater sense of "togetherness" as well.

c. Non-verbal communication. Efforts to explore this topic generally failed when the leader referred to it as an abstraction, but usually succeeded when specific actions were noted (e.g., the facial expression of a man, the effects of holding one's nightstick in certain positions). One exception to this willingness to explore the topic occurred when efforts were made to touch upon the significance of racial separateness in their own group's seating arrangements. Any observation offered on this topic by the leader met with resistance.

d. Drug abuse. In one discussion group this topic was often discussed. All saw drug abuse as a major problem with which they would be concerned. Discussions were always emotional; personal feelings and experiences were shared. There seemed to exist a polarity of attitudes: some saw the addict as a desperate person in need of "understanding," while others felt addicts unworthy of sympathy and deserving of harsh treatment.

(2) Real-life simulations. During each of three of the last four training sessions, professional actors enacted a different scripted dispute situation.* The actors portrayed

----

*Plays for Living, a division of The Family Service Association of America, 44 W. 23rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010

the roles of disputants as scripted up to a certain point, at
which time two trainees entered the scene (unaware of what had
preceded their entry) and attempted to restore order and re-
solve the conflict. For each run-through of a script, several
pairs of trainees intervened at the same point, and on each
occasion the actors improvised according to their reactions
to the trainees' behavior. The audience of trainees, observ-
ing the action behind one-way mirrors, were able to see how
different behaviors by their peers affected the situation's
outcome. Subsequently, all met with the actors and each "team"
described their own perceptions, feelings, and motives while
intervening. The actors similarly indicated what they had
experienced in reaction to the "team." The actors were then
excused and discussion continued with the entire group and/or
smaller discussion groups. The men were deeply involved both
during and after these enactments, which were felt by many
to be the highlight of their training.

(3) Role playing. Reflecting the staff's view that
more could be learned from experiencing than from abstract
discussion, role-plays were encouraged whenever appropriate.
Usually the situations role-played were defined on the spot,
although some prepared situations were presented. Although
there was some horseplay, connoting anxiety at times, the
men were generally surprisingly adept at "getting into" roles.
Some men (primarily the senior men) were unwilling to role-play,

while others seemed to have no inhibitions about it at all.
In all cases, the situations role-played involved one or more
men portraying civilians in conflicts, with one or more men
portraying officers.

(4) Lectures. Several topics required the structure
of a formal lecture (because of their importance and/or
complexity):

a. Emotional disorders. Distinctions were drawn
between the concepts "mental disorder" and "mental
illness." Varieties of emotional defenses were de-
scribed and trainees were encouraged to understand
that people with emotional disorders are more like
than unlike the rest of us.

b. Non-verbal communication. Emphasis was on
non-verbal cues which signal a person's motivational
and affective states.

c. Cultural differences. This lecture centered
on the effects of culture upon behavior, especially
in terms of attitudes toward children, economic con-
ditions, nature of group memberships, and variations
in how children are prepared for adult roles.

d. Conflict resolution. Definition of conflict
in psychological terms was presented, with a descrip-
tion of its parameters and functions, and options for
conflict resolution. This presentation was largely
abstract and not too well received.

e. Referral resources and procedures. Two lectures
were devoted to this subject. The first concerned
various police situations in terms of available re-
ferral resources in the community which the officer
might suggest; the second followed two weeks of field
duty by the men. Actual situations were discussed and
a list of community agencies was distributed (see Appendix B).
(5) Visual aids.

a. "Role Playing in Human Relations Training"[22] was
shown without having been previewed (due to a delay in
shipment) and turned out to be an unfortunate choice.
It was an old film in which middle- or advanced-age
people used role-playing for such problems as how to
relate to employees or how to lead a parent's discus-
sion group. Shown during the first training session,
it led some men to believe that we intended that they
relate like the people in the film or, worse, that they
ask citizens to role-play with each other. Consider-
able effort had to be exerted to undo the negative
effects of this film. The experience pointed up the
danger of relying on descriptive literature used in
promoting films.

b. Newly produced and as yet unreleased films
(depicting actual policemen intervening in several
situations) were used. The filmed officers' sharing

of their reactions with the audience was relevant to the men and led to considerable discussion about the techniques used and to expression of feelings the trainees had or might have in similar situations.*

c. A series of slides was prepared and presented as a laboratory demonstration of the effect of non-verbal cues (manner of dress) upon perception of people. Several people (two housewives and two policemen) were photographed in each of two modes of dress. Each trainee saw each person in one outfit only and rated that person along several dimensions (Appendix E). Then all recruits met together and saw all slides so that their own reactions could be com-pared to the reactions of their peers, who saw the same and alternate slides.

Conflicts within Groups A_1 and A_2. Inasmuch as con-flict is an inevitable part of life, it was anticipated that a variety of conflicts would arise among the trainee groups themselves as well as between the trainees and the project staff. Indeed, the occurrence of such conflicts was seen as being a barometer of sorts, directly related to the degree of the recruits' involvement with the training and their fellows. Consistent with the philosophy that conflict resolution is

----

*Film Modules Inc., 15 West 44th Street, New York, N.Y.

most feasible when the conflict is overt and articulated, the staff sought to promote clarification and verbalization of those conflicts noted. A number of such conflicts are presented below in order to provide a fuller presentation of the interaction which occured during this phase of training:

(1) Resistance to the staff. Mistrust of the staff was common during the initial weeks of training. Feelings were expressed that the staff was primarily motivated by a desire to analyze the recruits, to use them as guinea pigs, or, indeed, to subvert the police and dull their capacity to use appropriate force in the discharge of their duties. To these charges the staff responded with clarification of goals and philosophy. References were made to the previous, successful project with the 30th Precinct Family Crisis Intervention Unit. At times, however, the staff reflected and articulated the concerns of the men (e.g., "You think we're going to try to impose our idea of the 'good cop' on you," or "You think we want to turn you into psychologists.") Some of the policemen pointed out that they would be endangered if they hesitated to use force in some situations. It was stressed that the project staff lacked competence to render judgments about technical aspects of law enforcement; it regarded its only competence as being to increase the officers' understanding of human behavior.

Another form of resistance, voiced by some of the senior officers, was that the training endangered the recruit, who,

they argued, would best learn by emulating senior men. They
felt strongly that project input would make it difficult for
the recruits to respond reflexively with the single best action.
The recruits themselves countered this charge, noting that it
was better to have many options available; that, unfortunately,
senior men were frequently poor models and teachers.

(2) Attitudes of the senior patrolmen. During the early
part of training, the recruits were most eager to talk with the
senior men, apparently to find out what police work was "really"
like and to allay some of their anxiety about being policemen.
The senior men were most obliging, readily assuming the role
of authority figures for the recruits (not all the senior men
to the same degree, of course). This seemed appropriate.
However, when role-plays were used during small group discussions,
the senior patrolmen were uniformly unwilling to participate.
Their responses ranged from "I can't act," to "This is silly,"
or "This is not real," to "I never know what I'll do til I'm
in the situation." At first the staff accepted these remarks
without comment, but subsequently began pointing out that the
senior men were denying the recruits a chance to see how an
experienced policeman would handle a situation. The recruits
themselves gradually increased pressure until the beginning of
the scheduled two-week field placement. Following this first
taste of actual police activity, there was a dramatic decrease
in senior officer "hero worship" by the recruits. They spoke

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

to the senior men less frequently and related stories of their experiences in the field wherein their mentors sometimes set poor examples. The recruits now could directly express their resentment about role-play refusals. It was as if they no longer saw the senior men as "experts," but rather as people like themselves who, while having more experience, were refusing to share the benefits of that experience. The more experienced officers continued to resist but ultimately there were some role-plays in which they participated.

Evaluation. A number of procedures were used to evaluate the training Group A received. Those gathered prior to graduation included:

(1) At the conclusion of each training session at The Psychological Center (excluding the first and last session), all officers completed a rating scale to indicate the value of the session for him both as a person and as a patrolman (Appendix F).

(2) During the last week of training each recruit again completed the same measures of attitudes and social sensitivity which had been administered on the day of selection for the program (see p. 25).

(3) During the last week of training, each recruit completed a questionnaire through which he evaluated the training he had received at The Psychological Center (Appendix G).

Group B behavioral and social science training. Consistent
with our intention to provide for Group B training which was
equivalent in form to most traditional police academy training,
lectures and films were the sole methods used to train this
group of men. (The President's Commission on Crime reported
that 96% of all police academy training consists of lectures
and discussion.[23]) It was necessary in implementing the de-
sign that Group B's training be provided by the best available
instructors and be meaningful and relevant. A curriculum was
developed covering sociology, the psychology of the individual
at various stages of development, physical anthropology, social
anthropology, social psychology and the problems of living--
all designed to provide a well-rounded view of human motiva-
tion and behavior (Appendix H).

Content/Methods.

(1) Lectures. The topics were covered in one- or two-
hour periods. The instructors were chosen on the basis of
their familiarity with the content areas and were asked to de-
emphasize such issues as statistics, references, and research
methodology, while gearing their presentations to cover major
issues and trends in the area. The keynotes stressed were
flexibility and variety. Consistent with these, variety was
provided by 14 different instructors for the total of 42 hours
of instruction. (Most instructors were male; only three hours
were presented by females.)

(2) Films. A number of films were selected to provide
some additional variety in instructional method and to sup-
plement the material. The number of films shown was limited
so as to approximate the proportion of films to lectures at
the police academy (approximately 5%-10%).

Atmosphere of classes. It was the staff's impression
that the training provided Group B was successful, perhaps too
successful. The Psychological Center was unable to duplicate
either the atmosphere or the objectives of typical police academy
training as described, for example, by Germann:

> As far as police academy training is concerned, the
> strategy is clearly in developing personnel over whom
> the organization can easily exercise control--not in
> developing self-directed and autonomous personnel.
> There is a "boot camp" environment, a "lock-step"
> tone, and "indoctrination" is the theme, objective,
> and method.[24]

In contrast, the atmosphere in Group B's sessions was
much like that of an undergraduate course. A lively interchange
between trainees and instructor and among the trainees themselves
was common, usually centering on issues stimulated by the topic
but reflecting concerns of the men both as policemen and as men,
fathers, sons, husbands, etc. It was not uncommon for recruits
to speak to the instructors during breaks to exchange ideas,
clarify points raised during the lecture or ask for advice on
personal matters. Indeed, many of the recruits showed what might
best be described as a compulsion to express themselves. One
reflection of the class atmosphere was that most of the instructors

spontaneously commented on the enthusiasm of the group (e.g., "If only my students were as alive and interested as those men.")

Evaluation. A number of procedures were used to evaluate the training Group B received. Those gathered prior to graduation included:

(1) Like Group A, during the last week of training each recruit in Group B again completed the same measures of attitudes and social sensitivity which had been administered on the day of selection for the program (see p. 25).

(2) Like Group A, during the last week of training each recruit in Group B completed a questionnaire through which he evaluated the training he had received at The Psychological Center (see Appendix F).

Group A's transition to the consultative phase. According to the project's design, a number of procedures were initiated and completed prior to the recruits' graduation and field assignments. These were:

1) Community Attitude Survey. In cooperation with The Center for Social Research of The City University of New York, prior to the field assignments of the men a survey (see below)* was prepared and administered to tenants of the four housing developments under study.

---

*Information concerning the Community Attitude Survey can be obtained from Professor Morey Wantman, Center for Social Research, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 33 W. 42nd St., N.Y., N.Y. 10036

a. Tenant characteristics. All respondents were adult females who had at least one child living with them in the development. All respondents were Negro or Puerto Rican.

b. Selection of respondents. Of the total number of adult female tenants within each housing development who had at least one child living with them, respondents to be interviewed were _randomly_ selected so that the proportion of respondents of each race approximated the proportion by race of the total number of suitable tenants. Within each housing development the following number of interviews were completed:

Table 1

Community Attitude Survey
Respondents in the Four Study Housing Projects

Housing Development	Number of Respondents Interviewed		
	Negro	Puerto Rican	Total
Manhattanville	85	29	114
Wagner	67	68	135
Grant	93	44	137
Jefferson	51	90	141
		Total	527

c. Interviewers. Fifteen female interviewers, most of whom had previous survey experience, met with the respondents individually. Nine of the interviewers were

Negro; six were Puerto Rican. Each had one full day of
training prior to conducting the interviews, during
which each was told that the purpose of the survey
was to find out how people felt about living in housing
projects. They were unaware of the survey's actual in-
tent,i.e., to ascertain attitudes about housing police.
The interview schedule was constructed to mask the in-
tent by inquiring about attitudes toward a number of
authorities upon whom the residents were dependent for
services, e.g. sanitation men, firemen, custodians, city
police, etc. During the weeks while the interviews were
taking place, each interviewer received supervision
from personnel of the Center for Social Research.

    d. Response to survey. Tenant response was excep-
tionally good. Most of the respondents were cooperative,
and many suggested that the interviewer speak to friends
and relatives in the development. Only two respondents
of all those selected refused to be interviewed.

(2) Assignment of officers to housing projects. During
the week prior to graduation, it was learned that all but one
recruit would be graduating on time. The names of all other
recruits (excluding the man who had begun training late) were
written on individual slips of paper. The names of all recruits
in Group A were put into a basket, which was well-shaken. Names
were picked one at a time by non-staff persons and alternately

assigned to one of the two CR housing developments to be staffed
by men from Group A. In this manner, six men were assigned to
Manhattanville Houses and eight men were assigned to the Wagner
Houses. An identical procedure was used to select the five men
from Group B who were assigned to Jefferson Houses.

Standard practice of the Housing Police Department has
been for new graduates to be assigned to vacation relief, whereby
each man generally works in a development while one of its
normally assigned officers is on vacation. When that officer
returns, the vacation relief officer is assigned to replace a
vacationing officer at an entirely different project, often in
another borough of New York City. Vacation relief may last one
year or more and is generally felt to be undesirable by the
officers themselves.

(3) Selection of consultants. Prior to graduation of the
recruits, a number of graduate students in the clinical psychol-
ogy doctoral program at The City College volunteered to serve
as consultants for the police staffing the Manhattanville and
Wagner Houses. In addition, three Fellows in Community Psychi-
atry at the Columbia University College of Physicians and Sur-
geons similarly volunteered. Each was familiarized with the
Dispute Data Form (Appendix B) (which was to serve as a basis
for the individual consultation) and familiarized with the pur-
poses of the consultations. Five of the consultants were males;
nine were female.

Group A's consultations. It had been anticipated that there would be no time lag between conflict resolution training and the start of the consultation phase. However, administrative delays within the Housing Authority necessitated a two-week delay in beginning this phase of training for Group A. Also, it had been hoped that each man would report to The Psychological Center for scheduled consultations during non-working hours and receive overtime pay. As a result of scheduling difficulties, however, about 25% of the time the officers attended during working hours—sometimes not being replaced at the housing project, sometimes being replaced by a man who had not received training. The hope that each officer would be able to report at the same time each week was similarly unfulfilled. As it was, this phase of training began during the last week of February, 1970, and lasted for three months.

Since the men did not come on regular days, they were unable to meet with the same consultant each week. Due to scheduling difficulties and absences caused by court appearances, vacations, illness, etc., the number of men appearing for a particular session varied from two to seven. Usually, however, there were four or five officers present.

The officers attended a once-weekly session for three hours. Four such sessions were held each week, to limit both the number of men appearing at any one time and the number of men who would be unavailable for duty. The first hour of each session was spent in individual consultation. The following

two hours were devoted to small group discussions with one of
the two group leaders. Unlike the practice of using 30th Pre-
cinct FCIU officers as group co-leaders during the initial
conflict resolution training, there were no co-leaders during
the consultation phase.

Individual consultations. Each consultant conducted
a maximum of two consultations each week (most held one). In
only three cases was a consultant-officer dyad able to meet
fairly consistently with each other during this phase. Gen-
erally, however, neither the consultants nor the officers knew
beforehand with whom they would be meeting. Because of the
complexities of scheduling, there were a few times when men
had to share consultants with one or more other officers, or
when there was a consultant available but no officer.

(1) Content/Method. The consultative hour consisted
primarily of a case presentation by the officer and an explora-
tion of that situation. The consultant gained insight into
the policeman's functions while offering comments on his or
her perceptions of the situation described by the officer.
Often the discussions branched out into consideration of topics
relevant to the case presented or to concerns of the officers.
For example, a presentation of a case in which one of the dis-
putants was drunk might lead to a discussion of the etiology
of alcoholism, of agencies which deal with alcoholics, or of
ways of approaching alcoholics. Many of the officers asked the

consultants about their personal lives and their career choices.
Considerable time was spent by the officers' and the consultants'
getting the "feel" of one another, time which would have been
spent in task-oriented consultation had there been consultant-
consultee continuity throughout this phase of training.

Sometimes the officer had neither a dispute form nor
a recent case to discuss. Depending on the consultant and
the officer, these situations led either to meaningful discus-
sion or to uncomfortable defensive sparring by both.

(2) Evaluation. It was expected that successful con-
sultations would result in each participant's learning about,
and being affected by, the other. Ideally, effective consulta-
tion should lead to a breaking down of stereotypes and an in-
creasing appreciation by each of the other's views. To evalu-
ate this sensitive process, the following procedures were used:

    a. Before the consultations began and again near
    the end of the consultation period, all officers and
    consultants completed Semantic Differential Scales for
    each of the following concepts: Housing Patrolman,
    N.Y.C. Patrolman, Psychologist, Consultant, and Project
    Tenant (Appendix I).

    b. After the first consultation and again near
    the end of the consultation period, officers and con-
    sultants completed Adjective Check Lists describing
    each other (Appendix J).

c.   At the end of the consultation phase, most
officers and consultants submitted their evaluations
of the consultations.

d.   Before their first consultation and again near
the end of the consultation phase, consultants com-
pleted the following scales: the Cynicism about police
scale[25] and the F-scale, with instructions to respond
as a typical police officer would.[26]

Group Discussions. During this phase of training, the
groups were considerably smaller than they had been during
intensive conflict resolution training, generally consisting
of four or five patrolmen and a group leader. During the
discussions, a number of issues repeatedly arose; some of
these are described below.

(1) Complaints about the "system". Early discussions
by the young officers were typical of the feelings of all
novitiates into a new social system. A number of departmental
policies and procedures received much criticism (supervisors'
plainclothes surveillance, clerical work, difficulties in
dealing with the municipal police department and with the
courts, and the nature of the complaints lodged against some
of them by departmental investigators). The discussion groups
served to provide the men with a forum for sharing common ex-
periences and feelings; the group leaders felt that the

bitterness and cynicism expressed during these discussions may well have modified the reactions the men may have had if there had been no opportunities to air these issues. The leaders helped the men to articulate the bind they were in: they wanted to do their jobs well but felt hampered by the "system," with resultant frustration and helplessness. It was pointed out that the same feelings of helplessness and frustration are shared by others who feel themselves victimized by a "system," for example, perhaps the residents of housing projects. The intention here was to encourage a sense of communality with the people who would look upon them as representatives of the "system."

(2) Problems with adolescents. The officers were concerned about the hostility they encountered from teenagers in their projects. They felt that the youngsters provoked them into a "tough" response and that they had to earn a "reputation" with the kids before they would be respected by them. The group leaders encouraged discussion of different experiences among the officers so that those who had less difficulty handling and relating to adolescents could share their "techniques" with the others. Role-plays and the use of video-tapes were particularly useful in this regard.

(3) Dealing with women. Most of the men felt that they were often manipulated into serving as "bouncers" by women seeking enforcement of court orders of protection and who

called upon them to "remove" a husband or boyfriend. The officers often spoke of their own relations with and perceptions of women. Those who showed the most distrust (and thus the most hostility) were cautioned as to how these feelings might lead them to adopt inflexible styles of dealing with women during disputes.

(4) Agency referrals. This was often a problem area for the men, most of whom sincerely wanted to help people. There were evidences of frustration: people wouldn't go to the agency anyway; they were not permitted to follow up on their referrals by visiting the people referred; and often they weren't sure where to refer the people. Their unfamiliarity with the agencies on the referral resource list was in large measure a reflection of the lack of time devoted to referral resources by the staff. As a result, some officers tried to match the problem to the resource list, while others relied on Family Court to make the "best" referrals.

(5) Case Discussion. There was a general reluctance to bring in cases for group discussion. Certainly this reflected a need to avoid criticism, yet a number of such cases were discussed. Some of these led to fruitful learning for both officers and leaders.

(6) Drug abuse. Discussion of heroin addiction and of marijuana use continued from the conflict resolution training phase. Two of the senior men jointly developed a proposal

for a drug program in their housing development, which they
submitted to the Housing Authority.

(7) Student protest. The uproar throughout the nation
following the Kent State University tragedy was magnified at
The Psychological Center. Several of the consultants were
active in anti-war efforts, as was one of the group leaders.
The social crisis of the country became a frequent topic. Some
of the men and the consultants tended to polarize their posi-
tions, while others made conscious efforts to avoid doing so.
The group leader tried to verbalize the officers' feelings and
pointed out the tendencies toward polarization and how it af-
fects chances for conflict resolution. It was noted that the
Caucasian officers showed the most hostility toward the students,
whereas it had been the black officers who had showed the most
hostility and mistrust of women.

Rivalry between police of different housing projects.
On one occasion, when a problem occurring at one housing proj-
ect was brought up by a group leader, the officers present be-
came angry and defensive. They said they wanted to meet only
with men from their own project and that the group leaders
should not share such information with men from the other proj-
ect. This was exacerbated when two officers from that project
became furious with each other over the handling of a police
matter. The group leaders spoke to each man individually and
accepted the onus for discussion of a matter in the absence of

those involved (no blame was accepted for discussing the
matter before men from the other project). The mistrust was
not shared by men from the second project, and within a week
feelings moderated. The officers who felt themselves aggrieved,
however, generally tended to avoid discussing specific cases
throughout this phase, except when men from the other project
initiated case discussion. It is not clear whether or not
this avoidance was due to the inter-project rivalry; many of
the most resistant officers were also the most aggrieved.

On-call consultation phase. This phase began on June 1, 1970,
and will continue until February 7, 1971. During this time
there will be no group discussions; indeed, the officers and
staff will have no regularly scheduled or formal contacts.
The officers serving in the Wagner and Manhattanville housing
projects will be able to meet with the staff on their request,
the staff serving as consultants-on-call. These officers will
continue to complete dispute data forms during this phase as
they did during the consultative phase; these forms will be
monitored by the staff.

The period from June 1, 1970, through December 31, 1971,
will see the analysis of all data gathered as part of this proj-
ect, as well as analysis of the interventions made during the
previous demonstration project in family crisis intervention.

CHAPTER IV

IMPRESSIONS AND DISCUSSION

During the design and implementation of this experiment, a number of impressions emerged. These observations may or may not be supported by subsequent data analysis to be reported at the conclusion of the project. However, they should be noted because they add dimension and enlarge understanding of the experimental process.

First of all, the term conflict resolution as used in this report requires some clarification. It was the original intention of the program to provide policemen with broad skills in conflict resolution. Traditionally, the emphasis in police training is upon control. The focus on resolution was intended to broaden this limited concept of dealing with conflict. By so doing, we were intent upon: 1) seeking practical application of newly emerging conflict resolution theory, and 2) introducing the missing element in the police conception of conflict management. Our impressions of the dual element in conflict management derived from our experience in the program thus far are clearly articulated by Walton:

> One can distinguish between resolution and control as different goals of conflict management. The principals themselves or a third party may attempt to gain resolution, so that the original differences or feelings of opposition no longer exist; or they may attempt to merely control conflict, so that the negative consequences of the conflict are decreased, even though the opposing preferences and antagonisms persist.[27]

The design. There are some features of the design which warrant further discussion. One relates to the reason for selecting two housing projects in which to test conflict resolution training. Among police personnel it is commonly believed that police performance is affected by the nature of the environment. By selecting two conflict resolution projects which differed only in the extent of their policing problems (which may be related to slight socio-economic differences), it appeared possible to determine differential effects of environment upon conflict resolution skills.

In the evaluation of the original program in police family crisis intervention, it was suggested that intensive training and consultation might be reduced by 50% without compromising the viability of the method. It was important to determine if such a reduction in time was possible, in order to limit the inordinate administrative costs involved in such training. Reality considerations in mounting the present program resulted in a reduction of time to about 25% of the pre-operational time and about 15% of the consultation time used in the original program. It was our impression that this reduction (less than suggested by the evaluation of the previous program) was unfortunate. Apparently many of the officers in the conflict resolution projects felt that the consultative phase in particular was terminated too soon; that they had really just "gotten into it" when the consultations ceased. It is our further impression that the major effect of the method

of this program occurs during the consultative "learning-
while-doing" phase; as in all professions where applied skills
must be learned, it is in relation to "doing" that the greatest
learning occurs. It is unfortunate that it was this aspect
of training which experienced the most drastic reduction in
time.

In the content area, the most significant consequence
of time reduction was in the teaching and learning of the
nature and function of various community agencies as referral
resources. It is our impression that this aspect of training
is a crucial one and that the time devoted to this was
insufficient.

The officers' enlargement of their role concept. Despite tradi-
tional police concerns about the possibility of compromising
law enforcing capability by training input which does not em-
phasize crime and enforcement, experience in this project leads
to the strong impression that:

1. Officers can recognize that skillful conflict reso-
lution, derivative of understanding human motivation, is a
legitimate and even desirable role function of the modern
policeman.

2. Police officers are able to learn interpersonal
skills and to integrate them functionally and effectively into
their role concept.

3. Interpersonal skills can be taught to, learned by, and integrated into the functioning of police officers despite overt and even enduring resistance.

4. Even where manifest resistance continued, there was no break down in communication between the officers and the project professional staff; articulation and exchange of ideas has persisted to date.

5. Traditional police selection procedures seem inadequate for predicting which officers will be able to incorporate interpersonal and conflict resolution principles into their role concepts.

Project staff. It is invariable that when collaboration is attempted between two such disparate groups as the police and psychologists, stereotypical thinking will interfere with communication. This was anticipated in the present project, and the following efforts were made to enhance communication:

(1) The keystone of staff recruitment was the identification of those with the capacity for self-examination so essential for countering stereotypical thinking.

(2) During staff orientation, extensive discussions occurred during which staff expectations and attitudes toward the police were elicited, examined, and modified.

(3) Once the actual engagement of the two groups took place, continued refinement of staff attitudinal change was

sought through regularly scheduled conferences during which experiences were shared.

It is our impression that attention to this aspect is critical in order to ensure the success of a collaborative project between any disparate groups. Nowhere was this more dramatically apparent than during the Kent State University and Jackson State College tragedies. The furor nationwide was mirrored at The Psychological Center. While "anti-establishment" feelings ran high among faculty, students, and some of the police, "pro-establishment" feelings existed among some of the policemen. Despite this polarization, there was no interruption in communication between project staff and the police. On the contrary, consistent with conflict theory and with the pre-existing learned tolerance for differences, the two groups could avoid negative escalation of feelings. In fact, the entire process of responses relating to these tragic events became a living laboratory for deepening the understanding of the dynamics of conflict and its management.

Finally, it should be noted that this is an interim report. The analysis and interpretation of data derived from the previous project in family crisis intervention and the present prgram in conflict resolution will follow upon final data collection to be completed by February 8, 1971. A final report of the combined programs will be submitted in early 1972.

REFERENCES

1. Bard, M. and Zacker, J. Design for conflict resolution. In *Law Enforcement Science and Technology III*. Chicago: IIT Research Institute (in press).

2. *Training Police as Specialists in Family Crisis Intervention*. Final Report of project OLEA #157. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1970.

3. Suchman, E.A. *Evaluative Research*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967.

4. Fairweather, G.W. *Methods for Experimental Social Innovation*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967.

5. Bard, M. The study and modification of intra-familial violence. In *Cognitive and Physiological Factors in Violence and Aggression* (Ed. J.L. Singer). Boston: Little, Brown & Co. (in press).

6. Misner, G.E. Enforcement: illusion of security. *The Nation* April 21, 1969, 488-490.

7. Project Statistics, New York City Housing Authority, January 1, 1970.

8. New York City Housing Authority Fact Sheet, January 1, 1966.

9. Personal communication. Acting Chief J. Rothblatt, N.Y.C. Housing Authority Police Department.

10. Schatz, D. The New York City Housing Authority Police: a specialized force. *F.B.I. Law Enforcement Bulletin*, November, 1966.

11. Black, J.D. and Labes, M.J. Guerilla warfare: an analogy to police-criminal interaction. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 37, 1967, 666-670.

12. Toch, H. Cops and blacks: warring minorities. *The Nation* April 21, 1969, 491-493.

13. Gould, J.G. *The Alienation Syndrome: Psycho-social Correlates and Behavioral Consequences*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Connecticut, 1964.

14. Dean, D.G. Alienation: its measure and measurement. *American Sociological Review* 26, 1961, 753-758.

15. Gould, J.G. Conformity and marginality: two faces of alienation. *Journal of Social Issues* 25, 1969, 39-63.

16. Niederhoffer, A. *Behind the Shield*. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1967.

17. Gould, L. 1964, *op. cit.*

18. Hogan, R. Development of an empathy scale. *Journal of Consulting Clinical Psychology* 33, 1969, 307-316.

19. "Judging Emotional Behavior," Churchill-Wexler Productions. Available through the New York University Film Library.

20. Grossman, B.A. *Evaluation of a Training Program to Improve the Ability to Differentiate between Individuals.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967.

21. Final report, *Training Police as Specialists in Family Crisis Intervention, op. cit.*

22. "Role-playing in Human Relations Training," National Education Association, 1949.

23. *President's Commission on Crime, Task Force Report: Police.* U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1967.

24. Germann, A. C. The problem of police-community relations. Paper prepared for the Task Force on Law and Law Enforcement, National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, October, 1968.

25. Niederhoffer, *op. cit.*

26. Adorno, T.W., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D.J., and Sanford, R.N. *The Authoritarian Personality.* New York: Harper, 1949.

27. Walton, R.E. *Interpersonal Peacemaking: Confrontations and Third-Party Consultation.* Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969.

APPENDIX A

STUDY HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS' STATISTICS
(as of 1/1/69)

Housing Development	White	Average Family Size		
		Negro	P.R.	Average
Grant (control)	2.8	3.6	412	3.7
Jefferson (BASS/control)	2.4	4.0	4.1	3.7
Wagner (CR II)	2.2	3.8	4.1	3.7
Average:	2.47	3.8	4.13	3.7
Manhattanville (CR I)	3.2	3.7	4.6	3.9

	White	Racial Distribution (As % of total population)		Total Population
Grant	4.8	62.8	32.4	7213
Jefferson	15.1	36.7	48.2	5426
Wagner	7.7	45.8	46.5	7985
Average:	9.2	48.5	42.3	6874
Manhattanville	9.6	63.6	28.0	4894

Other Variables

	project age	Average income	% over 60 years	% on Welfare	% broken homes
Grant	12.0	$5169	5.8	17.6	27.9
Jefferson	9.3	$4771	7.7	25.9	26.6
Wagner	10.6	$4726	6.3	26.1	27.6
Average:	10.6	$4888	6.6	23.2	27.2
Manhattanville	7.3	$6441	6.2	10.2	15.5

Project Locations:

Grant: 123-125th St; Broadway-Morningside
Jefferson: 112-115th St; 1st-3rd Ave.
Wagner: 120-124th St; 2ndAve-F.D.R. Drive.
Manhattanville: 133-129th St.; Broadway-Amsterdam

IDENTITY OF THE DISPUTANTS

	The 2 Principal Disputants		Other Disputants	
	Disp. 1	Disp. 2	Disp. 3	Disp. 4

7. AGE

	Disp. 1	Disp. 2	Disp. 3	Disp. 4
	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
Under 10	2__	2__	2__	2__
10 – 15	3__	3__	3__	3__
16 – 20	4__	4__	4__	4__
21 – 30	5__	5__	5__	5__
31 – 40	6__	6__	6__	6__
41 – 50	7__	7__	7__	7__
51 – 65	8__	8__	8__	8__
Over 65	9__	9__	9__	9__

8. SEX

	Disp. 1	Disp. 2	Disp. 3	Disp. 4
	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
Male	2__	2__	2__	2__
Female	3__	3__	3__	3__

9. RACE:

	Disp. 1	Disp. 2	Disp. 3	Disp. 4
	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
White	2__	2__	2__	2__
Black	3__	3__	3__	3__
Puerto Rican	4__	4__	4__	4__
Other	5__	5__	5__	5__
Can't tell	6__	6__	6__	6__

10. PERSON IS:

	Disp. 1	Disp. 2	Disp. 3	Disp. 4
	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
A tenant	2__	2__	2__	2__
A visitor	3__	3__	3__	3__
Project manager	4__	4__	4__	4__
Project ass't.	5__	5__	5__	5__
Other project employee	6__	6__	6__	6__
Business person	7__	7__	7__	7__

11. WHO IS(ARE) THE AGGRESSOR(S)?

	Disp. 1	Disp. 2	Disp. 3	Disp. 4
	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
	2__	2__	2__	2__

12. WHO CALLED?

	Disp. 1	Disp. 2	Disp. 3	Disp. 4
	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
	2__	2__	2__	2__

13. Check only if disputants are RELATED:

	Disp. 1			Disp. 2			Disp. 3			Disp. 4		
	2	3	4	1	3	4	1	2	4	1	2	3
	1XX	XX	XX	1XX	XX	XX	1XX	XX	XX	1XX	XX	XX
IS SPOUSE OF:	2__	__	__	2__	__	__	2__	__	__	2__	__	__
IS PARENT OF:	3__	__	__	3__	__	__	3__	__	__	3__	__	__
IS GRANDPARENT OF:	4__	__	__	4__	__	__	4__	__	__	4__	__	__
IS A CHILD OF:	5__	__	__	5__	__	__	5__	__	__	5__	__	__
IS A GRANDCHILD OF:	6__	__	__	6__	__	__	6__	__	__	6__	__	__
IS OTHER KIND OF RELATIVE OF:	7__	__	__	7__	__	__	7__	__	__	7__	__	__

14. Check only if disputants are NOT RELATED:

	Disp. 1			Disp. 2			Disp. 3			Disp. 4		
	2	3	4	1	3	4	1	2	4	1	2	3
	1XX	XX	XX	1XX	XX	XX	1XX	XX	XX	1XX	XX	XX
IS A FRIEND OF:	2__	__	__	2__	__	__	2__	__	__	2__	__	__
IS AN ACQUAINTANCE OF:	3__	__	__	3__	__	__	3__	__	__	3__	__	__
IS A STRANGER TO:	4__	__	__	4__	__	__	4__	__	__	4__	__	__

Disp. #1 Name_____

     Address_____Apt. #_____

Disp. #2 Name_____

     Address_____Apt. #_____

PATROLMAN'S DISPUTE INFORMATION FORM

Reporting Officer_____
(print name)

Check each place that is appropriate:

1. Notification of the dispute came via :

1XX	3__directed by citizen	5__telephone
2__walkie-talkie	4__N.Y.C.P.D.	6__self-observed

2. The time of notification was between:

1XX	3__0400-0800 hrs.	5__1200-1600 hrs.
2__2400-0400 hrs.	4__0800-1200 hrs.	6__1600-2000 hrs.
		7__2000-2400 hrs.

3. During the month of:

1XX	6__June 1970	11__November 1970
2__February 1970	7__July 1970	12__December 1970
3__March 1970	8__August 1970	13__January 1971
4__April 1970	9__September 1970	14__February 1971
5__May 1970	10__October 1970	

4. The day of the month was the:

1XX	6__5th	11__10th	16__15th	21__20th	27__26th
2__1st	7__6th	12__11th	17__16th	22__21st	28__27th
3__2nd	8__7th	13__12th	18__17th	23__22nd	29__28th
4__3rd	9__8th	14__13th	19__18th	24__23rd	30__29th
5__4th	10__9th	15__14th	20__19th	25__24th	31__30th
				26__25th	32__31st

5. When you arrived, the parties were:

1XX	5__not talking, all parties absent
2__in a physical struggle	6__engaged in quiet discussion
3__not talking, though all present	7__arguing
4__not talking, one party absent	8__other

6. Indicate whether a weapon was involved or an assault occurred:

1XX	3__assault without weapon
2__assault with weapon	4__threat with weapon
	5__threat without weapon

15. LOCATION

The dispute took place in:		Patrolman spoke to disputants in:
1XX		1XX
2__	disputant's apartment	2__
3__	street of the project	3__
4__	lobby, corridors, etc.	4__
5__	recreation area in project	5__
6__	project manager's office	6__
7__	H.A. Police office	7__
8__	other area within project	8__
9__	outside the project	9__
10__	parking area	10__

THE CAUSE OF THE DISPUTE

Score only Section #16 if dispute was between tenant(s) and his/her relative, friend, neighbor, or another tenant.

Score only Section #17 if dispute was between tenant(s) and an outsider providing services (eg., salesman, repairman, storekeeper).

Score only Section #18 if dispute was between tenant(s) and project management.

	What Disputants Accused Each Other Of:		Patrolman's Impression of Cause:
16. DISPUTE BETWEEN TENANT(S) AND RELATIVE, FRIEND, NEIGHBOR, OR ANOTHER TENANT	1XX		1XX
	2__	lock out	2__
	3__	one wants the other to leave	3__
	4__	one won't let the other leave	4__
	5__	lack of attention, understanding	5__
	6__	neglecting chores, tasks	6__
	7__	use of alcohol	7__
	8__	use of drugs	8__
	9__	non-support, too little support	9__
	10__	disobedient child	10__
	11__	parents getting involved in dispute between their children	11__
	12__	complaint re other's outside friends or activities	12__
	13__	violation of order of protection	13__
	14__	too much noise	14__
	15__	making a mess in hall/incinerator	15__
	16__	complaint re other's pet	16__
	17__	social/cultural tensions	17__
	18__	dispute over parking place	18__
	19__	difference over money, possessions	19__
	20__	damage to possessions	
	21__	interfering with other's activity	21__
	22__	teasing, challenging, insulting	22__
	23__	dispute over member of opposite sex	23__

17. DISPUTE BETWEEN TENANT(S) AND OUTSIDER PROVIDING SERVICES	1XX	
	2__	failure to provide proper service
	3__	disagreement over price/payment
	4__	one wants other to leave store or apartment
	5__	teasing, insulting
	6__	sexual advances
	7__	accusation of theft

18. DISPUTE BETWEEN TENANT(S) AND PROJECT MANAGEMENT	1XX	
	2__	tenant not following rule
	3__	disagreement over a rule

19. REGARDING ACTIONS TAKEN BY OFFICER:

1XX
2__ physically separated disputants   5__ tried to verify truthfulness of disputants' statements
3__ warned disputants to stop dispute/fight   6__ observed injuries allegedly inflicted by other disputant
4__ tried to mediate dispute   7__ accompanied disputant to destination

20. REGARDING ACTIONS TAKEN BY OFFICER: (Official)

1XX
2__ made arrest   3__ aided   5__ complaint filed
                         4__ made referral

21. While you were on the scene, the BEHAVIOR of the 2 principal disputants was generally:

Disp. 1	Disp. 2	
1XX	1XX	
2__	2__	explosive, couldn't control temper
3__	3__	agitated, very emotional
4__	4__	insulting, nagging the other
5__	5__	indifferent to the other/to the situation
6__	6__	calm
7__	7__	cooperative
8__	8__	kind, understanding of the other person

22. While you were on the scene, the general FEELING shown by the 2 principal disputants was:

Disp. 1	Disp. 2	
1XX	1XX	
2__	2__	feeling bad (angry-unhappy)
3__	3__	indifferent, neutral feeling
4__	4__	happy, pleased

23. What do YOU think the 2 principal disputants thought of the way you handled the situation?

Disp. 1	Disp. 2	
1XX	1XX	
2__	2__	enraged at you
3__	3__	antagonistic, resentful of you
4__	4__	generally dissatisfied with your efforts
5__	5__	indifferent
6__	6__	generally satisfied with your efforts
7__	7__	more than merely satisfied with your efforts
8__	8__	actually expressed sincere gratitude to you

24. What do YOU think was the EFFECT of your intervention?

1XX
2__ dispute not resolved and will probably recur almost immediately
3__ dispute not resolved, but disputants are cooled off, at least for a while
4__ dispute resolved, disputants starting to understand each other/the other's position
5__ dispute resolved, issues are clear and were settled

25. How many patrolmen handled this dispute?

1XX
2__ one

3__ two or more Housing patrolmen
4__ one or more N.Y.P.D. patrolmen

26. If you made a REFERRAL, to which agency was it?

1XX
2__ ACCEPTED
3__ Addiction Services
4__ Alcoholics Anonymous
5__ Assn. for Homemaker Services
6__ Booth Mem. Hosp. (unwed mother)
7__ Catholic Charities
8__ Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
9__ Community Action for Legal Serv.
10__ Community Service Society
11__ Dept. of Social Services (Welfare)
12__ Bur. of Child Guidance
13__ Bur. of Child Welfare
14__ Bur. of Special Services
15__ Bur. of Pub. Assistance
16__ Community Med. Serv.
17__ Emergency Shelter
18__ East Harlem Tenants Council
19__ East Harlem Youth Employ. Serv.

20__ Family Court
21__ Family Planning Clinic
22__ Family Service Center
23__ Federation Employ. Guid. Serv.
24__ Fed. Prot. Welfare Agencies
25__ Hamilton Grange
26__ Harlem Assertion of Rights
27__ Harlem-Dowling Children's Serv.
28__ Harlem Teams for Self Help
29__ Haryou-Act
30__ Hosp.--drug or alcoholic trtmnt.
31__ Hosp.--physical treatment
32__ Hosp.--psychiatric treatment
33__ Inwood House
34__ Jewish Family Service
35__ Legal Aid Society
36__ Mobilization for Youth
37__ Morris Berstein Inst. (narc.)
38__ Narcotics Institute

39__ N.Y.C. Youth Board
40__ Open City/Urban League
41__ Psychological Center
42__ Psychological Cons. Center/TC
43__ Puerto Rican Guidance Center
44__ Reality House
45__ SPCC
46__ Tutorial Dev. Prog./CCNY
47__ Visiting Nurse Service
48__ Vocational Foundation
49__ Vocational Youth Work Prog.
50__ West Side Planned Parenthood
51__ West Side Youth Unit
52__ Youth Consultation Service

53__ private physician
54__ clergyman
55__ other public agency
56__ other private agency

Other impressions you have which aren't included above:

APPENDIX C
NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY
POLICE ACADEMY: WEEKLY TRAINING
SCHEDULE

Day Platoon	Monday A	B	Tuesday A	B	Wednesday A	B	Thursday A	B	Friday A	B
8-9AM	Review	Range	Psychological Training	Review	Physical	Psychological Training	Film: "Thin Blue Line"	Film: "Thin Blue Line"	Quiz	
9-10A.M	Kidnapping-Related Offenses			Kidnapping-Related Offenses			Rules and Procedures		Review of Quiz	
10-11AM	Crowd Control			Crowd Control			Review		Child Psychology	
11-12 N	Criminal Solicitation			Criminal Solicitation			Meal		Field Duty Assignments	
12-1PM	Meal		Meal		Meal		Physical		Meal	
1-2PM	Physical		Physical		Manhattan Summons Project				Physical	
2-3PM					Patrol and Press					
3-4PM					Children's Laws					

CONFLICT-RESOLUTION GROUP
TRAINING SCHEDULE

Session 1: Nov. 11, 1969

8:00 - 8:50 a.m.   Introduction, orientation, and overview.

9:00 -10:15 a.m.   Discussion groups: conceptions of the "ideal officer."

10:30-11:20 a.m.   Special training Methods.
                      Film: "Role Playing in Human Relations Training"

Session 2: Nov. 18, 1969

8:00 - 8:50 a.m.   Discussion groups: clarification of Project's goals.

9:00 -10:15 a.m.   Emotional disorders: distinctions between the concepts
                      "mental disorder" and "mental illness." Review of
                      emotional defenses and their universality.

10:30 -11:15 a.m.   Discussion groups: emotional disorders and defenses.

Session 3: Nov. 25, 1969

8:00 -10:00 a.m.   Non-verbal communication: discussion and laboratory
                      demonstration. Following a discussion emphasizing
                      non-verbal cues which signal one's emotional state,
                      the officers' responses to slides of people were
                      obtained and used to demonstrate how clothing influences
                      impressions.

10:15 -11:15 a.m.   Discussion groups: through discussion and role-play,
                      effects of non-verbal communication were explored.

Session 4: Dec. 2, 1969

8:00 - 9:20 a.m.   Cultural differences: effects of culture upon behavior,
                      especially: children's upbringing, economic conditions ,
                      and the nature of group relationships.

9:35 -11:20 a.m.   Discussion groups: exploration of what the policeman
                      can derive from understanding cultural differences.

Session 5: Dec. 9, 1969

8:00 - 9:15 a.m.   Conflict resolution: a presentation in which conflict
                      was defined, its parameters and functions described,
                      and options for its resolution were explored.

9:30 -11:15 a.m.   Discussion groups: exploration of conflicts which the
                      officers have come upon and impressions others have
                      of us which affect their responses to us.

Session 6, Dec. 16, 1969

8:00 - 8:30 a.m.   Films: new films depicting the reactions of real
                    policemen to family disputes and community hostility.

8:40 -11:15 a.m.   Discussion groups: exploration of reactions to the
                    filmed situations.

Session 7, Dec. 23, 1969

8:00 -10:15 a.m.   Discussion groups: Role-playing of conflicts situations
                    showing the relative effectiveness of the various
                    interventions portrayed.

10:30 - 11:15 a.m. Referral resources and procedures: a discussion of
                    police situations in terms of community resources
                    which might alleviate the problems.

Session 8, Jan. 6, 1970

8:00 - 9:15 a.m.   Coding procedures: the value of recording information
                    about disputes was presented in terms of the dearth of
                    knowledge about these situations

9:30 -11:15 a.m.   Discussion groups: Discussion of officers' recent field
                    experiences and of their training.

Session 9: Jan. 13, 1970

8:00 - 9:30 a.m.   Workshop in police management of conflict I: nature of
                    the workshop presented: professional actors would portray
                    open-ended scenes in which pairs of officers would
                    intervene to resolve the conflict.

9:30 10:15 a.m.   Workshop: enactments.

10:30 -11:15 a.m.   Workshop review of impressions during the interventions.

Session 10: Jan. 20, 1970

8:00 -10:00 a.m.   Workshop in police management of conflictsII: enactments.

10:15 -11:15 a.m.   Workshop: discussion and impression period.

Session 11: Jan. 27, 1970

8:00 - 9:45 a.m.   Workshop in police management of conflicts III:enactments.

10:00 -11:15 a.m.   Workshop: discussion and impression period.

Session 12:Feb. 3, 1970

8:00 - 9:00 a.m.   Attitude Assessment: officers completed questionnaires.

9:15 -10:15 a.m.   Discussion groups: evaluation of training.

10:30 -11:15 a.m.   Referral resources and procedures: review of situations
                    encountered by the officers during field duty in terms
                    of community resources; a list of resources was distri-
                    buted.

THE CITY COLLEGE
THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CENTER

IMPRESSIONS ABOUT PEOPLE

Picture

1. Of the following adjectives circle those 5 which you feel best describe the person:

alert	awkward	good-natured	leisurely
apathetic	dependable	hostile	responsible
confident	commonplace	mature	slow
arrogant	fair-minded	individualistic	tactful
cooperative	confused	patient	suspicious

2. The average I.Q. is 100. Circle the number which gives your impression of this person's intelligence.

	Very Low	Low	Dull	Average	Bright	High	Very High
I.Q.	50	75	85	100	115	125	150

3. Circle the number which gives your impression as to how trustworthy this person is.

Completely untrustworthy		As trustworthy as most people		Completely trustworthy
1	2	3	4	5

4. How law-abiding do you think this person is?

A chronic lawbreaker	Less lawful than most	Like most people	More lawful than most	Fully law-abiding
1	2	3	4	5

5. How well will this person do in whatever career he or she chooses?

Always at the bottom	Not as well as most	Average	Better than most	Outstanding
1	2	3	4	5

We would like to know what your impressions are about today's meeting. After each statement below, circle the number which most closely gives your impression. Be as honest and fair as you can - even if it hurts. Don't sign your name. If you want to add anything, use the bottom or the other side of this page.

DATE: _____

A. Were today's experiences helpful for you as a <u>person</u>?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
not at all helpful			a little helpful			mostly helpful			very helpful

B. Were today's experiences helpful for you as a future <u>patrolman</u>?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
not at all helpful			a little helpful			mostly helpful			very helpful

We'd like to know what you think of the program you received at The City College. Your opinions are important to us, so please give some thought to each question. It is not necessary to sign your name.

1) What parts of the program at City College were most helpful to you?

2) What parts of the program at City College were least helpful?

3) Do you think such programs should be given to future classes of recruits?

4) Do you think such programs should be given to experienced patrolmen?

5) What would have made it a better program?

6) Were you in Platoon A or Platoon B?

7) Which Platoon, if either, do you think got the most from the City Collge program?

BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES (BASS) GROUP
TRAINING SCHEDULE

Session 1: Nov. 12, 1969

8:00-8:40 a.m.	Introduction, orientation and overview.
8:50-10:10 a.m.	Child development I: Varieties of mother-infant interaction and their effects upon the child's behavior.
10:25-11:20 a.m.	Child development II: varieties of child rearing methods in different cultures and their effects on behavior

Session 2: Nov. 19, 1969

8:00-8:50 a.m.	Adolescent crises: various changes during adolescence with which the child must cope.
9:00-11:15 a.m.	Adjustments in adolescence: how adolescents adjust to the physical, sexual, social, religious, and moral crises they encounter. Ambivalence about independence and authority as adolescent characteristics; factors influencing police adolescent interaction. Film: "Meaning of Adolescence."

Session 3: Nov. 26, 1969

8:00-9:10 a.m.	Adulthood I: Conceptions of adulthood in terms of societal expectations, the nature of adjustment to work, and increases in independence and responsibility.
9:25-11:15 a.m.	Adulthood II: crises in adulthood: marriage, birth of children, parenting children. Film: "Shaping the Personality"

Session 4: Dec. 3, 1969

8:00-9:15 a.m.	Conceptions of normality: medical-psychiatric, psychoanalytic, psychological, and anthropological. Film: "What is Normal?"
9:30-10:20 and 10:30-11:20 a.m.	Gerontology: defining "old age;" medical, social and psychological problems of old age; difficulties of working with the aged.

Session 5: Dec. 10, 1969

8:00-8:50 a.m.	Psychoneurosis I: comparison of adaptive-maladaptive behavior; critical areas of personality development; the nature and symptoms of neurotic conflict; mechanisms of ego defense.
9:00-10:00 a.m.	Psychoneurosis II: description of syndromes.
10:15-11:15 a.m.	The character disorders: distinguished from psychoneuroses (special symptom reactions and conduct disorders).

Session 6: Dec. 17, 1969

8:00-9:00 a.m.	Theories of psychosis: genetic, constitutional, chemical, and developmental-psychological. Film: "World of the Schizophrenic"
9:15-10:15 a.m.	Psychosis I: etiology and behavior of affective psychoses.
10:30-11:15 a.m.	Psychosis II: schizophrenia and its manifestations;

Session 7: Dec. 24, 1969

8:00-9:15 a.m.   Treatment of emotional disorders I: physical and
                      chemical treatments.
9:30-11:15 a.m.   Treatment of emotional disorders II: psychological
                      methods, ethical and legal aspects of the psycho-
                      therapeutic relationship.

Session 8: Jan. 7, 1970

8:00-9:00 a.m.   Physical anthropology: evolutionary processes which
                      affected mankind; the phenomena of individual variation
                      and genetic transmission; racial differences.
                      Film: "Miss Goodall and the Wild Chimpanzees"
9:30-10:15 and   Cultural anthropology: cross-national differences in
10:30-11:15 a.m.   behavior, with particular reference to ethnic groups
                      in N.Y.C; cultural effects on familial and social
                      patterns.

Session 9: Jan. 14, 1970

8:00-9:15 a.m.   Cultural anthropology: subcultural differences within
                      the U.S.A., with particular reference to minorities
                      and adolescents.
9:30-11:15 a.m.   The culture of the Puerto Rican American: in terms of
                      behavior, attitudes towards police and other authorities,
                      and group strivings.

Session 10: Jan. 21, 1970

8:00-9:30 a.m.   The culture of the black American: the anger of the
                      American Negro.
9:45-11:15 a.m.   Urban living: the sociology of the inner city; the
                      pessimism and hedonism characterizing the ghetto sub-
                      culture and alternative ways of reacting to these
                      pressures (gangs, addiction); acceptance of the major
                      culture's norms).

Session 11: Jan. 28, 1970

8:00-9:00 a.m.   Deviant behavior and public policy: how public policies'
                      (e.g., laws) force certain behaviors underground and
                      contribute to formations of new subcultures.
9:15-11:15 a.m.   The addictions: psycho-social aspects of addiction;
                      differences between the ghetto and the suburban addict.

Session 12: Feb. 4, 1970

8:00-9:15 a.m.   Attitude assessment: officers completed questionnaires.
9:30-10:15 a.m.   Group influences on behavior: influences on crowd
                      behavior (contagion, rumor, and leader). Problems
                      in dealing with crowds.
10:30-11:15 a.m.   Public vs. private behavior: urban life as it affects
                      public behaviors (crowds, anonymity, heterogeneity of
                      people); societal norms as influences.

APPENDIX I

S-D Scales

NAME: _____

DATE: _____

Rate the following concepts on each of the scales below by putting one check on each scale.

	extremely related	quite closely related	slightly related	slightly related	quite closely related	extremely related	
wise	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	foolish
small	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	large
soft	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	hard
fast	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	slow
clean	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	dirty
sharp	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	dull
weak	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	strong
good	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	bad
excitable	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	calm
light	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	heavy
valuable	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	worthless
active	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	passive
feminine	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	masculine
successful	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	unsuccessful
noisy	___ :	___ :	___ : :	___ :	___ :	___	quiet

THE CITY COLLEGE
THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CENTER
HOUSING POLICE CONSULTATIONS

INSTRUCTIONS:

Below are a list of adjectives. Read them quickly and mark an X next to each one you think describes the person you've just spoken to. Be frank and give your honest impressions of the other person. Do NOT sign your name, but check whether you are a patrolman or a consultant.

I am a patrolman_____   I am a consultant_____

active	distrustful	logical	self-seeking
adaptable	dominant	loyal	selfish
adventurous	easy-going	mannerly	sensitive
affectionate	egotistical	mature	sentimental
aggressive	enthusiastic	meek	serious
alert	excitable	methodical	shallow
aloof	fair-minded	mild	shy
apathetic	fault-finding	nagging	silent
appreciative	fickle	obliging	sincere
argumentative	forceful	opinionated	snobbish
arrogant	foresighted	outgoing	sociable
assertive	forgiving	outspoken	soft-hearted
autocratic	friendly	patient	spontaneous
bitter	generous	peaceable	stable
blustery	gentle	persistent	stingy
calm	good-natured	pleasant	submissive
cautious	greedy	pleasure-seeking	suspicious
changeable	hard-hearted	praising	sympathetic
clear-thinking	headstrong	quarrelsome	tactful
cold	helpful	quiet	tactless
conscientious	hostile	rational	thoughtful
conservative	imaginative	reasonable	timid
considerate	impatient	rebellious	tolerant
contented	impulsive	reflective	touchy
conventional	independent	relaxed	trusting
cool	indifferent	resentful	unconventional
cooperative	individualistic	reserved	understanding
cruel	inhibited	restless	unemotional
curious	initiative	retiring	unfriendly
cynical	insightful	rigid	unkind
daring	intelligent	rude	unselfish
defensive	interests narrow	sarcastic	unstable
dependable	interests wide	self-centered	vindictive
dependent	intolerant	self-confident	warm
dissatisfied	irritable	self-controlled	withdrawn
distractible	kind	self-denying	

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CENTER

THE CITY COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, 3332 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10031

CERTIFICATE

PATROLMAN

NEW YORK CITY HOUSING AUTHORITY POLICE DEPARTMENT,

HAS SUCCESSFULLY COMPLETED THE PROGRAM

IN APPLIED BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES FOR POLICE.

February 6, 1970

Morton Bard, Ph.D.
Director

APPENDIX K

END