

THE IMPACT OF DECRIMINALIZATION

ON THE INTAKE PROCESS FOR

PUBLIC INEBRIATES

NCJRS

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ACQUISITIONS

Third Project Report

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Organizational Variable

CONFORMS A good police officer's conduct closely conforms to the MPD's General Orders.

PRIORITY The MPD gives a high priority to the problem of removing intoxicated persons from public places.

TRAINING The MPD makes an effort to train officers in problems of removing intoxicated persons from public places.

CREDIT The failure of the MPD to give credit for taking persons intoxicated in public to Detox is important to me.

Role Variable

SOCWORK Removing intoxicated persons from public places makes the police officer too much of a social worker.

APPROP Police are an appropriate agency to remove intoxicated persons from public places.

SERVICES If the police department were divided into a "community services branch" and a "criminal activities branch," I'd choose to be in the community services branch.

IDEAL It's impossible to remain idealistic after being a police officer for a while.

Peer Variable

VETOFF Veteran police officers think it is a waste of time to remove intoxicated persons from public places.

BUDDIES Your fellow patrol officers in your district do not mind removing intoxicated persons from public places.

PARTNER My partner thinks it is important to remove intoxicated persons from public places.

Strategic Environment Variable

TOURIST Because this is (the nation's capital, a tourist area) it is especially important that intoxicated persons be removed from public places.

SERIOUS Compared with other public health problems in the U.S., public intoxication is a very serious one.

NOHELP Detox returns persons intoxicated in public to the street without helping them.

EFFECTIVE It is important to me that Detox is effective.

FARAWAY Detox is so far away from my patrol area that it is impractical to send many publicly intoxicated persons to Detox.

THREAT Few persons intoxicated in public are a physical threat to police officers.

BELLIGERENT	Most persons intoxicated in public are not belligerent toward the police.
MESSY	Removing intoxicated persons from public places is a messy and unpleasant task.
WELLDRESS	Persons intoxicated in public who are well-dressed usually do not require police intervention.
POORDRESS	Most persons intoxicated in public who are poorly dressed usually require police intervention.
BOTHER	Most persons intoxicated in public bother other citizens.
MUGGING	Most persons intoxicated in public are potential victims of a robbery or mugging.
WEATHER	Most persons intoxicated in public need protection from inclement weather.
IMMOBILE	Most persons intoxicated in public are unable to get around on the street without assistance.
MEDICAL	Few persons intoxicated in public are in need of medical assistance.
PROPCARE	It is important to me that publicly intoxicated persons are properly cared for.

Strategic Interaction Variable

BUSINESS	Businessmen in your sector want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places.
GENPUB	The general public in your sector wants the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places.
POLITICO	Political leaders in your sector want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places.
AAETC	Groups like Gospel Mission, A.A. etc., in your sector want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places.
DETOXII	Detox personnel want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places.
LIQUOR	Liquor store owners in your sector want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places.
CRTPRSNL	Court personnel want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places.
DRUNKS	Persons intoxicated in public want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places.
CORROFF	Corrections officials want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places.
PUBPROS	Public prosecutors want the police to increase their effort in removing intoxicated persons from public places.

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INTRODUCTION

In the second project report, our focus was on the development of a discretion model, the fashioning of a questionnaire and various interview instruments and a report on the task of site selection for the comparative analysis. The present report discusses the results of the analysis of the questionnaire administered in the five target cities and our initial efforts in the prescriptive phase of the study.

In part one of the report, we present results comparing the attitudinal findings between the "criminal" (Houston and Richmond) and "decriminalized" (District of Columbia, Minneapolis and St. Louis) jurisdictions. We view this as the most important phase of our attitudinal analysis in terms of the original focus of our project. It was our expectation that significant differences would appear in the attitudes of police officers in these two categories toward the task of picking up the public inebriate. Based on the common social science practice of using attitudes as a measure of behavior, we would expect that these perceived attitudinal differences might explain the quantitative and qualitative behavioral changes following decriminalization.

The second part of the report contains five city papers. In each paper, an initial section provides the essential background information needed to familiarize the reader with the jurisdiction

and to enable him/her to evaluate the questionnaire results. A second section probes the attitudes of officers in the target city when compared with the attitudinal responses of officers in each of the other target cities. The statistical significance of the difference between the means of the jurisdictions is measured using Z-scores¹. This attitudinal section also attempts to probe intra-jurisdictional differences by comparing mean results between police districts within each city (except for Richmond which is not divided into districts).

A third section of part two probes the relationship between attitude and the officer's subjective report of his behavior. We began with grave doubts whether a subjective assessment by the police officer of the frequency of defined behaviors, having the natural limitations of memory and perception, would yield meaningful results. This concern proved to be well taken. While some interesting correlations were produced, most relationships were weak and not statistically significant. We are continuing to attempt to link the attitudinal results to behavior by examining objective measures of the behavior but are not yet prepared to report the results.

1. The formula for computation of Z-scores, derived from D.J. Palumbo, Statistics in Political and Behavioral Sciences 134 (1969), is as follows:

$$Z = \frac{X_1 - \bar{X}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{S_1^2}{N_1} + \frac{S_2^2}{N_2}}}$$

In analyzing the questionnaire results for possible correlations,² we initially formulated hypotheses relating the independent variables identified in the Proposal, pp. 15-III-8-16, First Project Report, pp. 44-48, and Second Project Report, pp. 19-23, Appendix B, to various forms of police behavior in handling public inebriates. The indicators (i.e. questionnaire items) available to measure each of the independent variables are set forth in the Second Project Report, pp. 20-23. From this pool of potential indicators for each independent variable, factor analysis was used to refine our independent variables into new grouped variables, (e.g., GROUPS, CONCERN, ROLE, PROTECT).

In forming the grouped variables, factor score coefficients were used to weight each of the selected indicators. One problem encountered in summing the variables was that SPSS included missing values in the computing process. To circumvent this problem, individuals with missing scores for a particular indicator were assigned the group mean score for that indicator. Outlined below is the procedure followed in the construction of the grouped variables:

$$\text{Grouped Variable} = (\text{factor score coefficient for indicator \#1} \times \text{value for indicator \#1}) + (\text{factor score coefficient for indicator \#2} \times \text{value for indicator \#2}) + \dots$$

D.C. Example:

$$\text{CONCERN} = (.773 \times \text{Propcare}) + (.201 \times \text{Effective})$$

2. The minimum acceptable strength for a correlation was set at .25 - .30. The acceptable level of statistical significance was set at $p < .05$.

In regard to those hypotheses in which factor analysis failed to produce a grouped variable, we tested each available indicator as a potential measure of the independent variable (e.g., variables: Peer, Organization). The pre-designated indicators of the Background Variable (e.g., indicators: Age, Education, Race and Time on Force) were each correlated with the proper dependent variable.

The dependent variables were created as a ratio measure. In the District of Columbia, for example, our major concern was the determination of the percentage of times officers took any action, approved action, institutional action, and delivery to detox. Thus, in D.C., the final set of dependent variables chosen were:

$$\text{ACTION} = (\text{DETOX} + \text{ARREST} + \text{HOSPITAL} + \text{HOME1} + \text{MOVEON} + \text{HOME2}) / \text{Total Options}$$

$$\text{APPROVED ACTION} = (\text{DETOX} + \text{ARREST} + \text{HOSPITAL} + \text{HOME1} + \text{HOME2}) / \text{Total Options}$$

$$\text{INSTITUTIONAL ACTION} = (\text{DETOX} + \text{HOSPITAL}) / \text{Total Options}$$

$$\text{DETOX DELIVERY} = \text{DETOX} / \text{Total Actions}$$

$$\text{TOTAL OPTIONS} = \text{DETOX} + \text{ARREST} + \text{HOSPITAL} + \text{HOME1} + \text{MOVEON} + \text{HOME2} + \text{DO NOTHING}$$

Similar ratios were formed of the behaviors probed in each jurisdiction.

Part three of the report presents our initial efforts in the prescriptive stage of the project. A model is presented which seeks to probe the relationship of policy goals and techniques of administrative enforcement. Finally, we identify some possible sites for study

based on our own questionnaire survey, the work product of other studies, and a number of local interviews. This is admittedly a far too extensive list of sites and will require substantial honing as we progress in this phase of the project.

At the outset, we would apologize for the report's rather tedious format which we were forced to adopt. But to place the data in a more interesting, readable form, while still providing all of the data generated by the questionnaire would have made an already lengthy progress report into a tome.

PART ONE

Comparison of Means Between Criminal and Therapeutic Jurisdictions

As indicated above, this part of the Report presents a comparative analysis of the mean scores on the attitudinal responses of officers in the criminal vs. the decriminalized target cities. Analysis of the item responses to the questionnaire is organized according to the independent variable to which the item pertains. In order to facilitate reading the report without constant repetition of the particular questions involved, an appendix relating the item to the appropriate question has been added which may be detached and used throughout Parts One and Two of the Report.

For each questionnaire item, a hypothesis was formulated regarding the expected results. Four classes of hypotheses were used;

- (1) significance of differences between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions,
- (2) commonality of direction of response across jurisdictions,
- (3) ranking within the strategic environment variable,
- (4) variability expected by jurisdictions with no general trends.

Disagreement refers to mean scores of 3.5 and above.

The standard formula for comparing a mean for one sample of means with a mean from another sample of means is as follows:

$$Z = \frac{\text{Mean 1} - \text{Mean 2}}{\sqrt{\frac{(\text{Standard Deviation 1})^2}{\text{Sample number 1}} + \frac{(\text{Standard Deviation 2})^2}{\text{Sample number 2}}}}$$

[See D. Palumbo, Statistics in Political and Behavioral Science, 134 (1969).]

The Z score obtained from this formula is translated into a significance level by use of a graph of "Areas under the Normal Curve" [See Palumbo, Table 1 at 367.]

In comparing criminal versus therapeutic means it became necessary to aggregate scores from our criminal and therapeutic cities. This was done by multiplying the mean score for each criminal (or decriminalized) city by the respective number of respondents for that city, adding these figures, and then dividing by the total number of respondents for all of the criminal (or decriminalized) cities combined. The same formula was used for standard deviations. [See Palumbo at 226.]

$$\frac{(\bar{H}\bar{X} \cdot \text{HN}) + (\bar{R}\bar{X} \cdot \text{RN})}{\text{HN} + \text{RN}} - \frac{(\bar{S}\bar{X} \cdot \text{SN}) + (\bar{M}\bar{X} \cdot \text{MN}) + (\bar{W}\bar{X} \cdot \text{WN})}{\text{SN} + \text{MN} + \text{WN}}$$

Z =

$$\sqrt{\frac{\left[\frac{(\text{HS} \cdot \text{HN}) + (\text{RS} \cdot \text{RN})}{\text{HN} + \text{RN}} \right]^2}{\text{HN} + \text{RN}} + \frac{\left[\frac{(\text{SS} \cdot \text{SN}) + (\text{MS} \cdot \text{MN}) + (\text{WS} \cdot \text{WN})}{\text{SN} + \text{MN} + \text{WN}} \right]^2}{\text{SN} + \text{MN} + \text{WN}}}$$

Where:

$\bar{H}\bar{X}$	=	Houston Mean
HN	=	Houston Number
HS	=	Houston Standard Deviation
$\bar{R}\bar{X}$	=	Richmond Mean
RN	=	Richmond Number
RS	=	Richmond Standard Deviation
$\bar{S}\bar{X}$	=	St. Louis Mean
SN	=	St. Louis Number
SS	=	St. Louis Standard Deviation
$\bar{M}\bar{X}$	=	Minneapolis Mean
MN	=	Minneapolis Number
MS	=	Minneapolis Standard Deviation
$\bar{W}\bar{X}$	=	Washington Mean
WN	=	Washington Number
WS	=	Washington Standard Deviation

1. Organizational Variable

- a. CONFORMS. We hypothesized no significant differences between the means of criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions would be found. There was no reason to expect that a conformist attitude towards police orders would be more prevalent in one class of jurisdiction than the other.

In fact, the criminal jurisdictions did show a significantly higher level of agreement than the decriminalized jurisdictions. This could be a product of the character of the criminal jurisdictions selected. Further, it might be expected that a jurisdiction which maintains criminal processing for a problem such as public drunkenness would be a more rigid, authority-oriented police system. Perhaps it reflects the officers' awareness that they are answering a questionnaire dealing with the criminal offense of public drunkenness.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.33	2.44	1.79	1.75	1.68
Significance of Difference				Z= 7.01	S=.01

- b. PRIORITY. It was hypothesized that while disagreement would be found in all jurisdictions, criminal jurisdictions would agree to a significantly greater extent than decriminalized jurisdictions. Since public drunkenness would be treated as a criminal problem and the police are charged with handling criminal problems, officers in the criminal jurisdictions should see the offense as having a higher priority.

While we found the expected general disagreement, there was no difference among jurisdictions. Apparently, public drunkenness receives a low priority even when it is a crime.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.53	3.55	3.40	3.55	3.39
Significance of Difference				Z=0.86	N/S

- c. TRAINING. While we expected no significant differences between jurisdictions, we discovered a significantly greater degree of agreement in criminal jurisdictions. It would appear that the police in such a jurisdiction at least perceive themselves as being trained to handle the public drunk. Perhaps their referent is the general training police are given in making an arrest -- police are trained in the processing of the criminal offender if not in the particular needs of the inebriate. In a decriminalized jurisdiction, where the mandate is for medical processing, the police receive little training other than that provided in the general orders.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.92	3.41	3.25	3.37	2.82
Significance of Difference				Z=6.42 S=.01	

- d. CREDIT. Not applicable to criminal jurisdictions, and therefore, to this part of the Report.

Summary. The organizational variable does not seem an especially good indicator for differentiating police attitudes in the area of public drunkenness. In all jurisdictions, the offense is given such a low priority and has so little visibility in the police organization that differences are minimal. Differences appear to be more a product of the general character of the respective police organizations involved than a particular reflection of attitudinal differences towards public drunkenness.

2. Role Variable

- a. SOCWORK. We hypothesized significantly greater disagreement in therapeutic than in criminal jurisdictions. Where the action of picking up public drunks remains "law enforcement," we anticipated a more favorable perception of the job. Where the task is the performance of a "medical-social welfare" task, we expected a more negative reaction from the police officer -- a view that it makes the officer "too much of a social worker." The hypothesis was confirmed, although the level of disagreement in all jurisdictions was somewhat surprising.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>		<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.90	3.21	3.47		4.08	3.83
Significance of Difference					Z=2.28	S=.03

- b. APPROP. We hypothesized that there would be a significantly high level of agreement with this question in criminal jurisdictions for essentially the same reason given in SOCWORK. The police officer perceives this work as dealing with crime. If public drunkenness is a crime, picking up inebriates is more appropriate to his role perception. The hypothesis is confirmed. Indeed, the discrepancy between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions is most apparent.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>		<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.88	3.23	3.35		2.19	2.23
Significance of Difference					Z=7.45	S=.01

- c. SERVICES. We expected general disagreement in all jurisdictions since police officers generally perceive themselves in the role of crime fighters. There was, in fact, very substantial disagreement in all jurisdictions. We hypothesized that there would not be any significant difference between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. This was not confirmed -- police officers in criminal jurisdictions agreed to a significantly greater extent. No reason for a difference in this direction is apparent. [Note: could the low Washington score explain this result?]

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>		<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.49	5.31	5.28		4.85	5.22
Significance of Difference					Z=2.80	S=.01

- d. IDEAL. No hypothesis was offered for this variable other than general variation by jurisdiction. Officers in criminal jurisdictions disagreed to a significantly greater extent. No reason is apparent to explain this difference.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.14	2.73	3.00	3.22	3.48
Significance of Difference				Z=3.52	S=.01

Summary. The role variable, especially the indicators SOCWORK and APPROP, seems especially valuable as a reflection of relevant attitudinal differences between police officers in criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. Officers in decriminalized jurisdictions find a discrepancy in their role expectations and the task of picking up public drunks. This discrepancy is much less marked in criminal jurisdictions. The view that decriminalization introduces a marked disincentive in terms of role expectations therefore is supported.

3. Peer Variable.

- a. VETOFF. We expected that police officers in all jurisdictions would agree that veteran officers would view it as a waste of time to pick up inebriates. Further, we hypothesized that there would be significantly greater disagreement in criminal than in decriminalized jurisdictions.

The first hypothesis was not confirmed. Indeed, there was general disagreement with the proposition in all jurisdictions. We can offer no explanation for this result. The second hypothesis is confirmed. As suggested by the role variable, police officers in criminal jurisdictions generally have a more positive attitude toward the task of pickin up public inebriates simply because they are dealing with a criminal offense. If police officers are accurately perceiving the attitudes of veterans, fellow officers and partners, we would expect this to be reflected in their responses (i.e., in this instance, a significantly higher level of disagreement).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.49	3.50	3.67	3.67	4.17
Significance of Difference				Z=4.77 S=.01	

- b. BUDDIES/FELLOWS. Our expectation regarding VETOFF was carried over to this indicator. In addition to general disagreement with the stated proposition, we would hypothesize greater agreement in criminal jurisdictions.

The disagreement was found only in the decriminalized jurisdictions and there was significantly greater agreement in the criminal jurisdictions. The disagreement in decriminalized jurisdictions and agreement in criminal jurisdictions strongly supports the proposition that police officers in criminal jurisdictions have a more positive attitude towards the task of picking up public drunks than do officers in a decriminalized jurisdiction.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.51	4.20	3.59	2.56	2.90
Significance of Difference				Z=8.12 S=.01	

- c. PRTNR. Again, we expected general disagreement but significantly greater agreement in criminal jurisdictions. Both hypotheses were confirmed. Officers in criminal jurisdictions believe their partners place a greater importance on the task of picking up public inebriates than officers in decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.41	3.56	3.37	2.71	2.83
Significance of Difference				Z=5.70 S=.01	

Summary. Like the Role Variable, the Peer Variable provides a valuable tool for distinguishing between the attitudes of officers in criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. All three indicators produce results consistent with the formulated hypotheses. The officer in Houston and Richmond appears to have a far more positive attitude towards the task of picking up public inebriates than does his counterpart in Washington, D.C., St. Louis, and Minneapolis. To the extent that a police officers reacts to cues from his fellow officers, there is a strong disincentive introduced when a system decriminalizes.

4. Strategic Environment Variable

a. General

(1) TOURIST. No significant difference between jurisdictions was expected. Rather, we expected variations reflecting the extent of tourism in the jurisdiction. While there was a significant difference between the criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions, the mean scores indicate that this has nothing to do with the criminal-decriminalized dichotomy.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>		<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.26	2.66	--		3.47	2.58
Significance of Difference					Z=2.54 S=.01	

decriminalized jurisdictions where the inebriate is delivered to detoxification facilities. Criminal arrest is often followed by a jail sentence at least for the chronic offender, thus removing the inebriate from the streets for a more extended period.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.25	2.43	2.37	2.71	2.93
Significance of Difference				Z=5.43 S=.01	

c. Perceptions of Inebriate

(1) THREAT. While our original inclination was that there would be general agreement that few drunks pose a threat to police, interviews with officers and the frequency with which disorderly conduct is an associated offense led us to anticipate disagreement. We expected no significant differences between officers in criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. There was no general agreement or disagreement. No significant difference was found.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.10	3.75	3.45	3.08	3.69
Significance of Difference				Z=1.80 N/S	

(2) BELLIGERENT. Again, we expected general disagreement for the reasons indicated in THREAT. No significant difference was expected between jurisdictions.

As expected, police officers in all jurisdictions viewed the public inebriate as belligerent towards the police. To the extent such an attitude is prevalent, there would seem to be a natural impediment to police intervention. Perception of the environment as hostile is not likely to induce intervention and certainly not a helping intervention.

No significant difference was found between the jurisdictional classes.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>		<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.70	4.41	4.28		3.51	4.35
Significance of Difference					Z=1.66	N/S

(3) MESSY. We expected that the results indicated for the previous two indicators would continue for this indicator. We expected officers generally to agree that the task of removing public inebriates is "messy and unpleasant." We saw no reason that this would vary with the criminal status of public drunkenness.

General agreement was present and there was no significant difference. All three of these indicators [THREAT (although the results were indecisive), BELLIGERENT, and MESSY] suggest strong negative attitudes towards the task of removing public inebriates regardless of whether the jurisdiction is criminal or decriminalized.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>		<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.85	1.96	1.99		2.37	1.93
Significance of Difference					Z=1.07	N/S

(4&5) WELLDRESS/POORDRESS. While we hypothesized general agreement on both indicators based on our view of what really happens, we doubted that this would in fact be revealed in a questionnaire. Our hypothesis was based on what is done, not on what the officers would say. We expected no significant difference between the jurisdictional classes.

As we expected, agreement was present only in the case of POORDRESS. There was general disagreement for WELLDRESS.

In both cases, a significant difference was produced. Officers in criminal jurisdictions believe that the poor man and rich man alike need police intervention to a significantly greater degree than do officers in the decriminalized jurisdictions. As will be suggested for the next group of indicators below, officers in criminal jurisdictions seem to feel a need to justify a "criminal" intervention. Before an arrest is made, it is necessary that there be justification. Need for assistance would provide such a justification.

WELLDRESS:

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.17	4.25	4.37	4.31	4.86
Significance of Difference				Z=5.65 S=.01	

POORDRESS:

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.19	2.80	3.11	2.70	2.86
Significance of Difference				Z=2.13 S=.01	

(6) BOTHER. We anticipated general agreement in all jurisdictions. Further, we expected a significantly higher level of agreement in criminal jurisdictions. The officer in such a jurisdiction, involved in a potential arrest, will perceive the situation as more serious, justifying intervention by a law enforcement officer. He will rationalize his role.

Both expectations were confirmed. There was a very high level of agreement in all jurisdictions. Police officers in criminal jurisdictions agreed to a significantly greater extent than officers in the three decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
X score	2.44	2.19	1.78	1.57	1.80

Significance of Difference $Z=6.52$
 $S=.01$

(7) MUGGING. Interviews indicated that public inebriates are frequently the victims of crime, especially mugging. We expected therefore, that there would be general agreement in all jurisdictions. Given the greater need for justification for law officer intervention, we expected significantly greater agreement in criminal jurisdictions. If the inebriate is perceived as a potential victim of crime, there is a greater reason for a police officer to intervene even using a criminal sanction.

Both hypotheses were confirmed. A high level of agreement was present in all jurisdictions and the level of agreement was significantly higher in Houston and Richmond.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.73	2.47	2.67	1.35	2.07

Significance of Difference $Z=7.44$
 $S=.01$

(8) WEATHER. One of the reasons most frequently given by police officers on why they pick up public inebriates is the need for protection from inclement weather. They almost uniformly assert that pickup rates are higher in cold months (which is generally not true.) We therefore hypothesized that general agreement would be found in all jurisdictions. Since the need to protect the inebriate from weather hazards would constitute another justification for police intervention using the criminal law, we hypothesized significantly greater agreement in criminal jurisdictions.

General agreement was present in all jurisdictions, although it was marginal in St. Louis. Greater agreement was present in the criminal jurisdictions although the significance is only marginal. It might be noted that both criminal jurisdictions have more temperate climates than the three decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.46	3.45	2.73	2.32	2.68
Significance of Difference				Z=1.94 S=0.0524	

(9) IMMOBILE. Interviews with police officers suggested that they believe that most public inebriates can get around without assistance. We therefore expected general disagreement with this item. Again, the need for justification should produce a significantly higher level of agreement in criminal jurisdictions.

There was neither general agreement nor disagreement in the five jurisdictions, two agreed and three disagreed. The fact that so many inebriates are down and out may well explain this ambivalent response. Further, the need to justify intervention would provide some explanation. As hypothesized, officers in criminal jurisdictions did agree to a significantly greater extent.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.40	3.62	3.81	2.74	3.31
Significance of Difference				Z=8.47 S=.01	

(10) MEDICAL. Again, the general picture of the inebriate suggested by the police in interviews was of a person who generally could take care of himself. The need for medical attention being only an occasional factor, we expected general agreement. Further, the need for justifying police intervention was again expected to produce greater disagreement in criminal jurisdictions.

Neither hypothesis was confirmed. While there was general agreement, with the exception of Washington, D.C., it was marginal. No significant difference was found between jurisdictions. Perhaps, this factor would not so much justify a criminal intervention as a medical intervention.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.86	3.34	3.14	3.35	3.47
Significance of Difference				Z=1.27 N/S	

(11) PROPCARE. We expected agreement in all jurisdictions but no significant differences between the therapeutic and criminal jurisdictions. We did find general agreement and also a significantly greater level of agreement in the criminal jurisdiction. Perhaps, although it seems strained, the need for justification in the use of the criminal law to remove inebriates finds expression even in this indicator.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.49	3.36	2.94	1.93	2.60
Significance of Difference				Z=3.75 S=.01	

Summary. The most interesting results produced in terms of the Strategic Environment Variable are the negative perception of the inebriate found in all jurisdictions and the difference in the perception of the inebriate in criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. The former provides a basis for a negative attitude towards the task of picking up public inebriates generally. The latter suggests a countervailing impetus present in criminal jurisdictions. Public intoxication is perceived as a problem justifying intervention through the criminal law. Decriminalization arguably removes this need for justification and thus removes an incentive to intervention in the environment to which the officer relates.

5. Strategic Interaction Variable

- a. BUSINESS. Interviews indicated that the businessmen were perceived as the most "significant others" for patrolmen in all jurisdictions. We expected general agreement with

with the indicator with no significant differences between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. Both hypotheses were confirmed.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.75	2.30	2.32	2.21	2.45
Significance of Difference				Z=1.49 N/S	

- b. GENPUB. Again, we expected general agreement in all jurisdictions although not as great as for BUSINESS. Officers certainly give verbal credibility to the proposition that they are concerned with how the general public perceives and responds to their work. We saw no reason to expect differences between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions.

There was general agreement in all jurisdictions, but in three of the five jurisdictions the level of agreement exceeded that of BUSINESS, but the scores are close. We also found a significantly greater degree of agreement in the criminal jurisdiction. Perhaps this reflects the officer's perception that he is expected to enforce the criminal law and that the general public is concerned with "crime".

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.59	2.64	2.22	2.28	2.26
Significance of Difference				Z=3.19 S=.01	

- c. AAETC. Again, general agreement was expected in all jurisdictions with no significant differences between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. While we expected an intermediate ranking for this item compared with the other items of the Strategic Interaction Variable, we recognized the possibility that it might not even be relevant to such a ranking.

We did find general agreement and it was certainly far less than that for BUSINESS or GENPUB. We again found a significant difference between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. While we might offer the same rationale as GENPUB, the reason for this result is not readily apparent.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.41	3.27	3.08	3.14	2.96
Significance of Difference				Z=3.16	S=.01

- d. POLITICO. We expected general disagreement in all jurisdictions since political pressures do not seem very intense in this area. Given this disagreement, this indicator would fall lower on the ranking of strategic interaction indicators. We expected no significant difference between our two classes of jurisdictions.

In fact, we found substantial agreement, falling just below BUSINESS and GENPUB, but ahead of AAETC. Apparently, the police perceive more political pressure to remove inebriates than we anticipated. As we hypothesized, there was no significant difference between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.96	2.91	2.41	2.67	2.74
Significance of Difference				Z=1.38	S=.17

- e. LIQUOR. We expected general disagreement in all jurisdictions. The public inebriate is the customer of the liquor store owners and there is little pressure for an interventionist police policy. It was anticipated that LIQUOR would rank second only to DRUNK, below, in level of disagreement. We saw no reason to expect a difference between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions.

In fact, there was general agreement with the exception of St. Louis. And the ranking in terms of level of agreement was higher than for CRTPER and DETOXII. There apparently is greater perceived pressure from liquor store owners to remove the inebriate than we anticipated. Perhaps we fail to consider the diversity of liquor stores. Many do not emphasize cheap liquor or wine and don't cater to the chronic inebriate. If their clientele is more "straight" the liquor store owner would more properly be classified as BUSINESS. There was no significant difference between jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.47	3.57	3.27	3.43	3.24
Significance of Difference				Z=1.82	N/S

- f. CRTPER & DETOX. While we expected general disagreement in decriminalized jurisdictions, we had no expectations regarding criminal jurisdictions. We could not, therefore, hypothesize any significant differences between the classes of jurisdictions.

In fact, there was no general agreement or disagreement even among the jurisdictions. Responses were ambivalent. However, the level of agreement was significantly greater in criminal jurisdictions. Apparently, officers in criminal jurisdictions perceive pressures to enforce the criminal law even in this relatively low priority area.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.06	3.42	3.70	3.53	3.39
Significance of Difference				Z=3.80	S=.01

- g. DRUNKS. We hypothesized general disagreement in all jurisdictions in spite of the claims of officers that the inebriate wanted to be picked up. Most non-police interviews indicated that with exceptions when the weather was cold or when

the inebriate was hungry, even the skid row inebriate preferred to be let alone. There id not seem to be any reason to expect pressure for pickup from the non skid row inebriate. We fully expected this to produce the highest level of disagreement. There was no expectation of any difference between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions.

There was general disagreement in all jurisdictions and DRUNKS generally ranks the lowest of the indicators in level of agreement. Again, there was a significant difference between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. In this instance, however, the officers in criminal jurisdictions disagreed more frequently. Apparently when the sanction is criminal, there is little pressure from DRUNKS for increased pickup.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.99	4.73	4.75	4.64	5.11
Significance of Difference				Z=6.77 S=.01	

Summary. The most interesting result of the attitudes relating to the Strategic Interaction variable is the extent to which the ranking of the indicators conformed from jurisdiction to jurisdiction. Police officers apparently perceive pressure from most significant others to remove public inebriates from public places and the sources of the pressure tend to be uniform in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
BUSINESS	2.75	2.30	2.32	2.21	2.45
GENPUB	2.59	2.64	2.22	2.28	2.26
POLITICO	2.96	2.91	2.41	2.67	2.74
AAETC	3.41	3.27	3.08	3.14	2.96
LIQUOR	3.47	3.57	3.27	3.43	3.24
CRTPER/DTXII	4.06	3.42	3.70	3.53	3.39
DRUNKS	3.99	4.73	4.75	4.64	5.11

It was surprising to find the significant differences between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions regarding the level of agreement. There is at least the suggestion that officers in criminal jurisdictions perceive greater pressure from external sources to remove inebriates from public places than do their counterparts in decriminalized jurisdictions. Whether such a perception is accurate or only an unfounded belief of the officers in the criminal jurisdiction, it does suggest that decriminalization can produce an alteration in the perceived pressures for pickup of the public inebriate.

PART TWO

City Papers

Washington, D.C.

I. BACKGROUNDA. The City

Analysis of the demographic characteristics of Washington, D.C. reveals a city of socio-economic extremes. Like many central cities, the District is made up of three diverse types of areas: (1) entrenched poverty areas, (2) transitional areas, and (3) stable, high income areas. Before detailing the characteristics of three police districts, each representing one of the demographic types, we present a brief overall profile of the city's population.¹

In a ten city comparison of cities with equivalent size, the District has the highest percentage of Black population (70%, followed by 46% for Baltimore, 41% for St. Louis). Another unique characteristic of the District is its low unemployment rate (1970-4.0%) in comparison to the U.S. figure on central cities. Also, this rate is only 1 percentage point higher than the figure for the Washington Metropolitan Area. However, the city does suffer from the currents of urban decline. The Civilian labor force is heavily plagued with low income jobs. In

¹ This overview is based largely on figures from the 1970 Census that are compiled in The People of the District of Columbia (Washington, D.C.: Office of Planning and Management, District of Columbia Government, 1973). The final report will emphasize the latest demographic data, where available.

1970, 28% of the experienced labor force earned less than \$4,000. Adding this figure to the unemployment rate, we see that over 110,000 persons in the District are either low earners or unemployed.

As for levels of educational attainment, the District is bimodal with the highly educated and uneducated occupying significant percentages of the population. Thus, well over a third of its younger population (18-24 years) have not completed high school and 24% of the adult population (25 years or more) have less than one year of high school education. In comparison, this places the District well below the figures of such central cities as Baltimore, Cleveland, and St. Louis. Yet, the District has 22% of its male population with more than four years of college, a figure considerably greater than the percentage for comparable cities.

Like many urban centers, the District has experienced serious problems with heroin addiction and alcoholism. However, based on the standard formulas that produce yearly estimated rates for these addictions,² we see they differ in their degree of seriousness in the District.

The Narcotics Treatment Administration (NTA) estimated that the District of Columbia had a heroin user population of 18,000 for the period 1969 to 1971. The post-1971 estimate is much lower with a drop from as much as 50% to two-thirds of reported heroin users.

2. Heroin Addiction - formula derived from a New York City study and adopted for the District that estimates 200 heroin users for every one heroin death in the city. (Data Source: D.C. Department of Human Resources Narcotics Treatment Administration) Alcoholism - Jellinek Formula based on yearly deaths for cirrhosis of the liver. (Data Source: Dr. Dorothy Mindlin Director of Adams Mill Alcoholism Center, Wash. D.C.)

This estimated reduction in the heroin user population is based on several crude measures: (1) drop in heroin deaths, (2) reduction in the number of clients in NTA programs, and (3) the significant drop in the reported presence of the drug in urine samples taken in connection with the Superior Court and D.C. Jail records.

On the other hand, the problem drinking population continues to grow in the District. Below are the estimates based on the Jellinek Formula.

Table 1

"Problem Drinking Population
for the District of Columbia, 1960-1972"

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Problem Drinkers</u> ^a	<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Problem Drinkers</u>
1960	52,500	1967	95,900
1961	64,100	1968	97,100
1962	68,100	1969	95,400
1963	78,000	1970	98,400
1964	70,000	1971	129,000
1965	86,700	1972	130,600
1966	97,600		

a. Based on Jellinek Formula as calculated and reported by Dr. Dorothy Mindlin, Director of the Adams Mill Alcoholism Center, Washington, D.C. See First Project Report, pp. 27-34.

1. The Detox Area - Police District 1

The Detoxification Center is located in the First Police District, a subdivision of the District roughly comparable to Service Area 6. Thus, this area houses approximately 10.5% of the District's population with the following breakdown by race:

Table 2

"D.C. Service Area 6 Population
Breakdown, 1960 and 1970"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
1960	99,100	10,600	88,500
1970	79,100	6,900	72,200

As these figures point out, there has been a significant decrease in this area's population between 1960 and 1970 with an exodus of 35% of the White and 18% of the Black residents.

Much of the demographic data confirms that the First Precinct is located in an entrenched poverty area. In 1970, 36% of the families in Service Area 6 made less than \$5000 a year giving this area the highest percentage of low income families. In addition, 29% of the people in the area are living at or below the poverty level.

Other characteristics include an estimate that 23.4% of the city's heroin users live in this area, the highest figure for any of the service areas. Educationally, 69% of the residents over 25 years old

have not completed high school, which is again the largest percentage in the District of Columbia. Finally, out of wedlock births accounted for 61% of the live births in 1970, the highest percentage in the city.

2. Police District 5

The Fifth District largely encompasses Service Areas 2 and 5. The population breakdown by race is as follows:

Table 3

"D.C. Service Areas 5 and 2 Population, 1960 and 1970"

	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
<u>1960</u>			
Area 2	52,700	26,500	26,200
Area 5	87,500	18,900	68,600
Total	140,200	45,400	94,800
<u>1970</u>			
Area 2	54,000	8,400	45,600
Area 5	72,900	11,700	61,200
Total	126,900	20,100	106,800

Close review of this data points to the transitional nature of this police precinct. Service Area 2 had the second largest increase in the Black population of the District (74.5%) and in the same period, the White population dropped 68.4%.

Service Area 2 is distinctly wealthier than Service Area 5, representing a strong community for Black middle class families in the District. The following chart shows the sharp distinction between the two service areas that make up this police precinct.

Table 4

"Comparison of Income for Service Areas 2 and 5, 1970"

<u>Income Levels</u>	<u>% Area 2</u>	<u>% Area 5</u>
-\$5,000	11%	28%
\$5,000 - \$9,999	26%	35%
\$10,000 - \$14,999	30%	21%
\$15,000 +	33%	16%

While Service Area 5 has fewer families below the \$5,000 mark than the First District/Service Area 6 (28% vs. 36%), it is virtually identical in the \$5,000 to \$10,000 range (35% vs. 36%).

Crime has dropped 21% overall in Area 2 from 1971 to 1972. However, rape, which generally increased throughout the city, showed its greatest increase in this area - up 88%. Service Area 5 showed a 27% increase in rape and a 15% increase in criminal homicide while all other service areas registered a steady decline in homicide. As for heroin use, Area 5 estimates run 40 individuals per one-thousand population (third lowest in the city) compared to 11 per thousand in Area 2 (second lowest in the entire District).

In conclusion, the overall distinctions between the two service areas point to a police district whose population is not homogeneous. Thus, Police District 5 is uniquely large and disparate for the city.

3. Police District 2

The Second District falls almost completely within Service Area 8 and represents the neighborhoods of the middle and upper class White population of Washington, D.C.

Table 5

"D.C. Service Area 8 Population, 1960 and 1970"

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
1960	99,700	96,700	3,000
1970	99,600	94,800	4,800

By far, Service Area 8 is the wealthiest area in the District. Only 7% of the families made below \$5000 per year while 62% of the families made more than \$15,000 in 1970.

The only crime showing an upswing in this police district is rape with a 32% increase from 1971 to 1972. Heroin use is estimated to be limited to only 1.4 persons per 1,000 population, the lowest figure for any police precinct.

Finally, 95% of the housing was built for single family use with 86% of all structures registered as owner occupied. In short, the area patrolled by the Second District represents the neighborhoods of the wealthiest and best educated citizens residing in Washington, D.C.

B. The Legal Context.

As a result of judicial and legislative decision-making in the 1960's, the District of Columbia became an early model for legal reform on the public drunkenness issue. Prior to Easter vs. District of Columbia, 361 F.2d 50 (D.C. Cir. 1966), the public inebriate was handled under the criminal process. The usual procedure involved a police arrest of the offender based on an alleged violation of the D.C. Code, Section 25-128, which made it a crime to be "drunk or intoxicated in any street, alley, park, or parking in any vehicle in or upon the same or in any place to which the public is invited or at any public gathering, and no person anywhere shall be drunk or intoxicated and disturb the peace of any person." Violations of this statute could mean a fine of not more than \$100 or imprisonment for not more than ninety days or both.

The legal challenge to this public intoxication statute in the Easter case relied on a fundamental principle of criminal responsibility that criminal sanctions may be applied only to voluntary action, [See Robinson v. California, 390 U.S. 669 (1962), holding unconstitutional as cruel and unusual punishment a statute making the status of drug addiction a crime]. Specifically, in Easter, the United States Court

of Appeals for the District of Columbia held that the defendant could not be convicted of public intoxication because, as a chronic alcoholic, he had lost the power of self-control with respect to the use of alcoholic beverages and thus, under common law principles, could not be convicted for his involuntary intoxication.

In 1968, the Supreme Court of the United States in Powell v. Texas, 392 U.S. 514 (1968), narrowly rejected a claim that the constitutional guarantee against cruel and unusual punishment required that chronic alcoholism be recognized as a defense to a criminal charge of public drunkenness. The Court quoted from the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, stating:

[T]he strongest barrier to abandonment of the current use of the criminal process to deal with public intoxication is that there presently are no clear alternatives for taking into custody and treating those who are now arrested as drunks.

The Court added that "it would be tragic to return large numbers of helpless, sometimes dangerous and frequently unsanitary inebriates to the streets of our cities without even the opportunity to sober up adequately which a brief jail term provides." It followed that "before we condemn the present practice across-the-board, perhaps we ought to be able to point some clear promise of a better work for these unfortunate people. Unfortunately, no such promise has yet been forthcoming."

On August 1, 1968, the District of Columbia Alcoholic Rehabilitation Act went into effect. Its enactment was a direct result of Easter and it established an alternative to the system which the

Court had so reluctantly perpetuated in Powell. The Act directs all public officials in the District of Columbia to "take cognizance of the fact that public intoxication shall be handled as a public health problem rather than as a criminal offense." Nevertheless, the statute retains the assumption that simple public intoxication is a sufficient cause of public intervention regardless of the wishes of the intoxicated individual. The police are retained as the legal instrument for removing intoxicated persons from the streets but they pick up "patients" under a public health provision which reads:

Except as provided in subsection (b) of this section, any person who is intoxicated in public: (1) may be taken or sent to his home or to a public or private health facility; (2) if not taken or sent to his home or such facility under paragraph one shall be taken to a detoxification center.

The Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, D.C. details its interpretation of the new law and created a formal policy in MPD General Orders Eight and Eleven, series 1968. That the Metropolitan Police Department recognizes intoxication in the District of Columbia as a health problem is explicitly stated in General Order Number Eleven -- "Intoxication shall be handled on a public health rather than a criminal basis." In the orders, intoxicated persons are divided into three distinct classes: (1) those not endangering the safety of themselves or other persons or property, (2) those who endanger the safety of themselves or other persons or property, (D.C. Code 25-218), (3) those charged with criminal offenses other than those specified in D.C. Code, Section 25-128.

The police department remains the primary intake (or pickup) vehicle for all three classes under the revised process. Under the first class, the police may take the citizen home or to the Detox (the Detoxification Center) and no arrest notation results (other forms are substituted). The second class covering those public inebriates who do endanger the safety of themselves or others (a criminal offense) are arrested and a detainer is left with the Detox medical officer. While those citizens in the third class are also to be taken to Detox, the Center was never equipped with appropriate security measures and, therefore, any person whose escape is considered likely is presently treated as any other criminal arrestee.

C. The Actors

The legal formulation of the District's decriminalized approach to public drunkenness is primarily attributable to the intensive efforts of an identifiable set of individuals and groups (a policy subsystem). As with the formulation of a good deal of public policy, it was not an issue of intensive concern to the general public.

The Easter decision, then, represented a major victory for the cluster of interests that for nearly twenty years pursued a "therapeutic" rather than a criminal approach to public drunkenness in the District. Coordinated by the Washington Area Council on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse, these forces included members of city and federally chartered criminal justice reform commissions, the news media, civil libertarian groups, public health institutions, and alcohol reform

groups. This policy subsystem was also instrumental in prodding Congress to enact the Alcoholic Rehabilitation Act and has continued to serve as a "watchdog" over the implementation of decriminalization in the District.

D. The Practical Context

Prior to decriminalization and in comparison with other central city police departments, the Metropolitan Police Department had a very high arrest rate for public drunkenness. Following decriminalization, police delivery rates to Detox show a sharp drop in comparison to arrest rates from the criminal era. The overall yearly pickup rates are displayed in the following table. (See Table 6)

As early as 1957, District officials proposed changes in the police handling of public inebriates.³ The authors of the Karrick Committee made the following recommendations:⁴

That appropriate action be taken by the Chief of Police to encourage the policeman on patrol to make a more determined effort to send persons who are simply intoxicated directly to their homes, and avoid where possible, arrest and detention.

That a specific drive be undertaken in precincts No. 1 and No. 2, with the Metropolitan Police Department, the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, Alcoholics Anonymous,

3 Much of the "inside" information concerning police department handling of public inebriates since the late 1950's is based on unpublished papers by Jerry V. Wilson, past Chief of Police. See Wilson, "Executive Control of Policies for Police Handling of Public Inebriates," "Police Discretion and the Public Inebriate," & "Precinct Command Policies," unpublished papers, The American University, 1975.

4 Report of the Committee on Prisons, Probation and Parole, Washington D.C., April, 1957, pp.132-133.

Table 6

"Total Yearly Police Intake
Rates for Public Inebriates, 1960-1972"

<u>Year</u>	<u>Arrest</u> ^a	<u>Detox Delivery</u> ^b	<u>Total</u>
1960	40,400	---	40,400
1961	40,861	---	40,861
1962	46,097	---	46,097
1963	47,950	---	47,950
1964	43,997	---	43,997
1965 ^c	44,218	---	44,218
1966	47,140	---	47,140
1967	37,239	---	37,239
1968 ^d	26,481	154	26,635
1969	2,228	3737	5,965
1970	1,673	5866	7,539
1971	11	9415	9,426
1972	12	9864	9,876

-
- a. Arrest for public drunkenness (D.C. Code 25-128).
- b. Police referrals to D.C. Detoxification Center from Monthly Statistics, May 1968 - June 1973, Police Volunteer Admissions.
- c. Easter v. District of Columbia, 361 F.2d 50, D.C. Dir., 1966.
- d. Implementation of Alcoholic Rehabilitation Act in August, 1968. See provisions D.C. Alcoholic Rehabilitation Act, P.L. 90-452, 82 Stat. 618 (1968).

and other appropriate governmental or private groups cooperating, to reduce the incidence of arrests for intoxication in these two areas, including more stringent action on the part of the ABC Board relative to the sale of alcohol in both precincts.

That the Board of Commissioners authorize and direct the Chief of Police to select a committee, including at least one representative of the Corporation Counsel, to study and report to the commissioners ways and means for better handling the first offender intoxicant, particularly with a view to his release without a formal charge of intoxication.

That any person, who, having been arrested and charged with intoxication, has forfeited collateral and/or paid a fine on at least three prior occasions within the period of one year, shall be prohibited from further forfeiture and his appearance in court be mandatory.

A committee was appointed by the Chief of Police to consider these recommendations.⁵ While the members agreed that it might be possible to avoid arresting and formally charging some of the first offenders which the Karrick Committee called "social alcoholics" they found no practical alternative for the police to arresting and presenting to the court the category of "skid row alcoholics." While a procedure was initiated for releasing public inebriates who could pay collateral and go home,⁶ little administrative oversight took place, and the number of arrests for public drunkenness actually increased during ensuing years.⁷

5 Report of Deputy Chief Howard V. Covell, July 2, 1957.

6 Jerry V. Wilson, "Precinct Command Policies and Other Influences on Arrests for Drunkenness," unpublished paper, The American University, 1975.

7 Jerry V. Wilson, "Police Discretion and the Public Inebriate," unpublished paper, The American University, 1975, pp. 2-3.

Thus, according to Chief Wilson, there were no written, formal policies of the MPDC regulating arrests of public inebriates prior to Easter. As for the informal policies, they are roughly classified into three categories: (1) keeping derelicts from the streets, (2) arresting inebriates to reduce disorder in and around "honky-tonks," and (3) general incentives to arrest inebriates because arrests were tabulated as officer performance. In addition to these categories, Chief Wilson identifies several "situation specific" factors that would often influence an officer's decision on whether to arrest or not: (1) orderliness of the inebriate, (2) the degree of inebriation, (3) the location where inebriated (more likely to be arrested in areas of special police attention), (4) willingness to go home, (5) the ratio of police officers on patrol to the number of serious crimes, and (6) reluctance to arrest tourists and conventioners.⁸

The time between the Easter decision and the enactment of the Alcoholic Rehabilitation Act (ARA) was too short for firm police policies to evolve. Also, immediately after the implementation of the ARA, the MPDC was under considerable pressure because of the Poor People's Campaign. A final overarching factor affecting the MPD's attention given to the handling of public inebriates is the sharp upward trend of serious crime and narcotics traffic in the late 1960's. Police officials identify their reaction to this trend as a justification for a reduced commitment to the public inebriation problem in the reform era.

⁸ Ibid, pp. 10-14.

Other than the circulation of police orders to notify officers of the change in policy, the Department's command structure only periodically attempted to influence patrol officers' attention to public drunkenness. Specifically, in the Fall of 1969, Chief Wilson responded both to his own observations and complaints from businessmen concerning the proliferation of skid row inebriates in the downtown areas by ordering the First District to begin submitting a monthly report on police deliveries to Detox. This approach was used with some success to periodically reduce the number of skid row inebriates congregating on downtown streets. As for other police districts, no prodding from headquarters was considered necessary in the reform era.

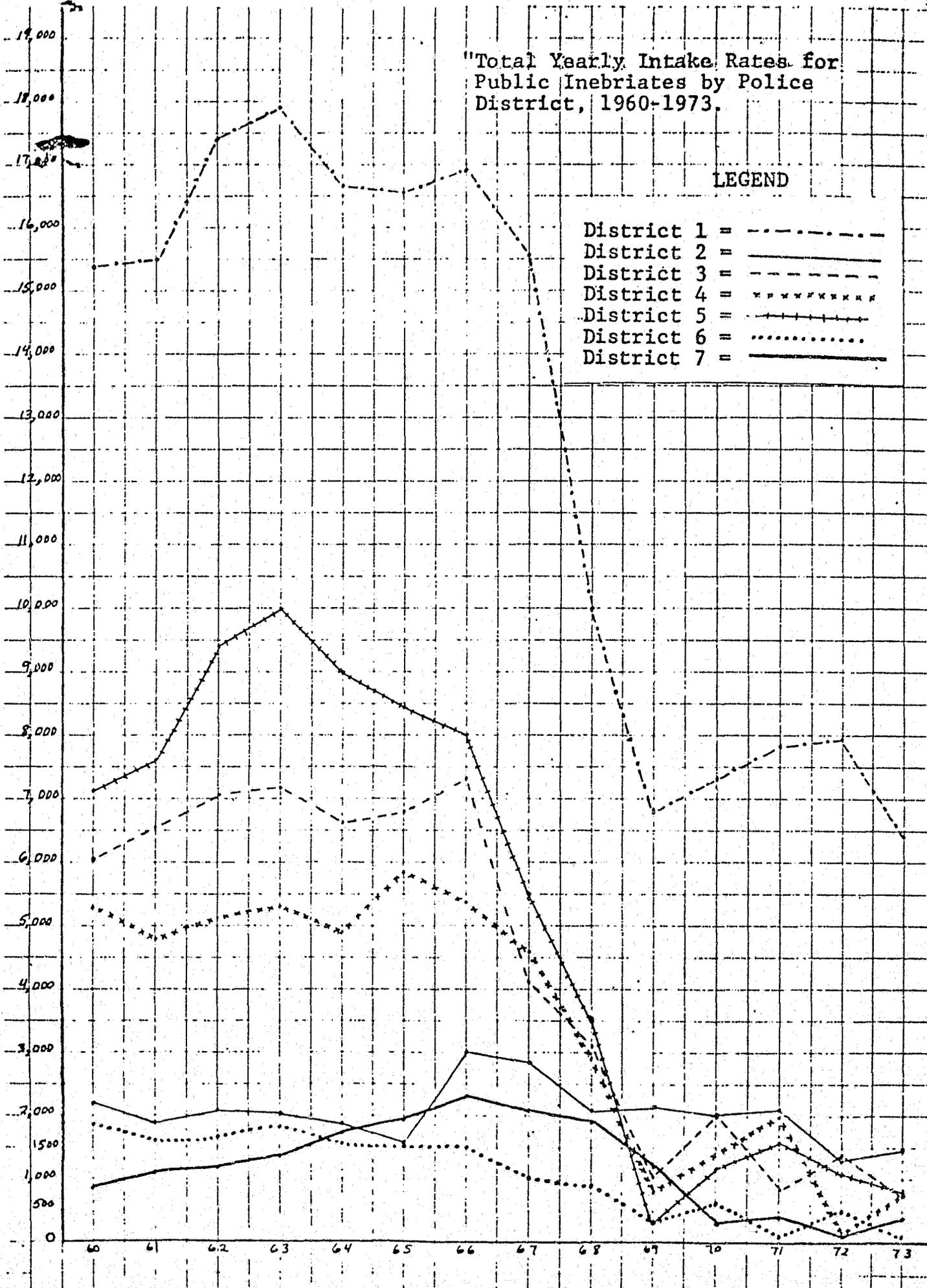
E. Administering the Questionnaire

In the District of Columbia, the questionnaire was administered to all officers in selected roll calls of the First, Second, and Fifth Districts. Of all districts, the First, with a high concentration of both skid row and disorderly inebriates, has given the most attention to the public drunkenness problem throughout the criminal and reform eras (see Graph 1). In this district, the greatest attention to public inebriation takes place in Sector One - the downtown and federal triangle areas. The bus station and the porno-prostitute activities are based in this sector. Also, the skid row area is located in this sector along with the "super ghetto" where there have been high arrest rates for drug traffic, gun sales, auto theft, and other street crimes.

The Second District is geographically the largest district. Police activity varies from community service in residential areas to "banksitting" for the hundreds of banks in the area (there are days when three banks are robbed in as many hours). As shown in Graph 1, the police in the Second District have given relatively little attention to public drunkenness throughout both eras.

The exclusive Georgetown residential and commercial area is located in this district as well as a number of university campuses. Within the last year, the command structure of the Second has moved from three substations to a single headquarters. During shift change, those cars located in the downtown and foggy bottom areas may need up to a half-hour to return to headquarters which is located in the far northwest.

"Total Yearly Intake Rates for Public Inebriates by Police District, 1960-1973.



The Fifth District represents mostly a transitional residential area with universities and hospitals dominating its institutional make-up. This district devoted a great deal of its resources to public inebriation in the criminal era, but little attention has been given to this problem since decriminalization. Finally, there had been a large shopping area in this district which was wiped-out during the 1968 riots and since, has not been restored.

II. QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

A. ATTITUDINAL ANALYSIS

Comparison of patrolmen's specific attitudes (item responses) is organized according to the independent variable to which they pertain. To test our hypotheses, we utilize the difference of means test. In each instance, the analysis will focus on the citywide mean score and then on the inter-district variations (if they show any meaningful difference).

1. Organizational Variable

- a. CONFORMS. No significant difference has been hypothesized between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.34	1.79	2.44	1.75	1.68
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.47 S=.01	N/S	Z=3.23 S=.01	Z=6.17 S=.01

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.92	3.25
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.61 S=.01

This hypothesis is confirmed as officers' attitudes in the MPDC differ significantly from those in the Minneapolis Police Department where periodic training sessions have been developed and implemented.

2. Role Variable

- a. SOCWORK. We would expect greater agreement with this factor in a therapeutic jurisdiction such as D.C.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.90	3.46	3.21	4.08	3.83
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.37 S=.02	Z=5.09 S=.01	N/S	N/S

Officers in the MPDC show a greater affinity with those in criminal jurisdictions on this dimension. We would present two potential reasons for the District's diversion from the other therapeutic cities. First, the MPDC, in comparison to departments of similar size, has a long history of high disposition rates for public inebriation. This is tied to the importance of the tourist industry in the Capitol and consequently, the need to keep the streets clear of "derelicts." Second, the MPDC has a high ratio of "new officers" (e.g., racial minorities, women) that are considered by most scholars to be more oriented toward community service than "traditional" officers from a white, male background.

- b. APPROPRIATE. We expect significantly greater agreement in criminal than in therapeutic jurisdictions because the criminal intake of inebriates is most compatible with officers' general role perception of their work.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.88	3.35	3.23	2.19	2.23
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.27 S=.03	Z=2.36 S=.02	Z=2.96 S=.01	Z=4.88 S=.01

The officers in the District of Columbia fall in between those in the other therapeutic jurisdictions (who are non-committed) and those in the criminal jurisdictions (who show agreement). We feel that the potential reasons advanced for the previous indicator apply here as well.

3. Peer Variable

- a. VETOFF. We hypothesize greater disagreement in criminal than in therapeutic jurisdictions (hypothesis 1) and general agreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 2).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.49	3.67	3.50	3.67	4.16
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	Z=4.90 S=.01

Neither hypothesis is confirmed. Police officers may perceive that indicating agreement on this scale would be an implied criticism of veteran officers.

- b. BUDDIES. We expect greater agreement in criminal than in therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.52	3.59	4.20	2.56	2.89
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=5.11 S=.01	Z=4.14 S=.01	Z=4.54 S=.01

This hypothesis is generally confirmed with Washington's officers taking a "middle of the road" stand. In that the MPDC continues to process 10,000 public inebriation cases per year in the therapeutic era, it is not surprising that officers give some support for the legitimacy of carrying out this task.

- c. PARTNER. As with the BUDDIES variable, we hypothesize significantly greater agreement in criminal than in therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
X score	3.41	3.37	3.56	2.71	2.83
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	Z=1.99 S=.05	Z=4.25 S=.01

This hypothesis is confirmed with the District's officers leaning toward agreement along with the officers in Minneapolis. Both Washington, D.C. and Minneapolis have terded more toward formal disposition of inebriates while St. Louis has a low encounter rate with such individuals.

4. Strategic Environment Variable

a. General

(1) CAPITAL (TOURIST) In that the command of the MPDC does place an emphasis on the role of the department to aid tourism, we expected agreement on this dimension. With the major tourist attractions located in District 1, we expected the highest level of agreement to be recorded for that district.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D3</u>
\bar{X} score	3.26	2.914	3.359	3.486
Sig. of Difference	--	--	Z=1.995 S=.02	Z=2.482 S=.01

Our hypothesis is confirmed with officers in District 1 recording a significantly higher level of agreement compared to the officers in each of the other police districts.

(2) SERIOUS. We expect no significant difference between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (hypothesis 1), and general agreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 2).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.18	1.77	2.58	1.71	1.84
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=5.65 S=.01	Z=3.12 S=.01	Z=2.46 S=.02	Z=3.13 S=.01

While all jurisdictions show general agreement, the officers in the MPDC feel less strongly about the seriousness of the public drinking problem than officers in three other jurisdictions. However, because public inebriates with the most serious health problems are largely located in District 1, we expected the officers in this district to feel most strongly about drinking as a public health problem. As shown below, we were correct.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	1.856	2.344	2.32 ^o
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.838 S=.01	Z=2.638 S=.01

b. Therapeutic/Criminal Facilities

(1) QUICKLY. We anticipate general agreement in all therapeutic jurisdictions (hypothesis 1) with the extent of agreement varying with the length of time the inebriate can be legally held (hypothesis 2).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
X score	2.25	2.37	2.43	2.71	2.92
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	Z=2.07 S=.04	Z=5.16 S=.01

The first hypothesis is confirmed. Also, as we projected, the strongest feeling of agreement is in Washington and Minneapolis where inebriates can be detained for no more than 72 hours.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	1.818	2.391	2.532
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.702 S=.001	Z=3.892 S=.001

As expected, officers in the high intensity public drunkenness district (D1) indicate a significantly higher level of agreement. In District 1, the revolving door problem is the most acute.

(2) EFFECTIVE. Here, we hypothesized general agreement in all therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.05	2.63	2.80
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.56 S=.02	Z=5.07 S=.01

The hypothesized relationship exists, but Washington's officers indicate a significantly stronger level of agreement. This may, in part, be due to the high ratio of "new officers" in the MPDC with a community service orientation. We also expect this feeling to be strongest in District 1 which relies most on Detox because of the high number of "skid row" inebriates located within this patrol area.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	1.956	2.373	2.000
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.287 S=.01	N/S

This is somewhat confirmed with a significant difference existing between officers in District 1 and District 2 (the stable, high income area).

c. Perceptions of Inebriate

(1) THREAT. For this variable, we projected no significant difference between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (hypothesis 1) with general disagreement throughout jurisdictions (hypothesis 2).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.10	3.45	3.75	3.08	3.68
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=4.58 S=.01	N/S	Z=4.16 S=.01

Our first proposition is generally confirmed, but only Washington and Richmond register general disagreement. No plausible explanation can be offered.

(2) BELLIGERENT. Again, general disagreement is expected as many inebriates have been observed showing hostility toward officers.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.70	4.28	4.41	3.51	4.35
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.65 S=.01	Z=5.44 S=.01	N/S	Z=5.02 S=.01

In Washington, we expected stronger disagreement in District 1 because officers from this district patrol the "honky tonk" area of the city.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.935	3.444	3.765
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.346 S=.01	N/S

(3) MESSY. We hypothesize no significant difference between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (hypothesis 1) as well as a high level of agreement across jurisdictions (hypothesis 2).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.96	1.99	1.85	2.37	1.93
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	Z=3.09 S=.01	N/S

Both propositions are confirmed. Because officers in District 1 handle the highest percentage of "skid row" types, we expect the highest level of agreement to be recorded in that patrol area.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	1.590	2.060	2.245
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.394 S=.001	Z=4.229 S=.001

This inter-district distinction is also confirmed.

(4) BOTHER. We hypothesize general agreement in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.44	1.78	2.19	1.57	1.79
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=5.12 S=.01	Z=2.03 S=.05	Z=6.21 S=.01	Z=6.13 S=.01

While general agreement exists, the officers in Washington feel less strong about this proposition. We hypothesize that the officers in District 1 agree more strongly due to the concentration of "panhandling" in their patrol area.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	1.993	2.523	2.806
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.895 S=.002	Z=4.334 S=.001

As shown above, this variable is associated most strongly with the commercial and tourist areas where "skid row" inebriates often approach other citizens for "spare change."

(5) MUGGING. While agreement is anticipated in all jurisdictions, less agreement is expected in therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.73	2.67	2.47	1.35	2.07
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.00 S=.05	Z=10.13 S=.01	Z=5.22 S=.01

Both hypotheses are confirmed. We expect strongest agreement in District 1, where both the most helpless inebriates and most "troublesome" entertainment establishments are located.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.551	3.221	2.432
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.286	Z=.584

This assertion is not confirmed as those officers patrolling District 5 (the transitional area) express slightly stronger agreement on the potential for inebriates to be victims of crimes.

(6) WEATHER. We hypothesize general agreement in all jurisdictions with a significantly higher level of agreement in jurisdictions with periods of intense, inclement weather (e.g., Minneapolis).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.46	2.73	3.45	2.32	2.68
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=7.66 S=.01	N/S	N/S

Only the first proposition is confirmed as Washington D.C.'s officers express more agreement than those in Minneapolis. Once potential explanation of this unexpected finding is that more inebriates in the District of Columbia are homeless than those in Minneapolis. The impact analysis data should provide evidence to support or refute this proposition.

(7) IMMOBILE. We hypothesize no significant difference between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (hypothesis 1) and general disagreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 2).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.39	3.81	3.62	2.74	3.30
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S

Unlike the other therapeutic cities, Washington's officers lean toward agreement. We expect the strongest agreement to be registered in District 1. However, this hypothesized inter-district variation is not confirmed.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.381	3.331	3.415
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S

(8) MEDICAL. We project no significant difference between therapeutic and criminal jurisdictions (hypothesis 1) as well as general disagreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 2).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.86	3.14	3.34	3.35	3.46
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.12 S=.01	Z=3.79 S=.01	Z=2.00 S=.05	Z=2.89 S=.01

Washington's officers are the only group confirming our projected direction. We feel that strongest agreement will be recorded in District 1 with its concentration of "skid row" inebrates.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	4.207	3.497	3.825
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.412 S=.001	Z=1.777 S=.04

The table confirms that "police district" is the key unit of analysis for this variable in Washington.

5. Strategic Interaction Variable.

- a. BUSINESS. We hypothesize: no significant difference (hypothesis 1); general agreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 2); and among the several indicators of this dimension there will be greatest agreement with this factor (hypothesis 3).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.75	2.32	2.29	2.21	2.45
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.49 S=.02	Z=3.63 S=.01	Z=2.86 S=.01	Z=2.41 S=.02

Agreement is least strong in the District of Columbia where business is largely government operations. Still, we expect much stronger agreement in District 1 where the bulk of Washington's major business establishments are located.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.129	2.733	3.273
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.267 S=.001	Z=5.968 S=.001

As expected, the officers in the First Districts agree more strongly that businessmen want police attention given to the public drunkenness problem. Also, officers in District 2 indicate business pressure on this issue as they patrol the exclusive shopping area of Georgetown.

- b. GENPUB. We hypothesize: no significant difference (hypothesis 1); agreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 2); and among the several indicators, GENPUB ranks second only to BUSINESS (hypothesis 3).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.59	2.22	2.64	2.28	2.25
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.45 S=.02	N/S	N/S	N/S

Police officers in Washington feel that this factor (citizen requests) represents the most significant outside cue for increasing police attention to public drunkenness. We would expect citizen pressure to be strongest in those districts with significant residential areas (Districts 2 and 5). However, this is not confirmed.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
X score	2.275	2.573	2.832

- c. POLITICO. We hypothesize: no significant difference (hypothesis 1); general disagreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 2); and low ranking with the other strategic interaction factors (hypothesis 3).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.96	2.41	2.91	2.67	2.74
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.60 S=.01	N/S	N/S	N/S

These hypotheses are not confirmed and in Washington D.C., this factor ranked third in importance with the other strategic interaction factors. Again, because government facilities are largely located in the First District, we expect the officers to rank this factor more important in this district than do officers in the other two patrol areas.

	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.612	2.926	3.284
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=1.619 S=.05	Z=3.413 S=.001

As with several other variables "district" is the critical unit of analysis for this strategic interaction factor.

- d. AAETC. We project no significant difference (hypothesis 1) and general agreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 2).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.41	3.08	3.27	3.14	2.95
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.01 S=.05	N/S	N/S	Z=3.59 S=.01

In comparison with the other jurisdictions, Washington's officers report the least pressure from these groups to increase their handling of inebriates. In our preliminary research, we found that private groups aiding the inebriates are somewhat hostile to the police department. They feel the MPDC is unconcerned with this problem since public drunkenness is no longer a criminal offense.

- e. DETOXII. We project general disagreement in therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.06	3.70	3.41
Sig. of Difference.	--	Z=2.23 S=.03	Z=5.21 S=.01

Washington's officers disagree more strongly than officers in the other therapeutic jurisdictions. We expected this as preliminary research indicated that Detox is often full to capacity and therefore, many inebriates are released well before the 72 hour limit.

- f. LIQSTORE. We hypothesize no significant difference (hypothesis 1); general disagreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 2); and low importance among strategic interaction indicators (hypothesis 3).

	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.47	3.27	3.57	3.43	3.24
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S

In Washington, this factor was ranked second to last among the strategic interaction factors.

6. Conclusions

In describing the overall attitudes of the police officers in Washington, D.C., we find that they express a higher level of support for dealing with inebriates than the officers in the

other therapeutic jurisdictions. In part, we think this is attributable to the influx of "new officers" in the MPDC with a community service orientation. Also, we believe it is related to the department's long history of high disposition rates for public inebriation. Dealing with inebriates is a part of most officers' routine.

As in Minneapolis, we find that officers' attitudes on the handling of public inebriates vary according to the type of district to which they are assigned. Officers in the First District express a greater sensitivity to the impact of inebriates in the street on tourism as well as the potential demands of "significant others" in the community. This difference is related to the concentration of business and government facilities in their patrol area. Also, officers in the First District express differences from their fellow officers in other districts that reflect the heavy concentration of "skid row" and "troublesome" inebriates located within their beats. Thus, as with Minneapolis, interdistrict distinctions make "district" a critical unit of analysis in Washington, D.C.

B. CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Each hypothesis is tested on a "citywide" basis as well as a "district by district" basis. The overall procedure used to carry out the correlational analysis for the patrol officer questionnaire is outlined in an earlier document (Musheno, Silberman Memo, October 23, 1975). The relevant forms of the dependent variable for the Washington, D.C. questionnaire are as follows:

$$\text{ACTION} = (\text{DETOX} + \text{ARREST} + \text{HOSPITAL} + \text{HOME1} + \text{MOVEON} + \text{HOME2}) / \text{Total Options}$$

$$\text{APPROVED ACTION} = (\text{DETOX} + \text{HOSPITAL} + \text{HOME1} + \text{HOME2}) / \text{Total Options}$$

INSTITUTIONAL ACTION = (DETOX + HOSPITAL) / Total Options

DETOX DELIVERY = DETOX , Total Options

The grouped variables (those developed on the basis of factor analysis) for the District of Columbia are: groups, concern, role, and protect.

1. Organization Variable

a-c PRIORITY, CREDIT and TRAINING. This dimension deals with respondents' attitudes toward what priority the department gives to public drunkenness. No indicators grouped together from the Washington, D.C. factor analysis. Thus, there are three independent variables: priority, credit, and training.

Hypothesis: For these variables, the central hypothesis is that officers who perceive the department as placing significance on removal of public drunks will tend to take action. For each variable, the hypothesis is proven only when the direction of the relationship is inverse.

<u>Organ</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
PRIORITY X ACTION	-.047 S=.162	.026 S=.380	-.038 S=.320	-.160 S=.029
CREDIT X ACTION	-.077 S=.055	-.021 S=.405	.047 S=.282	-.243 S=.002
TRAINING X ACTION	-.047 S=.162	-.162 S=.028	-.086 S=.145	.006 S=.471

There is no city-wide relationship in regard to this variable. As to which indicator is strongest, we get different results. We have no plausible explanation for the loading of "priority" and "credit" in District 5, nor for the loading of "training" in District 1.

2. Role Variable

- a.
- ROLE
- . The indicators are SOCWORK and APPROPRIATE.

Hypothesis: Those officers who feel that picking up public drunks is coterminous with their role are more likely to take approved actions than those who do not gravitate toward this viewpoint. The hypothesis is proven only when the direction of the relationship is positive.

<u>Role</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
ROLE X	.013	.077	.125	-.108
APPROVED	S=.390	S=.179	S=.058	S=.099

3. Peer Variable

- a-c
- PEER
- . The peer dimension invokes the officers' attitudes toward the opinions of other patrol officers, and particularly, their partner/veteran rookie relationships. No indicators grouped together from the D.C. factor analysis. Thus, there are three independent variables for this dimension: BUDDIES, VETWASTE, and PARTNER.

Hypothesis: The central hypothesis for these variables is that the greater priority an officer's peers place on picking up public drunks, the more likely the officer will take action in removing inebriates. For VETWASTE, the hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is positive. In regard to buddies and partner, we are looking for an inverse relationship to prove the hypothesis.

<u>Peer</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
BUDDIES X	-.063	-.026	-.084	-.084
ACTION	S=.092	S=.383	S=.155	S=.164
VETWASTE X	.073	.263	-.036	.048
ACTION	S=.063	S=.001	S=.332	S=.288
PARTNER X	.041	.124	.024	-.023
ACTION	S=.234	S=.119	S=.403	S=.406

Vetwaste is the strongest indicator for peer. In terms of vetwaste, "district" is the more significant unit of analysis. We have no explanation as to why the correlation is the strongest in District 1.

4. Strategic Environment Variable

a. Therapeutic/Criminal Facilities

(1) FARAWAY. This single indicator variable deals with distance from detox as an incentive-disincentive force in handling public inebriates.

Hypothesis: The farther away officers perceive their patrol area to be from detox, the less likely they will deliver inebriates to the Detoxification Center. This hypothesis is proven only when the direction of the relationship is positive.

<u>Faraway</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
FARAWAY X		.072	.262	.014
DETOX		S= .207	S= .001	S= .435

As we expected, "district" is the critical unit of analysis. As hypothesized, we found the attitudes on this item to be most relevant (in determining behavior) for those officers farthest from the detoxification facility, i.e. District 2.

b. Perceptions of the Inebriate

(1) CONCERN. The indicators for this variable are PROPCARE and EFFECTIVENESS.

Hypothesis: The concern variable is addressed to how important the care of the public inebriate is to the respondent. Those officers that indicate concern for the inebriate are likely to take approved action.

<u>Concern</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
CONCERN X	-.052	.005	-.112	.025
APPROVE	S=.134	S=.478	S=.081	S=.382

(2) PROTECT. The indicators for this variable are WEATHER and MUGGING.

Hypothesis: The protect variable deals with respondents' attitudes toward inebriates as victims of both crime and poor social conditions. Officers who perceive the inebriate as a victim are more likely to take institutional actions. We are looking for an inverse relationship to prove this hypothesis.

<u>Protect</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
PROTECT X	-.067	-.058	-.121	.055
INSACT	S=.075	S=.247	S=.064	S=.476

No relationship was found on either the "citywide" or "district" level. However, we felt that many respondents associated the two questions for this variable with the skid row population. Conversely, the relationship between this variable and behavior should be strongest for those officers rarely encountering skid row types. (e.g. officers in District 5), their attitudes should not be relevant to their behavior. For this reason, we expected the most significant relationship to appear for that group of officers patrolling the skid row area (Sector 1, District 1). As shown below, this was the case.

District 1, Sector 1

PROTECT X INSACT

-.237
S=.070

5. Strategic Interaction Variable

- a. GROUPS. The indicators for this variable are BUSINESS, PACKST., GENPUB and POLITICO.

Hypothesis: Police officers who believe that significant others in the community want them to increase their pickups will act more often in such encounters. Due to the direction of the respective scales for the independent variables, this hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse.

<u>Groups</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
GROUPS X ACTION	-.010 S=.415	.033 S=.346	-.080 S=.157	-.036 S=.335

No relationship was found. It is unlikely that officers take into consideration "significant others" in making decisions about picking up public drunks in the District of Columbia.

6. Background Variables

- a. HTIME. Hypothesis: The less time officers are on the force, the more likely they will take approved actions. This hypothesis is proven only when the direction of the relationship is inverse.

<u>Time on Force</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
DC TIME X APPROV.	-.024 S=.307	.033 S=.348	-.009 S=.453	-.058 S=.247

No relationship exists.

- b. EDUCATION. Hypothesis: Officers with higher levels of education are more likely to take approved actions. For this variable, the expected direction is positive.

<u>Education</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
EDUC X APPROVED	-.033 S=.240	-.063 S=.227	-.118 S=.069	.082 S=.167

No relationship exists.

- c. AGE. Hypothesis: Older officers are more likely to take action. Again, we expect a positive direction.

<u>Age</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
AGE X ACTION	-.047 S=.159	-.015 S=.431	.028 S=.361	.089 S=.146

No relationship exists.

- d. RACE. Hypothesis: In the District of Columbia, Black officers are most likely to take institutional actions. The direction should be positive.

<u>Race</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>D1</u>	<u>D2</u>	<u>D5</u>
RACE X	g=.225	g=.274	g=.272	g=.037
INSACT	S=.001*	S=.005*	S=.002*	S=.354*

* Please note that all significance levels are based on Kendall's tau beta. This set of gammas is based on a two by three table with a threefold breakdown of the dependent variable: (1) no institutionalized performance; (2) low institutionalized performance (scores falling below the median and above zero, citywide); (3) high institutionalized performance (scores falling above the median score).

7. Conclusion

For the District of Columbia, the only variable that produces a citywide relationship is race. Thus, our hypothesis that Black officers are more likely to deliver to public health institutions (detox, hospitals) than white officers as a result of their community service orientation and their "trust" in Black-run institutions is somewhat confirmed.

Like the Minneapolis findings, officers in Washington, D.C. are uninfluenced by such often cited incentive-disincentive forces as organizational and peer relationship cues. Unlike Minneapolis, community service indicators (e.g., protect) seem to be of relatively little importance to officers in the District.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

I. BACKGROUND

A. The City

Minneapolis is the principal city of a thriving county and SMSA. While many central cities have population characteristics quite different from their respective metropolitan regions, Minneapolis shows considerable homogeneity in comparison with its surrounding neighbors. Despite this homogeneity, Minneapolis does have the greatest concentration of poor as well as the bulk of the non-white population living within its boundaries.

Table 1

"Population Characteristics of Minneapolis, Hennepin County, and the Minneapolis-St. Paul SMSA, 1970"^a

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Hennepin Co.</u>	<u>SMSA</u>
^b			
Race			
White	406,414	928,507	1,765,769
Black	19,005	20,044	32,118
Mean Income	\$13,501	\$11,127	\$13,147
% Families Below Poverty Level	7.2	4.7	4.6

a Based on 1970 Census of Population and Housing: Minneapolis-St. Paul SMSA, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1972.

^b The Native American population is included as part of the white population. State-wide, there are 23,128 Native Americans and 34,368 Blacks. Like the Black population in Minnesota, a large number of Native Americans reside in Minneapolis.

Other than for provision of public safety (i.e., police), the city heavily relies on the Hennepin County government for the allocation of public services. Thus, while the Minneapolis Police Department is primarily responsible for the pick-up of public drunks, the custody and treatment of such individuals is the responsibility of a county agency (Hennepin County Alcoholism and Inebriety Agency).

Hennepin County is considered to have a more serious problem drinking population than the State and its neighboring county (Ramsey County). Based on the Jellinek formula, the State estimates this population to be 146,256; 6.3% of the adult population, or 3,844 per 100,000 total population. Below are the estimates for Hennepin and Ramsey Counties:

Table 2

"Problem Drinking Populations: Hennepin County
and Ramsey County, 1970"

	<u>Hennepin Co.</u>	<u>Ramsey Co.</u>
Total Population	960,080	476,255
% of State	22.6%	12.2%
Adult Population	536,443	309,130
Estimated Problem Drinkers	38,346	18,612
% of State	26.2%	12.7%
% of Area Adult	7.1%	6.0%
Population per 100,000 total population	4,000	3,909

Until the implementation of downtown revitalization projects financed largely by federal urban renewal and model city funds, Minneapolis had a clearly defined skid row area with a high concentration of problem drinkers. While a small "hobo haven" was located on property owned by the Great Northern Railroad in Police Precinct One, the greatest number of problem drinkers resided on Nicollet Island. This area had been unofficially set aside for skid row types. It had flophouses, shacks, and liquor stores. While some old houses still stand, the city is presently redeveloping the Island as an outdoor recreational facility. Currently, the problem drinking population that receives the most public attention is largely located in two police precincts -- First Precinct (downtown) and Sixth Precinct (Model Cities).

B. The Legal Context.

Much like the District of Columbia, Minneapolis has experienced three legal phases in the handling of public inebriates: (1) a criminal phase, (2) a transitional phase, and (3) a public health phase. From 1889 until 1966, Minneapolis commonly applied the criminal directive of the Minnesota legislature in the processing of public drunks. Minnesota Statute 340.96 makes it a criminal offense to become drunk "by voluntarily drinking intoxicating liquors..."

The initial indication that Minneapolis would change its approach to public drunkenness emerged from action taken by Hennepin County Court Services. In 1966, the court organized the Pre-Court Screening Committee (formally, the Court Committee of the Task Force on Homeless Alcoholics) to review drunkenness cases and make recommendations for disposition to the bench. The Committee had a membership of approximately twelve that represented a range of organizations mainly geared to the provision of services for chronic alcoholics (e.g., Alcoholics Anonymous, Salvation Army). The majority of drunks interviewed by the committee were skid-row types who represented a revolving door problem for the local courts.

Ground-breaking legislation was passed on May 22, 1967 under the Hospitalization and Commitment Act (M.S.A. Chapter 253A). Generally, the Act provides for voluntary, involuntary, and emergency hospitalization of and treatment for mentally ill and drug dependent persons, including intoxicated persons. Specifically as for the pick-up and treatment of public drunks, the Act provides:

... A peace or health officer may take a person into custody and transport him to a licensed hospital, mental health center or other facility equipped to treat alcoholism. If the person is not endangering himself or any other person or property the peace or health officer may transport the person to his home.

Application for admission of an intoxicated person to a hospital, mental health center or other facility equipped to treat alcoholism shall be made by the peace or health officer taking such person into custody and

the application shall contain a statement given by the peace or health officer stating the circumstances under which such person was taken into custody and the reasons therefor. Such person may be admitted to a facility specified in this provision for emergency care and treatment with the consent of the institution.

Essentially, this Act provided police officers with an additional option for handling individuals intoxicated in public. No special treatment facilities for inebriates were authorized under this legislation.

During this transitional era, the next legal attack on the criminal processing of public inebriates came from the Minnesota courts. On April 7, 1967, Bernard Fearon was arrested for being in violation of Minnesota Statute 340.96. As a defense to this charge, Fearon argued that the statute did not apply to him as he was a chronic alcoholic who, by virtue of his condition, was incapable of controlling his consumption of alcohol. The Municipal Court of Ramsey County found Fearon guilty as charged.

Fearon appealed to the Supreme Court of Minnesota, again arguing that the statute was not applicable to his case. In addition, Fearon argued that the Eighth Amendment prohibiting cruel and unusual punishment bars application of the statute to the chronic alcoholic who, as a symptom of his disease, appears intoxicated in public. On March 21, 1969, the State Supreme Court held that the statute did not apply to the chronic alcoholic. By so ruling, the Minnesota courts recognized that chronic alcoholism is a disease to be treated, not a criminal offense that should be

punished. The Court based its decision on five grounds:

(1) "Voluntary drinking," as defined under 340.96 means drinking by choice. Therefore, the statute does not apply to the chronic alcoholic whose drinking is caused by his disease and, as such, cannot be controlled.

(2) Similar to the reasoning applied in Easter, a person cannot be convicted of committing a crime when the necessary mens rea is lacking. This would preclude conviction even if "voluntary" were omitted from the statute.

(3) Although the United States Supreme Court upheld a drunkenness conviction under a similar Texas statute (Powell v. Texas, 391 U.S. 514), it did so with serious reservations. These reservations indicate substantial legal doubt as to the constitutionality of such kinds of statutes.

(4) The Court, in Fearon, followed the contemporary position of most acknowledged authorities regarding the treatment of chronic alcoholics.

(5) The Minnesota Legislature by adopting the Hospitalization and Commitment Act of 1967, intended that the chronic alcoholic should be considered as a person in need of care, not criminal treatment."

While Fearon held that the Hospitalization and Commitment Act did supersede 340.96, in the case of chronic alcoholics, it did not invalidate local ordinances. In Minneapolis, City Ordinance 37:9 (Disorderly Conduct) was not affected. This provision imposed a sanction for public intoxication whether voluntary or not. After Fearon, the police continued to make arrests under the municipal ordinance so that the question of voluntariness never arose.

On March 29, 1971, the Minnesota Legislature ended the criminal processing of public drunkenness by repealing 340.96 and passing 340.961. The latter provision provided that drunkenness was not a crime, and repealed the municipal ordinances prohibiting public

intoxication. As of July 1, 1971, this enactment left law enforcement personnel with only the provisions of the Hospitalization and Commitment Act when encountering a drunken person in public:

(a) take the person into "custody" and transport him to a facility equipped to treat alcoholism and provide for emergency care and treatment (72 hour limit to involuntary treatment); or

(b) take the person home if he is not endangering himself, other people or property; or

(c) leave the person where he is found.

The legislature went beyond decriminalization by committing resources to the establishment of an alternative social-oriented care and treatment system. According to Minnesota Statutes 1971, Chapter 892, "each area mental health board throughout the State is required and responsible for providing one or more detoxification centers for the custody, care and treatment of inebriates and drug dependent persons." Hennepin County opened its first facility on July 1, 1971, the date decriminalization became effective.

Last, on May 23, 1973, the permanent statutory machinery for treating inebriates was approved by the Legislature (Treatment for Alcohol and Drug Abuse Act). While the legislation outlines the permanent administrative structure and concentrated on broadening both the services available to individuals with alcohol problems as well as the classes of individuals who qualify as recipients, it also explicitly sanctions civil pick-up of public drunks. Thus, while this legislation didn't change the intake options of the 1971 law, it did lead to the use of an all-civilian detox van as an

additional intake process in the First Precinct of Minneapolis.

C. The Actors

As in the District of Columbia, the formulation of Minnesota's decriminalized approach to public drunkenness is largely attributable to the intensive efforts of an identifiable and overlapping set of individuals and groups (a policy subsystem). It was not, for the most part, an issue that caught the attention of a large segment of the public.

Still, the reform took place in an era when public drunkenness was on the national political agenda, especially in the criminal justice community. The federal judiciary was deliberating over the issue of decriminalization (e.g., Easter v. District of Columbia, 361 F.2d 341 (D.C. Cir. 1966), and Powell v. Texas, 392 U.S. 514 (1968)) and several prestigious national commissions (e.g., President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice) were calling for decriminalization as part of an overall package of reform for the criminal justice system. Also, major newspapers throughout the country were printing feature articles on public drunkenness (e.g., Washington Post - July 19, 1964, August 30, 1964, September 11, 1964, September 27, 1964; Minneapolis Tribune - February 14, 1968, February 15, 1968, February 16, 1968), usually articulating a reformist viewpoint.

In Minnesota the policy subsystem included the following forces: the traditional alcohol reform lobby (e.g., clergy, Alcoholics

Anonymous); state commissions and associations (e.g., Minnesota Commission on Alcohol Problems, Governor's Commission on Crime); civic groups (e.g., the League of Women Voters); legal professionals; and mental health professionals. Individuals who pressed for decriminalization were often affiliated with more than one of the active forces. For example, in Minnesota, there is no split between members of Alcoholics Anonymous and professionals in the state and county bureaucracies that service alcoholics. Beginning in 1954, the state has structured its alcoholism treatment positions so that recovered alcoholics could be therapists and care givers.

The reformers directed their efforts at three levels of the governmental process: the courts, the state legislature, and county governing bodies. Thus, even prior to decriminalization, informal approaches to the non-criminal handling of public drunks emerged in local jurisdictions (e.g., the Hennepin County Court's Screening Committee). Their activity in local jurisdictions also accounted for the smooth transition in Hennepin County from a criminal to a treatment approach. A citizen's task force with professional liaisons was appointed by the county commissioners in anticipation of decriminalization. The task force and its professional staff conducted the search for the first receiving center, acquired staff for the center, and made the necessary material acquisitions, all prior to July 1, 1971.

Last, the individuals affiliated with this policy subsystem established close contact with other activists throughout the

country. For example, Ms. Doris Bradley, Director of Washington, D.C.'s Detoxification Center reported to the citizen's task force on the District's development of a receiving center. Also, Mr. Peter Hutt (the legal architect of the Easter decision) visited Minneapolis and discussed the Fearon case with Philip Hansen, then Chairman of the Minnesota Council on Alcohol Problems. Thus, as outlined above, the forces behind decriminalization in Minnesota maintained affiliations throughout the state and the nation as they pressed their measures before the state legislature and courts.

D. The Practical Context

During the criminal era in Minneapolis, the principal institutions charged with implementing the policy toward public drunkenness included the Minneapolis Police Department (arrest and transportation), the City Jail (detention), the Hennepin County Court (judicial disposition), and the Minneapolis City Workhouse (confinement).

The institutions charged with implementing the current mandates for public drunkenness also include a mix of city and county agencies. The intake of public drunks is principally the responsibility of the Minneapolis Police Department. However, in the First Police Precinct, a civilian van attached to the receiving center picks up public drunks during a single shift (4 P.M. to 12 midnight), six days a week.

Hennepin County's Alcoholism Receiving Center (ARC) serves as the primary treatment and referral facility for the city under the decriminalization mandates. A secondary facility is located in the model cities area (Police District Six), serving mostly the Native American population. This facility, the Southside Detox, does accept police deliveries as well as self admissions and referrals from the Indian Neighborhood Club. Like ARC, this center receives its funding from Hennepin County.

While we identified the agencies responsible for implementing the laws on public drunkenness, no attention has been given to the routine implementation of these policies. Therefore, we will now provide an overview of the implementation process, concentrating heavily on the role of the police in picking up public drunks.

Generally, the Minneapolis Police Department had moderate arrest rates for public drunkenness (compared with the high rates of the Washington D.C. police and the low rates of the St. Louis Police Department) while showing a relatively low delivery rate to their cities' detoxification facilities after decriminalization. The yearly rates for the Minneapolis Police Department are displayed in the following table.

Table 3

Total Yearly Police Intake Rates
for Public Inebriates, 1960-1973

YEAR	ARREST ^a	ARC DELIVERY ^b	TOTAL
1960	8123	-	8123
1961	8793	-	8793
1962	8729	-	8729
1963	8132	-	8132
1964	7603	-	7603
1965	7600	-	7600
1966	8032	-	8032
1967	7661	-	7661
1968	7705	-	7705
1969	8278	-	8278
1970	7394	-	7394
1971 ^c	3222	1167	4389
1972	2	2268	2270
1973	1	2851	2852

a. Arrest rates for drunkenness from the Annual Statistical Reports, Minneapolis Police Department, 1960-1973.

b. Police delivery rates to the Alcoholism Receiving Center, from the Monthly Intake Comparison Statistics, Alcoholism Receiving Center, Alcoholism and Inebriety Agency.

c. As of July 1, 1971, police officers were prohibited from arresting individuals for public drunkenness (repeal of Minnesota Statute 340.96 and passage of the Hospitalization and Commitment Act, 340.961.)

1. The Criminal Phase

In 1953, the Minneapolis Police Department put together a complete set of rules and regulations then in force, a copy of which was given to each officer. Although certain sections were amended over time, the section relating to public drunkenness arrests was left intact until 1967. The section provides the officers with the elements of the municipal disorderly conduct ordinance (including drunkenness), and the corresponding state statute on drunkenness. Thus, during the criminal era, police officers could use either an ordinance or a state statute to arrest public drunks.

In practice, drunk arrests differed from other arrests in only two ways. First, a special, shorter arrest form, called the "drunk show-up," was used in place of the standard police arrest form. Second, whenever possible, the drunks were transported in police wagons rather than patrol cars.

When a public drunk was reported or spotted, the officer had one major goal -- to get him off the street. There were three routine methods of accomplishing this goal once an officer determined he wanted to act. One, the officer could see that the inebriate got home safely, although the officer would not personally deliver such a person home. This was accomplished in a number of ways; (1) encouraging a person to call a friend, (2) hailing a cab (if the inebriate had money), (3) and allowing the individual

to walk if he seemed in sufficiently good condition. Of course, most of these options would apply to the non-skid row inebriate.

The second option applied largely to emergency cases. If the person was seriously ill or injured, the officer could call an ambulance and have him taken to the hospital.

Third, the officer could arrest the inebriate. With this option, the policeman would most frequently call a wagon. Few arresting officers used their own vehicles because such action removed them from their assigned beat and most officers didn't want to deal with the possibility of having to clean their car afterwards.

Of course, many times an officer would decide not to intervene when noticing an inebriated person. A variety of factors influenced the decision of whether or not to arrest. Among the more obvious considerations are: (1) the inebriate's ability to care for himself; (2) his potential for harming others; (3) his mental and physical health condition; (4) his potential for being a victim of a crime; (5) his attitude toward others, especially the police officer(s) present; and (6) the weather.

A number of additional, somewhat more subtle considerations found their way into the process. For example, a drunk was much more likely to be picked up by an officer walking a beat than by one in a car. The beat officer had a greater opportunity to notice the drunk, and of course, the drunk was much more difficult to ignore when one had to step over him. Additionally, police

action was more probable if a radio call or a citizen complaint had been received, since at that point the intoxicated person had already created a visible problem.

Also, the sex of the offender was important. According to several officers, the police did not (and still do not) like to pick up women. A number of years ago they had serious problems with women claiming they had been raped. Although no charges were ever substantiated, the Department developed additional procedures for transporting women, including implementation of a time check when delivering a woman and prohibiting the use of a police wagon for transporting women if male offenders were also in the van. All of these factors served as disincentives for police officers to charge a woman offender, especially for a minor crime.

Last, massive arrests of skid row inebriates would take place when the inebriates gathered in large and disruptive groups. Thus, officers reported that they would occasionally make 40 to 50 arrests during a single shift in the old skid row areas (e.g., Nicollet Island) when the inebriates became "unruly."

2. The Transitional Phase

The Hospitalization and Commitment Act gave the police an additional option; they could transport an intoxicated person to a hospital for treatment instead of making an arrest. According to interviews, the police rarely (almost never) used this option.

Still, the Minneapolis Police Department's Rules and Regulations was amended in 1968 to contain a section dealing with the intake of public inebriates under that Act. In that section, some requirements are set out for transporting an inebriate to the hospital along with admission procedures.

In 1969, Fearon was handed down, invalidating the state's drunkenness statute. Interviews indicated that the decision had little effect because officers often used the city's ordinance prior to the court decision.

3. The Public Health Phase

Effective July 1, 1971, the state legislature repealed the criminal offense of drunkenness, including the Minneapolis ordinance. That same day a non-criminal receiving center was opened to serve Hennepin County.

The officers were first informed of the change in a Minneapolis Police Bulletin dated May 19, 1971. In two sentences, they were told of the repeal, and that they would receive new guidelines prior to the effective date. They were further ordered to "charge for intoxication offenses as usual."

The new guidelines came in the form of a memorandum from the Chief of Police, dated June 29, 1971, just two days before the repeal was to go into effect. The officers were again informed of the repeal, and received an explanation of their duties, responsibilities and options as to inebriates under the Hospitalization

and Commitment Act. Several portions of the memo warrant specific mention and emphasis. The memo is very careful to point out at the outset that the Act is permissive -- the decision to transport an intoxicated person, and to where, is discretionary. It is also made clear that an officer acting in good faith and pursuant to the Act will not be subject to liability for his actions.

In addition, the officer is informed of several criteria he might use in making his decision, including: speech, clothing, odor of breath, manner of walking or position, hazard to himself or others, physical condition, appearance of eyes and face, ability to understand and answer questions, ability to identify self, surrounding conditions and circumstances, what was said or admitted. While at first glance these criteria may appear to be unbiased, a closer look does reveal a bias in some of the criteria (e.g., surrounding conditions, clothing) that makes it more likely that the police would pick up the skid row type drunks. Interpretation of the criteria and consideration of other factors are left to the officer's own experience and judgment. Once the officer has made his decision to transport the inebriate, that decision is final. No consent is necessary, and "such force as is reasonably necessary" may be used. Finally, the departmental policy of prohibiting police delivery of inebriates to their homes is stated.

Although not repeated or referred to in this policy memo, police officials state that a strong order came out shortly prior

to the Chief's instruction directing patrol officers not to find an alternative criminal charge to drunkenness, but rather to work within the present laws. Thus, unless a drunk is actually committing a crime, the officers are ordered not to utilize such minor offenses as breach of peace to criminally process an intoxicated individual.

In September, 1971, the Minneapolis Police Department held an in-service training academy for all patrolmen. It included a visit to the newly opened Alcoholic Receiving Center (ARC). The individual conducting the tour reported that the officers were "hostile and resentful" in that the new law did not lessen police officers' responsibilities toward the problem of public drunkenness.

In 1972 and 1973, two classes of police cadets were put through the training academy. According to the syllabus developed by ARC, the officers received instruction on the detection of withdrawal as well as an explanation of ARC's role in handling inebriates. Since 1973, the Department has held no training session on public drunkenness.

A permanent (although limited) linkage exists between the Minneapolis Police Department and ARC as a result of the civilian intake van's operation in the First Precinct. The van is a police vehicle with the Hennepin County ARC decal on its side. There are three persons assigned to the van, two are full-time employees and one is a part-time, all retained by the ARC. Individuals are assigned to the van for a period of six months as part of their normal work cycle.

The van operates on a single shift basis (4:00 P.M. to 12:30 A.M.) six days a week (excluding Sundays). Our observations of the van's activities (based on ride along) indicates a friendly relationship between the civilian team and the police officers in the First Precinct. During our observation, they would return waves to the police and when police were on the scene of a pick-up, the civilians and police officers would exchange comments.

The van patrolled the entire First Precinct which includes the downtown business district. The team focused on persons who appeared to be intoxicated and would wave to individuals that they recognized as part of their regular clientele. Often, they would pull the van over and ask an individual how he was feeling, if he needed any assistance, or whether he wanted to go to ARC.

The following cases represent a range of observed cases in which the civilian team made contact with potential inebriates:

1. As the van left the library, the driver noticed a person sleeping on the grass by the side of the library. He stopped the van and went over to the person. They recognized the person and woke him up. They asked, "Got a place to go?" He got up quickly and answered that he had a place. He then began to walk away. He seemed to have his senses and knew where he was going. The staff decided that he would be all right if left alone. No police were on the scene and this was a busy commercial street.
2. A call over the police radio notified them that some man was sleeping on the sidewalk in front of a business. No police were on the scene when the van arrived. They woke him by calling his name and shaking him. They asked if he wanted to go to detox and told him that he could not sleep on the sidewalk. There was a hotel in the building he was sleeping in front of and they asked if he was living there. He answered yes and then said no. They asked where he lived; he responded that it was close by. At first he appeared unconscious and very drunk. He did not want to go to detox and he looked like

he was getting clearer on where he wanted to go. The staff was undecided about the seriousness of his condition and decided, in an unspoken manner, to let him go on his way. Once in the van they talked over the situation -- still unsure of what the proper action should have been. They then followed the person to make sure he could get around without getting into or causing trouble. As he walked, he staggered around but kept going in the general direction that he had indicated his home was. He went down an alley and across a vacant parking lot. The decision of the staff was that he would make it. However, after two blocks he came to a corner and was unable to negotiate the curb. He stumbled and nearly fell. The decision to pick up was made at this point. While crossing the intersection he appeared to panhandle a motorist. This confirmed the prior decision to pick up. They indicated to him that he shouldn't bother people. On the form to admit him, they wrote he was moderately intoxicated and disturbing people.

3. As they were driving down an alley behind an infamous bar (Dolly's) frequented by Native Americans, the van stopped since there was a man down with about three people around him. The man had been beaten severely and possibly stabbed around the eye. The staff called for an ambulance, which arrived within a few minutes. The van staff mentioned that this bar generally had incidents similar to this.

4. The staff pulled up to a man called Tony. He was at a busy intersection, unsteady on his feet. They asked if he wanted to go to detox; he declined the invitation. About an hour later the van went by the same intersection and Tony had made it to the opposite corner.

5. A police call came in for the "Bear's Den" bar. This bar is on Franklyn Ave., in the heart of the Native American section. The bar's clientele is mostly Native American. The van pulled up and the staff saw two men in front and immediately recognized Francis "S". The "S" family, about four of them, are regular clients at detox; Francis is the worst of them according to the staff. Since Francis was unconscious they just picked him up and put him in the van. The bar's manager, a white man, came out and appeared thankful that the van had come. He explained that the pint bottle that the second man had was Francis'. The second man was conscious and fairly well-dressed. He was very belligerent and very big. The staff asked if he wanted to go to detox. He asked them if they wanted to take him -- it seemed he was implying that he would put up a fight. Then his wife came out of the bar. She wanted him to keep his mouth closed and everytime he would mouth off to the staff she would

yell at him, ("Do you want them to take you?"), and slap him in the face. The staff decided to leave him with her. While he was drunk it appeared that his wife could care for him. The owner looked like he wanted both of them picked-up.

6. A police call to a commercial area brought the van to the scene of an incident involving Bernard. Bernard is a Native American who was assisted into the van by the police. He seemed to believe that the police and the staff were picking on him because he was an Indian. On the ride to detox he would scream and kick around.

These cases show that the civilian intake agents, like police officers, make their decisions of whether and how to intervene on the basis of a complex set of factors. The next section attempts to sift through this maze of individualistic reasoning to determine whether a pattern of factors emerge that accounts (at least in part) for police officers' discretionary behavior in this policy area.

E. Administering the Questionnaire

In Minneapolis, the questionnaire was given to all officers in selected roll calls of the following police precincts: First, Second, Fifth, and Sixth. As stated earlier, the drinking population that receives the most public attention is located largely in two precincts -- First Precinct (downtown) and Sixth Precinct (Model Cities). Three distinguishable types of individuals make up this population: Native Americans (recent arrivals from rural areas), young Whites (recent arrivals from rural areas), and Blacks (small population of poverty level Blacks). To a lesser extent, these public inebriates are also located in three of the remaining four police precincts: Third, Fourth and

Fifth Precincts. The Second Precinct usually experiences a different population of problem drinkers -- the students living around the University of Minnesota.

To assure adequate cell size, the Second and Fifth Precincts were combined in the analysis phase to represent the low density public drunkenness area of the city. The Sixth Precinct alone, and the First and Sixth combined, represent the high density public drunkenness area of the city. The Sixth Precinct also represents the location of the model cities area, that part of the city with the highest concentration of poverty. Finally, the precinct command of the Sixth emphasizes community service tasks much more than the other precincts. The importance of this latter characteristic will be discussed below.

II. QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

A. ATTITUDINAL ANALYSIS

Comparison of patrolmen's specific attitudes (item responses) is organized according to the independent variable to which they pertain. In each instance, the analysis will focus on the city-wide mean score and then on the inter-precinct variations.

1. Organizational Variable

- a. CONFORMS. No significant difference has been hypothesized between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.79	2.44	2.34	1.75	1.68
Sig. of Difference	-	Z=4.47 S=.01	Z=4.10 S=.01	N/S	N/

This hypothesis is not confirmed and instead, Minneapolis police officers show a close affiliation with the officers of the criminal jurisdictions in expressing strong agreement over the importance of conformity to police orders. The agreement with the criminal jurisdictions is probably related to the low turnover and lack of new cadets in the Minneapolis Police Department. Unlike the D.C. force, the Minneapolis Department is relatively homogeneous and lacks the input of new "types" of officers (e.g., women, minorities).

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	1.903	1.571
Sig. of Difference		N/S

As expected, Precincts One and Six show less agreement because the model cities precinct (Precinct 6) has a more broad-based (community input) and flexible command structure than the other precincts. However, a significant difference does not exist between the two precincts.

- b. PRIORITY. We hypothesize a significantly greater agreement in criminal than therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1) with general disagreement expected in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.39	3.55	3.53	3.55	3.39
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S

Neither hypothesis is confirmed but the response is relatively homogeneous among departments with views ranging from neutral but leaning toward agreement to neutral but leaning toward disagreement. Thus, as we projected, no department is rated by its respective officers as giving a high priority to the removal of intoxicated persons.

In Minneapolis, we expected the officers in Precincts One and Six to show a higher level of agreement because of the community service orientation of the precinct command in the Sixth. However, their responses failed to confirm this expectation.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
X score	3.532	3.357
Sig. of Difference	N/S	

- c. TRAINING. Here, we hypothesize no significant difference between the means of criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1) with individual variations among the jurisdictions according to departments' commitment to training.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.25	3.71	3.92	3.37	2.82
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=3.61 S=.01	N/S	Z=2.80 S=.01

As indicated in the introductory material, we would expect some agreement with this proposition because the Minneapolis Police Department did give some training sessions in cooperation with the Alcohol Receiving Center.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
X score	3.242	3.107
Sig. of Difference	N/S	

CONTINUED

1 OF 3

2. Role Variable

- a. SOCWORK. We would expect greater agreement with this factor in therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.46	3.21	3.90	4.08	3.83
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.37 S=.02	Z=2.32 S=.02	N/S

Again, while we expected the officers in Precincts One and Six to show less agreement with this proposition, we found no significant difference between the two sets of precincts.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.387	3.750
Sig. of Difference		N/S

- b. APPROPRIATE. We expect significantly greater agreement in criminal than in therapeutic jurisdictions because the criminal intake of inebriates is most compatible with officers' general role perception of their work.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.35	3.23	2.88	2.19	2.23
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.27 S=.03	Z=4.09 S=.01	Z=5.37 S=.01

Both Richmond and Houston show a significantly greater level of agreement with this proposition. Washington is closest to the criminal jurisdictions in its level of agreement.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.694	2.821
Sig. of Difference		Z=1.9954 S=.02

The differences between precincts produces an interesting result. Officers working in the high density public drunkenness area consider the intake of public inebriates inappropriate work while those sampled in the low intensity area rate such intake an appropriate function. One plausible explanation is that officers working in the high intensity area are in contact with inebriates who require services (e.g., emergency health care) they cannot provide. A more likely explanation is that these officers observe the civilian intake van's operation, and feel it is a more appropriate intake mechanism.

- c. SERVICES. We hypothesize no significant difference between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1) as well as general disagreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	5.28	5.31	4.49	4.85	5.21
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=5.15 S=.01	N/S	N/S

Both hypotheses are confirmed although Washington's officers report a significantly lower level of disagreement.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	5.484	5.107
Sig. of Difference		N/S

3. Peer Variable

- a. VETOFF. We hypothesize greater disagreement in criminal than in therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1) and general agreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.67	3.50	3.49	3.67	4.16
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	Z=3.01 S=.01

Neither hypothesis is confirmed. Police officers may perceive that indicating agreement on this scale would be an implied criticism of veteran officers.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.468	4.321
Sig. of Difference	Z=2.2942 S=.01	

No plausible explanation can be offered for this significant difference.

- b. BUDDIES. We expect greater agreement in criminal than in therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.59	4.20	3.52	2.56	2.89
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.25 S=.01	N/S	Z=3.85 s=.01	Z=3.53 S=.01

This hypothesis is generally confirmed with St. Louis officers showing even greater disagreement than Washington and Minneapolis officers.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.887	2.893
Sig. of Difference	Z=2.893 S=.01	

Officers from the high intensity public drunkenness area feel that their fellow officers do mind removing public drunks while those in the low intensity area indicate their fellow officers do not mind this task. Here, officers may be responding to the unpleasant aspects of the job associated with a skid row population. This difference in response runs in the same direction of the "appropriate" variable.

- c. PARTNER. As with the "buddies" variable, we hypothesize significantly greater agreement in criminal than in therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.37	3.56	3.41	2.71	2.83
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	Z=2.97 S=.01

This hypothesis is generally confirmed although the mean score in Richmond is not significantly different from Minneapolis.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.483	3.111
Sig. of Difference		N/S

4. Strategic Environment Variable

a. General

(1) SERIOUS. We expect no significant difference between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1), and general agreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.77	2.58	2.18	1.71	1.84
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=5.31 S=.01	Z=5.65 S=.01	N/S	N/S

All jurisdictions show general agreement with Minneapolis officers asserting strong agreement along with Richmond and Houston's officers. In interviews, we found that alcoholism is a very serious problem in the Minneapolis Police Department.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	1.774	1.786
Sig. of Difference	N/S	

b. Therapeutic/Criminal Facilities

(1) QUICKLY. We projected general agreement in all therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1) with the extent of agreement varying with the length of time the inebriate can be legally held (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.37	2.43	2.25	2.71	2.92
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	Z=3.11 S=.01

The first projected relationship is confirmed. The strongest feeling of agreement is in Minneapolis and Washington, where inebriates can be detained for no more than 72 hours.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.081	2.964
Sig. of Difference	Z=2.66 S=.003	

Officers in the high intensity public drunkenness precincts indicate a significantly higher level of agreement. In these precincts, the revolving door problem is the most acute.

(2) EFFECTIVE. Here, we hypothesized general agreement in all therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.63	2.80	2.05	N/A	N/A
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.56 S=.02		

The hypothesized relationship exists, but Washington's officers indicate a significantly stronger level of agreement.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.983	2.148
Sig. of Difference		Z=2.19 S=.01

While officers in both sets of precincts report general agreement, those in the low intensity area report a significantly higher level of agreement. Officers in the high intensity area may know that ARC has little chance of aiding the skid row population.

c. Perceptions of Inebriate

(1) THREAT. For this variable, we projected no significant difference between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1) with general disagreement throughout jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.45	3.75	3.10	3.08	3.68
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S

Our first proposition is generally confirmed, but only two cities register general disagreement.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
X score	3.145	4.214
Sig. of Difference	Z=2.87 S=.002	

Officers in the high intensity public drunkenness area fail to perceive inebriates as a physical threat while those in the low intensity area feel the opposite. Officers in the First and Sixth Precincts regularly handle drunks, and often know the skid row inebriates on a first name basis.

(2) BELLIGERENT. Again, general disagreement is expected -- the drunkenness environment is perceived as hostile.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.28	4.41	3.70	3.51	4.35
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=3.65 S=.01	Z=2.98 S=.01	N/S

While all jurisdictions indicate general disagreement, the level of disagreement is significantly stronger in Minneapolis, St. Louis, and Houston, No explanation can be offered for this degree of difference.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
X score	4.145	4.571
Sig. of Difference	N/S	

(3) MESSY. We hypothesize no significant difference between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1) as well as a high level of agreement across jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.99	1.85	1.96	2.37	1.93
Sig. of Difference		N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S

Both propositions are confirmed.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.000	1.929
Sig. of Difference		N/S

(4) WELLDRESS. For this variable, we hypothesize no significant difference between the criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1), and general agreement is expected in all jurisdictions. While the hypothesis of agreement is premised on our view of what actually happens, it should be expected that police officers will disagree because the question prompts officers to indicate a class distinction.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.37	4.25	4.17	4.31	4.86
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	Z=2.71 S=.01

While our first proposition is generally confirmed, we found that officers report disagreement to avoid the charge of class distinction in handling public drunks. These responses confirm that utilization of direct question for sensitive issues can produce misleading results.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	4.016	5.107
Sig. of Difference		Z=3.25 S=.001

Those officers patrolling the present skid row area show a significant difference in their level of disagreement in comparison with the officers of the low intensity area. This indicates some attitudinal confirmation of this class distinction.

(5) POORDRESS. Our hypotheses are the same as we asserted for "WELLDRESS".

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.11	2.80	3.18	2.70	2.86
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S

Both propositions are confirmed.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.919	3.643
Sig. of Difference	Z=1.9568 S=.02	

Thus, officers in the high intensity area must likely associate this characteristic with their regular clientele of public inebriates.

(6) BOTHER. We hypothesize greater agreement in criminal jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1), with all jurisdictions in the agreement category (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.78	2.19	2.44	1.57	1.79
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.10 S=.01	Z=5.12 S=.01	N/S	N/S

General agreement exists across jurisdictions, but the Minneapolis mean is closest to Houston's mean score.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	1.774	1.929
Sig. of Difference	N/S	

(7) MUGGING. While agreement is expected in all jurisdictions, less agreement is expected in therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.67	2.47	2.73	1.35	2.07
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	Z=7.18 S=.01	Z=3.39 S=.01

Both hypotheses are confirmed.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.484	2.750
Sig. of Difference		N/S

(8) WEATHER. We hypothesize general agreement in all jurisdictions (hypothesis 1) with a significantly higher level of agreement in jurisdictions with periods of intense, inclement weather.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.73	3.45	2.46	2.32	2.68
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.97 S=.01	N/S	N/S	N/S

The data supports our first proposition, but Minneapolis officers do not feel significantly stronger about this environmental factor.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.758	3.000
Sig. of Difference		N/S

(9) IMMOBILE. We hypothesize no significant difference between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1), and general disagreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.81	3.62	4.40	2.74	3.30
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.54 S=.02	Z=4.42 S=.01	Z=2.92 S=.01

Neither proposition is confirmed.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.694	3.714
Sig. of Difference		N/S

(10) MEDICAL. We project no significant difference between therapeutic and criminal jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1) as well as general disagreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.14	3.34	3.86	3.35	3.46
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=4.12 S=.01	N/S	N/S

Minneapolis shows the strongest level of agreement while Washington's officers are the only group confirming the projected direction. As hypothesized this attitude does not distinguish criminal from therapeutic jurisdictions.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.935	3.393
Sig. of Difference		N/S

As we would expect, officers in the high intensity area agree more strongly than those patrolling the Second and Fifth Precincts.

(11) PROPCARE. No significant difference is projected between types of jurisdictions (Hypothesis 1) and we hypothesize general agreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.94	3.36	2.49	1.93	2.60
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.36 S=.02	Z=2.72 S=.01	N/S	N/S
	<u>P1+6</u>		<u>P2+5</u>		
\bar{X} score	3.131		2.607		
Sig. of Difference		N/S			

5. Strategic Interaction Variable.

- a. BUSINESS. We hypothesize: no significant difference (Hypothesis 1); general agreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2); and among the several indicators of this dimension there will be greatest agreement with this factor (Hypothesis 3).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.32	2.29	2.75	2.21	2.45
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.49 S=.02	N/S	N/S

Agreement is least strong in the District of Columbia where business is government operations. In Minneapolis, "business" is a strong cue for police officers, second only to the "general public."

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	1.823	3.500
Sig. of Difference		Z=5.13 S=.001

As we would expect, the cues from the business community are strongest in Precincts One and Six because those precincts patrol the central business district of the entire metropolitan area.

- b. GENPUB. We hypothesize: no significant difference (Hypothesis 1); agreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2); mand among the several indicators, "GENPUB" ranks second only to "business." (Hypothesis 3).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.22	2.64	2.59	2.28	2.25
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.48 S=.02	Z=2.45 S=.02	N/S	N/S

While all jurisdictions show general agreement, Minneapolis demonstrates a strong level of agreement like Richmond and Houston. In Minneapolis, this is the strongest outside cue for police officers.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
X score	2.016	2.964
Sig. of Difference		Z=3.07 S=.001

The stronger level of agreement in the First and Sixth Precincts is probably associated with the existence of formal police-community relationships in the Sixth Precinct.

- c. POLITICO. We hypothesize: no significant difference (Hypothesis 1); general disagreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2); and a low ranking with the other strategic interaction factors (Hypothesis 3).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.41	2.91	2.96	2.67	2.74
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.79 S=.01	Z=3.60 S=.01	N/S	N/S

The findings show general agreement with Minneapolis officers reporting the strongest level of agreement. While Minneapolis is the prime location of the Hennepin County government, it has fewer government offices than D.C. and Richmond.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.161	3.179
Sig. of Difference	Z=3.21 S=.001	

This difference is predictable because the bulk of government offices is located in the First Precinct.

- d. AAETC. We project no significant difference (Hypothesis 1), and general agreement in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.08	3.27	3.41	3.14	2.95
Sig. of Difference					
	<u>P1+6</u>		<u>P2+5</u>		
\bar{X} score	3.033		3.214		
Sig. of Difference	N/S				

- e. DETOX11. We project no significant difference (Hypothesis 1) with general disagreement in therapeutic jurisdictions but no direction in criminal jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.70	3.41	4.06	3.53	3.38
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.23 S=.03	N/S	N/S

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	3.672	3.500
Sig. of Difference	N/S	

- f. LIQSTORE. We hypothesize no significant difference (Hypothesis 1); general disagreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2); and low importance among strategic interaction indicators (Hypothesis 3).

	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.27	3.57	3.47	3.43	3.24
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S

While no significant difference exists between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions, most cities show slight agreement. This factor rates quite low in Minneapolis, but more important than outside cases from ARC and drunks.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	2.968	3.929
Sig. of Difference	Z=2.34 S=.05	

Liquor store owners in the First and Sixth Precincts are more likely to have a problem with public inebriates than those in the low intensity area.

- g. DRUNKS. We hypothesize (1) no significant difference (Hypothesis 1); (2) general disagreement in all jurisdictions (Hypothesis 2); and the lowest ranking among strategic interaction indicators (Hypothesis 3).

	<u>Minn</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.75	4.73	3.99	4.64	5.10
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=4.50 S=.01	N/S	N/S

The hypotheses are generally confirmed with this factor receiving the lowest ranking in Minneapolis.

	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P2+5</u>
\bar{X} score	4.694	4.821
Sig. of Difference	N/S	

6. Conclusions

In analyzing the attitudes of police officers in Minneapolis, we find that officers' views on the intake of public inebriates vary according to the type of precinct to which they are assigned. Officers from the high intensity public drunkenness precincts are more critical of the Alcoholism Receiving Center's performance than those officers in the low intensity areas. Officers in the First and Sixth Precincts are constantly exposed to ARC's recidivist population of "skid row" inebriates.

Also, officers from these precincts express a greater sensitivity to the potential demands of "significant others" in the community. This difference is partly attributable to the concentration of both the major business and government centers in these precincts. Also, it is most likely related to the community service orientation of at least one of these precincts -- the Sixth.

B. CORRELATION ANALYSIS

Each hypothesis is tested on a "city-wide" basis as well as a "precinct by precinct" basis. The overall procedure used to carry out the correlational analysis for the patrol officer questionnaire is outlined in an earlier document (Musheno, Silberman Memo, October 23, 1975). The relevant forms of the dependent variable for the Minneapolis questionnaire are as follows:

ACTION = (DETOX + DETOX VAN + ARREST + HOSPITAL + HOME1 +
MOVEON + HOME2) / Total Options

APPROVED ACTION = (DETOX + DETOX VAN + ARREST + HOSPITAL +
HOME1) / Total Options

INSTITUTIONAL ACTION = (DETOX + DETOX VAN + ARREST +
HOSPITAL) / Total Options

DETOX ACTION = (DETOX + DETOX VAN) / Total Options

TOTAL OPTIONS = DETOX + DETOX VAN + ARREST + HOSPITAL +
HOME1 + NO ACTION + MOVEON + HOME2

The grouped variables (those developed on the basis of factor analysis) for Minneapolis are: groups, concern, role, public health groups, protect, and situation specific.

1. Organization Variable

- a. ORGANIZATION. This dimension deals with respondents' attitudes toward what priority the department gives to public drunkenness. No indicators grouped together from the Minneapolis factor analysis. Thus, there are two independent variables: TRNG and PRIORITY.

Hypothesis: For these variables, the central hypothesis is that officers who perceive the department as placing a high priority on removal of public drunks will tend to take action. For each variable, the hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse.

<u>Organ</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
PRIORITY X ACT	-.0649 S=.249	-.0476 S=.405	-.0690 S=.297	-.3265 S=.030
TRNG X ACT	-.0580 S=.273	-.2681 S=.084	-.0211 S=.435	.0137 S=.469

No city-wide relationship exists, but a relationship between priority and action does exist in Precinct Six, the model cities area. Our explanation for this relationship is the same we will give for ROLE in this precinct: the precinct command structure has created incentives for officers to hold attitudes supportive of and act according to community service functions. The intake of public drunks is an activity associated with community service in decriminalized jurisdictions.

2. Role Variable

- a. ROLE. The indicators are SOCWORK and APPROP.

Hypothesis: Those officers who feel that picking up public drunks is coterminous with their role are more likely to take approved actions than those who do not gravitate toward this viewpoint. The hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is positive.

<u>Role</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
ROLE X APPROVED	.2272 S=.008	.2270 S=.123	.2658 S=.018	.6193 S=.001

The relationship does exist city-wide and within the sampled districts. However, it is strongest in the Sixth Precinct (the model cities area), where the command structure has made a serious effort to communicate to officers the importance of community service as a vital police function. In this precinct the command has set up a regular liaison with the community in the form of a citizens advisory council. Thus, the precinct command structure has created incentives for officers to hold attitudes supportive of and act according to community service functions.

3. Peer Variablea-c VETWASTE, BUDDIES, PARTIMP.

The peer dimension invokes the officers' attitudes toward the opinions of other patrol officers, and their partner/veteran-rookie relationships. No indicators grouped together from the Minneapolis factor analysis. Thus, there are three independent variables for this dimension: VETWASTE, BUDDIES, PARTIMP.

Hypothesis: The central hypothesis for these variables is that the greater priority an officers' peers place on picking up public drunks, the more likely the officer will take action in removing inebriates. For VETWASTE, the hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is positive. In regard to BUDDIES and PARTIMP, we are looking for an inverse relationship to prove the hypothesis.

<u>Peer</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
VETWASTE X ACT	.0425 S=.329	-.2642 S=.087	.0666 S=.303	.0098 S=.478
BUDDIES X ACT	-.1379 S=.075	-.3493 S=.034	.0276 S= -.416	-.0468 S=.396
PARTIMP X ACT	-.1401 S=.071	-.1557 S=.214	-.2273 S=.038	-.1690 S=.170

No city-wide relationship exists for any of these variables. BUDDIES shows a significant relationship in the non-skid row precincts between PARTIMP and ACT in the combined skid row precincts. No plausible explanation for these precinct relationships can be offered.

4. Strategic Environment Variable

a. Perceptions of Inebriate -

(1) CONCERN. The indicators are PROPCARE and EFFECTIV.

Hypotheses: (1) Those officers who indicate a concern for for the inebriate are more likely to take approved action, (2) particularly institutional actions. This hypothesis is also proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse.

<u>Concern</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
CONCERN X APPROVED	-.2530 S=.004	-.2470 S=.103	-.2393 S=.031	-.5063 S=.001
CONCERN X INSACT	-.2789 S=.002	-.2180 S=.133	-.3434 S=.003	-.4979 S=.001

These hypotheses are confirmed city-wide and across police precincts. Within Minneapolis the strongest confirmation of this hypothesis is in the Sixth Precinct where the social and physical conditions of the public inebriates are the most severe. Thus, exposure to the skid row population is more likely to prompt concern and a formal response from police officers.

- (2) PROTECT. The indicators are WEATHER and MUGGING.

Hypothesis: Officers who indicate that the inebriate is a victim of crime and/or poor social conditions will be more likely to take approved action. The hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse.

<u>Protect</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
PROTECT X APPROVED	-.2379 S=.006	-.1697 S=.194	-.3930 S=.001	-.5333 S=.001

5. Strategic Interaction Variable

- a. GROUPS. The indicators for this variable are BUSINESS, LIQSTORE, and GENPUB.

Hypothesis: Police officers who believe that significant others in the community want them to increase their pick-ups will act more often in such encounters. Due to the direction of the respective scales for the independent and dependent variables, this hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse.

<u>Groups</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
GROUPS X ACTION	.1230	.1521	.0370	.0336
	S=.009	S=.220	S=.0370	S=.425

No relationship was found city-wide or within any precincts. This corresponds with the findings in the District of Columbia. It is unlikely that officers take into consideration "significant others" in the community when making decisions about picking up drunks in Minneapolis.

- b. HEALTH GROUPS. The indicators for the public health groups variable are DETOX11 and AAETC.

Hypothesis: Police officers who believe that public health groups want them to increase their intake will show a higher rate of approved action than those not sharing that belief. As with the previous variable, this hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse.

<u>Heltgrps</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
HELTGRPS X	-.1415	-.0195	-.2151	-.1818
APPROVED	S=.069	S=.461	S=.047	S=.152

While no city-wide relationship exists, a relationship (although weak) does exist in the high density public drunkenness area. Police officers from this area have a permanent affiliation with the public health community in the form of ARC's civilian pick up wagon. With rare exception, it operates almost entirely in the First Precinct.

This indicates a potential intervening variable that should be tested in future research -- the extent and intensity of police contact with public health officials.

6. Background Variables.

- a. HTIME. Hypothesis: The less time officers are on the force, the more likely they will take approved actions. This hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse.

<u>Htime</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
HTIME X	-.0572	-.0203	-.0864	-.0425
APPROVED	S=.276	S=.459	S= -.252	S=.406

No relationship exists.

- b. EDUCATION. Hypothesis: Officers with higher levels of education are more likely to take approved actions. This hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is positive.

<u>Education</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
EDUC X APPROVED	.0538	.2402	.0622	.0184
	S=.288	S=.109	S=.316	S=.454

No relationship exists.

- c. AGE. Hypothesis: Older officers are more likely to take action. This hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is positive.

<u>Age</u>	<u>City</u>	<u>P2+5</u>	<u>P1+6</u>	<u>P6</u>
AGE X ACTION	.0327	.0453	.0268	.0355
	S=.367	S=.409	S=.418	S=.421

No relationship exists.

7. Conclusion.

In Minneapolis, officers are little influenced by such common incentive-disincentive forces as organizational and peer relationship cues. Instead, the discretionary factors that most significantly affect officers' decisions on the handling of public inebriates revolve around their sense of humanitarianism. Those officers most concerned about the treatment that inebriates receive as well as the conditions inebriates are exposed to (e.g., harsh weather, mugging) are most likely to take approved or institutional action. A coterminous force emerging from our Minneapolis analysis is the extent to which officers feel that picking up public inebriates is suitable to their role as policemen. Thus, the critical variables that emerge in Minneapolis point to the often-discussed community service orientation and the importance of this dimension for acquiring police performance of certain tasks.

St. Louis, Missouri

I. BACKGROUND

A. The City

St. Louis, a city of 622,235 (1970 Census), ranks 18th in size in the nation. Like most cities of the Midwest and East, it is an old city experiencing rapid deterioration, a shrinking population in the central city as the suburbs continue to grow, and an increasing proportion of older persons and poor and unskilled citizens yielding a diminished tax base. The following chart (Table 1) demonstrates the problem facing the city.

Perhaps one of the most outstanding characteristics of St. Louis is its ethnic character. It will become notable in the analysis below, for example, that the third police district encompasses residential areas with heavy concentrations of families of Croatian, German and Slovak origins. Highway 40, running approximately down the center of the city, roughly forms a demarcation line between the White, ethnic population and the Black population.

In an attempt to infuse life into the central city, a major effort at urban renewal has been launched. The downtown area bordering on the Mississippi River has been essentially torn down and rebuilt as a tourist center. As a result, the concentrated skid row has generally been eliminated except for a small pocket bordering the tourist and business district. This does not mean,

Table 1

Population Characteristics of St. Louis City
and the St. Louis SMSA, 1970

	<u>Central City</u>	<u>SMSA</u>
Population	622,235 ^a	2,363,017
Race: ^b		
White	364,992	1,075,145
Non-White	257,244	387,872
Annual Household Income Level:		
Below \$5,000	26.5%	
\$5,000-\$10,000	37.4%	
\$10,000-\$15,000	23.3%	
Over \$15,000	12.9%	
Percent Aged (over 65)	14.7% ^c	

a. The percent of the residents in the area living in the central city has diminished from 54% in 1940 to 26% in 1970. While the central city population declined 17% in the 1960's, the suburban ring's population increased 29%.

b. 34% of the White city-dwellers migrated out of the city during the 1960's and the White population remaining added only 2% to their numbers. There was no net migration gain or loss for non-whites, but there was a natural increase in the Black population of 19%. The city's Black population rose from 29% to 44% in the 1960's.

c. The national average is 9.8%.

Source: St. Louis Planning Comm., St. Louis Development Program (1973); Statistical Abstract of the United States (1973); Williams, St. Louis: A City and Its Suburbs (R-1353-NSF, August 1973).

however, that the public inebriate or even the skid row inebriate has disappeared from St. Louis. Rather, the skid row public inebriate population is more diffused moving generally west of the downtown area. Further, there is substantial weekend drinking and public drunkenness by the White blue-collar population and the Black low income citizens in their own residential areas. Finally, St. Louis continues to be a major transportation center and the problem of public drunkenness is visible in the area surrounding the bus terminals and railroad yards.

B. The Legal Context.

It is common to cite St. Louis as an example of a city that has "decriminalized" the offense of public drunkenness. In fact, this is a misnomer since the public inebriate in St. Louis continues to be arrested as a misdemeanor. While statutory provision is made for diversion of arrested inebriates to treatment facilities by the court or by the Warden of the Workhouse, there is no legal provision governing police diversion from the criminal justice system.

Nevertheless, since 1966 police officers have exercised broad discretion regarding disposition of the arrested public inebriate. Police regulations provide that if there are no other charges against the inebriate, e.g., disorderly conduct, there are no signs of injury or illness requiring emergency hospital treatment, no complainant wishes to pursue the incident as a prosecuting witness, the inebriate does not indicate a desire for criminal treatment, and if room is

available, the officer is instructed to request a Code 27 conveyance from the dispatcher and then transport the inebriate to a Detoxification Center. A wanted check is to be made, a police admitting form is to be completed and a city court summons charging public drunkenness is to be issued. The subsequent stay of the inebriate at the Center is designated by the regulations as "voluntary." However, if he leaves before medical release (usually seven days), the summons is supposed to be forwarded by Detox personnel to the police who are to apply for an information. If the inebriate is a "defendant-not-found," the regulations provide that the next arrest of the inebriate should result in booking and court trial. If the inebriate remains at the Center for the treatment period, the summons is voided and no arrest record results since a formal police report is never filed.

If the above-mentioned conditions for Code 27 are not met, the police regulations indicate that the arrested intoxicated person should be processed as a Code 26, the traditional method for processing public inebriates. He is taken to one of the two City Hospitals then to Prisoner Processing at Central Headquarters for booking as a drunk-on-street. The officer prepares an Intoxicated Person Report and applies at the City Counselor's office for an information (warrant). Subsequently, the inebriate is tried in City Court.

Although in theory, a charge of Protective Custody is available only for drunkenness in a private place, in fact this offense has been heavily used for processing public inebriates. In the early and mid-1960's, pickups for this charge exceeded drunk-on-street arrests

by a 2 to 1 ratio, although this has been subsequently reversed. Under the protective custody offense, an individual is retained in custody for up to 20 hours, and then released. The police do not seek an information. Since there is a police Intoxicated Person Report, the charge is added to the person's police record.

The law on the books, then, makes all persons intoxicated in public guilty of a misdemeanor. Through police regulations (with the apparent agreement of the City Prosecutor's Office), alternative formal dispositions of the arrested inebriate are provided. Behind these approved formal dispositions, lie a range of possible unapproved dispositions such as telling the inebriate to move on, taking him or her home, and the possible decision to do nothing.

C. The Actors.

1. The Detoxification Center

In October 1966, the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance awarded a grant of \$158,781 to fund the St. Louis Detoxification Center. One month later the Center began offering medical treatment and supportive social and rehabilitative services at St. Mary's Infirmary, a hospital run by the Sisters of St. Mary. The impetus for the initiation of the project was provided by the Social Science Institute of Washington University and the St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department. Using the experience of European countries and the Alcoholic Treatment and Research Center in St. Louis, a model

for a seven-day treatment facility was formulated. The grantee for the project was the St. Louis Police Department -- the first police-sponsored alcoholic treatment center in the Western Hemisphere.

The close involvement of the SLPD with the initiation of Detox explains the initial enthusiasm of the Department with its success. Training programs for police officers were conducted. Special Orders for processing public inebriates were issued. Later, financial support was provided by the Department.

The environment of the Center also gave impetus for an initial favorable police reaction. St. Mary's was located near the downtown business district, readily accessible to the skid row areas of the city. The sisters who ran the infirmary and assisted in the hospital were warm and friendly with the police officers. The involvement of the Washington University Institute lent the operation a sense of professionalism.

But the difficulties were not long coming. When the federal funds were exhausted, the Center was required to move to the grounds of the State Hospital in order to secure state funding. This location was far removed from the primary areas of drunkenness arrests -- approximately a 20 to 30 minute ride each way. The facilities lacked the cordiality associated with St. Mary's. After a time, police were required to spend substantial time at the Center until a medical officer was available to check the inebriate. After all police districts were included in the program (see below) the few beds were frequently filled. The police training programs and official

enthusiasm began to wane -- there was essentially no organizational impetus for pickup and delivery of inebriates to the Detoxification Center. In short, numerous disincentives to approved institutional handling of the public inebriate were introduced.

There was also a problem in the compatibility of goals the Detoxification project had established for itself. The extended seven day stay period reflected the desire of the project founders to provide rehabilitation as well as emergency services to the inebriate. Only a couple of days were required for drying out but additional time was required if a treatment program was to be fashioned and begun. At first, the Detox officials accepted the minimal success in rehabilitation. But as new officials took over and the Center became more institutionalized, there was an increasing loss of the sense of the original mission. Recidivism, however, might be cut if the population serviced by the Center was changed. There are indications that the Center increasingly accepted more volunteer admissions which produced a less skid row patient population. Recent increased state supervision of the Center and change in Center officials, also suggest the validity of these perceptions. Whether this perception is accurate must await statistical analysis of the patient profile in subsequent phases of our study. Certainly, the ratio of voluntary admissions to police admissions was radically altered. Detox officials submit that more inebriates are finding their way to the Center on their own. Further there are reports that police often drop the drunks off at the entrance to the Center and let them self-admit.

Nevertheless, police officers report that they frequently find the Center filled -- there is less room for the emergency case chronic police-case inebriate. Detox officials were said to have shown increasing reluctance to take the chronic case and to have released inebriates before the end of the seven-day period.

Further, even as the Center continued to proclaim its interest in rehabilitation and the success of its rehabilitative program, the police officers continued to encounter the same inebriates day after day. No training was available to explain the reality of the role of the Detoxification Center in servicing the chronic skid row type inebriate.

2. The St. Louis Metropolitan Police Department

The St. Louis MPD is relatively unique in being one of the three police departments in the nation under direct state control. Members of the Board of Police Commissioners are charged by state law with exclusive management and control of the police force and are appointed by the governor. The actual power of the Chief of Police is largely reflective of the approach of the particular Board and especially its President. While the municipal government must pay for the maintenance of the MPD, it has no control over the budget or policies of the Department which are determined by the state officials.

Members of the permanent police force are officials appointed by the Board. The present strength of the force is 2232 which has

remained relatively unchanged since October, 1970. Since the population is only 622,236 (1970 census), St. Louis has a very high per capita police force. There are four bureaus under the control of the Chief of Police. Our project has been concerned solely with the operation of the Bureau of Field Operations. The Bureau is organized into three command areas, each consisting of three police districts and a special operations command consisting of the Juvenile Division, Tactical Deployment Division and Prisoner Processing Division. Each area is under the command of a major; each district is under a captain; platoons are headed by a lieutenant. Direct supervision of all patrol activities is charged to sergeants. Patrol officers may be assigned to foot patrol, one or two man patrol, tri-car or horse.

The force is largely Irish and German. While there are relatively few Blacks and women in proportion to the population, (especially in command positions) efforts are being made to recruit greater numbers.

Training is presently handled by the Greater St. Louis Police Academy. There has been some training in problems of alcoholism since 1962 and there were 6 hours devoted to the subject after the opening of the Detox Center. Today there are less than two hours of a 640 hour training program devoted to the subject. Even this figure is generous since this is mixed in with numerous other subjects -- Detox procedures are taught in connection with the subject of Driving While Intoxicated.

The primary methods for communication within the Department are the Police Manual consisting of General Orders and the rules and regulations issued by the Board, verbal communications at Commanders' meetings, Administrative Orders issued to all persons of the rank of sergeant or above, Bureau Orders issued by the bureau affected, Special Orders to all commissioned personnel designed to standardize and formalize procedures, memoranda applicable to a particular district or patrol area which are included in the station desk book and read at roll call. A search of each of these communication vehicles for indications of Department policy revealed with a few notable exceptions primarily in 1963 (see below) and 1966 (Detox opens), essentially an absence of concern. There is nothing in the present Police Manual. An eight year review (1963-1970) of the minutes of Commanders' meetings produced nothing for 1964, 1965, 1968, 1969, or 1970 and interviews indicated the subject has not come up since that time. Nothing appears in Administrative or Bureau Orders from 1966 to the present. The procedures for processing public inebriates have been spelled out in Special Orders. Two Fourth District (see below) station house desk books for several winter and summer months did not contain a single notation regarding public intoxication.

D. The Practical Context.

In spite of the fact that St. Louis is an old and fairly large urban area with a public drunkenness problem roughly comparable to

that of similar cities, it has always had a very low level of arrests for public drunkenness. At the same time that Washington, D.C., a city of comparable size was averaging 40,000 arrests per year, St. Louis averaged 2,000 to 3,000. The arrest rates for the pre-change period indicate this characteristic:

1960	2853
1961	2768
1962	2978
1963	7847
1964	3786
1965	2488

The aberration in 1963 was produced by a change of procedure whereby the arresting officer was no longer charged with responsibility for processing the public inebriate. Further, there was a crackdown on the public drunkenness problem revealed in police orders calling for arrests of persons drunk on the street.

A number of reasons might be given for this extremely low arrest pattern.

As indicated above, St. Louis is an old city with a highly ethnic population more tolerant of heavy drinking. The city's history as riverfront community would further support a cultural milieu more tolerant of public intoxication. Further, the St. Louis MPD has always emphasized the quality of arrest and deemphasized the low-quality arrest. For example, in 1965 Washington, D.C. and Atlanta

Georgia reported an arrest rate approximately twice as high as St. Louis. However, when drunkenness, disorderly conduct and vagrancy arrests (i.e. low quality arrests) are excluded from the respective arrest statistics, the St. Louis arrest rate exceeds that of the other two cities by a 3 to 2 ratio for that year. As previously indicated, with a single exception in 1963, a low quality crime like Drunk on Street was never given a high priority by the Department. This negative attitude has been reinforced within the ranks. Officers who make large numbers of non-quality arrests are likely to be chided by their fellow officers. The "drunk squad" in the 8th district was an obvious source of amusement among all the officers in the District.

But whatever the reason, the low arrest rates are extremely important to the present study. The St. Louis MPD has always stressed the informal disposition of public inebriates. If some action was required, the emphasis was on abating the problem. This usually meant telling inebriates to move on, getting them out of sight, getting inebriates to go home, or transporting them to their residence. Essentially only when the situation indicated some type of medical emergency or when a disorder was created, was arrest used. It should again be noted that all public inebriates had to be taken to the City Hospital prior to criminal processing -- a time consuming, unpleasant procedure.

As a result of the low arrest rate, the informal dispositional practices used, the character of the legal charge (the pickup was still formally an arrest for drunk on street) and the steps taken

to facilitate the transition to a therapeutic system, the change in pickup and delivery rate is minimal, but evident. The rates, following the opening of Detox were as follows:

	<u>ARREST</u>	<u>DETOX</u>		<u>TOTAL</u>
		<u>Police</u>	<u>Voluntary</u>	
1966 ^a	1719	60	-	1779
1967	796	1120	-	1916
1968 ^b	551	1174	-	1725
1969	333	946	-	1279
1970	540	1251	215	2006
1971	463	1317	203	1983
1972	300	1301	217	1818
1973 ^c	168	1449	533	2150
1974	301	801	1698	2800

- a. First admission to Detox Center (St. Mary's Infirmary) November 1966.
- b. Detox moved to St. Louis State Hospital in Nov. 1968. 28 bed capacity - 24 beds reserved for patients brought in by police.
- c. Bed capacity increased to 40 8/13/73. All patients accepted on first come first served basis -- no beds reserved exclusively for patients brought in by the police.

Further, since the St. Louis MPD has always limited arrests to the "emergency" or "extreme" case, which usually translated into skid row inebriate, there is no reason to expect much qualitative change in the character of the population delivered by the police to Detox. It might be expected to be somewhat more "skid row" and "emergency" but the change would be far less visible than in Washington, D.C. It might also be noted that the transfer of the Detox Center to the State Hospital situs would be expected to cut back on the quantity (1174 police detox admissions reduced to 946) and to change the quality of the target population (more skid row type admissions following the move). Whether these changes did in fact occur, must await analysis of pickup and delivery data but the changes do bear on the analysis of the questionnaire.

E. Administering the Questionnaire.

The questionnaire was administered to patrol officers at all shifts in the Third, Fourth, Eighth and Ninth police districts during June, 1975. Return visits were required to pick up off-duty officers on their return. The questionnaire was distributed and instructions given at roll call by a member of the research team who was introduced by the district captain, lieutenant or acting lieutenant. A letter (composed by the research team) was sent by the Bureau of Field Operations to each District and the suggested introduction, or its equivalent, was generally used. The completed

questionnaire was returned by the completion of the shift. The return rate is estimated to have been between 95 to 100%.

The target districts were selected on the basis of statistical data and interviews with command level personnel. When the Detox Center began operations in 1966 only the Fourth District, which included the skid row area, was included. Soon the Third and Ninth Districts were added. Together these three districts accounted for 85% of the arrests in the pre-change period. Review of the Detox admission forms indicates that this dominance has continued. The Eighth District was added for certain unique features noted below.

Fourth District. This district contains the Central Police Headquarters, the central business district, and the remnants of the rapidly-disappearing skid row area. It contains the tourist area, bus station, and sports arenas. The residential areas are poor to very poor (Black and White areas) and extremely high income apartment units in the tourist area along the Mississippi River. It is the highest crime area.

Third District. This is a predominantly white, ethnic part of St. Louis. Its Slavic, Germanic, Italian inhabitants are generally blue collar workers with average incomes of \$4,000 to \$8,000. The area is predominantly low middle class residential although there are some factories such as Anheuser Busch. There is a high level of property crime.

Ninth District. This area is predominantly composed of Black citizens having a mean income of less than \$4,000. In spite of some pockets of very rich whites, it is overwhelmingly a very poor residential area. There are numerous vacant buildings and a high level of unemployment. There seems to be a fairly high degree of transiency.

Eighth District. This is an overwhelmingly Black residential area. It is the only police district having a Black commander in charge. While it is characterized by low income, high unemployment and high infant mortality, it has a generally stable population. It has the highest crime rate of the three non-downtown areas. In spite of indications of a substantial amount of public intoxication and the use of a patrol car emphasizing control of public drunkenness, there are almost no deliveries to Detox and the yearly arrest rate for public drunkenness, with a couple of radical exceptions, has been generally low.

II. QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

A. ATTITUDINAL ANALYSIS

Analysis of the item responses to the questionnaire are organized according to the independent variable to which they pertain. In each instance, the analysis will focus first on the citywide mean score and then on the interdistrict variations. In the case of interdistrict variations, the relevant district mean score will be compared with the citywide mean. This does produce some error since the citywide mean would include the district under consideration. However, any effect produced would operate against finding a significant difference. Therefore, this would seem to be an acceptable (even though not the best) method for testing significance of means.

1. Organizational Variable

- a. CONFORMS. No significant difference has been hypothesized between criminal and therapeutic jurisdictions. St. Louis police officers while generally agreeing that a good police officer's conduct closely conforms to police orders show the highest degree of disagreement of all cities. This difference was significant compared with the response of the officers in Richmond, Houston and Minneapolis.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.44	1.75	1.68	1.79	2.33
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.62 S=.01	Z=6.26 S=.01	Z=4.47 S=.01	N/S

This attitude may provide some explanation of the great use of informal dispositions in case of public drunkenness in St. Louis. This is also suggested by the district breakdown of mean scores among districts.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.44	2.40	2.27	2.29	2.88

The greatest degree of disagreement, although not statistically significant, is found in the 8th district where informal disposition appears to be the prevailing norm. Little use is made of Detox, and arrest rates in the pre-change period tended to be low.

- b. PRIORITY. As indicated above, we would hypothesize general disagreement with this proposition since the MPD places a low priority on public drunkenness. Indeed, the mean score of 3.55 does indicate such disagreement. There was no significant difference of this mean score with those in other target jurisdictions.

Comparison among the districts does not produce any notable insights. The officers of the 4th district do perceive the MPD as giving the job a higher priority than do officers in other jurisdictions. This might reflect the fact that the 4th district is the primary locus of the public drunkenness and the task of pickup is one of their primary tasks. The difference from the citywide mean is not statistically significant.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} scores	3.55	3.32	3.55	3.75	3.61

- c. TRAINING. Again, the background provided above indicates that the St. Louis MPD provides little training in the task of handling public inebriates. We would expect disagreement with the proposition but the mean score of 3.41 does not indicate such disagreement. This mean score is significant in comparison with Houston and Washington, but as we have indicated in our hypotheses for inter-city comparison of means we would expect city by city variation.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.41	2.82	3.92
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.93 S=.01	Z=3.65 S=.01

The interdistrict comparison provides nothing of interest other than the 4th district again shows a somewhat higher level of agreement, but not as high as the 9th district. The differences are not statistically significant.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.41	3.31	3.59	3.21	3.50

- d. CREDIT. We would hypothesize that the failure to give credit would be seen as important. In fact, there was substantial disagreement with the proposition (\bar{X} score of 4.52). It may be that the general lack of credit for low quality arrests bears on this. Alternatively, credit may be unimportant or officers may be unwilling to admit its importance. There were no notable variations between districts.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	4.52	4.61	4.47	4.42	4.59

2. Role Variable

- a. SOCWORK. We would expect greater agreement with this indicator in therapeutic jurisdictions. St. Louis police officers showed greater agreement than any other jurisdiction. The difference was significant when compared with Richmond, Houston and Washington.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.21	4.08	3.83	3.90	3.47
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.70 S=.01	Z=4.15 S=.01	Z=5.09 S=.01	N/S

It might have been expected that St. Louis might be closer to the criminal jurisdictions than Minneapolis and Washington since drunk on street is still formally a crime. However, this expectation is not borne out. Perhaps the formality is essentially meaningless in shaping an officer's attitude.

The interdistrict comparison provided no notable results.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} scores	3.21	3.23	2.95	3.39	3.36

- b. APPROP. We have hypothesized that a therapeutic jurisdiction would show a higher level of disagreement. In fact, St. Louis does differ significantly from both Richmond and Houston. It also differs significantly from Washington although the mean scores indicate that the difference is not as substantial.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} scores	3.23	2.19	2.23	2.88
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.26 S=.01	Z=6.56 S=.01	Z=2.36 S=.02

In terms of interdistrict comparisons, the greatest degree of disagreement is found in the 4th district, as might be expected but the difference is not statistically significant.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} scores	3.23	3.45	3.13	3.03	3.32

- c. SERVICES. We have hypothesized general disagreement in all jurisdictions. St. Louis produces the highest level of disagreement (\bar{X} score of 5.31). The officers clearly are not "community services" oriented. When coupled with the fact that the St. Louis MPD has always emphasized high quality arrests, the basis for negative reaction to picking up public inebriates for delivery to Detox is well laid. The St. Louis mean differs significantly from that of Washington.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	5.31	4.49
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=6.38 S=.01

The greatest degree of disagreement on an interdistrict basis is provided by the 3rd district, the white, ethnic, blue collar area.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	5.31	5.25	5.55	5.17	5.15

- d. IDEAL. While we have no hypothesis for this indicator, it is interesting to note that St. Louis produced the highest level of agreement and differed significantly from both Houston and Washington. The picture increasingly emerges of the St. Louis MPD as a rather hard-nosed, law enforcement (crime fighting) oriented body.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} scores	2.73	3.48	3.14
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.60 S=.01	Z=2.81 S=.01

No notable interdistrict results were produced.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.73	2.81	2.75	2.55	2.76

3. Peer Variable

- a. VETOFF. While expecting general agreement in all jurisdictions, we have hypothesized greater agreement in therapeutic jurisdictions. In fact, there was general disagreement. St. Louis and Washington, however, did lead all jurisdictions in the degree of agreement. The difference between Houston, a criminal jurisdiction, and St. Louis

was significant. Veteran officers, steeped in a tradition of public drunkenness as a non-quality arrest, might well be expected to view the task as a waste of time.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.50	4.16
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.29 S=.01

- b. BUDDIES. We have hypothesized a higher level of disagreement in therapeutic jurisdictions. St. Louis has the highest level of disagreement of all jurisdictions. It differs significantly not only from Houston and Richmond in the expected direction but also from Washington and Minneapolis. Again, the negative reaction of the police officers to the task of picking up public inebriates is most evident.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.20	2.89	2.56	3.59	3.52
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=8.90 S=.01	Z=6.93 S=.01	Z=3.25 S=.01	Z=5.11 S=.01

The greatest source of disagreement comes from officers in the 3rd police district -- the white, ethnic, blue collar area, but there is no statistically significant difference.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	4.20	4.19	4.31	4.10	4.13

- c. PORTNR. We have hypothesized a higher level of disagreement in therapeutic jurisdictions. St. Louis, once again, produces the highest level of disagreement differing significantly from both the criminal jurisdictions. The negative reaction among officers of the St. Louis MPD to the task of removing inebriates is readily apparent.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.56	2.83	2.71
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.88 S=.01	Z=2.40 S=.02

Again, the primary source of disagreement is produced by officers in the 3rd district. The greatest level of agreement is produced in the 4th district where the problem of drunkenness is most prevalent. The differences are not statistically significant.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.56	3.35	3.71	3.56	3.57

4. Strategic Environment Variable

a. General

(1) TOURIST. The emphasis being placed on tourism in St. Louis in recent years suggests general agreement would be expected but nothing significantly different from other jurisdictions. There is in fact, general agreement (\bar{X} score of 2.66). However, the degree of agreement is significantly greater in St. Louis than in Richmond and Washington. No reason suggests itself.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
X score	2.66	3.47	3.26
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.15 S=.01	Z=4.29 S=.01

Given the fact that tourism is primarily centered in the 4th district, it might be expected that the officers in that district would agree to a substantially greater degree. This is in fact the case. The difference from the citywide mean is significant at the .01 level (Z=3.96).

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.66	1.90	3.14	2.71	2.88

(2) SERIOUS. We expected general agreement in all jurisdictions. There was no reason to expect St. Louis to differ significantly from any other jurisdiction. While there was general agreement, St. Louis produced the highest level of disagreement, differing significantly with all other jurisdictions. Again, the concern over problems of alcoholism and public inebriation among St. Louis police is exceptionally minimal.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.58	1.84	1.71	1.77	2.18
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=5.62 S=.02	Z=4.26 S=.01	Z=5.31 S=.01	Z=3.12 S=.01

There is no reason to expect major differences among districts and none was found.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.58	2.60	2.53	2.61	2.59

b. Therapeutic/Criminal Facilities

(1) QUICKLY, CQUICK. General agreement would be expected in St. Louis with the proposition that Detox returns the public inebriate to the streets too quickly. It is also hypothesized that the level of agreement would be significantly greater than in criminal jurisdictions when questioned about the speed with which the criminal justice system returns public inebriates. Finally, it is hypothesized that St. Louis would disagree to a significantly greater extent when questioned about the rapidity of return of public inebriates from Detox than Washington, and Minneapolis given its prolonged 7-day stay.

There is general agreement in St. Louis (\bar{X} score of 2.31). However, the degree of agreement differs significantly only from Houston. The mean scores are included below to show the pattern, which does not exactly conform to expectations but is close.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.30	2.93	2.71	2.37	2.25

It is interesting to note that there was greater disagreement with the proposition that the criminal justice system returns the inebriate too quickly (variable: CQUICK) [\bar{X} of 2.43]. In recent times the courts have often been releasing the inebriate even faster than Detox or sending the inebriate to Detox.

No notable differences between districts is expected or produced on the quickness of Detox.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} scores	2.30	2.10	2.06	2.63	2.59

However, the officers in the 4th district did agree that the criminal justice system returns inebriates to the street too quickly to a statistically significant greater degree than officers in other districts ($Z=4.02$; $S=.01$). Their immediate exposure to the court system which is located in the district and the greater extent of the drunkenness problem in the 4th district probably explains this difference. While 4th district officers did generally agree that Detox releases inebriates too quickly, the results were not significant.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} scores	2.43	1.77	2.51	2.85	2.76

(2) NOHELP. Again, agreement would be expected and was found (\bar{X} score of 2.67). There was no reason to expect a significant difference among the therapeutic jurisdictions and none was found. There apparently was greater satisfaction with the "helping" role of Detox in St. Louis than in Washington (\bar{X} of 2.39).

The 4th district officers agree that Detox is no help to a statistically significant greater degree ($Z=2.01$; $S=.05$) than officers in the other districts. Again, the reality of the drunkenness problem in the 4th district appears critical.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.66	2.21	2.65	2.96	2.98

(3) EFFECTIVE. General agreement would be expected. Originally there was no reason to expect St. Louis to differ significantly from other therapeutic jurisdictions. However, given the attitudinal responses of the St. Louis MPD to the problem of public intoxication, greater disagreement might be expected.

There was general agreement in St. Louis and it did produce the highest level of disagreement among the therapeutic jurisdictions. The difference was statistically significant, however, only in the case of Washington.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.80	2.05
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=5.07 S=.01

The officers of the 4th district might have been expected to agree with the proposition far more than in the other districts given the extent of the problem in the district. In fact, they disagreed far more although the difference was not statistically significant. This suggests that the question may have been read as an evaluation of Detox rather than of its importance.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.80	2.94	2.74	2.84	2.69

(4) FARAWAY. A high degree of agreement was expected in St. Louis given the inconvenient location of the Detox Center. It is approximately a 30 minute ride from any of target districts. In fact, there was a high degree of disagreement, (\bar{X} of 4.15). There was, however, greater agreement than in Washington, where Detox is more convenient to officers (\bar{X} of 4.64).

It was expected that there might be some significant variations among districts depending on their distance from Detox. Officers in the 3rd district which is most prox-

mate to Detox do disagree to a statistically significant greater degree ($Z=3.04$; $S=.01$) but it is difficult, at this time, to assess the "FARAWAYNESS" of the other districts. Further, the question really probes two different elements, i.e., distance and practicability.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	4.15	3.68	4.79	4.17	3.76

c. Perceptions of Inebriate.

(1) THREAT. General disagreement is expected given the frequency with which peace disturbance is an associated offense. There is disagreement in St. Louis ($\bar{X} = 3.75$). In fact, the extent of disagreement is the greatest of all jurisdictions, although the difference is significant only for Richmond and Washington. Perhaps, this explains the reluctance of the St. Louis MPD to pick up and process public inebriates. It might also be a justification for a non-interventionist policy -- the public inebriate is perceived as a threat to the police.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.75	3.08	3.10
Sig. of Difference	--	$Z=2.49$ $S=.02$	$Z=4.58$ $S=.01$

Officers in the 3rd police district apparently see the public inebriate as a greater threat than do officers in other districts, but the result is not statistically meaningful. Interviews suggest that the 3rd district public inebriate is generally a weekend drunk, a blue collar worker who goes off on a weekend drinking spree. The indication is that this drunk is far more belligerent and hostile towards the police than other drunks. He resents the police time "wasted" on dealing with such behavior.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.75	3.62	3.96	3.61	3.75

(2) BELLIGERENT. Again, general disagreement is expected -- the drunkenness environment is perceived as hostile. Again, the greatest degree of disagreement comes from St. Louis, although the difference is significant only for Richmond and Washington.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.41	3.51	3.70
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.74 S=.01	Z=3.44 S=.01

It might be expected that the officers of the 3rd district would again produce the greatest disagreement. In this instance, however, officers in the 8th and 9th districts disagree even more. It is the 4th district, which has the remaining skid row area and the nightclubs, etc., that sees the least degree of belligerency. None of the differences are statistically significant.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	4.41	4.02	4.51	4.63	4.53

(3) MESSY. A high level of agreement was expected. The agreement was highest in St. Louis. Once again, there is support for the negative attitude of the MPD to the task and a basis for a non-interventionist policy. THREAT, BELLIGERENT and MESSY all suggest such a model. However, the difference of means was significant only for Richmond.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>
\bar{X} scores	1.85	2.37
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.52 S=.02

There does not appear to be any notable difference between the districts.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	1.85	1.69	1.81	1.76	2.21

(4&5) WELLDRESS/POORDRESS. In reality, the MPD does appear to treat the middle-class type drunk differently from the skid row type drunk. However, the difference is most often in the form of disposition. The policy of non-intervention really applies to both. But this would suggest agreement with WELLDRESS and disagreement with POORDRESS. (We have, however, hypothesized agreement for POORDRESS) In fact, the opposite pertains. Police intervention is said to be needed in both cases. (\bar{X} on WELLDRESS of 4.25; \bar{X} on POORDRESS of 2.80).

It is interesting to note that the greatest agreement on WELLDRESS comes from the 4th district. This is where the higher class drunk is likely to be found, and it is this group of officers who see less need for intervention. The difference is significant at the .04 level ($Z=2.08$).

WELLDRESS

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	4.25	3.78	4.43	4.40	4.44

Fourth District officers also lead in seeing the poorly dressed as requiring police intervention to a statistically significant extent ($Z=3.40$; $S=.01$). The reality of the drunkenness problem for 4th district officers does seem to provide a different response.

POORDRESS

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.80	2.18	2.85	2.86	3.53

The marked disagreement among 8th district officers ($Z=2.79$; $S=.01$) might also reflect their client population. Most persons are poorly dressed but they have homes in the area -- street drinking and drunkenness are quite common and yet there is little pickup and delivery to Detox nor arrests. Non-action seems common. This condition may be reflected in the attitudes expressed on this question.

(6) BOTHER. We have hypothesized general agreement in all jurisdictions and there is agreement in St. Louis. There is statistically significant less agreement in St. Louis, however, than in all other jurisdictions except Washington (.05). If the public inebriates did bother other citizens, there would be a need for approved action, and non-action and informal disposition are clearly the norm.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.19	1.79	1.57	1.78	2.44
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.61 S=.01	Z=4.32 S=.01	Z=3.10 S=.01	Z=2.03 S=.05

The highest level of agreement -- significant at the .01 level (Z=2.50) -- by district comes from the 4th district. The panhandler is most common in the downtown business district. In the 8th and 9th districts where street drinking and drunkenness are more common, there is less perception of the drunk as a bother (not statistically significant). The continuum of scores is expected given the character of the drinking population.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.19	1.81	2.11	2.40	2.63

(7) MUGGING. While agreement is expected in all jurisdictions, less agreement is expected in therapeutic jurisdictions. St. Louis does significantly differ from the criminal jurisdictions in the expected direction. The level of agreement in St. Louis, however, is somewhat surprising. Of the three therapeutic jurisdictions it agrees the most, although the difference is significant only with Washington. While its "criminal" character would seem to support our general hypothesis of justification for criminal law intervention, St. Louis officers seemed not to have been affected by this factor in other cases. However, this is the point at which the "formalism" would be expected to be most significant.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.47	1.35	2.07	2.73
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=7.79 S=.01	Z=2.97 S=.01	Z=2.00 S=.05

The concern for the inebriate as victim is most pronounced in the 4th district as might be expected, but differences are not statistically significant.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.47	2.53	2.49	2.36	2.46

(8) WEATHER. We have hypothesized general agreement in all jurisdictions but expect a therapeutic city like St. Louis to produce greater disagreement than criminal jurisdictions. There is agreement in St. Louis but it is marginal. In fact, the extent of disagreement is significantly greater than in all other jurisdictions. Certainly, concern for the inebriate from inclement weather is not perceived as a reason for intervention in St. Louis.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.45	2.68	2.32	2.73	2.46
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=5.36 S=.01	Z=5.48 S=.01	Z=3.97 S=.01	Z=7.66 S=.01

As might be expected, contact with the weekender public inebriate in the 3rd district produces the greatest disagreement. The stable, poor black area in the 8th district produces the greatest degree of agreement. The differences, however, are not statistically significant

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.45	3.53	3.60	3.44	3.13

(9) IMMOBILE. We have hypothesized general disagreement and St. Louis does disagree. The disagreement is significantly greater than in criminal jurisdictions where the need to justify a true arrest is present.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.62	3.30	2.74
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.31 S=.02	Z=4.03 S=.01

The greatest source of disagreement comes from the officers in the 4th district, significant at the .03 level (Z=2.27). Again, this may be a justification for non-intervention or the use of informal dispositions like "move along" in the area having the greatest problem with public drunkenness.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.62	4.09	3.23	3.50	3.73

(10) MEDICAL. We have hypothesized some general disagreement but in St. Louis there is marginal agreement (\bar{X} of 3.34). Given the general orientation of the St. Louis police officers that there is no need for police intervention, this is not really surprising. While the difference with D.C. (\bar{X} score of 3.87) is significant (Z=3.79; S=.01), this does not appear notable.

The real source of agreement comes from the 9th district but the results are not statistically significant. We have no real explanation.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.34	3.49	3.45	2.91	3.45

(11) PROPCARE. Based on what has been seen above, while we have hypothesized general agreement in all jurisdictions, St. Louis might be expected to produce greatest disagreement. This is indeed the case.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.36	2.60	1.93	2.95	2.13
Sig. of Difference		Z=5.67 S=.01	Z=7.34 S=.01	Z=2.36 S=.02	Z=7.09 S=.01

There are no notable differences between districts.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.36	3.42	3.43	3.20	3.36

5. Strategic Interaction Variable

- a. BUSINESS. We have hypothesized general agreement and St. Louis officers do agree (\bar{X} of 2.29). The mean difference from Washington is significant ($Z=3.63$; $S=.01$) but this doesn't appear meaningful. As will become obvious, the hypothesized rank ordering is verified in St. Louis. The degree of agreement is greatest for BUSINESS. It should be noted, however, that St. Louis police officers are traditionally not receptive to pressure.

As might be expected, the greatest agreement is found in the 4th district which contains the central business district. The difference is statistically significant ($Z=2.18$; $S=.03$).

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.29	1.91	2.40	2.33	2.61

- b. GENPUB. Again agreement was found but it is the lowest level of all jurisdictions, differing significantly from Houston and Minneapolis. Secondary sources indicate that there has traditionally been little public pressure regarding the public inebriate problem. The degree of agreement for GENPUB ranks second only to BUSINESS as hypothesized.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.64	2.25	2.21
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.13 S=.01	Z=2.48 S=.02

Again the greatest degree of agreement is produced by officers in the downtown tourist-business-high income residential area. Greatest disagreement comes from the 8th district where public drunkenness seems to be more tolerated. The differences are not statistically significant.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.64	2.31	2.68	2.75	2.90

- c. POLITICO. While we anticipated general disagreement in all jurisdictions, there was general agreement in St. Louis [\bar{X} of 2.91]. This is apparently a greater source of pressure for pickup of public inebriates than we anticipated. While the difference from Minneapolis [\bar{X} of 2.41] is significant ($Z=2.79$; $S=.01$), this does not seem important. The third place ranking of POLITICO in St. Louis is somewhat surprising since the MPD is a very depoliticized body given the element of state control.

The greatest source of the agreement, although not of statistical significance, comes from officers in the 4th district where the government buildings are located. The disagreement in the 8th district once again suggests the tolerance towards public drunkenness in that area. This difference is statistically significant ($Z=2.05$; $S=.04$).

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	2.91	2.48	3.01	2.82	3.64

- d. AAETC. We hypothesized general agreement in all jurisdictions, and there is agreement in St. Louis (\bar{X} of 3.27) but it is marginal. There is a significant difference ($Z=2.36$; $S=.02$) from Houston (\bar{X} of 2.95) but this does not seem important. As hypothesized AAETC has an intermediate ranking.

There was no notable difference among districts on AAETC.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.27	3.36	3.33	3.03	3.32

- e. DETOXII. While we hypothesized general disagreement, there was marginal agreement in St. Louis. The 3.41 mean, however, is certainly not inconsistent with the suggestion that police officers are in fact receiving negative cues from Detox regarding the desirability of increased pickups. St. Louis ranks first among the three therapeutic jurisdictions. This is somewhat surprising since the recent history of Detox, including the frequency at which it is filled, would suggest greater disagreement. Perhaps the neutrality of the responses, however, at least indicates the absence of positive impetus. The difference from Washington (\bar{X} of 4.06) is significant ($Z=5.21$; $S=.01$).

There are no notable differences among the districts.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.41	3.44	3.34	3.33	3.58

- f. LIQUOR. We expected general disagreement and a low ranking, and St. Louis conformed to both expectations. The extent of disagreement is greatest of the five jurisdictions but only in the case of Houston is it significant and then at the .03 level.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.57	3.24
Sig. of Difference	--	$Z=2.23$ $S=.03$

Officers in the 9th district did produce greater agreement but no explanation is apparent. The difference was not statistically significant.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	3.57	3.85	3.71	3.14	3.43

- g. DRUNKS. Disagreement with the question and the lowest ranking of the strategic environment variables was hypothesized and obtained. The officers themselves apparently don't accept the myth that public inebriates want to be picked up. The difference from Houston is significant. Given the "true criminal" character of Houston, this is not surprising.

	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.73	5.10
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.77 S=.01

The disagreement was general across all districts.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
\bar{X} score	4.73	4.77	4.76	4.52	4.84

6. Conclusions

As expected, the indicators of the Organizational Variable in St. Louis reflect the low priority of the public drunkenness problem to the Department. Equally important, however, is the greater emphasis by the respondents on the importance of the personal discretion of the officer, which provides some basis for the emphasis on informal disposition which we found to characterize the practical operations of the SLPD towards the public inebriate. The Role Variable and the Peer Variable both provide a picture of the SLPD as a rather hard-nosed, law enforcement-oriented police force. Handling of public drunkenness is considered inconsistent with the proper role of the police officer and this view is reinforced by the attitudes of fellow officers. This attitudinal disposition is carried over to the Strategic Environment Variable -- the public inebriate is perceived as a threat, belligerent and messy (although at times needing assistance) laying the basis for non-intervention or informal disposition as a mode of behavior. Indeed, the level of disagreement on the importance to the officer that the public inebriate receive proper care seems to summarize the attitudes of the police officers. In terms of the Strategic Interaction Variable, the non-receptivity of the officers to external influences was expected. Nevertheless, the hypothesized ordering of the influences, with business leading the way and liquor stores and drunks bringing up the rear, was confirmed.

The intra-jurisdictional results also point up the importance of the characteristics of the police district involved in shaping attitudes. In many instances, the relevance of public drunkenness in the Fourth District was notable, (e.g., TOURIST, QUICKLY, NOHELP, WELLDRESS and POORDRESS, BOTHER, IMMOBILE, BUSINESS,). The non-intervention and informality characterizing police handling of inebriates in the Eighth District was suggested in the results, although there was seldom statistical significance. Finally, the blue collar "weekender" character of the inebriate in the Third District is suggested by questions relating to the belligerency of the inebriate but again, results were not statistically significant.

B. CORRELATION ANALYSIS

The relevant forms of the dependent variable are as follows:

$$\text{ACTION} = (\text{DETOX} + \text{ARREST1} + \text{ARREST2} + \text{PROTECTIVE CUSTODY} + \text{MOVEON} + \text{HOME1} + \text{HOME2}) / \text{Total Actions}$$

$$\text{APPROVED1} = (\text{DETOX} + \text{ARREST1} + \text{ARREST2} + \text{PROTECTIVE CUSTODY}) / \text{Total Actions}$$

$$\text{APPROVED2} = (\text{DETOX} + \text{ARREST1} + \text{ARREST2}) / \text{Total Actions}$$

$$\text{DETOX} = \text{DETOX} / \text{Total Actions.}$$

The ambivalent status of the protective custody disposition is reflected in its different treatment under the two forms of the institutional dependent variable, APPROVE1 and APPROVE2.

1. Organizational Variable.

- a. ORGANIZATION. This is a grouped variable (indicator) composed of PRIORITY and TRAINING.

We would hypothesize that agreement would result in more ACTION, APPROVE 1 & 2 and DETOX behavior. No statistically significant relationship was found citywide. There was, however, a significant relationship found in the 3rd district with DETOX and in the 9th district with ACT, although significance in the latter is marginal.

8th District

ORGAN X ACT	-0.2272
	S=0.053

3rd District

ORGAN X DETOX	-0.2083
	S=0.031

While the hypothesized relationship is confirmed in these two instances, neither correlation is very impressive, and no reasons are readily available as to why the relationships would be found in these districts. It might be noted that the 8th district generally is characterized by non-action. If action is taken, it generally is informal. Detox admission and arrests rates have been very low. It is interesting to note that there was a positive correlation with APPROVE1 and 2 (not significant). The fact that officers in the 8th district responding to organizational priorities take action but not approved actions might be expected.

2. Role Variance.

- a. ROLE. This is a grouped variable composed of SOCWORK and APPROP. A significant relationship was found in the 4th district with APPROVE2. However, no statement is meaningful since officers agreeing with SOCWORK would be expected to pick up less public inebriates while officers agreeing with APPROP would be expected to pick up more public inebriates.

- b. CYNIC. This is a grouped variable consisting of VETWASTE (see below) and IDEAL. While not strictly a role variable, it might be considered here. Officers who agree with this variable would be expected to take less action (positive correlation). This is confirmed only in the 4th district. The reality of the drunkenness problem to 4th district officers, coupled with the very negative attitudes towards the task of picking up public inebriates in the MPD, might explain his relationship.

	<u>4th District</u>
CYNIC X ACT	0.2135 S=0.037

3. Peer Variable.

- a. VETWASTE. We would expect officers who agree would take less actions. (positive relationship) No significant relationship was found citywide or by district.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
VETWASTE	0.0303	-0.0107	0.1265	0.1525	-0.1967
X ACT	S=0.313	S=0.465	S=0.133	S=0.127	S=0.047

- b. BUDDIES. We would expect officers who disagree would take significantly less actions, less approved actions and take less to Detox (negative correlation). No citywide relationships were found. However all four hypotheses were confirmed in the 8th district. The hypothesized relationship with approved behavior (APPROVE1 & 2) was also confirmed in the 3rd district.

	<u>District 8</u>	<u>District 3</u>
BUDDIES X ACT	-0.2342 S=0.047	N/S
BUDDIES X APP1	-0.4211 S=0.001	-0.2797 S=0.006
BUDDIES X APP2	-0.3912 S=0.002	-0.2836 S=0.005
BUDDIES X DETOX	-0.2401 S=0.043	N/S

Apparently officers in the 8th district react to the attitudes of their fellow officers regarding public drunkenness. Why this is true of officers in the 8th district and to some extent in the 3rd district and not other districts is not apparent.

- c. PARIMP. We would hypothesize that officers who tend to agree will take action to a significantly greater degree (negative correlation). While the correlations are all negative in direction as expected, this hypothesis was confirmed only in the 8th district. Again, why the peer variable is important in this district is not apparent.

8th District

PARIMP X ACT

-0.2490
S=0.038

4. Strategic Environment Variable

a. Therapeutic Facilities.

(1) FARAWAY. It is hypothesized that officers who agree will take less DETOX action (positive correlation). This was not confirmed citywide or for any district. A positive relationship with APP2 was found in the 9th district. No reason suggests itself.

9th District

FARAWAY X APP2

0.2888
S=0.014

b. Perceptions of Inebriate.

(1) MUGGING. It is hypothesized that officers who agree will tend to ACT to a significantly greater extent (negative correlation). No significant relationships were found.

(2) WEATHER. It is hypothesized that officers who agree will tend to ACT to a significantly greater extent. (negative correlation) It might also be hypothesized that the action will take the form of taking to Detox where proper care would be available -- this is a caring attitude (negative correlation).

A negative correlation is found citywide with high significance levels for both ACT and DETOX, but the strength of the correlation is too low. The expected relation with DETOX is found in the 9th district. But in the 3rd district WEATHER correlates with all behaviors other than DETOX. We have no explanations for the district variations.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>9th District</u>	<u>3d District</u>
WEATHER X ACT	-0.1472 S=.009	N/S	-0.2182 S=0.025
WEATHER X APP1	N/S	N/S	-0.3402 S=0.001
WEATHER X APP2	N/S	N/S	-0.2777 S=0.006
WEATHER X DETOX	-0.1932 S=.001	-0.2288 S=0.042	N/S

(3) IMMOBILE. It is hypothesized that agreement will correlate with ACT (a negative correlation). Again, the caring attitude might be expected to produce greater DETOX behavior (negative correlation). No relationship was found.

(4) MEDICAL. It is hypothesized that agreement will correlate with higher ACT and with use of DETOX (negative correlations). No relationship was found.

[NOTE: While the above single indicators did not prove especially useful, the grouped variables reflecting these and similar indicators did produce more significant results.]

(5) CONCERN. This is a grouped variable consisting of PROPCARE and EFFECTIVE.

It is expected that agreement would produce more ACTION, more approved (institutional) action, i.e., APP1 & 2, and more DETOX behavior (all negative correlations).

The hypotheses for APP1 & 2 and DETOX but not ACT were confirmed citywide.

All four hypotheses were confirmed in the 4th district where the problem of drunkenness is greatest. In the 8th district all but the ACT hypothesis was confirmed. In the 3rd district, the APP1 & 2 were confirmed but not the ACT or DETOX. In the 9th district, only DETOX was confirmed. Given the negative attitude of the St. Louis MPD indicated in the attitudinal analysis above, the reasons for the low pickup rate in St. Louis become evident..

The use of approved actions in the 3rd district seems consistent with their response to the organizational pressure. The fact that the target population is blue collar would explain the non-significance of DETOX but for the fact that DETOX was the response of those reacting to ORGANIZATION. We have no explanation for the mode of response in districts 8 and 9.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
CONCERN		-0.2213			
X ACT	N/S	S=0.032	N/S	N/S	N/S
CONCERN	-0.2087	-0.2983	-0.2890		-0.3500
X APP1	S=0.001	S=0.006	S=0.004	N/S	S=0.005
CONCERN	-0.1927	-0.2364	-0.2062		-0.3241
X APP2	S=0.0002	S=0.024	S=0.032	N/S	S=0.010
CONCERN	-0.2388	-0.2324		-0.2312	-0.3683
X DETOX	S=0.001	S=0.026	N/S	S=0.04	S=0.004

(6) DISTASTE. This is a grouped variable consisting of BUDDIES and MESSY. While this yielded significant results in the 8th district, it is unusable since the questions run in different directions.

(7) SITSPEF. This is a grouped variable consisting of WELLDRESS and BELLIG. Whether these are compatible depends on expectations regarding BELLIG. We would expect WELLDRESS to produce a positive correlation with APPROVE1 & 2 (if you believe that well-dressed persons don't need police assistance you will take less institutional action). If officers agree that most public inebriates are not belligerent towards the police, would this produce more or less action and what form would the action take? On the assumption that officers who agree would be less likely to arrest, we would posit a positive correlation with APPE1 & 2.

Significant negative correlations were produced in the 8th and 3rd districts. No explanation presents itself. These indicators seem incompatible.

5. Strategic Interaction Variable

- a. GROUPS. This is a grouped variable consisting of BUSINESS, GENPUB and POLITICO. Officers who agree that these groups want increased pickup would be more likely to ACT more. (negative correlations).

No citywide relationship was found. The hypothesized relationship with action was found in district 4. Since this is the central business and tourist district, the main city entertainment and sports sector and the locus of government offices, this is expected. It was not found in any other district.

4th District

GROUPS X ACT

-0.2517

S=0.017

- b. ALCH. A grouped variable consisting of DETOXII and AAETC produced no significant relationships.

6. Situation Specific Variable

- a. WINO. A significant citywide relationship was found between the number of winos and ACT and DETOX. A positive relationship for ACT indicates that the greater the number of winos the less the amount of action taken. Further, the negative relation in the case of DETOX indicates that the more winos encountered in the district, the greater the number taken to DETOX.

The lack of action of the police when encountering skid row type inebriates is consistent with what we have generally found. Even informal action is taken only when a situation must be corrected.

The relation with DETOX behavior is not surprising since it confirms that DETOX is seen primarily as a place for winos, not other type public inebriates.

	<u>Citywide</u>
WINO X ACT	.2221 S=.001
WINO X DETOX	-.2724 S=.001

- b. CLASS. A significant relation appeared between the relative wealth of the officer's area and ACT. The relationship is negative indicating that the poorer the residences in the officer's patrol area the less the officer takes action; the wealthier the residences in the area, the more the officer takes some action. This again suggests the availability of informal forms of disposition for removing public inebriates from inappropriate areas. In low income areas, the street inebriate is tolerated; no action is taken.

	<u>Citywide</u>
CLASS X ACT	-.2956 S=.001

7. Background Variables.

No citywide relationships were found. However, relationships were found between background variables and APPL & 2 in the 4th and 9th districts.

- a. STLTIME. In the 9th district, the longer the time spent on the force, the more appropriate actions are taken.

	<u>9th District</u>
STLTIME X APP1	0.3246 S=0.006
STLTIME X APP2	0.2375 S=0.036

- b. AGE. The older the officers, the more approved action taken. This is somewhat contrary to the view that rookies are the most active in intervening with public inebriates.

	<u>4th District</u>	<u>9th District</u>
AGE X APP1	0.2609 S=0.014	0.2628 S=0.023
AGE X APP2	N/S	0.2203 S=0.048

- c. EDUC. The more educated the officer, the less approved action (APP1) taken in the 4th district.

	<u>4th District</u>
EDUC X APP1	-0.2265 S=0.029

No explanation of these inter-district differences presents itself.

7. Conclusion

At the outset, we expressed our lack of expectations for meaningful results from the attempts to find correlations between attitude and behavior given the subjective measure used in the questionnaire for behavior. This perception proved true for St. Louis. In only two instances have notable citywide relationships been found. Both, however, are notable.

The relationship between CONCERN and approved behaviors indicates the importance of motivation. Further, it suggests reasons for the low level of approved actions in St. Louis given the generally negative attitudes of the police officers towards the public inebriate. The relevance of the number of WINOS in the district to behavior tends to confirm our expectation that different forms of dispositional behavior will be afforded skid row type inebriates and other type public inebriates.

Numerous intra-jurisdictional relationships have been found but the reasons for particular districts to differ are seldom available. Only in the case of the 4th district, where the problem of public drunkenness is an ever present reality, and where tourism and business are concentrated, are the relationships readily understandable.

Richmond, Virginia

I. BACKGROUND

A. The City

Richmond is an old city and, although there are wealthy sections, a poor one. In the last 2-5 years a slow trend toward the restoration of homes by white middle class families has begun, primarily on the east side. A wealthy pocket of homes also exists within the city in the west end past the university area. The rest of the city is predominantly poor to low middle class.

While drunks can be found throughout the city, skid row is clearly the Broad Street strip, particularly below 10th Street. In this area there are bus stations, pornographic movies and book stores, massage parlors, and stores that sell wine and beer. Farther up Broad Street one finds the Salvation Army Headquarters. North of the area are warehouses, to the south is the James River, more warehouses, and the farmer's market. This area remains largely untouched by urban renewal.

The age and dilapidated condition of many of the dwellings in the city help to perpetuate skid row and to make downtown Richmond a haven for derelicts.

Table 1

"Age of Dwellings in Richmond Virginia"^a

Year Built	Percent of Total Buildings in City	Graduated Percent
1969-1970	.02%	02%
1965-1968	.09%	11%
1960-1964	.10%	21%
1950-1959	.17%	38%
1940-1949	.16%	54%
1939 or older	.45%	100%

a. Based on 1970 Census of Population and Housing: Richmond SMSA, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1972.

The relative decay of the inner city is matched by the relative poverty of its residents. While the Richmond SMSA is 25% Black, the racial composition of downtown Richmond is 42% Black according to the 1970 census. 24% of the city is made up of families making under \$5,000 per year. The 1970 mean income was \$10,620. 4,428 families, or 7% of the total of 61,706 families in the city received welfare assistance in 1970. The mean for such assistance was \$1,367 per year -- 13.3% of the families in the area had 1970 income below the poverty level. The poverty in Richmond is generally concentrated in the Broad Street strip and the near south side of the city.

It has been estimated that Richmond, with a 1970 population of 249,621 has somewhere in the neighborhood of 10,000 alcoholics. (See "We Will Teach People to Drink Responsibly" The Richmond Chronicle, July 31, 1972.)

B. The Legal Context

The public inebriate in Richmond is prosecuted under Virginia state law. This means that the state provides funds for jailing the public inebriate and receives all of the fines collected on the charge. Several years ago experimentally drunks were arrested under a local Richmond disturbing the peace -- public nuisance ordinance so that the city could receive the revenue from the fines. It was found, however, that the court costs and jail costs the city thereby incurred outweighed the revenues received. As a result drunks continued to be arrested under the state code.

Pinpointing the state law on public inebriation in Richmond is difficult, however, since we studied the city during a time period within which the law was in flux.

When we initially visited Richmond in spring of 1975 §18.1-237 of the Virginia Code defined the crime of drunkenness and profane swearing. Under that statute the public inebriate could be fined \$1.00 to \$25.00 and since the crime was a misdemeanor any jail sentence was within the discretion of the trial judge to impose. Chronic alcoholism has been held to not constitute a defense under

this statute (See *Rakes v. Coleman*, 359 F. Supp. 370 (E.D. Va. 1973)). A 1966 law had allowed the judge the option of either sentencing the public inebriate or committing him to a mental health facility (he could not do both, as affirmed by a suit in which Thomas H. "Mickey" Finn, the Richmond town drunk, was the plaintiff. see newspaper file 16 Aug. 66), but the application of this option to public inebriates was eliminated by the legislature in 1971. (See Va. Code Ann. §18.1-200 (Supp. 1971)).

During the summer of 1975 a bill to decriminalize public inebriation was passed by the Virginia legislature. It was vetoed by Governor Mills Godwin because there had not been enough study of the problem of implementation. This period of focusing on the possibility of decriminalizing occurred during our summer visits to Richmond.

Our interviews and research were largely finished in Richmond in late October and November. As of October 1, 1975, a new bill took effect that seems to be a step toward decriminalization while not embracing that approach fully. The current law reads as follows:

§18.2-388 Profane Swearing and Drunkenness

If any person profanely curse or swear or be drunk in public he shall be guilty of a class 4 misdemeanor.

If any person shall be convicted for being drunk in public three times within one year in this state, upon the third or any subsequent conviction for such offense within the period of one year such person shall be guilty of a class 3 misdemeanor.

Class 4 misdemeanors are new as of 1975. Under them no jail term may be given -- only a fine of less than \$100. Some imprisonment is allowed under class 3 misdemeanors but, due to a misprint in the Virginia Code, it can't be determined how much. The habitual drunkenness exception that elevates the crime to a class 3 misdemeanor is rarely used since it is now undergoing court challenge on constitutional grounds. As a result, since October 1, 1975 the option of imprisoning public inebriates in Virginia has all but disappeared. The public inebriates are locked up overnight, fined in court, and if they can't pay the fine a payment schedule is worked out. If the fine is not paid the public inebriate can be charged with contempt which carries maximum penalties of \$50 and/or 10 days. (See Va. Code Ann. §18.2-458 (1975)).

The present system is too new to predict how the courts will react, but preliminarily it seems that contempt (infra.), trespass (Va. Code Ann. §18.2-119 et. seq. (1975)), and disorderly conduct (Va. Code Ann. §18.2-415 (1975)) are used as the means to imprison public inebriates where the police and/or courts want to short circuit the system. The crimes of trespass and disorderly conduct are both class 1 misdemeanors that carry sentences of up to 12 months in jail and/or up to \$1000 in fines (Va. Code Ann. §18.2-11 (1975)).

In early interviews police officers tended to indicate that all public inebriates should be arrested and that the only constraint on this would be presence of more important calls or space in lockup.

However, officers interviewed under the new law tended to indicate that public inebriates should only be arrested when they constituted a threat to themselves or to others.

C. The Actors

Richmond is typical of most criminal jurisdictions in that the principal actors involved with the public inebriate are the police and the judiciary.

The Richmond police force increased 26% in size between 1963 and 1973 and during that same period the budget increased 88% (Richmond Bureau of Police: A Comprehensive Organizational and Operational Analysis of the Bureau, Cresap, McCormick and Paget, Inc., 1973). On a typical night shift, when most public inebriates are picked up, 93 uniformed officers are deployed. Of these, 25 man the basic patrol beats and answer most complaints. There are 24 patrol beats, and 5 walking beats as well as several transport wagons. The 24 patrol beats are dispatched from one of two headquarters: Central Headquarters and Southside. The walking-scooter beats are dispatched by a trailer headquarters. Generally all squad cars are staffed by one officer.

The walking patrol officers generally patrol Broad Street and come into contact with the most public inebriates. To make an arrest these officers must first call for a transport vehicle.

The total force in Richmond is divided into four platoons,

(A, B, C, and D) which cover three eight hour shifts and one off-shift of 8 hours. Thus in any given day 3/4 of the force works a shift. Each platoon has its own command hierarchy. The colonels in charge of each platoon are generally seasoned veterans approaching retirement age.

The judge who handles the public inebriate in Richmond is Judge Maurice of the Police Court. Five days a week Police Court convenes in the early morning. Drunk cases are heard last, usually at about eleven o'clock.

D. The Practical Context

Open ended questions in the Richmond patrolmen interviews seem to indicate that officers, particularly under the present Virginia law, do not pick up a majority of the public inebriates that they come in contact with. Those that are picked up are taken to police lockup and appear the next day before Judge Maurice. The first time a public inebriate is arrested he is let off. For subsequent arrests it is rumored that the magistrate is given much of the power of the prosecutor -- he may drop charges on the individual and Judge Maurice will respect his decision. This appears to be an informal arrangement.

Of those drunks who appear before the Judge with charges intact the Judge is likely to release them to the care of the Volunteers of America, a rehabilitation-boarding house organization, if a representative of that organization appears in court that day.

Apparently the decision of whether or not to send a representative to pick up the public inebriates at court is made by the Volunteers of America based upon their available space and the number of public inebriates who will go before Judge Maurice that day.

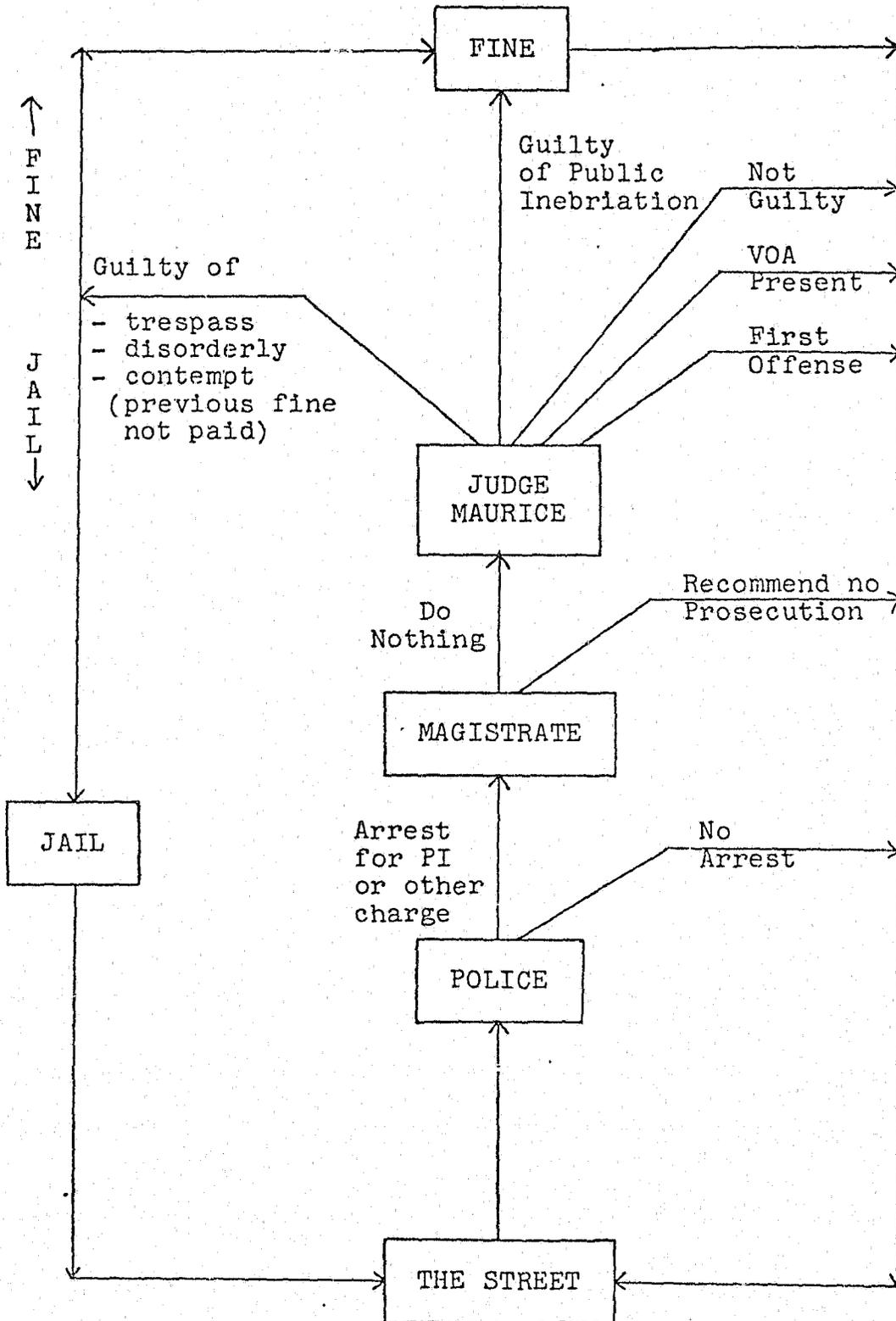
If the representative does not appear Judge Maurice is likely to either sentence the public inebriates or let them go depending, apparently, on his mood. Under the new fine system we are not certain how many public inebriates are assessed the fine and how many are just returned to the streets.

The public prosecutor enters the scene only for cases with larger ramifications such as the "Slaughter Case" (involving a drunk who lost 9 fingers due to frostbite and medical neglect). Diagram 1 is a simplified model of the system.

E. Administering the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was administered at every roll call over a twenty-four hour period in spring of 1975. Introductions were made by the roll call sergeant and our staff briefly explained the questionnaire and passed it out to the officers present. Due to the short time allotted for roll call and to departmental policy, the officers were not allowed to fill out the questionnaire at the roll call but were requested to work on the questionnaire during their eight hour shift. Our staff re-collected the questionnaires at the end of the shift. Roughly 60% of the questionnaires distributed, or 75 total, were filled out by the officers as requested.

Diagram 1



II. QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

A. ATTITUDINAL ANALYSIS

Because of its relatively small size Richmond is not divided into police districts. Therefore, all statistics for the city are presented on a city-wide basis only.

1. Organizational Variable

- a. CONFORMS. No significant difference was hypothesized between therapeutic and criminal jurisdictions on this variable. Richmond did agree strongly with the question and its agreement, like that of Houston, differed significantly from either St. Louis or Washington.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.75	2.44	2.35
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.62 S=.01	Z=3.23 S=.01

- b. PRIORITY. We hypothesized general disagreement with this question since a generally low priority is placed on the pickup of public inebriates.

There were no significant differences between the answers of any of the cities on this question and Richmond did tend to disagree as hypothesized.

	<u>City-wide</u>
\bar{X} score	3.55

- c. TRAINING. Since training methods vary greatly city by city, we hypothesized that answers to this question would also vary by city. Since drunkenness is a crime in Virginia we hypothesized more agreement with the question

there. Richmond did tend to agree with the question slightly, although not as much as did Houston.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.37	2.82	3.91
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.53 S=.02	Z=2.18 S=.03

2. Role Variables

- a. SOCWORK. Since public inebriation is a crime in Virginia we hypothesized that the police officer in Richmond would not view the removal of drunks as nothing but social work. The Richmond results are in line with that hypothesis. In fact, Richmond disagreed with the question more than any other city tested.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.08	3.21	3.46
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.70 S=.01	Z=2.32 S=.02

- b. APPROP. Again, since drunkenness is a crime in Richmond we hypothesized high agreement with this question there. Richmond did, in fact, agree with the question significantly more than did Minneapolis, Washington, and St. Louis.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.23	3.23	3.35	3.39
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.26 S=.01	Z=4.09 S=.01	Z=2.96 S=.01

- c. SERVICES. General disagreement was hypothesized with this question. Richmond did generally disagree with it and was not significantly different from any of the other jurisdictions that were tested.

City-wide

\bar{X} score 3.22

3. Peer Variable

- a. VETWASTE. General agreement was hypothesized on this question with more disagreement in criminal jurisdictions. In actuality there was a significant difference only between Richmond and Houston which makes it difficult under the hypothesis to view these two criminal cities as analogous on this question. Both, however, had high scores.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.67	4.16
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=1.94 S=.05

- b. BUDDIES. Agreement was hypothesized with this question in the criminal cities and disagreement in the therapeutic ones. This is borne out by Richmond's mean of 2.56. Richmond's responses were not significantly different from those of Houston, but they were different from those of every therapeutic jurisdiction.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.56	4.20	3.58	3.51
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=6.93 S=.01	Z=3.85 S=.01	Z=4.14 s=.01

Based on Richmond's data this hypothesis is strongly confirmed.

- c. PARTIMP. It was hypothesized that criminal jurisdictions would generally agree with this question more than would therapeutic jurisdictions. Richmond agreed with the question more than did any other city which tends to bear this out. As a general caveat, however, it must be borne in mind that virtually no one in Richmond rides with a partner and yet 39 out of 74 officers answered the question.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.71	3.56	3.41
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.40 S=.02	Z=1.99 S=.05

4. Strategic Environment Variable

a. General

(1) TOURIST. It was hypothesized that this question would break on factors other than the criminal/therapeutic dichotomy, and it has. Richmond and Washington tended to disagree with the question more than did the other cities.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.47	2.66	2.58
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.15 S=.01	Z=3.52 S=.01

(2) SERIOUS. We expected general agreement in all jurisdictions with more agreement in therapeutic cities since there drunkenness was not defined in criminal terms. Richmond, however, agreed with the question more than did any other city. For some reason officers in Richmond are more apt to view public intoxication as a very serious health problem.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.71	2.58	2.38
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.26 S=.01	Z=2.46 S=.02

b. Therapeutic/Criminal Facilities

(1) QUICKLY. We hypothesized general agreement with this statement in all cities. Richmond officers did agree that the criminal justice system returns the public inebriate to the street too quickly. Only Washington agreed with the question more.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.71	2.25
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.07 S=.04

c. Perception of Inebriates

(1) THREAT. We hypothesized general agreement across the board on this question. Richmond's mean of 3.08 showed more agreement with the question than any other city but was significantly different from only St. Louis and Houston.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.08	3.75	3.68
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.49 S=.02	Z=2.36 S=.03

(2) BELLIGERENT. We hypothesized general disagreement on this question. Richmond agreed with the question more than any other city tested. Its agreement was significantly greater than Houston, Minneapolis and St. Louis.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.51	4.35	4.41	4.27
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.18 S=.01	Z=3.74 S=.01	Z=2.98 S=.01

There was no significant difference from Washington's mean of 3.69.

(3) MESSY. We hypothesized high agreement in all cities. Richmond shows the lowest agreement of any city but still tends toward a high agreement average of 2.37. Richmond's agreement was significantly lower than in St. Louis, Houston, or Washington.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.37	1.85	1.93	1.96
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.52 S=.02	Z=2.14 S=.03	Z=3.09 S=.01

(4) WELLDRESS/POORDRESS. We hypothesized general agreement in all cities with these questions. While we suspected that the well dressed public inebriate is actually treated differently than the poorly dressed one, we hypothesized that officers would either view their treatment of all public inebriates as the same or at least answer as though they treated all public inebriates the same. Due to the reverse coding, then, a high score in WELLDRESS should correspond to a low score in POORDRESS. This was in fact the case in Richmond.

<u>WELLDRESS</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.31	4.86	N/S
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.30 S=.03	

<u>POORDRESS</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.70		3.19
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.15 S=.04

Other than the cities shown above, Richmond did not differ significantly from the other cities tested.

(5) BOTHER. We hypothesized high agreement across the board. Richmond agreed more than any other city, and agreed significantly more than St. Louis and Washington.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.57	2.19	2.48
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.32 S=.01	Z=6.21 S=.01

(6) MUGGING. We hypothesized that officers in criminal jurisdictions would be more inclined to agree that the public inebriate is a potential victim of a mugging since there the police officer is more inclined to view an arrest of a public inebriate as part of his job. The threat of mugging then, is given as a reason to arrest the public inebriate. Richmond did agree with this question more than did any other city.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.35	2.47	2.67	2.07	2.72
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=7.79 S=.01	Z=7.18 S=.01	Z=5.10 S=.01	Z=5.22 S=.01

The strength of these correlations may well indicate that actually a public inebriate is more vulnerable to mugging in Richmond than in any of our other cities.

(7) WEATHER. We hypothesized again that criminal jurisdictions would be more inclined to agree with this statement since it supported their intervention with the public inebriate. Richmond differed only from St. Louis.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.32	3.45
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=5.48 S=.01

(8) IMMOBILE. We hypothesized stronger agreement in the criminal cities than the non-criminal ones on the same rationale as MUGGING and WEATHER. This is borne out by the Richmond mean of 2.74 showing more agreement than any other city. Richmond, however, was statistically significantly different from Houston, our other criminal city.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.74	3.81	3.62	3.30
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.42 S=.01	Z=4.03 S=.01	Z=2.59 S=.01

(9) MEDICAL. We hypothesized general slight disagreement on this question with results not breaking on the criminal therapeutic dichotomy. Richmond is in line with a mean score of 3.35. Richmond was significantly different from Washington only on this question.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.35	3.86
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.00 S=.05

(10) PROPCARE. It might have been expected that therapeutic jurisdictions would agree with this question more than would criminal jurisdictions. In fact, Richmond agrees with a much higher mean than do any of the other cities. If the Richmond police view arrest as giving the public inebriate proper care it could explain this situation. Regardless, officers in Richmond clearly demonstrate in their answers to the questionnaire a greater agreement with this question than in any of our other cities.

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.93	3.36	2.60	2.94	3.07
Sig. of Difference	--				

5. Strategic Interaction Variables

We hypothesized BUSINESS would be the most important factor in all cities, with GENPUB second and POLITICO, CRTPRSNL, and LIQUOR low. AAETC should be in the middle. DRUNKS, we hypothesized, would be at the bottom.

Richmond Statistics:

BUSINESS	2.21
GENPUB	2.28
POLITICO	2.67
AAETC	3.14
LIQUOR	3.43
CRTPRSNL	3.53
DRUNKS	4.64

As can be seen, although the scores are close, Richmond exactly fit out hypothesized ranking.

In comparing Richmond's scores with other cities on significant others there is only one significant difference, on BUSINESS:

	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.21	2.74
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.46 S=.02

B. CORRELATION ANALYSIS

The breakdown of the dependent variable for Richmond is as follows:

ACTION = ARREST, ARROTH, HOSPITAL, HOME1, HOME2, MOVEON

APPROVED = ARREST, ARROTH, HOSPITAL

1. Criminal Justice Group Variable.

This variable is composed of CRTPER, COROFF, PUBPROS.

We hypothesized that an officer who perceives that members of the criminal justice system want public inebriates removed from the streets will tend to take more action and more approved action. This general hypothesis would have been proven if an inverse relationship occurred since all three of the variables making up the group variable were reverse coded (i.e., 1=agree a lot, 6=disagree a lot).

	<u>ACT</u>	<u>APPROVED ACT</u>
Correlation	.2013	.0861
Significance	.043	.233

What this information shows is that there is at least some indication, albeit a weak one, of a direct relationship between the variable and taking any act. Those officers who

agree that members of the criminal justice group want increased intervention with public inebriates are less likely to act when a public inebriate is encountered. Thus, there is some evidence that the above hypothesis is disproven if we accept the correlation and significance levels obtained. An alternative hypothesis might be that there is at least some degree of resentment that police feel in Richmond toward non-police personnel telling officers how to perform their job. There is indication in the open-ended questions administered in interviews with officers in Richmond, that the police there view themselves somewhat as isolated professionals -- they act on what they think is correct, not on what others tell them is correct.

2. Business Groups Variable.

This variable is composed of BUSINESS and MERCH.

We hypothesized that an officer who perceives that members of the business community want public inebriates removed from the streets would respond to this perception by taking more action and more approved action when a public inebriate is encountered. This situation would, again, be proven by an inverse relationship because of reverse coding.

	<u>ACT</u>	<u>APPROVED ACT</u>
Correlation	.2912	.3147
Significance	.006	.003

Again, the finding of direct relationships disproves the above hypothesis. The indication is that those who agree that the business community wants increased effort to intervene with public inebriates in fact take both significantly fewer acts and significantly fewer approved acts. This is consistent with the results in CJGROUPS above. The alternative hypothesis would again be that there is a resentment toward pressure of significant others by the officer and he responds negatively toward their attempts to influence him.

3. Humanitarian Variable.

This variable is composed of SERVICES and PROPCARE.

We hypothesized that an officer who defines his role in humanitarian terms will be more inclined to take some kind of action upon encountering a public inebriate but less inclined to take the approved action since he might not view the situation as one that called for the intervention of the criminal justice system. This situation would have been proven if an inverse relationship had been found.

	<u>ACT</u>	<u>APPROVED ACT</u>
Correlation	.2765	.3045
Significance	.009	.004

It is difficult to explain these results. It could be said that the officers who perceive their role in humanitarian terms do not view the criminal justice system as a humanitarian alternative. But while this helps to explain the APPROVED ACTS results, it doesn't explain the ACT results. It was expected that a concerned officer would take some sort of action. This might indicate that none of the actions open to an officer are viewed as humanitarian and he therefore does nothing.

Alternatively, a more complex hypothesis might be that it is easier to be humanitarian in neighborhoods that have no public inebriates and hence those officers who deal with public inebriates and are forced to intervene with them tend to eventually view their job in less humanitarian terms since they are the ones who must handle messy drunks daily, and they are the ones who see the revolving door in action. The result of this hypothesis would be that officers who define their jobs in humanitarian terms never come into contact with significant numbers of public inebriates.

4. Age Variable.

This is a single variable composed only of AGE.

We hypothesized that younger officers would be more inclined to intervene with public inebriates and older, therefore more cynical, officers would be less inclined to intervene but perhaps more inclined toward disapproved action. This would be proven by an inverse relationship for both ACT and APPROVED.

	<u>ACT</u>	<u>APPROVED ACT</u>
Correlation	-.0200	-.199
Significance	.433	.044

No correlation is found for ACT so generally the hypothesis that younger officers will intervene more cannot be sustained.

The correlation for APPROVED is so low that probably nothing can be said in regards to older officers being less inclined to take approved actions than younger officers, however, the direction is correct and that alone is a first for Richmond!

5. Education Variable.

This is a single variable composed only of EDUCATION.

We hypothesized that the higher the level of education attained by an officer, the more that officer will be able to evaluate the system he works in and respond to its needs whether or not such response constitutes approved action. Hence ACT should correlate with education. APPROVED should also correlate, but not as strongly since the highly educated officer will be more inclined to take action he feels is right as opposed to action the system dictates. This hypothesis would be proven by direct correlations.

	<u>ACT</u>	<u>APPROVED ACT</u>
Correlation	.5138	.3527
Significance	.001	.001

The hypothesis that high education is correlated to high intervention is proven. The highly educated officer does respond to the problem of public inebriation. There is also a correlation between level of education and approved action, but it is not as strong which seems to indicate that disapproved action is also being taken when the situation dictates.

6. Time on Force Variable.

This is a single variable composed only of TIME ON FORCE.

We hypothesized that the longer an officer has served in the Bureau, the less he will be inclined to intervene with public inebriates. When he does intervene he will be more inclined to use disapproved acts. This would be proven with an inverse correlation for ACT and an inverse correlation for APPROVED.

	<u>ACT</u>	<u>APPROVED ACT</u>
Correlation	.1990	.0508
Significance	.046	.335

APPROVED does not correlate at all, and ACT correlates so low that it probably is not useful. However, ACT does run in the wrong direction which tends to show some evidence of relationship between time on the force and action taken that would refute the above hypothesis.

7. Wino Variable.

This is a single variable composed of WINO.

We hypothesized that the more winos/vagrants that the officer sees the more he will intervene. This hypothesis would be proven by an inverse relationship since WINO is reverse loaded.

	<u>ACT</u>	<u>APPROVED ACT</u>
Correlation	-.338	-.417
Significance	.006	.001

There is strong evidence to accept the hypothesis. Further, sincere officers encountering winos tend to take action this tends to support the second conclusion offered for the HUMANITARIAN results above. If many arrests are made in areas with high populations of winos it may be that these areas are not patrolled by officers who define their roles in humanitarian terms.

C. SUMMARY OF THE CITY IN PERSPECTIVE

Richmond is a difficult city to categorize. More than any of the other cities, its officers feel that the police are the appropriate agency to remove public inebriates from the streets. The officers disagree more than any other city that such a job makes them too much of a social worker. They agree that a good officer's conduct closely conforms to that wanted by the Department, but are unreceptive to outside pressure from the criminal justice system and the business community even when they recognize the presence of such pressure. More than any of the other cities they agree that alcoholism is a serious health problem, yet those officers who define their roles in humanitarian terms are less likely to intervene with public inebriates.

Perhaps the Richmond force can only be categorized in non-categorical terms. The Richmond officer is a maverick. He views himself as a professional who should evaluate a situation and do what he believes is right regardless, often, of the pressures from the community. He is susceptible to pressure from the Bureau -- it is composed of fellow mavericks and he is a member of the clan.

Houston, Texas

I. BACKGROUND

A. The City

Houston, the state's largest and the nation's fifth-largest city, had a 1970 population of 1,232,801. Houston is located in Harris County which had a population of 1,741,912 in 1970. The city grew more than 30 percent during the 1960's while many of the nation's large central cities were noting decreases. It has been described as America's fastest growing metropolis. Houston's estimated population for 1974 is 1,440,850, a 17 percent increase from 1970. It is a city of approximately 501.02 square miles, a fact that has led to a decentralized organizational structure for the police department. Metropolitan Houston, which includes six counties, has a current population of approximately 2.4 million, and is estimated to reach 3.4 million residents within a decade.

Houston is characterized by relatively dense population and population diversity, with high minority and youth population. Population density is currently 1,165 persons per square mile. Minority group members constitute about a third of the city's population -- 20 percent black and 12 percent Mexican American. Thirty-seven percent of Houston's residents are less than age twenty.

At the heart of Houston's growing and generally healthy economy is the energy business -- oil, gas and petrochemicals. The space industry and medicine also have been leaders of its increasingly diversified economy. Unemployment dipped to 3.7 percent in December, 1974, while the national average rose to 7.1 percent. Houston has no zoning laws. It has the lowest taxes of any major city; Texas has no personal or corporate income tax. It has a work force that is about seventy percent non-union. There is a strong demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labor, including day labor, which has helped attract a sizeable skid row population.

Houston's mild climate also has helped attract transient skid row men (referred to as "snowbirds"), especially during the colder months. Houston's location, 50 miles north of the Gulf of Mexico, has enabled the Port of Houston to become the third largest in the United States. The numerous ships bring transient seamen, who contribute to the non skid row drunkenness arrest rate. The automobile has been a major factor in Houston's growth pattern. Houston lacks a mass transit system found in other large cities. It is a city of automobile commuters. Over 800,000 registered automobiles have made Houston the highest of any major city in automobile fatalities. Driving While Intoxicated (DWI), which is often broken down into a charge of Public Drunkenness, is a major problem. Houston has developed an excellent system of major streets and expressways, which has made low density development feasible.

H-CAP (Harris County Alcoholism Project), using Schmidt and de Lint's¹ revision of the Jellinek formula, estimates that there are 60,720 alcoholics in Harris County, 55,200 of which are Houston residents. Alcoholism rates for Houston, Texas from 1964 to 1973 as determined by deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver are as follows:

<u>Houston Population</u>	<u>Cirrhosis of</u>	<u>Jellinek</u>	<u>Alcoholics</u>
Year (100,000's)	<u>Liver Deaths</u> (w/ Alcohol Complications)	Estimate # of Alcoholic	100,000 pop.
1973	235 (89)*	55,200	4043
1972	209 (71)	43,955	3300
1971	203 (88)	53,346	4225
1970	214 (80)	48,400	3835
1969	251 (123)	74,415	6253
1968	199 (94)	56,870	4903
1967	186 (72)	43,560	3855
1966	157 (67)	40,535	3685
1965	133 (69)	41,745	3901
1964	110 (35)	21,175	2036

Source: Johnson, Larry, Prevalence of Alcoholism in Houston, (1974)
(prepared in mimeograph by H-CAP - Harris County Alcoholism Programming Project, Inc.), Table A1.

* Indicates percent of all cirrhosis deaths attributable to alcoholism.

- Schmidt, Wolfgang and Jan de Lint, "Estimating the Prevalence of Alcoholism from Alcohol Consumption and Mortality Data," 31 Q. J. Stud. Alc. 957-64 (1970).

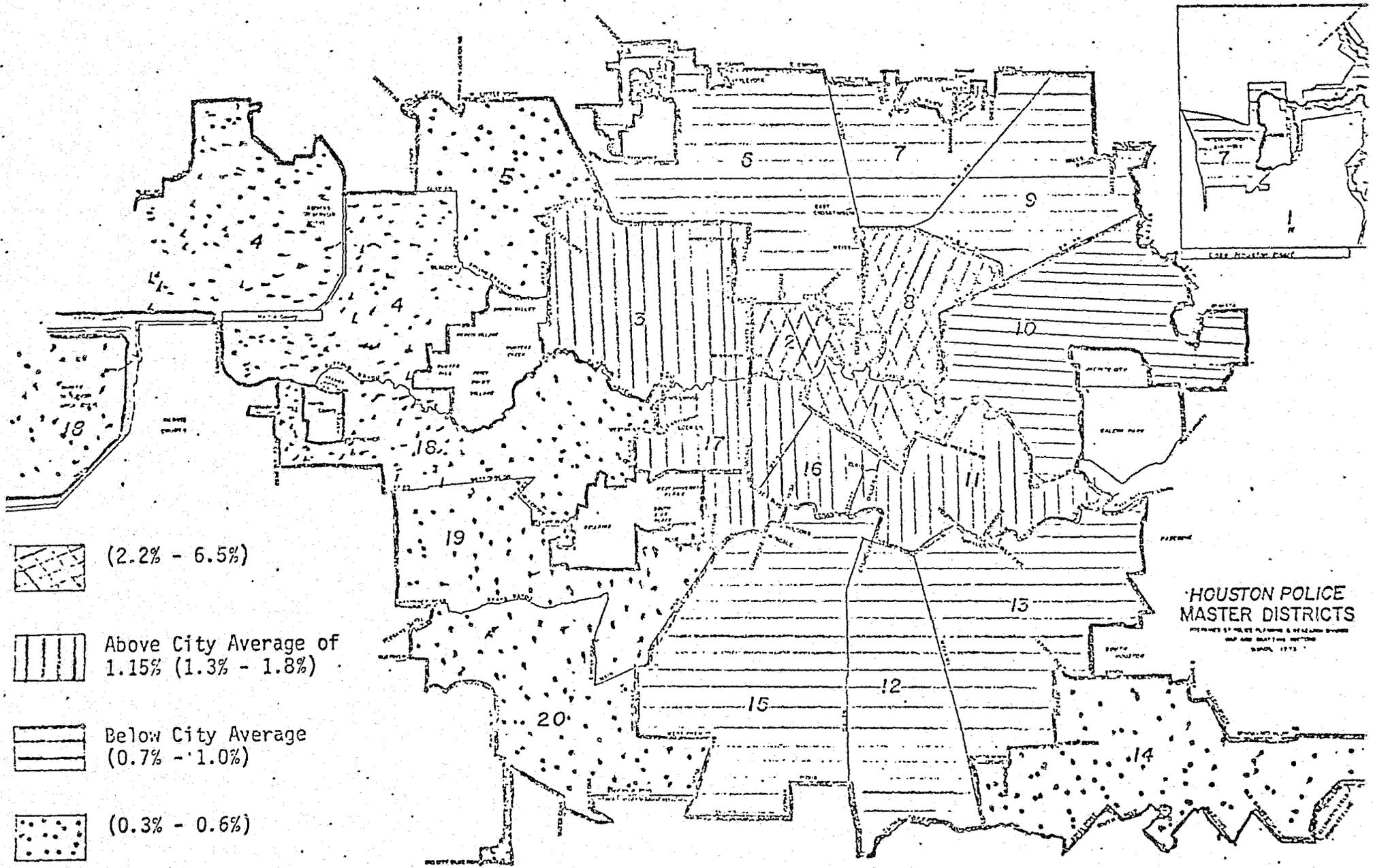
The above table shows a rise in the rate of alcoholism from 2.04 percent in 1964 to 4.04 percent in 1973. This represents an increase in the number of alcoholics in Houston of more than 150 percent; during this time, however, the population of Houston has risen less than 35 percent.

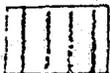
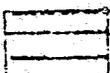
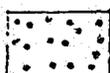
H-CAP has mapped the incidence of deaths due to cirrhosis of the liver by the Houston Police Department's twenty police Master Districts, as shown on the following map. Since this map displays the police organization for patrol, it may also serve as a useful referent in the subsequent discussion and analysis. The current rate of alcoholism is not evenly distributed among Houston's population, the highest rate being 8.34% and the lowest being 1.36%. The rates of alcoholism in each area compared favorably with the rates of arrest for Driving While Intoxicated (Pearson's $r = .71$), and with the arrest rates for Public Drunkenness (Pearson's $r = .72$). A correlation between social area analysis categories which reflect social status ("social status", "age of area," "income" and "unemployment") and arrests for public drunkenness produced a strong degree of negative association between social status and arrests for public drunkenness. There was a stronger negative association between social status and arrest rates than between social status and alcoholism. The H-CAP study concluded from the above-mentioned correlation analysis for Houston that:

These varying degrees of association indicate either the drinking patterns among lower status people bring them into more frequent contact with the police or that the police are more likely to arrest and charge a low status person for a certain action than they are to arrest and charge a high status person for the same action.

CONTINUED

2 OF 3



-  (2.2% - 6.5%)
-  Above City Average of 1.15% (1.3% - 1.8%)
-  Below City Average (0.7% - 1.0%)
-  (0.3% - 0.6%)

MAP B3

Arrest Rates for Drunkenness in Houston, Texas by Police Master Districts

The same alcoholism-arrest pattern that exists in low status areas also exists in areas with high proportions of non-white residents. There is no significant differences in the rates of alcoholism between areas with high and low ethnic indices yet the arrest rates for both driving while intoxicated and drunkenness are significantly higher in the non-white areas.
[H-CAP study, p.3]

B. The Legal Context

The state's public intoxication statute was revised in 1973, replacing a 1925 statute. Section 42.08 of the Texas Penal Code (Vernon's Texas Code Annotated) now provides:

(a) An individual commits an offense if he appears in a public place under the influence of alcohol or any other substance, to the degree that he may endanger himself or another.

(b) A peace officer or magistrate may release from custody an individual arrested under this section if he believes imprisonment is unnecessary for the protection of the individual or others.

(c) It is a defense to prosecution under this section that the alcohol or other substance was administered for therapeutic purposes by a licenced physician.

(d) An offense under this section is a Class C misdemeanor.

The major changes in the 1973 State statute are as follows. The 1973 statute includes intoxication by non-alcoholic substances (section 42.08(a)). The statute allows early release of a publicly intoxicated person from custody (section 42.08(b)). Although this provision does not authorize initial police discretion whether to make an arrest, it has apparently generated some confusion and has been interpreted by

some police officials as also allowing discretion in the making of an arrest. The 1973 statute also narrows "public place" which formerly included the private home of anyone other than the public intoxicant. Section 107(a)(29) of the Penal Code now defines public place as "...any place in which the public has access and includes but is not limited to, streets, highways, and the common areas of schools, hospitals, apartment houses, office buildings, transport facilities and shops."

Class C misdemeanors under Sec. 12.23 of the Texas Penal Code are limited to a fine only which may not exceed \$200.00. However, this provision must be read together with a variety of local Houston municipal ordinances pertaining to public intoxication.

The municipal ordinances apparently authorize commitment to the City Farm for nonpayment of the fine and allow extra credit for model prisoners. Section 35-g, City of Houston, Code of Ordinances (1968) states: "Each prisoner committed to the city jail or to the municipal prison farm for nonpayment of the fine arising out of his conviction of a misdemeanor in the corporation court shall receive a credit against such fine of five dollars (\$5.00) for each day or fraction of a day that he has served." Section 35-9 of the Code of Ordinances allows more comforts and extra credit to model prisoners "provided... that such additional credit shall not exceed in time more than one-half (1/2) day credit on his fine for each day's work." The consequence has been a rate of \$7.50 for a "trusty" (see below).

Another ordinance authorizes public service/public labor for public inebriates and others at the City Prison Farm. This ordinance is the statutory basis for the so-called "trusty" system in Houston. Section 35-6 states that anyone convicted and sent to jail "may be required to labor in the city workhouse, on the city prison farm, on the public streets, on a city rock pile or on any public work or improvement in Harris County....No prisoner shall be required to labor under the provisions of this section after he has tendered in cash the balance of any fine still due the city by him...."

Another local Houston ordinance, Section 4-5, prohibits the consumption of alcoholic beverages in designated public places between the hours of 2:15 AM and 7:00 AM of any weekday, and between the hours of 2:15 AM and 12:00 Noon on any Sunday. According to Section 4-9, anyone violating "any provision of this chapter shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and, upon conviction, shall be punished by a fine as provided in Section 1-7. Section 1-7 states that when an ordinance is violated such violation "shall be punished by a fine of not exceeding two hundred dollars (\$200.00); provided however, that no penalty shall be greater or less than the penalty provided for the same or a similar offense under the laws of the state."

In addition to the above, Section 42.01 of the Penal Code defines the scope and punishment for the offense of disorderly conduct. Also, in 1970 liquor by the drink was legalized in Texas. Other alcohol-related ordinances extensively deal with manufacturing and selling permit regulations.

Presently pending before the Texas legislature is a bill to decriminalize public intoxication. Senator Robert Gammage of Houston, the leader of the fight for decriminalization, introduced it. It was co-sponsored in the House by Rep. Ray Hutchinson. The bill was endorsed by the Governor, Lt. Governor and Speaker. A 1974 survey by the Alcoholism Council of Texas showed that more than two-thirds of the Texas Legislature believed public drunkenness should not be a crime. To assure legislators that the bill was not a wet/dry issue, a prominent Baptist leader was the lead-off witness at the hearings. The bill passed the Senate. It was reported unanimously out of the House Public Health Committee. The bill died in the House in a time crunch when the Chairman of the Scheduling Committee sat on it, reportedly at the urging of a distiller's lobby. Senator Gammage in an interview stated that he would reintroduce the bill in the next session, January, 1977, and predicted eventual passage.

One concern about the bill was the fear raised of a new tax on liquor to pay for public health facilities. Senator Gammage contends the cost of decriminalization can be financed by earmarking existing liquor tax money. He estimates the cost of the program at \$12 million per year. He cited figures of Leonel Castille, City Controller, that the cost of locking up public inebriates in Houston is \$75 per day. Senator Gammage also stated that there are some 2,000 open hospital beds that could be used for public inebriates.

Other concerns involved problems of transportation. A provision in an earlier draft calling for a non police pickup mechanism was dropped because of its cost and arguments by police departments that all confrontations with public inebriates are potentially explosive. An interview with Mr. Ted Reed, Director of the Licensed Beverage Distributors, Inc. (the lobbying group that quietly but effectively opposed the bill) emphasized cost factors, including extra time for police officers to take drunks to hospitals. Mr. Reed argued that Texas hospitals are overcrowded and don't want to deal with public inebriates. He argued that smaller counties in Texas without adequate health facilities would have to provide for them.

C. The Institutional Context

The Houston Police Department. This discussion of the Houston Police Department is organized to focus on the following topics; (1) Nature of Inebriate Arrests; (2) Police Department Leadership and Public Intoxication Policy Goals; (3) Communication of Policy and Police Training; (4) Manpower and Decentralized Organizational Structure; (5) Patrol Characteristics.

(1) Nature of Inebriate Arrests

Since public intoxication is a criminal offense in Houston, the police officers are the pickup agents. Despite the growth in Houston's population, both total arrests and drunkenness arrests have fluctuated around a relatively fixed level. This may be explained on the basis

of limited resources. The private police and security industry in Houston has filled the gap somewhat.

Total arrests, arrests for public drunkenness, and the percentage of public drunkenness arrests to total arrests from 1962 - 1974 are as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total Arrests</u>	<u>Public Drunken- ness Arrests</u>	<u>Drunkenness Arrests as % Total Arrests</u>
1962	65,342	29,527	45.2
1963	63,145	30,584	48.4
1964	55,202	29,484	53.4
1965	54,210	28,929	53.4
1966	51,380	26,453	51.5
1967	53,803	27,590	51.3
1968	53,299	26,007	48.8
1969	55,660	24,023	43.2
1970	57,340	21,783	38.0
1971	66,990	27,533	41.1
1972	63,256	26,560	42.0
1973	62,966	26,225	41.6
1974	64,451	25,217	39.1

The above figures, showing public drunkenness arrests fluctuating between 38 and 53 percent of total arrests and showing a moderate relative decline in recent years, suggest that public drunkenness arrests consume a substantial proportion of Houston police resources. Some

independent evidence of the substantial police resources devoted to enforcing the public drunkenness laws is provided by the City of Houston Health Department's Progress Report for Opportunity House (LEAA Grant DF-009) which concluded that the average total police time devoted to each public drunkenness arrest is 3.5 manhours. This 1970 report also estimated the average cost per drunkenness arrest of \$160.83.

The above high level of public drunkenness arrests has included substantial proportions of skid and non skid row public inebriates. A description of the size and characteristics of each of these groups, including recidivism rates, will be undertaken upon receipt of a promised computer tape with data on all arrests for public drunkenness in 1975 from the Houston Police Department. Responses to questionnaires, interviews and observations all confirm that police officers in non skid row areas arrest substantial numbers of public inebriates.

Since most skid row men are concentrated in the major downtown business area, public drunkenness arrests by location of arrest provide some evidence of the type of inebriate arrested. The Houston skid row area was described by Tommy W. Ross in his Master's Thesis for Sam Houston State University, A Descriptive Study of the Skid Row Alcoholic in Houston, Texas as: "bounded on the west by Main Street, on the east by Dowling Street, on the north by Congress Avenue, and on the south by Preston Avenue." The following table presents police department drunkenness arrest figures (incidents) by location according to police master districts in comparison with total reported crime and H-CAP

Houston Public Drunkenness Arrests,
Total Crime, and Number of Alcoholics by Police District

<u>Substation and M.D.</u>	<u>1974 Drunk Arrests</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>% of Total Crime</u>	<u>1973 Number of Alcoholics</u>	<u>Alcoholics per 100,000 pop. & rank of districts</u>
Central (*)					
M.D.#1	10,189	39.7	7.19	2,530	8.3 - 1st
M.D.#2	1,534	6.0	3.62	3,220	7.4 - 3rd
M.D.#16	1,145	4.5	6.25	3,450	5.2 - 8th
M.D.#17	1,525	5.9	6.02	5,060	7.6 - 2nd
Total	<u>14,393</u>	<u>56.1</u>	<u>23.08</u>	<u>14,260</u>	
North Shephard (⊕)					
M.D.#3	1,127	4.4	5.68	4,370	6.1 - 5th
M.D.#6	1,805	7.0	10.90	6,670	3.7 - 10th
Total	<u>2,932</u>	<u>11.4</u>	<u>16.58</u>	<u>11,040</u>	
North East (⊕)					
M.D.#7	717	2.8	5.41	2,530	3.0 - 12th
M.D.#8	1,080	4.2	6.00	3,450	5.2 - 6th
M.D.#9	274	1.1	2.00	920	2.8 - 13th
M.D.#10	863	3.4	3.60	2,990	3.9 - 9th
Total	<u>2,934</u>	<u>11.5</u>	<u>17.01</u>	<u>9,890</u>	
South East (⊕)					
M.D.#11	1,794	7.0	5.41	4,370	6.2 - 4th
M.D.#12	308	1.2	4.60	1,380	2.5 - 16th
M.D.#13	829	3.2	4.64	2,300	3.1 - 11th
M.D.#14	171	0.7	2.18	920	2.1 - 11th
Total	<u>3,102</u>	<u>12.1</u>	<u>16.83</u>	<u>8,970</u>	
North West (⊕)					
M.D.#4	422	1.6	3.99	1,380	1.6 - 19th
M.D.#4	308	1.2	2.45	1,150	2.7 - 14th
Total	<u>730</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>6.44</u>	<u>2,530</u>	
South West (⊕)					
M.D.#15	408	1.6	4.96	920	1.3 - 20th
M.D.#18	502	2.0	5.79	3,910	5.2 - 7th
M.D.#19	414	1.6	5.36	2,070	2.2 - 17th
M.D.#20	269	1.0	3.03	1,610	2.7 - 15th
Total	<u>1,593</u>	<u>6.2</u>	<u>19.14</u>	<u>8,510</u>	
<u>CITYWIDE TOTAL</u>	25,684	100.0	100.0	55,200	4.0 = average

Characterization of Public Inebriate:

(*) - primarily skid row

(⊕) - primarily non skid row

SOURCE: Police arrest figures provided by Capt. Jones, Technical Services Bureau, Houston Police Department. Estimates of alcoholics from Table B1, Johnson, Prevalence of Alcoholism in Houston 1974, (H-CAP).

estimates of the number of alcoholics (individuals). Following the decentralized organization of the Houston Police Department, the twenty master districts are organized into six substation areas, each with its own stationhouse and commander. The table demonstrates the high concentration of public drunkenness arrests in the downtown business district (Central) where most skid row men are located. It also shows the relatively greater concentration of alcoholics in this area. Based on these figures, we might venture a ballpark estimate of 60 percent skid row public inebriate arrests and 40 percent non skid row public inebriate arrests. This estimate may be compared with an estimate of 50-75 percent skid row of all drunkenness arrests by Former Judge C. Raymond Judice who presided over drunk cases in the Municipal City Court and made this estimate in his article "Public Intoxication," 30 Texas Bar Journal 341 (1967).

Based on summary statistics from a computer printout supplied by the Houston Police Department's Technical Services Bureau, the racial composition of public drunkenness arrests for 1974 is as follows:

<u>Racial/Ethnic Composition</u>	<u>Number of Drunk Arrests</u>	<u>Percent</u>
White	15,820	61.6
Black	5,415	21.0
Mexican American	4,373	17.0
Other	43	--
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	25,690	100

Thus, arrests tend to mirror the composition of the population with an over-representation among Mexican Americans who comprise an estimated twelve percent of the population. Blacks comprise an estimated twenty percent of the population. Most of the arrestees were men: male - 23,671 (93.9 percent); female - 1,546 (6.1 percent).

The same data source provides an insight into the age distributions of public drunkenness arrestees in 1974 by sex, as shown in the following table. The data show that the median age of public drunkenness arrestees in Houston is in the 35-39 year old age group. The age distribution of arrestees is broadly distributed over the age spectrum. Approximately one-fifth of arrestees are under 25 years of age. The high percentage of younger arrestees is reflective of high percentage of younger persons in Houston. In addition, police officer interviews suggest that in recent years there has been a greater proportion of younger public intoxicates in the skid row area.

(2) Police Department Leadership and Public Intoxication Policy Goals

The Chief of Police is appointed by the Mayor of Houston. The character, organization, and policy orientation of the Houston Police Department to an unusual degree reflects the strong leadership of former Police Chief Herman B. Short, who headed the Department for years until his retirement in 1973.

An extensive interview with former Chief Short, arranged through the good offices of our liaison, Deputy Chief Harry Caldwell, provides insights into policy-making process under Chief Short and the goals

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC
DRUNKENNESS ARRESTEES BY SEX - 1974

Age Group	Number by Sex			Percent of Total				
	Male	Female	Total	Cum. Total	Cum. Percent	Male	Female	Total
17 years	433	33	466	466	1.9	1.8	2.2	1.9
18 years	701	75	776	1,242	4.9	3.0	4.9	3.1
19 years	698	75	773	2,015	8.0	3.0	4.9	3.1
TOTAL 17-19 years	1,832	183	2,015	2,015	8.0	7.8	12.0	8.0
20 years	704	54	758	2,773	11.0	3.0	3.5	3.0
21 years	624	32	656	3,429	13.6	2.6	2.1	2.6
22 years	601	51	652	4,081	16.2	2.5	3.3	2.6
23 years	579	52	631	4,712	18.8	2.5	3.4	2.5
24 years	520	29	549	5,261	20.9	2.2	1.9	2.2
TOTAL 20-24 years	3,028	218	3,246	5,261	20.9	12.8	14.3	12.9
25-29 years	2,452	202	2,654	7,915	31.5	10.4	13.2	10.6
30-34 years	2,511	162	2,673	10,588	42.1	10.6	10.6	10.6
35-39 years	2,777	175	2,952	13,540	53.9	11.8	11.5	11.8
40-44 years	2,939	225	3,164	16,704	66.5	12.5	14.7	12.6
45-49 years	2,929	166	3,095	19,799	78.8	12.4	10.9	12.3
50-54 years	2,427	109	2,536	22,335	88.9	10.3	7.1	10.1
55-59 years	1,426	42	1,504	23,839	94.9	6.2	2.8	6.0
60-64 years	813	20	833	24,672	98.2	3.4	1.3	3.3
65 and up	427	24	451	25,123	100.0	1.8	1.6	1.8
TOTAL All years	23,597	1,526	25,123	25,123	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Captain Jones, Bureau of Technical Services, Houston Police Department, based on computer printout of summary information on public drunkenness arrests for 1974.

enforcement of public drunkenness laws. It is traditional in the Houston Police Department for the chief to consult with the operating heads of the various bureaus. There are presently eight such bureaus, each headed by a deputy chief of police, as follows: special investigations; patrol; traffic; criminal investigations; staff services; technical services; special services; and administration. On major policy issues, Chief Short, based on his own statements and those of others, made the decisions. Regular meetings were held -- and still are -- with the deputy chiefs. Apparently, no formal minutes or records are kept of these meetings. The policy regarding enforcement of the public drunkenness laws -- to the degree that it has reflected conscious policy choices -- has always been informally made without written records or orders communicated through the chain of command.

According to former Chief Short, the Department felt a certain responsibility both to the public inebriate and to the community to get them off the streets and out of danger and to allow them to dry out, clean up, get good food, etc. While this task takes much time, it is, in effect, a necessary evil. Chief Short, Deputy Chief Caldwell, and others discussed another goal reflected in this policy. Much of the violence in Houston is precipitated by public inebriates. Arresting for public drunkenness before inebriates have a chance to commit a more serious crime prevents many additional police problems.²

2. Former Chief Short noted that this goal is not usually addressed in discussing and dealing with proposals to decriminalize. He predicted that if public intoxication were decriminalized in Houston, police officers would be reluctant to pick up inebriates. He stated that once you tell an officer that some task is not truly a part of their job (i.e. public drunkenness is no longer a crime) they won't want to bother with it. If drunks are not picked up, the use of public intoxication to prevent more serious police problems will be lost.

Former Chief Short observed that the patrol officer always had the option to let a friend take the public inebriate home, even the wino, and the officer could exercise this option according to his own best judgment. This option is rarely used with the skid row inebriate because he usually doesn't have anyone to take him off the street. Former Chief Short seemed to assume that the police officer has discretion in making arrests for such minor offenses as public intoxication.

Because the Department has the responsibility to make sure an arrestee can take care of himself before released, the "four hour" rule was instituted. Under this rule, a public drunkenness arrestee cannot post collateral and be released until sobered up. Former Chief Short was not sure when this policy was first instituted. It was not devised as a hard and fast rule but rather as a flexible guideline with its exact length depending on the condition of the inebriate.

Former Chief Short indicated that there was no special emphasis given to special training in making public drunkenness arrests. Also, there were few cooperative efforts with public health agencies to provide special services to public inebriate arrestees. In fact, there were few regular contacts with public health agencies generally. If a program appeared to have merit and to be a proper police function, the Department would participate. Under Chief Short's tenure Federal grant funds were not accepted for any types of programs. This policy reflected his strong personal philosophy about the proper role and

and function of the Federal government. He was against the imposition of Federal government policy, controls, and the people's money on state and local government as well as private business. Also, under his tenure, researchers, such as ourselves, were not allowed in the Department.³

Under Chief Short's tenure, the Department enjoyed a good working relationship with Mayor Louie Welch. Although the Police Department was under some criticism from liberal political groups and minorities, the Department generally had high morale, enjoyed a large measure of citizen support and respect, and had a large degree of autonomy. Its ability to get support for a bond issue for its new communications building is an indication of its influence. When Mayor Welch was having some difficulty gaining support for a sales tax proposal, he requested Chief Short to go on television and convince the voters that the sales tax would help the police and fire departments. The impression emerges that just as business interests seem to dominate Houston's

3. Former Chief Short stated that the major achievements during his administration were the following: (1) decentralization - an evil necessitated by the city's growth, (2) keeping up with modern technological advances. For example, the Department has one of the largest Helicopter Divisions of any police department, (3) creation of a community relations division, (4) new emphasis on education of officers, (5) a new communications building and the introduction of computers. The Department is now completing a computerized scout car communications center to house this system, totally financed through a bond issue. Among other things, this new system will permit continuous monitoring of the location of every patrol vehicle. In addition, the Department has been computerizing some of its record keeping activities, including arrest data for municipal ordinance offenses such as public drunkenness.

private sector, the police department is one of the dominant public institutions. A further impression is that the police department and the business community have been generally pursuing parallel goals in furtherance of Houston's economic growth. In this context, the goals of the police department toward enforcement of the public drunkenness laws and certain organizational decisions affecting the implementation of these goals may be better understood.

Two department heads have been appointed since Chief Short's retirement, which coincided with a change of mayors. C. M. Lynn was promoted above the heads of more senior police department officials by the new Mayor Fred Hofheinz. The policy on accepting Federal grant funds was changed. One grant involved funds for an aggressive recruitment effort to increase the size of the department, emphasizing minority applicants. A special effort was made within the department to promote qualified minority officers. Apart from policy changes, Chief Lynn's approach to administration caused controversy and affected morale within the Department. The consequence was appointment of R.J. Clark, the senior of the deputy police chiefs, to serve as Acting Chief. Under Acting Chief Clark there has been a greater emphasis on collaborative decision-making among the deputy chiefs. Since the retirement of Chief Short, the department has been going through a transitional period. No major changes were observed in the general approach to enforcement of the public drunkenness laws.

(3) Communication of Policy and Police Training

Public drunkenness arrests are made primarily by officers in the Patrol Bureau, although officers in the Traffic Bureau also make some public drunkenness arrests. As indicated above, no department-wide written policy statements or directives pertain to the enforcement of the public drunkenness laws. Policy is transmitted through informal communication within the Department. As noted, the deputy chiefs meet on a regular basis with the police chief. In the Patrol Bureau, Deputy Chief R. G. McKeehan is in regular communication with each of the captains in charge of the six substation areas where patrol officers are based.

The particular problems of each substation area receive Deputy Chief McKeehan's separate consideration. For example, in the Central substation area -- the major downtown business district which includes most of the skid row inebriates -- a delegation representing an organization of businessmen complained to Chief McKeehan personally last year about problems of public drunks bothering office workers and customers. Chief McKeehan also took note of the large number of daily telephone complaints about public inebriates in Central. In response, Chief McKeehan spoke to Captain E. R. Thaler directing that increased attention be given to the problem. Increased enforcement was undertaken, especially in Master District #1. A lieutenant was assigned responsibility to keep special records of the police response and to communicate the results, through Captain Thaler, to Chief McKeehan.

A "patrol productivity sheet" was maintained noting police responses as follows: "A-arrests for public inebriation by on view investigation; B-arrests for public inebriation by calls; C-arrests for other city ordinances; D-field interviews." As part of an over all policy to improve the downtown business area, the larger effort has been informally named "Operation Sparkle" by patrol officers.

Another way in which policy emphasis is indirectly communicated to officers in the Patrol Bureau is through reporting requirements. Both patrol and traffic division officers are required to fill out each day a short one-half page form entitled, "Uniformed Officers Daily Report." The crime of "drunk" is the first listed crime after the listing of traffic actions. The officer fills in the blank space corresponding to each item with the number of arrests or actions taken. A monthly compilation entitled "Officers Activity Report" lists each officer by names and the number and types of arrests made. Officers are aware that these reports are circulated to ranking superior officers and are considered in the evaluation of their performance. Since 1973, the monthly summaries combine "drunk" with the category "Other City Ordinances." Unlike St. Louis with a strong emphasis on "quality" arrests, some Houston officers indicated that an officer is expected to make a minimum of "two arrests per day of any type".

Each new recruit goes through 640 hours of classroom and field training at the Police Academy. Little emphasis in the training program is placed on special problems of handling public inebriates. Captain Gibson, head of the training program, confirmed that the emphasis is

training to make arrests generally. The training materials state: "The methods of dealing with intoxicated persons are the same as those described in Chapters 2 and 3." In one section of the training materials, "How to Recognize and Handle Abnormal People," the view is taken that the "alcoholic is mentally and physically sick" and a brief discussion is provided on problems of the alcoholic.

(4) Manpower and Decentralized Organizational Structure

Although the Department has substantially grown in size during the past decade, it is still relatively small compared to the population and the territory policed. The accompanying chart, "Allocation of Manpower by Police Function and Officer Rank -- July, 1975" provides an insight into the allocation of police resources in Houston according to organizational function.

The over all strength of the Department in July, 1975, included 2,450 police officers. This represents an officer ratio of 1.7 per 1,000 population as compared to a national average of 2.48 officers. There is a ratio of 4.68 officers per square mile in relation to the 503.33 square miles of territory to be policed. This helps explain the decentralized organization of the patrol function into six sub-station areas and explains the heavy reliance on two-man scout cars to perform the patrol function. The transportation problems are such that most arrestees are transported to the stationhouse in the back of the scout cars, which are specially equipped with partitions between the front and back seats. The rear doors lock only from the outside.

ALLOCATION OF MANPOWER BY POLICE FUNCTION AND OFFICER RANK, JULY, 1975

Division	%	Officers		Sgt.	Det.	Lt.	Capt.	Deputy Chiefs	Total Police	B&C Office	Civilian	TOTAL
		male	female									
Bus. Office											12	12
Night Command	.04							1	1			1
Administration	1.4	20	7	4	1	1	1	1	35		9	44
Special Invest.	6.8	127	6	19	3	8	3	1	167		5	172
Patrol	38.9	853	-	77	1	17	5	1	954		8	962
Traffic	21.7	446	29	43		8	5	1	532		211	743
Crim. Invest.	15.9	55	36	7	265	22	5	1	391		34	425
Staff Svcs.	3.5	54	11	8	3	5	3	1	85	112*	125	210
Technical Svcs.	2.0	31	-	7	6	3	2	1	50	34	151	235
Special Svcs.	9.6	175	24	24	-	6	4	1	234	24	171	429
TOTAL		1761	113	189	279	70	28	9	2450	58	726	3234

Square miles: 503.33
Population: 1,430,000

Officer ratio sq. miles: 4.68
Officer ratio per 1,000 pop.: 1.70
National average: 2.48 officers per 1,000 pop.

*cadets

Source: Planning Office, Houston Police Department

The Patrol Bureau, which is the primary focus of this study, has the largest proportion of police officers. Excluding superior officers, 853 or about forty percent of manpower is allocated to patrol. No women officers are assigned to patrol, although 113 of 1874 regular police officers are women. Traffic Bureau, which also makes some arrests for public intoxication primarily in the skid row area, has about twenty percent of police manpower and is the second largest operating division.

The Department has adopted several policies in an effort to increase the effective strength of its limited resources, including: hiring police cadets and civilian personnel -- in July 1975, the Department employed 112 cadets and 726 civilian employees; use of a large number of "trusty" laborers from the City Prison Farm, most of whom are public inebriates working off their time; adopting a policy permitting officers to work second or "extra" jobs during which time they may be in uniform and enforce Department rather than local employer rules. A substantial proportion of the force works on "extra" jobs. The presence of police officers in bars and taverns helps account for the large number of non skid row inebriate arrests in Houston. Finally, the Department has undertaken an aggressive recruitment campaign to attract more officers. The present relatively small size of the Department does not reflect budget limitations so much as it does the difficulty of attracting qualified personnel in a very competitive employment market.

The organization of the Patrol Bureau is based on the twenty police master districts shown on the map discussed above. These twenty districts are organized into six substations each of which has a separate stationhouse. The six substations and the master districts included in each are shown on the chart, presented earlier, entitled "Houston Public Drunkenness Arrests, Total Crime, and Number of Alcoholics by Police District." As indicated, each of the substations is commanded by a captain who is responsible to Deputy Chief R. G. McKeehan. These substations each hold their own roll calls and have their own cellblocks. "Trusty" labor, referred to above, are assigned to each of these substations, in addition to the central headquarters, and perform such tasks as cleaning the floors, washing patrol cars, taking care of the lawn, removal of trash, etc.

The special squads, such as robbery, auto theft, juvenile, homicide, burglary and theft, and special units, such as the identification division, records, crime laboratory, polygraph and the main jail are all located in the central headquarters building - which also houses the City Municipal Court. Consequently, officers often must transport an arrestee the longer distance to Central rather than to the substation.

A distinctive organizational characteristic is that one of the eight bureaus into which the Department is organized, Special Services Bureau, has a division, the Jail Division, headed by a captain, which is in charge of the main jail. Officers at the jail often are faced with making a decision whether an inebriate should be referred to the

one hospital in Houston -- Ben Taub -- available to treat skid row inebriates prior to being "accepted" into the jail lock-up. Officers in the jail division also select persons for the "trusty" program and determine where a "trusty" is sent, decisions involving considerable advantages for the skid row inebriate.

(5) Patrol Characteristics

The Patrol Bureau operates three shifts or "watches" per day. Unlike many other police departments there is no rotation of watches on a weekly or monthly basis. Assignment to a particular watch is based on seniority. Consequently, the younger and less experienced officers are usually assigned to the evening and night watches. This assignment system allows officers to schedule "extra" part-time jobs and establish a regular routine in their personal lives. The watch schedules are as follows:

First Watch - Day

6:00 AM - 2:00 PM
7:00 AM - 3:00 PM

Second Watch - Evening

2:00 PM - 10:00 PM
3:00 PM - 11:00 PM

Third Watch - Night

10:00 PM - 6:00 AM
11:00 PM - 7:00 AM

As the above indicates, the roll calls for each watch are staggered so that some officers will be on the street at any period of time.

The organization of patrol within each substation tends to follow the pattern of the master districts; within the substation each master district is divided into a number of "beats." The boundaries of the "beats" tend to correspond with the boundaries of the master district areas. Sergeants are generally placed in charge of a "squad" which consists of the officers within a particular master district. Officers remain on the same shift and on the same beat for a fixed period of time. In addition, each shift has a "rotation" and officers in the same squad usually have the same days off and the sergeant replaces the officers on leave.

A "beat" is often quite large in many substation areas and is typically covered on each shift by a two-man scout car. The size of the beat makes it more difficult for officers to establish contact with businesses and residents than in other cities. The large territory also means that when an arrest is made, the patrol car may be out of service for a longer time period. When it is necessary to go to Central, driving time from some substations may take up to thirty minutes, depending on traffic conditions, for a ride-along. An episode on a ride-along is illustrative. In Master District #11 at about 10:45 PM, a radio transmission ordered the patrol to respond to a reported shooting and attempted burglary at a residence. Neither officer knew where the address was located, although the officers had been on the force for three years and was born and raised in M.D.#11. After a brief discussion of the spelling of the address and confirmation over the radio, the officer pulled the scout

the side of the road. A detailed city map book was inspected and the address was located. It then took seven or eight minutes driving time to reach the scene. While this incident is not typical, it illustrates the unique problems that can arise in patrolling a beat. We were informed that there are hundreds of streets in Houston no longer than two or three blocks.

Patrol officers exercise a great deal of discretion in deciding whether to arrest a person for public intoxication. It is evident from interviews with patrol officers that most officers are aware of the range of options available. In Houston, the range of options includes the following: (1) take no action, (2) send home by friend or acquaintance or take home, (3) send or take publicly intoxicated person to a mission or other facility, (4) instruct person to "move on", (5) transport inebriate directly to Ben Taub hospital without formally booking inebriate, who is released after treatment, (6) arrest inebriate and transport to substation, (7) arrest inebriate and transport to the main jail at headquarters (Central), (8) arrest for public drunkenness, book inebriate, and then transport to Ben Taub Hospital, (9) arrest for another criminal offense, such as disorderly conduct.

Most patrol officers transport public drunkenness arrestees in the back seat of their patrol vehicle. In Central, in addition to the usual two-man patrol vehicles, there is a police wagon that devotes a substantial amount of time transporting drunks to the central cellblock. The traffic division also uses beat men, solo's (motorcycles) and three-

wheelers. They will call a wagon to transport an arrestee to jail. The Fire Department has emergency ambulance service to Ben Taub Hospital. However, the Fire Department dislikes transporting inebriates unless some other accompanying injury is evident. One such refusal was observed during a ride-along. Consistent with findings in other cities, missions, such as Salvation Army and Star of Hope, generally will not accept alcoholics in an inebriated condition from police officers.

Court and Corrections.

After an individual is booked for public drunkenness, he is placed in a cell for four hours before he is allowed to post collateral or "bond out." The bond set for the charge of public intoxication, \$25.00, was set by the Judges' Conference. Adding \$2.50 for court costs, posting collateral costs \$27.50. Most non skid row inebriates post collateral. Professional bondsmen are rarely used because the amount is so low. The court accepts the practice of forfeiting collateral. An incentive is provided to forfeit collateral to avoid the time in court and the risk that the judge will impose a fine of up to \$200.00.

Those who do not bond out -- mostly skid row and a few non skid row persons who are arrested shortly before court convenes -- are processed through the courts. The "drunk court" is Courtroom #3 of the Municipal Court. Judges used to hear the police docket on a part-time capacity but now sit full-time. The municipal courts are not

presently courts of record and a trial de novo is provided for appellate review. In 1976 they are scheduled to become courts of record. Since funds have not been provided for indigent representation in municipal court, the "drunk" cases are almost always decided without the benefit of defense counsel.

The court convenes at 8:30 AM, 3:30 PM and on Saturdays. If the defendant should plead "not guilty", a trial date is set. Credit will be given for time spent at the central cellblock before trial, but the hard bed and conditions make this stay more unpleasant than at the City Prison Farm. The arraignment procedure saves the police officer's time since their appearance is required only in contested cases. In these cases, police officers receive a minimum of one-half day's pay for any overtime spent in Court. When the defendant pleads guilty, the judge usually permits him to make a brief statement before the imposition of sentence. Typical of "mass justice" lower urban courts, the average case lasts only a few minutes.

Most court appearances consist of guilty pleas. According to the Houston Municipal Courts Department, Annual Report (1972), the 29,156 public drunkenness cases filed were disposed of as follows:

<u>Disposition</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Guilty Plea	17,901	61.4
Voluntary Payment	9,853	33.8
Quashed or Dismissed	700	2.4
Nolle Prosequi	324	1.1
Found Guilty	287	1.0
Not Guilty	91	0.3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	29,156	100.0%

If the guilty pleas are primarily skid row and the voluntary payment, or forfeiture of collateral, are primarily non skid row, the above figures provide a rough measure of the proportion of skid and non skid row inebriates. Total fines assessed amounted to \$1,066 million.

The principal decision for judges hearing public drunkenness cases is determining what sentence to impose -- here what fine to assess. The usual practice has been to use the amount required to post collateral, \$27.50, as the minimum fine. Dress, physical appearance, age, attitude, and prior record are among factors influencing the assessment of a fine. The recidivism component is gauged by a court card file system begun in the early 1950's. In the beginning cards apparently were kept regularly and fairly accurately, with the date and amount of fine entered in every case. Repeaters would get heavier fines. In recent years the cards have been made out only for individuals judged by the court clerk to be "skid row" cases. A presently sitting judge indicated that much less attention is now given to the card file because of its questionable accuracy. Interviews with several judges indicated that, generally, the longer a judge sits on the bench the heavier the fines. The more experienced judge sees a greater need to protect the public inebriate and conserve scarce police, court, and jail resources.

Occasionally, there has been judicial innovation in the approach to public drunkenness cases. Former Judge C. Raymond Judice instituted a court diversion program, triggered by a 90 day continuance. Referrals were made to health facilities and missions. The charge(s) were

dropped if the defendant appeared after 90 days without an arrest during the interim. If the defendant failed to appear, a bench warrant was issued and the next time a heavier fine was imposed. The program was subsequently discontinued.

When a convicted person is unable or unwilling to pay the assessed fine, he is committed to the City Prison Farm to serve out the prison sentence at a rate of \$5.00 or \$7.50 for a "trusty" (and other persons deemed "model prisoners" under Section 35-9 of the City of Houston, Code of Ordinances). This system of fine or jail is practiced notwithstanding the fact that former Police Chief Herman Short was the defendant in the landmark equal protection case, Tate v. Short, 401 U.S. 395 (1971). The U.S. Supreme Court held that it is unconstitutional under a statute providing for a fine or imprisonment to send an indigent person to jail who could not pay the fine. A former judge, who first introduced indigency petitions in Courtroom #3, at first advised each defendant of their availability and then discontinued this practice. He could not recall one public drunkenness defendant ever submitting one of these forms.

The City Prison Farm is located within the city limits and occupies about 100 acres of a 400 acre farm. The farm has one main compound which houses the offices, kitchen, dining area, cellblocks and showers. It has four cellblocks. The farm works a forty acre vegetable farm. It is a minimum security facility with twenty-four full-time employees, fourteen of whom are guards. At the time of our visit to the City

Prison Farm -- called the Pea Farm -- there were about 200 residents. About fifty percent of the residents are public inebriates; the rest are serving time for disorderly conduct, affray, etc.

Women prisoners must serve their time on the sixth floor cell-block of the jail at Central. The jail can hold up to 100 women without being crowded. It is rarely full. At the time of our tour of the women's jail, about thirty-five were being held. Many of the residents are regulars -- homeless women. While some women were there for public drunkenness, more commonly the women residents are serving time for prostitution and disorderly conduct. The women are not permitted to leave the jail. Since there are no T.V.'s, radios, magazines, or newspapers, all the women can do is hang around and talk. One judge informed us that lower sentences are usually given women public drunkenness defendants than men because of the poor conditions at the women's jail. While representatives from rehabilitation groups to the Pea Farm are common, such visits to the women's jail are rare because of the small number of female public inebriates.

The "trusty" system is a distinctive feature of the Houston correctional process. There is a trusty compound in a converted garage in back of Central; others stay at the substations. The number of persons selected to be a "trusty" often varies between 120 and 140 men. Persons selected by jail personnel are the men who are known to them -- the "regulars" and those with heavier fines. Age, physical condition and willingness to be a trusty are important. A trusty is given overalls

to wear and assigned to tasks ranging from making coffee, cooking, washing floors and operating the police car wash. Also a trusty is permitted to earn "tips" for shining police officers' shoes, providing enough money for "booze" upon release. The regulars usually receive the same assignment and become known by officers, especially at the substations.

Unlike other cities where the police officer's contact with the inebriate usually occurs when the inebriate is helpless, dirty, sloppy, and incoherent, Houston police officers also have positive contacts with inebriates when they are sober and performing useful tasks. Consequently, the attitude of many officers seems more positive and sympathetic than that encountered in other cities. On the other hand, the trusty system may reinforce the institutional mentality public inebriates succumb to and often depend on. For example, one of the judges interviewed mentioned the case of a man -- call him Jones -- who worked for years in the police printing shop as a trusty. Finally, the judge stipulated that his fine must be served at the Pea Farm. Mr. Jones was most upset. Shortly thereafter, Jones changed his way of life and sobered up. He now has his own printing business. Prior to this change he was allegedly offered a paying job in the print shop and had refused.

D. Administration of the Questionnaire and Characteristics of Areas Surveyed.

The first task was to select the areas in which to administer the questionnaire. Ride-alongs were undertaken in several of the substation areas. Informal interviews were conducted with both patrol and superior officers. Since Central includes the primary skid row area, this substation was an obvious choice. It was then decided to select two of the remaining five substation areas. As can be seen from the table presented earlier, "Houston Public Drunkenness Arrests, Total Crime, and Number of Alcoholics by Police District," there are relatively few public drunkenness arrests in the Northwest and Southwest substations. Of the three remaining substations, North Shephard and Southeast were selected. North Shephard includes M.D. #6, which is the highest crime area in the city. Southeast includes M.D. #11, which includes the port-channel area and many transient seamen. In addition, both of these substations include diverse neighborhoods and mixes of business and residential areas. We were informed that Central, North Shephard and Southeast provide a good microcosm of Houston. These substations also accounted for nearly eighty percent of all public drunkenness arrests in 1974.

Cooperation from R.G. McKeehan, Deputy Chief of the Patrol Division, in the administration of the questionnaires was excellent. At our request, he sent a letter to the captain of each of the three substations, directing their cooperation in the administration of the question-

naires and subsequent interviews. It was agreed to administer the questionnaire at roll calls which assured virtually a 100 percent response by those present. In Chief McKeehan's letter, dated June 23, 1975, also at our request, he instructed the officer in charge of each roll call to introduce the project representative as follows:

"This gentleman is from American University's Project on Public Inebriation. They are conducting a study of the way police officers in several Police Departments deal with public drunks. The Department is cooperating with the Project. He is going to give you a questionnaire which will be filled out at this time and collected by him when everyone finishes completing it. We want you to take the time to fill this out as completely and as accurately as you can. It should take you about twenty minutes."

At most of the roll calls the above paragraph was read which was usually supplemented by some additional statements seeking cooperation.

Each substation was visited on a day prior to the day the questionnaire was administered. An effort was made to meet with as many sergeants as possible and to explain the nature of our project. Because of the large number of roll calls -- six at each of the three substations -- and the need to return to attempt to administer the questionnaire to officers who were off-duty at the time, the questionnaires were administered over a period of several days. In Central an officer was killed on the day the questionnaire was scheduled to be administered and it was postponed for several days. In addition, with the cooperation of Deputy Chief W. R. Waycott, head of the Traffic Bureau, the questionnaire was administered at one roll call to traffic officers in Central. At most roll calls, the full twenty minutes was

allowed and used by the police officers. A total of 289 completed questionnaires were obtained.

In order to better understand the characteristics of Central, North Shephard, and Southeast, the following three tables present a summary "profile" of each substation area. Housing, income, education, population, number of public intoxication arrests, proportion of total public intoxication arrests, proportion of total crime reported, Jellinek estimates of the number of alcoholics per 100,000 population, and the total number of alcoholics are provided for master districts within each substation. These tables may be a useful reference especially for the intra-jurisdictional comparisons of the responses to the questionnaire.

Based on the above information as well as interviews and observation, we offer the following brief descriptions of each area:

Central. Covering approximately twenty-four square miles, it is the smallest area geographically of those surveyed. It includes the major downtown business area. Numerous commuters and visitors swell the daytime population. It has a large transient population. Most of the skid row population is in Central. Most of the missions and organizations providing services to skid row persons are also located here. Companies specializing in hiring out day laborers are located in Central. The area is more heavily patrolled than other sections of the city with many officers from the traffic bureau in addition to those from the patrol bureau.

Profile of Central Substation Area

	<u>M.D.#1</u>	<u>M.D.#2</u>	<u>M.D.#16</u>	<u>M.D.#17</u>
Population	30,327	43,357	66,097	65,883
Income:				
Median (\$)	5,988	6,394	7,055	10,697
% of families above poverty level	72.2	74.0	76.9	86.3
Education:				
% of pop. 25 years and older who finished high school	17.0	24.7	47.1	52.0
Housing:				
% occupied	89.2	85.6	88.6	86.9
% owner occupied	20.8	21.5	20.6	20.7
Median value (\$)	10,320	9,020	16,443	21,611
Median gross rent by dwelling unit (\$)	71.40	71.50	96.10	106.30
% w/ all plumbing facilities	93.0	89.5	96.6	97.0
Alcoholism:				
Jellinek est. no. per 100,000 population	8.3	7.4	5.2	7.6
Rank among districts	1st	3rd	8th	2nd
Estimated number of alcoholics	2,530	3,220	3,450	5,060
Public Intoxication Arrests:				
Number in 1974	10,189	1,534	1,145	1,525
% of total	39.7	6.0	4.5	5.9
% of total crime	7.19	3.62	6.25	6.02

Profile of North Shephard Substation Area

	<u>M.D.#3</u>	<u>M.D.#6</u>
Population:	70,714	176,315
Income:		
Median (\$)	10,430	8,254
% of families above poverty level	89.1	84.9
Education:		
% of pop. 25 years and older who finished high school	43.5	28.5
Housing:		
% occupied	91.6	93.2
% owner occupied	43.6	56.0
Median value (\$)	13,775	10,431
Median gross rent by dwelling unit (\$)	117.00	95.20
% w/ all plumbing facilities	97.6	95.6
Alcoholism:		
Jellinek est. no. per 100,000 population	6.1	3.7
Rank among districts	5th	10th
Estimated number of alcoholics	4,370	6,670
Public Intoxication Arrests:		
Number in 1974	1,127	1,805
% of total	4.4	7.0
% total crime	5.68	10.90

Profile of Southeast Substation Area

	<u>M.D.#11</u>	<u>M.D.#12</u>	<u>M.D.#13</u>	<u>M.D.#14</u>
Population	69,474	53,881	71,949	41,885
Income:				
Median (\$)	8,313	9,684	11,317	11,746
% of families above poverty level	87.0	90.2	94.9	96.0
Education:				
% of pop. 25 years and older who finished high school	34.8	46.6	54.6	58.6
Housing:				
% occupied	91.8	94.8	93.2	92.2
% owner occupied	44.8	74.8	56.8	68.4
Median value (\$)	10,563	12,380	14,588	17,140
Median gross rent by dwelling unit (\$)	98.70	114.80	126.40	145.00
% w/ all plumbing facilities	96.6	98.8	98.9	98.4
Alcoholism:				
Jellinek est. no. per 100,000 population	6.2	2.5	3.1	2.1
Rank among districts	4th	16th	11th	18th
Estimated number of alcoholics	4,370	1,380	2,300	920
Public Intoxication Arrests:				
Number in 1974	1,794	308	829	171
% of total	7.0	1.2	3.2	0.7
% of total crime	5.41	4.60	4.64	2.18

Sources: Houston City Planning Department, Houston's Neighborhood Improvement Planning Program: City Wide Study (July, 1973), Table 1, "Data Compilation by Census Tract" (based on 1970 U.S. Census). Johnson, Larry, Prevalence of Alcoholism in Houston (unpublished, Harris County Alcoholism Programming Project, Inc.), Tables B1 and C2. Captain Jones, Technical Services Bureau, Houston Police Department.

M.D.#1 accounts for nearly forty percent of total public drunkenness arrests. It is the center of the skid row population. It is the most disadvantaged of the master districts in Central, based on indicators such as median income, percent of families living above poverty, and percent of population, twenty-five and older, with high school diplomas. M.D.#1 also ranks first in the city in the percent of alcoholics per 100,000 population, based on the Jellinek estimates.

M.D.#1 includes numerous black and Mexican-American residents. The area has been described to us as being mostly lower middle and lower class. M.D.#2 has both middle and lower middle class residents, including numerous predominantly black areas with the full spectrum of upper middle, middle and lower middle income groups. M.D.#17 includes mostly upper middle and middle income whites. It is the most advantaged of the areas in Central with the highest median income and the highest value of housing. Also, M.D.#17 is an area in which numerous "hippies" hang out.

North Shephard. Located in the north, central part of the city, North Shephard has wide diversity -- upper, middle, and lower class areas; older and newer areas; white, black, and Mexican-American areas; business and residential areas. Most of the public drunkenness arrests are non skid row.

M.D.#6 has the largest resident population of the master districts surveyed, including areas of high density. It has the highest reported crime rate in the city. It includes both stable middle class areas (beat #1165) and a black, lower class "shantytown" area (beat #1160).

It has numerous taverns, clubs, and "joints." It has the lowest percent of its residents, 25 and older, who have a high school diploma -- 28.5 percent -- of any master district in North Shephard and Southeast and ranks only below M.D.#1 and M.D.#2 of the areas surveyed. Approximately fifteen percent of its residents live below the poverty level.

M.D.#3 has substantially fewer residents than M.D.#6. It also has a better educated population, a higher median income, and higher value of its housing. However, its arrest rate for public drunkenness, adjusted for population, is actually higher than in M.D.#6 and it has a correspondingly higher estimated alcoholism rate.

Southeast. Covering approximately eighty square miles and including approximately 240,000 residents, Southeast is also a large, diversified area. Most of the public drunkenness arrests are non skid row. Like Central, part of Southeast (M.D.#11) has a large number of transients. Some areas (M.D.#11 and #12) have a generally lower income than others (M.D.#13 and #14). M.D.#14 is a predominantly white area, while M.D.#12 has a large number of black residents.

M.D.#11 includes the port-channel area, with many lower class clubs and taverns. It has numerous transient seamen. There is much prostitution in this area. M.D.#11 is adjacent to M.D.#1, the primary skid row area. (See Map discussed earlier.) M.D.#11 is the most disadvantaged of the master districts in Southeast, based on the indicators presented in the "profile." Approximately thirteen percent of its population has an income below the poverty level. It has the

lowest median income; the smallest percent of its residents, 25 and older, have high school diplomas. Its alcoholism rate is the fourth highest in the city; it has a correspondingly high arrest rate for public drunkenness. M.D.#11 and M.D.#6 in North Shephard each account for about seven percent of total public drunkenness arrests, ranking only behind M.D.#1 in the proportion of total public drunkenness arrests.

M.D.#12, #13, and #14 account for a relatively small proportion of total public drunkenness arrests. There were fewer public drunkenness arrests in these master districts combined than in M.D.#11 in 1974. M.D.#13 accounts for most of these public drunkenness arrests, having the largest population and the highest alcoholic rates of the three master districts. M.D.#14 seems to be the most advantaged of the master districts in Southeast, based on the indicators in the "profile," and had only 171 public drunkenness arrests in 1974.

II. QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

A. ATTITUDINAL ANALYSIS

This section of the Houston Report will present findings of patrolmen's specific attitudes (item responses) from the questionnaire. It was our expectation that significant differences would appear in the attitudes of police officers in the "criminal" (Houston and Richmond) and "decriminalized" (District of Columbia, Minneapolis, and St. Louis) jurisdictions. Using a difference of means test, scores are compared between those cities and within police substation areas in Houston.

The comparison of substation areas emphasizes analysis of primarily skid row areas of the city contrasted with areas where non skid row persons are generally arrested for public drunkenness. These substation areas will be presented under the following headings:

- M.D.1 - Master District 1 includes the predominately skid row area of the city.
- Central - Central, substations 1,2,16,17, includes the central business district of the city and is the area where most arrests of skid row inebriate occur.
- N.S. - North Shephard, substations 3 & 6, includes diverse neighborhoods and most inebriate arrests are of non skid row individuals.

S.E. - Southeastern, substation areas 11,12,13 & 14, is another diverse area of the city where drunkenness arrests are of primarily non skid row individuals.

The discussion is organized according to the independent variable to which the item responses pertain.

1. Organizational Variable

- a. CONFORMS. No significant difference has been hypothesized between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.68	1.75	2.44	1.79	2.34
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=6.26 S=.01	N/S	Z=6.17 S=.01

Houston showed the strongest agreement of the five cities, although there was general agreement expressed in all cities. When the mean score for Houston is compared to those of Washington, D.C. and St. Louis, the differences are statistically significant. Police attitudes in Houston suggest that a higher priority is placed on conforming to departmental rules than in Washington and St. Louis. This may reflect a greater degree of homogeneity among officers in Houston. It may also reflect a more traditional type of police department with greater emphasis on concepts such as "chain of command" and "obedience to authority."

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.68	1.58	1.61	1.79	1.75

Agreement was strongest in Master District 1, the downtown central business district, although the inter-district variations are not substantial. Police officers in Central are physically located in Central Headquarters building where departmental Central Command is housed.

- b. PRIORITY. General disagreement is expected in all jurisdictions since no police department gives high priority to the removal of public drunks compared to responding to more serious criminal disturbances. Disagreement is expected to be less in a criminal jurisdiction like Houston, than in decriminalized jurisdictions, since officers generally place higher priority on criminal rather than non-criminal matters, absent designed departmental policies, incentives, and training.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
X score	3.39	3.55	3.52	3.39	3.53

The response of police officers is relatively homogeneous among the departments, including Houston, with views ranging from neutral but leaning toward agreement to neutral but leaning toward disagreement. The test of significance indicates that the difference between Houston and the other cities is not significant. A possible problem with this item is one of interpretation by the officer: "high priority" relative to what?

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.39	2.80	2.23	3.36	3.45

Significance
of Difference:

M.D.1 to S.E.	Z=2.11	S=.04
Central to N.S.	Z=3.96	S=.01
Central to S.E.	Z=4.83	S=.01

Intra-city comparison shows that police officers in Central perceive a higher police priority placed on the removal of public drunks than police officers in North Shephard and Southeast. Central is the downtown business district where most skid row public inebriates are located and where business pressure in the form of complaints to remove public drunks is particularly strong. This difference in police attitudes suggests the possibility of differences in policy or implementation of policy in the removal of public drunks in different substation areas. Such differences in policy or implementation are facilitated by the decentralized organization of the police department in Houston. Interviews with superior officers and patrol officers suggest that the reality is in accord with the differences in perception of the police officers.

- c. TRAINING. No significant difference between the means of criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions is expected. Variations among jurisdictions are expected to be related to the emphasis on training in the particular departments. Since the usual emphasis in police departments is on training in handling criminal as opposed to non-criminal matters, there was some expectation -- not unanimous -- that police officers in criminal jurisdictions, like Houston, would be more likely to agree that the department makes an effort to train officers in problems of removing intoxicated persons from public places.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.82	3.37	3.41	3.25	3.91
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.53 S=.02	Z=3.93 S=.01	Z=2.80 S=.01	Z=8.02 S=.01

Officers in Houston show the highest level of agreement that the Department makes an effort to train police officers in problems of removing intoxicated persons from public places. The differences between Houston and other jurisdictions are statistically significant. Even in Houston, however, the extent of agreement is not very strong, falling in between "Agree a little" (2.00) and "Neutral but leaning toward agreeing" (3.00) and closer to the latter category.

The Houston Police Department does have an intensive training program for new recruits. Houston has a large number of relatively recent recruits who are likely to remember the training program. Yet, very little emphasis is placed on special problems of handling public inebriates. Emphasis is placed on arrest procedures generally.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.82	3.03	3.09	2.63	2.58

There was somewhat less agreement among officers in Central than among officers in other substation areas. Since these officers account for most of the skid row arrests and a high proportion of total public inebriate arrests, it is possible that these officers are more aware of the absence of specific training in the handling of public drunkenness arrests. However, the test of significance indicates that the intra-jurisdictional variations are not statistically significant.

2. Role Variable

- a. SOCWORK. Significantly greater agreement is expected in decriminalized than in criminal jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.83	4.08	3.21	3.46	3.90
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=4.15 S=.01	N/S	N/S

Police attitudes in Houston statistically differ only from St. Louis. Police attitudes in Houston suggest a marginal disagreement that removal of public inebriates makes the police officer too much of a social worker. Responses to the open-ended question and in the interviews suggest that many Houston officers see the police officer as the only one available to handle the skid row inebriate.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.83	3.25	3.39	4.37	4.14

Significance of Difference:

M.D.1 to N.S.	Z=3.35	S=.01
M.D.1 to S.E.	Z=2.66	S=.01
Central to N.S.	Z=3.68	S=.01
Central to S.E.	Z=2.82	S=.01

Intra-jurisdiction comparison shows a statistically significant higher level of agreement among officers in Central than in North Shephard and Southeast. These differences in attitudes can be explained as a function of experiences with different kinds of public inebriates. Police officers in Central primarily handle skid row inebriates who typically pose no physical threat to the arresting officer and other citizens. Police officers in North Shephard and Southeast primarily handle non skid row inebriates. Many of these arrests involve drinking in neighborhood bars and taverns and are often associated with other disorderly conduct and assaultive behavior. The arrestee is less likely to passively submit than is the skid row inebriate. Consequently, police officers in North Shephard and Southeast experience drunk arrests as more traditional police work than the officers in the Central substation area.

- b. APPROP. Significantly greater agreement is expected in criminal than in decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.23	2.19	3.23	3.35	2.88
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=6.56 S=.01	Z=5.37 S=.01	Z=4.88 S=.01

The results are consistent with the hypothesis. Both Houston and Richmond show a significantly greater level of agreement with this proposition than the three therapeutic cities. In Houston, the acceptance of the police department as an appropriate agency to remove publicly intoxicated persons is widely shared. The median score, 1.554, suggests that most officers in Houston are in agreement. The replies to the open-ended question are strongly corroborative of these results.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.23	2.64	2.49	2.09	1.88
Significance of Difference					
		M.D.1 to S.E.	Z=2.39	S=.02	
		Central to S.E.	Z=3.32	S=.01	

Police officers in Southeast had a statistically significant higher level of agreement than police officers in Central. This difference parallels intra-jurisdictional differences for the item, SOCWORK. For the reasons stated in discussing that item, officers handling primarily non-skid row inebriates would be more likely to agree that police are an appropriate agency to remove intoxicated persons from public places. Police officers in Master District 1, accounting for a large proportion of all skid-row public drunkenness arrests and for nearly forty percent of total public drunkenness arrests, showed the lowest level of agreement.

- c. SERVICES. General disagreement in all jurisdictions is hypothesized. No significant differences are expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	5.21	4.85	5.31	5.28	4.49
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	Z=7.25 S=.01

The results confirm the hypotheses. This item may be an indicator of the style or general orientation toward "crime fighting" and "order maintenance" as contrasted with "serving the community" (See James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior). These three alternatives were included in the interview schedule for patrol officers. Many officers observed that the alternatives are not mutually exclusive since, for example, crime fighting activities are also serving the community. Nevertheless, the above data may suggest that Houston is more strongly oriented toward traditional "criminal activities" as contrasted with other "community services" than is the District of Columbia Police Department. In Houston, 201 police officers out of the 283 answering this questionnaire item marked "6" -- "strongly disagree." In Houston, with a small police department relative to the population and geographic area, officers in the patrol division operating two-man scout cars have little time to do anything other than respond to radio dispatched scout calls. Many of these calls, however, involve so-called "community service" activities.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	5.21	5.15	5.28	5.07	5.05

Intra-jurisdictional comparisons show that little difference in attitude was indicated by officers in different sub-stations.

- d. IDEAL. No hypotheses were formulated for this item.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.48	3.22	2.73	n/d	3.14
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=4.60 S=.01	--	N/S

Houston police officers showed significantly less agreement than police officers in St. Louis. Houston police officers tend to feel "neutral" about this item. If attitudes on this item are a function of time served as a police officer, this could explain the difference between Houston and St. Louis. Houston has been expanding the size of its force in recent years and, because of the strong job market, has fairly strong replacement needs. Newer recruits may be more idealistic than more senior and experienced officers.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.48	3.41	3.43	3.73	3.42

Except for North Shephard, the scores among the different substation areas were nearly identical on this item. The small variations are not statistically significant.

3. Peer Variable

- a. VETOFF. General agreement is expected in all jurisdictions with significantly greater disagreement in criminal than in decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.16	3.67	3.50	3.67	3.49
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=1.94 S=.05	Z=4.29 S=.01	Z=3.01 S=.01	Z=4.90 S=.01

The attitudes of Houston police show the least agreement of the jurisdictions. The median for Houston is somewhat higher, 4.738. Houston police officers tend to disagree

that veteran officers think it is a waste of time to remove public inebriates. The difference between the attitudes of Houston police officers and each of the other jurisdictions is statistically significant.

A possible explanation for the lower level of agreement in Houston than in the other criminal jurisdiction, Richmond, is that arresting publicly intoxicated persons is generally perceived in Houston as a more traditionally accepted police function. This is consistent with the finding on the item TRAINING which shows that Houston officers have a significantly higher level of agreement than Richmond officers.

In response to the item, PRIORITY, Houston police officers did not have a significantly higher level of agreement than officers in the other jurisdictions. However, VETOFF may be a better indicator of differences in the priorities among the jurisdictions. The reality is that the Houston Police Department does provide strong organizational incentive, in the form of reporting requirements, for the arrest of public inebriates. This could be one of the reasons why Houston police officers have a significantly lower level of agreement on VETOFF than Richmond police officers.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.16	3.35	3.75	4.94	4.24

Significance of
Difference

M.D.1 to N.S.	Z=5.01	S=.01
M.D.1 to S.E.	Z=2.73	S=.01
Central to N.S.	Z=4.71	S=.01

Again, a split in officer attitudes is evident in the skid row areas. Officers in areas in which most drunk arrests are of the non-skid row type perceive veteran officers as having a higher level of disagreement that it is a waste of time to remove publicly intoxicated persons. The variations between Master District 1 and both North Shephard and South-east are statistically significant. The variations between Central and North Shephard are statistically significant.

- b. BUDDIES. Greater agreement is hypothesized in criminal than decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.89	2.56	4.20	3.59	3.52
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=8.90 S=.01	Z=3.53 S=.01	Z=4.54 S=.01

The data confirms the hypothesis. Houston produced significantly greater agreement than St. Louis, Minneapolis, and the District of Columbia.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.89	3.74	3.48	2.26	2.33
Significance of Difference					
		M.D.1 to N.S.	Z=4.41	S=.01	
		M.D.1 to S.E.	Z=4.31	S=.01	
		Central to N.S.	Z=4.81	S=.01	
		Central to S.E.	Z=4.73	S=.01	

Police officers working in the skid row area show statistically significant less agreement than police officers working in non-skid row areas. It is interesting that in the central business district where most public drunkenness arrests are of skid row inebriates, the level of disagreement was strikingly similar to the overall scores for St. Louis, Minneapolis, and the District of Columbia. Since most pickups in decriminalized jurisdictions tend to be of persons with "skid row" characteristics, police attitudes may be more a function of the type of individual dealt with (skid row vs. non skid row) than the type of jurisdiction -- criminal vs. decriminalized. Officers may be responding to the unpleasant aspects of the job associated with a skid row population.

- c. PARTNER. Greater agreement is hypothesized in criminal than in decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.83	2.71	3.56	3.37	3.41
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=4.88 S=.01	Z=2.97 S=.01	Z=4.25 S=.01

The data confirms the hypothesis. In Houston, police officers have a significantly higher level of agreement than police officers in the decriminalized cities.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.83	3.90	2.87	2.63	3.03
Significance of Difference		M.D.1 to N.S. M.D.1 to S.E.	Z=2.61 Z=2.01	S=.01 S=.04	

Police officers in Master District 1 agree significantly less than officers in North Shephard and Southeast, following a pattern similar to other indicators of the peer variable -- see VETOFF and BUDDIES. Police officers with the most contact with skid row inebriates have the least agreement that their partner thinks it is important to remove intoxicated persons from public places. This pattern is not followed, however, when Central is compared with North Shephard and Southeast. No satisfactory explanation for this result is apparent.

4. Strategic Environment Variable

a. General

(1) TOURIST. No significant difference is expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. Individual variations are expected among the jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.58	3.47	2.66	n/d	3.26
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	--	Z=5.16 S=.01

Police officers in Houston tend to agree with this item. The level of agreement in Houston is significantly higher than in Washington, D.C. Houston is a major growth center -- now the fifth largest city in the country -- and is a major regional tourist and convention center. In this setting, business interests exert a major, if not dominant influence, on local public institutions. The presence of a large skid row population, highly concentrated in the major business district near hotel and convention facilities, is a nuisance. Also, Houston has more transient skid row men -- called "snowbirds" than the District of Columbia.

The significantly higher level of agreement in Houston than in the District of Columbia on the strategic environment variable, TOURIST, mirrors a similar differential between the two cities on the strategic interaction variable BUSINESS discussed below. Both are a reflection of the same phenomenon. Unlike Washington, D.C., in Houston private business, not government, is the major employer. In Houston, businesses have an incentive -- the profit motive -- to exert pressure on the police to remove public inebriates. If the tourist and other business interests are so strong, why is the large skid row population allowed to remain in Houston? The answer -- to the extent that their presence can be affected by public policy -- is that there is a strong business demand for unskilled labor to fuel Houston's rapid economic growth; skid row men are a sizeable component of the pool of unskilled day-laborers.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.58	2.43	2.35	2.78	2.52

The intra-jurisdictional variations are not statistically significant.

(2) SERIOUS. No significant difference is expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. General agreement is expected in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.84	1.71	2.58	1.77	2.18
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=5.62 S=.01	N/S	Z=3.13 S=.01

Police officers in Houston show a significantly higher level of agreement than officers in St. Louis and the District of Columbia. Unlike Houston, St. Louis, an historic "river town" seems to have more tolerance for alcohol-related problems. Attitudes of police officers in the District of Columbia fall about mid-way between St. Louis and Houston. While Houston is not a traditional Southern city, regional and religious attitudes may influence the perceptions of Houston police officers on this item. For example, "liquor by the drink" in bars and taverns only became permissible within the last few years in Houston, although this rule was circumvented somewhat through a device of "private" clubs.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.84	1.98	1.78	2.11	1.91

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows that the variations are not statistically significant.

b. Therapeutic/Criminal Facilities

(1) QUICKLY. Agreement is expected in decriminalized jurisdictions; no hypotheses are formulated for criminal jurisdictions. However, it is expected that the extent of agreement will vary with the length of time inebriates are held.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.92	2.71	2.43	2.37	2.25
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=4.26 S=.01	Z=3.11 S=.01	Z=5.16 S=.01

Officers in Houston agree less than those in any of the other jurisdictions. The lower level of agreement in Houston is statistically significant when compared to St. Louis, Minneapolis, and the District of Columbia. These results are explainable by the longer amount of time skid row inebriates may be detained in Houston than in the decriminalized jurisdictions. Police officers in all jurisdictions, however, tend to agree that public inebriates are returned to the streets too quickly.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.92	2.21	2.55	3.15	3.18

Significance of Difference

M.D.1 to N.S.	Z=2.85	S=.01
M.D.1 to S.E.	Z=3.10	S=.01
Central to N.S.	Z=2.08	S=.03
Central to S.E.	Z=2.33	S=.01

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows statistically significant differences in police attitudes according to skid row and non skid row areas. Police officers working in the skid row area have a higher level of agreement that the criminal justice system returns publicly intoxicated persons to the street too quickly.

In one sense, the difference in police attitudes in the skid and non skid row areas does not reflect reality. In Houston, most non skid row arrestees for public drunkenness pay and then forfeit the \$27.50 collateral and can be released after meeting the "four hour" rule. This avoids the time required for a court appearance. Moreover, an economic disincentive is provided since electing trial exposes the arrestee to a possible fine of up to \$200.00. In contrast, the skid row arrestee typically serves time at the City Prison Farm or as a "trustee" receiving credit toward the fine at the rate of \$5.00 and \$7.50 per day.

In another sense, however, the difference in the attitudes of Houston officers is readily explainable. Police officers handling primarily skid row inebriates see the same individuals processed through the criminal justice system time and time again. The highest recidivism rates are found among the skid row inebriates. When non skid row inebriate arrestees are identified as a police problem, other criminal charges are usually available, such as disorderly conduct, assault, etc.

c. Perceptions of Inebriate

(1) THREAT. No significant difference between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions is expected. General disagreement is expected in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St. L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.68	3.08	3.75	3.45	3.10
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.26 S=.03	N/S	N/S	Z=4.16 S=.01

Houston and St. Louis show the least agreement of all jurisdictions with attitudes in the "neutral but leaning toward disagreeing" range. Police officers in Houston have a significantly lower level of agreement than officers in Richmond and the District of Columbia.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.68	3.15	3.35	3.88	3.94
Significance of Difference		M.D.1 to N.S. M.D.1 to S.E. Central to S.E.	Z=2.03 Z=2.34 Z=2.13	S=.04 S=.01 S=.04	

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows that officers in the non skid row area have a higher level of disagreement than officers in the skid row area. The differences are statistically significant, except for a comparison between Central and North Shephard. Officers in Master District 1, which accounts for most of the skid row inebriate arrests, have the highest level of agreement that few persons intoxicated in public are a physical threat to police officers.

These attitudes seem to be in accord with the experience of police officers. Skid row inebriates much more readily accept police authority and submit without engaging in disorderly and assaultive conduct according to interviews with police officers. The police officer is a familiar figure to Houston's skid row inebriates.

(2) BELLIGERENT. No significant difference between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions is expected. General disagreement is hypothesized in all jurisdictions since it is expected that officers will perceive public inebriates as hostile.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.35	3.51	4.41	4.28	3.70
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=4.18 S=.01	N/S	N/S	Z=5.02 S=.01

Houston shows a statistically significant higher level of disagreement than Richmond and the District of Columbia. The higher level of disagreement of Houston police officers, along with St. Louis and Minneapolis, parallels the responses to the item SERVICES discussed above. The explanation is offered that these departments, with more of a "law enforcement" or "crime fighting" orientation, see a higher level of belligerence in the response of public inebriates than officers in Richmond and the District of Columbia.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.35	4.37	4.24	4.38	4.47

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows that the differences among officers in skid row and non skid row areas are not statistically significant. It might be expected that Houston police officers in non skid row areas would perceive a higher level of belligerence than officers in skid row areas. While skid row inebriates are not widely perceived as a physical threat to Houston police officers -- see item, THREAT, above -- they are seen as somewhat more belligerent.

(3) MESSY. No significant difference is expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. A high level of agreement is expected in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.93	2.37	1.85	1.99	1.96
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.14 S=.03	N/S	N/S	N/S

As expected, Houston officers see removing intoxicated persons from public places as a messy and unpleasant task. The attitudes of Houston officers parallel the attitudes of police officers in St. Louis, Minneapolis and the District of Columbia. Police officers in Houston have a statistically significant higher level of agreement than officers in Richmond.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.93	1.80	1.85	2.54	1.72
Significance of Difference		M.D.1 to N.S.	Z=2.86	S=.01	
		Central to N.S.	Z=2.93	S=.01	

Police officers in the different districts all show agreement. Officers in Central -- the skid row area -- show a statistically significant higher level of agreement than officers in North Shephard. However, the attitude of officers in Southeast shows the highest level of agreement of the areas surveyed. The attitudes of these officers are similar to the officers in the skid row area.

The difference in attitudes of officers in the two non skid row areas is difficult to explain, Master District 11, accounting for a majority of all drunkenness arrests in Southeast in 1974, is located in the waterfront-port area. It has numerous sleazy bars catering to seamen. There is much drinking, fighting, and prostitution in these neighborhoods. While Master District 11 is adjacent to Master District 1, most arrests are of non skid row inebriates. However, officers in Master District 11 occasionally help out officers in Master District 1 in making arrests of skid row inebriates

and this might have some influence on their attitudes. These characteristics of Master District 11 may at least partly explain why police officers in Southeast have a higher level of agreement than officers in North Shephard.

(4) WELLDRESS. No significant difference is expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions on this item and the next item, POORDRESS. Based on preliminary evidence of how police officers actually behave, we hypothesize general agreement on both items in all jurisdictions. However, responses in accord with this hypothesis would require police officers to report that class distinctions are made in handling inebriates. It is doubtful whether a direct question in a questionnaire can generate answers that violate general norms of equal law enforcement.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.86	4.31	4.25	4.37	4.17
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.30 S=.03	Z=4.69 S=.01	Z=2.71 S=.01	Z=5.74 S=.01

Houston police officers had the highest level of disagreement of all the jurisdictions that persons intoxicated in public who are well-dressed usually do not require police intervention. The higher level of disagreement in Houston is statistically significant when compared to each of the other cities. Houston may have the highest proportion of non skid row public inebriates picked up of any of the cities. This may be explained, in part, by police use of the offense of public intoxication as a preventive law enforcement tool. It provides a firm basis for early police intervention to prevent more serious disturbances, such as fights and shootings. This "crime prevention" function of public intoxication is very important in keeping the peace in neighborhood bars and taverns. We were informed of a survey in Houston that showed that a substantial proportion of fights and shootings occur in bars and taverns.

Houston is characterized by an unusually large number of neighborhood bars and taverns which are a socially accepted place where people congregate. Like St. Louis, Houston is the home of major beer distilleries and as we were told, "Houston is a beer-drinking town." In hot weather, bars and taverns are an especially welcome relief for those who live

in un-air-conditioned houses. An understanding of how numerous "well-dressed" non skid row persons apparently are arrested for public intoxication occurred in a ride-along. The scout car was summoned to a particularly busy neighborhood tavern on a weekend night. There was a "bouncer" working in the bar. When a customer became particularly rowdy and drunk, this person was ostensibly escorted out the back door. This door, in fact, led to a back room. In this room a police officer was working on his "extra" or second job. He was the officer who summoned the scout car to transport an inebriate to the cellblock. He had a stack of complaint forms for public drunkenness and some of the paperwork had already been completed when the scout car arrived. The officer on the "extra job" was acquainted with the officers in the scout car and seemed to have a good rapport with them. The arrestee was then transported to the jail.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	4.86	4.82	4.68	5.17	4.91

Significance of
Difference

Central to N.S. $Z=2.26$ $S=.03$

The level of disagreement was highest in the non skid row areas where police have most experience in making public drunkenness arrests of "well-dressed" persons. The difference between Central and North Shephard was statistically significant. Master District 6 was second only to Master District 1 in the number of arrests. It also had the highest percent of total reported crime of any of the twenty master districts in 1974 with 10.9% of the total.

(5) POORDRESS. The hypotheses for POORDRESS are the same as those for WELLDRESS.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.86	2.70	2.80	3.11	3.18
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	$Z=2.52$ $S=.02$

The responses of Houston police officers are statistically significantly different only from officers in the District of Columbia. This is explainable since public drunkenness of skid row inebriates seems to be oriented toward different goals in Houston and the District of Columbia. See items, TOURIST and BUSINESS, in which a significant difference also exists between Houston and the District of Columbia. In Houston, the skid row inebriates are primarily located in the major downtown business districts where there are numerous officer buildings and commercial businesses. As discussed above, the business community is a major force influencing public policy and, in particular, makes numerous complaints to the Houston Police Department to remove public drunks. For this reason, the goal in the skid row area tends toward a "clean the streets" policy in which all skid row public inebriates in the central business area potentially may be arrested. In contrast, in the District of Columbia, the goal tends toward pickup of only the emergency case skid row inebriate.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.79	1.57	2.19	1.78	2.44

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows that the variations among the substation areas are not statistically significant.

(6) BOTHER. Greater agreement is expected in criminal than in decriminalized jurisdictions. A high level of agreement is expected in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.79	1.57	2.19	1.78	2.44
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=3.61 S=.01	N/S	Z=6.13 S=.01

Police officers in Houston show a significantly higher level of agreement than police officers in St. Louis and the District of Columbia, although there is a high level of agreement in all jurisdictions. It is suggested that part of the explanation for this difference corresponds to that discussed for the item above, POORDRESS. An important source of evidence to Houston police officers that publicly

intoxicated persons often "bother" other persons is the pattern of complaints received by the department. Patrol officers are very sensitive to these complaints because they trigger radio-dispatched orders to scout car officers, and, thus, increase the workload. As noted above, the business community generates numerous complaints in the skid row areas. The number of complaints is no doubt proportionately much greater than in the District of Columbia. This is consistent with police attitudes on the item BUSINESS, discussed below, showing that Houston police officers have a significantly higher level of agreement than officers in the District of Columbia. Also, inebriates in non skid row areas -- those in taverns and bars as well as those involved in neighborhood and family disturbances -- are the source of a large number of complaints. The level of complaints in Houston is probably much higher than in St. Louis where public intoxication seems to be more tolerated and where the skid row area is more diffuse. For example, see the item, GENPUB, discussed below.

The above explanation of the significant difference between attitudes of Houston police officers as compared to police officers in St. Louis and the District of Columbia is also reflected in responses to the strategic environment item, SERIOUS, discussed above. The significantly higher level of agreement of Houston police officers of the seriousness of public drunkenness as a public health problem, compared to police officers in St. Louis and the District of Columbia, is probably strongly influenced by the large number of complaints received.

Also, responses of Houston police officers to other items relating to perceptions of public inebriates -- WELLDRESS, MESSY, BELLIGERENT, and THREAT, -- suggest a pattern. Houston is a jurisdiction with a relatively high level of enforcement of the public drunkenness law both among skid and non skid row population. A substantial proportion of total arrests in Houston are for public intoxication. The task of arresting public inebriates may be more time-consuming to patrol officers in Houston because of the transportation problems involved -- relatively long distances coupled with the absence of specialized transport vehicles for this purpose in areas other than the central business district. For these reasons, Houston police officers to a greater degree perceive public inebriates as a "bother" and exhibiting other unacceptable antisocial behavior, in part, to justify their role. The use of public drunkenness as a "crime prevention" tool in Houston also enlarges the police role in enforcing the public intoxication laws; the more substantial the role, the greater the need for justification.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	1.79	1.92	1.77	1.86	1.72

Intra-jurisdiction comparison suggests that the differences between substation areas are not statistically significant.

(7) MUGGING. While general agreement is expected in all jurisdictions, greater agreement is expected in criminal than decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.07	1.35	2.47	2.67	2.73
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=5.10 S=.01	Z=2.97 S=.01	Z=3.30 S=.01	Z=5.22 S=.01

The data confirms the hypotheses. Houston is second only to Richmond in showing the highest level of agreement.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.07	1.66	1.85	2.59	2.04
Significance of Difference		M.D.1 to N.S. Central to N.S.	Z=3.13 Z=2.79	S=.01 S=.01	

Police officers in Central have a significantly higher level of agreement than police officers in the North Shephard area. Officers handling primarily skid row inebriates probably view them as greater risks for attack -- including attack by other skid row persons -- than officers handling non skid row inebriates. Police officers in North Shephard agree less than officers in Southeast. This difference parallels differences between North Shephard and Southeast on the item, MESSY, discussed above. The possible explanation provided above may also be applicable to MUGGING.

(8) WEATHER. General agreement is expected in all jurisdictions, although greater agreement is expected in criminal than in decriminalized jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X}	2.68	2.32	3.45	2.73	2.46
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=5.36 S=.01	N/S	N/S

Despite its location in the Southwest, fifty miles from the Gulf of Mexico, police officers in Houston tend to agree with this item. In the winter it can get cold in Houston and persons are less prepared to cope with cold weather. Houston provides a home for many "snowbirds" during the winter months -- skid row men who come South from cities such as Chicago, Minneapolis, and St. Louis. Houston shows a statistically significantly higher level of agreement than police officers in St. Louis. It is interesting to observe that these responses are consistent with the police roles. Houston pursues an active official "intervention" policy; St. Louis, with the lowest number of pickups of the jurisdiction surveyed, in contrast pursues a "non-intervention" policy.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.68	2.51	2.78	2.92	2.47

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows that the differences are not statistically significant.

(9) IMMOBILE. No significant differences are hypothesized between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. General disagreement is expected in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.30	2.74	3.62	3.81	3.39
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=2.59 S=.01	Z=2.31 S=.02	Z=2.92 S=.01	N/S

Police officers in Houston express marginal agreement on this item. Police officers in Richmond have the highest level of agreement which is a statistically significant difference from Houston. In contrast, police officers in St. Louis and Minneapolis express significantly less agreement than Houston police officers; they have a marginal leaning toward disagreement. No explanation is apparent to explain these results.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.30	3.45	3.35	2.98	3.38

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows that the variations are not statistically significant.

(10) MEDICAL. No significant differences are expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. Some general disagreement is expected in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.46	3.35	3.34	3.14	3.86
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	Z=2.89 S=.01

Houston is virtually on the dividing point (i.e., 3.50) between agreement and disagreement. It differs significantly only from the District of Columbia where disagreement is not substantial. With the exception of the District of Columbia, there is marginal to slight agreement in all the jurisdictions.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.46	3.62	3.59	2.96	3.58
Significance of Difference	M.D.1 to N.S.		Z=2.01	S=.04	

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows significant variation between police officers in Master District 1, the principal skid row area, and North Shephard, a non skid row area. Officers whose experiences primarily involve skid row inebriates are in significantly less agreement that few persons intoxicated in public are in need of medical assistance.

(11) PROPCARE. No significant differences are expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. General agreement is expected in all jurisdictions.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.60	1.93	3.36	2.94	2.49
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=3.50 S=.01	Z=5.67 S=.01	Z=1.96 S=.05	N/S

As expected, officers in all jurisdictions are in agreement that it is important that publicly intoxicated persons are properly cared for. Houston shows a statistically significant higher level of agreement than the decriminalized jurisdictions, St. Louis and Minneapolis, although significantly less agreement than Richmond, the other criminal jurisdiction. It is noteworthy that the attitudes in Richmond and Washington, D.C., showing the highest level of agreement, parallel responses to the items, SERVICES, BELLIGERENT, and to a lesser degree IMMOBILE.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.60	2.78	2.75	2.58	2.44

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows that the variations are not statistically significant.

5. Strategic Interaction Variable

- a. BUSINESS. No significant differences are expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. General agreement is expected in all jurisdictions. Further, it is hypothesized that the degree of agreement will be highest for BUSINESS among the several indicators of the strategic interaction variable.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.45	2.21	2.29	2.32	2.75
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	Z=2.41 S=.02

As expected, police officers in all jurisdictions are in agreement. Houston police officers show a significantly higher level of agreement than officers in the District of Columbia. Among the strategic interaction indicators, BUSINESS ranks second only to GENPUB (mean 2.25) in Houston.

The importance of businesses in Houston as a source of pressure for a high level of enforcement of the public drunkenness laws has been discussed above in relation to the items PRIORITY, TOURIST, POORDRESS, and BOTHER. In particular, the contrast between Houston and the District of Columbia discussed under TOURIST, above, should be referred to for the explanation of the statistically significant difference between Houston and the District of Columbia.

Houston interviews and observation in Central, which services the downtown business area, provide an illustration of the clout of Houston business interests. Deputy Chief of Police, R.G. McKeehan, who heads the patrol division, stated that within the past year a delegation from an organization of businessmen complained personally to him about problems caused by skid row drunks in the downtown business area. He observed that Central may receive twenty to forty telephone complaints about public inebriates on a busy day. In response, Chief McKeehan ordered that increased attention be given to the problem. Increased enforcement was undertaken, especially in Master District 1. This effort, part of an

over-all effort to improve the downtown business area, has been informally named "Operation Sparkle" by police officers. To monitor the results of this effort, a lieutenant was assigned responsibility to keep special records of the police response and to communicate the results to the captain and Chief McKeehan.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.45	1.94	2.23	2.39	2.81
Significance of Difference					
		M.D.1 to S.E.	Z=3.46	S=.01	
		Central to S.E.	Z=2.52	S=.01	

As might be expected, police officers in Central show a higher level of agreement than police officers in the other areas. The attitudes of officers working in the central business district show a significantly higher level of agreement than police officers in Southeast.

- b. GENPUB. No significant difference is expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. General agreement is expected in all jurisdictions. Among the several strategic interaction indicators, GENPUB is expected to rank second only to BUSINESS.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.25	2.28	2.64	2.22	2.59
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=3.13 S=.01	N/S	N/S

Police officers in all jurisdictions are in agreement. The variations between Houston and the other cities is statistically significant only in St. Louis. Houston police officers have a statistically significant higher level of agreement than St. Louis officers that the general public wants the police to increase their efforts to remove publicly intoxicated persons. Also, the hypothesis placing BUSINESS and GENPUB as the two most important indicators of the strategic interaction variable in Houston is confirmed, although in the reverse order.

The differences between police officers in Houston and St. Louis parallel responses on such items as PROPCARE, IMMOBILE, and WEATHER. Officers in both cities see the general public as supportive of the respective differences in the levels of enforcement of the public drunkenness laws. It may be argued that police have a need to justify their role and this explains the differences in response to this item. Role justification may or may not reflect correct perceptions of reality. The reality probably is that the different perceptions of police officers in Houston and St. Louis on this item are both correct. The differences in pressure for removal of public inebriates by the general public, and other more well-defined groups, may largely explain the substantially higher level of enforcement of the public drunkenness laws in Houston than in St. Louis.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.F.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.25	2.03	2.26	2.01	2.36

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows that the variations among substation areas are not statistically significant.

- c. AAETC. No significant difference is expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. General agreement is expected in all jurisdictions. It is hypothesized that this item is of intermediate ranking relative to other indicators of strategic interaction.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.96	3.14	3.27	3.08	3.41
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.36 S=.02	N/S	Z=3.59 S=.01

Although none of the jurisdictions showed a high level of agreement, Houston ranked first. Houston police officers tended to agree that groups like the Salvation Army, Star of Hope, A.A., etc., want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places. There is a significant difference when Houston is compared to St. Louis and the District of Columbia. This item ranks fourth out of seven indicators in terms of level of agreement, confirming the hypothesis of intermediate ranking in Houston among the strategic interaction indicators.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.96	2.90	2.67	3.29	3.14
Significance of Difference	Central to N.S. Z=2.37 S=.01				

Police officers in Central show a statistically significant higher level of agreement than officers in North Shephard. Why does the closer contact with these organizations, resulting from handling their clientele and physical proximity, produce a higher level of agreement in Central on this item? Interviews suggest that police officers correctly perceive that many of these organizations take a "hard line" and refuse to service skid row men in an inebriated condition. Also, many members of these organizations would prefer seeing an inebriated person arrested than totally neglected. Finally, the "intake" performed by some of these organizations actually occurs at the City Prison Farm where many skid row inebriates serve their time. Hence, the best chance of servicing many skid row alcoholics occurs when they can meet them in a sober condition at the City Prison Farm to explain their program.

- d. POLITICO. No significant difference is expected between criminal and decriminalized jurisdictions. General disagreement is expected in all jurisdictions. This item is hypothesized to rank low among the strategic interaction indicators.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.74	2.67	2.91	2.41	2.96
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	N/S	N/S	N/S

The hypothesis of general disagreement is not confirmed. There was general agreement with this item in all jurisdictions. The variations among the cities are not statistically significant. In Houston, this item ranks third in the level of agreement among seven indicators of the strategic interaction variable. The importance of this item as a source of pressure for pickup of public inebriates was underestimated.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	2.74	2.45	2.62	2.61	3.04
Significance of Difference	M.D.1 to S.E.		Z=2.05	S=.04	

Intra-jurisdictional comparison shows that the police officers in Master District 1 are in most agreement. Next to businesses and the general public, police officers in Master District 1 see political leaders as an important source of pressure. The level of agreement in Master District 1 is significantly higher than in Southeast. It is suggested that this is merely another manifestation of the influence of the business community operating through the political system.

- e. CRTPER. No hypothesis was formulated in criminal jurisdictions on the direction of attitudes on this item. Houston police officers marginally agreed that court personnel want the police to increase their efforts in removing intoxicated persons from public places. There was no significant difference between Houston and Richmond police officers. This item ranked low in importance -- sixth out of seven -- among the indicators of the strategic interaction variable.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.39	3.72	3.53	3.03	3.449
Significance of Difference	M.D.1 to N.S.		Z=2.36	S=.01	
	Central to N.S.		Z=2.03	S=.04	

Police officers in Master District 1 marginally disagree with this item and show the least level of agreement among the substations surveyed. Both Master District 1 as well as Central showed significantly less agreement than North Shephard. Non skid row inebriates usually forfeit collateral to avoid a court appearance. Since officers in Central more frequently observe the workload that arresting skid row inebriates regularly places on the Municipal City Court, their lower level of agreement is to be expected.

- f. LIQUOR. General disagreement is expected in all jurisdictions. It is expected to rank second only to the item "drunk" in level of disagreement.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.24	3.43	3.57	3.27	3.47
Sig. of Difference	--	N/S	Z=2.23 S=.03	N/S	N/S

Houston police officers marginally agreed with this item. The variation among the cities was significant only between Houston and St. Louis; the latter showed significantly less agreement. In Houston this item ranks third from the bottom among the strategic interaction indicators, slightly above CRTPER and substantially above DRUNKS.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	3.24	2.86	3.12	3.05	3.52
Significance of Difference	M.D.1 to S.E.		Z=2.08	S=.04	

Police officers in Master District 1 show a significantly higher level of agreement than police officers in Southeast. The large number of "sleazy" bars and taverns in Master District 11, catering to transient seamen, might account in part for the higher level of disagreement from police officers in Southeast. While some package stores in Master District 1 have a substantial skid row clientele, many others do not view the skid row inebriate as a business asset.

- g. DRUNKS. General disagreement is expected in all jurisdictions. It is expected that this item would rank lowest among the strategic interaction indicators.

	<u>Hous.</u>	<u>Rich.</u>	<u>St.L.</u>	<u>Minn.</u>	<u>Wash.</u>
\bar{X} score	5.10	4.64	4.73	4.75	3.99
Sig. of Difference	--	Z=1.93 S=.05	Z=2.77 S=.01	N/S	Z=4.10 S=.01

Houston showed the highest level of disagreement with this item. The level of disagreement is significantly greater than for police officers in Richmond, St. Louis, and the District of Columbia. This item ranked lowest in importance by a wide margin among the strategic interaction indicators.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
\bar{X} score	5.10	4.82	5.02	4.90	5.49
Significance of Difference		M.D.1 to S.E. Central to S.E.	Z=2.68 Z=2.37	S=.01 S=.01	

Police officers in all substation areas show disagreement. Officers in Central show significantly less disagreement than those in Southeast. It is to be expected that non skid row inebriates have stronger incentives to avoid arrest than skid row inebriates. What is somewhat surprising is that the attitudes of police officers in North Shephard are similar to those in Central. No explanation is apparent.

6. Conclusions

Both inter- and intra-jurisdictional comparisons of police attitudes yielded significant results. In summarizing the findings of the inter-jurisdictional analysis, the indicators of the organizational variable yielded the least interesting results. Houston police officers do see themselves as being better trained to handle public inebriates than do officers in other police departments. Houston police officers support, at least in principle, a high level of conformity to departmental rules. Role indicators (i.e., SOCWORK and APPROP) and peer variables (i.e., VETOFF and to a lesser degree BUDDIES and PARTNER) seem to provide a more differentiated measure than the organizational item PRIORITY, suggesting that Houston police officers perceive removal of public inebriates as receiving the highest priority of the jurisdictions surveyed.

Role, peer, and strategic environment indicators provide evidence that Houston, along with St. Louis and Minneapolis, have police departments with a more traditional "law enforcement" and "crime fighting" orientation than in Richmond and the District of Columbia. Richmond and St. Louis police departments seem to be more oriented towards "community service." This helps explain why Houston police officers see the public inebriate as more threatening -- THREAT -- and BELLIGERENT than police officers in Richmond and Washington, D.C. It also helps explain why both the role and peer variables suggest a general acceptance by Houston police officers of their role in providing a high level of enforcement of the public drunkenness laws. This orientation is well-suited to a "clean the streets" policy in the skid row areas and the use of the public drunkenness laws as a "crime prevention" tool in non skid row areas. It is not surprising, therefore, that Houston police officers show the highest level of disagreement on the item, WELLDRESS, among the cities surveyed.

In Houston, as in other cities, the general public and businesses are viewed as the most important sources of pressure on police departments for removal of public inebriates. The high concentration of skid row inebriates in the major downtown business area in Houston helps explain the "clean the streets" policy orientation toward skid row inebriates. It also helps explain police attitudes on such items as TOURIST, POORDRESS, and BOTHER, where Houston significantly differs from other cities, notably St. Louis and Washington, D.C.

Intra-jurisdictional comparison provided valuable insights in Houston because of the high concentration of skid row inebriates in one part of the city and the decentralized organization of the police department, permitting a contrast between attitudes of officers primarily handling skid row and non skid row inebriates. A substantial number of items produced differences between officers in skid and non skid row areas many of which are statistically significant. Other differences were produced between the two non skid row areas, perhaps reflecting the fact that a large number of transient seamen in the port-channel area are located in one of the non skid row areas. An over-all impression emerges that the attitudes of Houston police officers in the skid row area to the job of removing public inebriates is more similar to officers in St. Louis and Washington, D.C. -- who deal primarily with skid row inebriates -- than to their fellow officers in the non skid row areas. This suggests that police attitudes may be more a function of the characteristics of the inebriate handled than whether the jurisdiction is criminalized or decriminalized, although these two dimensions are obviously related.

To provide a few examples of the differences between attitudes of Houston police officers in skid row and non skid row areas, PRIORITY especially merits emphasis. Police officers in the skid row area perceive a higher priority on the removal of public inebriates than officers in the non skid row areas. In regard to role and peer variables, officers in non skid row areas disagree more that veteran officers see removing public inebriates as a waste of time. Indicators of the strategic environment variable, such as QUICKLY, THREAT, MUGGING, and BUSINESS, also produced significant differences between skid and non skid row areas.

B. CORRELATION ANALYSIS

The relevant forms of the dependent variable are as follows:

$$\text{ACTION} = (\text{ARREST1} + \text{ARREST2} + \text{HOSPITAL} + \text{HOME1} + \text{MOVEON} + \text{HOME2}) / \text{Total Actions}$$

$$\text{APPROVED} = (\text{ARREST1} + \text{ARREST2} + \text{HOSPITAL} + \text{HOME1}) / \text{Total Actions}$$

$$\text{INSACTION} = (\text{ARREST1} + \text{ARREST2} + \text{HOSPITAL}) / \text{Total Actions}$$

The grouped variables (those developed on the basis of factor analysis) for Houston are: GROUPS, PROLE, ENVIRON, CJGROUPS.

1. Organization Variable

- a. PROLE. While no indicators grouped together exclusively from the organizational variable, PROLE may provide a good measure of the organizational variable. $\text{PROLE} = \text{SOCWORK} + \text{LOWPRI} + \text{VETOFF}$. In the preceding section on attitudinal analysis, it was observed that an indicator from the role variable, SOCWORK, and an indicator from the peer variable, VETOFF, seem to provide a more sensitive measure than the organizational indicator, PRIORITY, of the officers' perception of the priority the department gives to enforcement of the public drunkenness law. The third indicator, LOWPRI, was originally identified as an indicator of the organizational variable.

Hypothesis: We hypothesize that agreement would result in less ACTION, APPROVED, and INSACTION. The hypothesis is proven if there is a significant positive correlation. The only significant relationship was found in North Shephard.

North Shephard

PROLE X ACTION	.4073 S=.001
PROLE X APPROVED	.3174 S=.010
PROLE X INSACTION	.3174 S=.010

The correlation, PROLE X ACTION demonstrates that those officers who agree take significantly less ACTION. It is expected that correlation would be the strongest for this form of the dependent variable because it includes more options than APPROVED or INSACTION. Yet, the correlation coefficients are also substantial and statistically significant for APPROVED and INSACTION. The difference between the correlation coefficients for ACTION and the other two forms of the dependent variable may evidence the use of informal dispositions in the non skid row area, which is to be expected.

- b. TRAINING. This is a single organizational indicator. It is hypothesized that officers who agree that the department makes an effort to train them in problems of removing intoxicated persons from public places would take more ACTION, APPROVED and INSACTION. Officers who perceive that the department makes an effort to train them to remove public drunks would also see the department as favoring such action. Correlations are more likely to occur in non skid row areas since the training program is oriented towards making arrests generally and not special problems of public inebriates. The hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse. Confirmation of the hypothesis resulted in two instances in North Shephard and Southeast, the two non skid row areas.

	<u>N.S.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
TRAINING X ACTION	-.3627 S=.004	-.1129 S=.172
TRAINING X APPROVED	-.0612 S=.332	-.2250 S=.029
TRAINING X INSACTION	-.0962 S=.247	-.1913 S=.054

In North Shepherd, the only substantial correlation is for ACTION. Interviews with both patrol officers and superior officers indicated approval of informal action. In fact, there is some confusion under the revised public intoxication laws whether discretion is now formally allowed under the statute.

The difference in TRAINING X ACTION as contrasted with TRAINING X APPROVED and TRAINING X INS ACTION in North Shepherd deserves comment. HOME1 is an option infrequently used in Houston. Officers rarely transport inebriates home in their own scout cars. Also, the taxi-cab service in Houston tends to be poor in many areas and is often not a viable option. Where the inebriate is unduly disorderly or assaultive, ARREST2 -- arrest for some other criminal offense or violation -- is the option likely to be used. HOSPITAL is used, but only in the emergency case. The difference can be rationally explained only as reflecting a substantial number of informal actions in non skid row areas. However, the magnitude of the difference suggested by the data is surprising, since numerous ARREST1 actions are taken in non skid row areas for publicly inebriated persons.

In contrast, in Southeast, the only correlation of note is for APPROVED. It is in the expected direction and is statistically significant.

2. Role Variable. SOCWORK is a role indicator included in the grouped variable, PROLE, discussed above. No usable correlations were obtained for the separate indicators of the role variable, SOCWORK, APPROP, SERVICES, and IDEAL.
3. Peer Variable. VETOFF is an indicator of the peer variable, included in the grouped variable, PROLE, discussed above. In addition, one other indicator, BUDDIES produced some worthwhile correlations.
 - a. BUDDIES. We hypothesize that officers agreeing with BUDDIES would be expected to take more ACTION, APPROVED and INS ACTION. This hypothesis is proven if there is a significant inverse relationship. There was a very weak indication of a relationship citywide for INS ACTION. In Master District #1, this relationship for INS ACTION was stronger but the result was not significant ($S=.079$). The strongest relationship was in Southeast for BUDDIES X APPROVED, although BUDDIES X INS ACTION was also relatively strong.

	<u>Citywide</u>	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>S.E.</u>
BUDDIES X ACTION	-.0430 S=.233	-.0113 S=.469	-.1745 S=.071
BUDDIES X APPROVED	-.1155 S=.025	-.0728 S=.306	-.3129 S=.004
BUDDIES X INS ACTION	-.1528 S=.005	-.2009 S=.079	-.2857 S=.007

No explanation is apparent for the strongest correlation in Southeast for BUDDIES X APPROVED. In contrast, informal action in North Shephard (ACTION) was the form of the dependent variable correlating with PROLE. Possibly, officers in Southeast take less informal action than officers in North Shephard. In Master District #1, the only correlation of any note was BUDDIES X INS ACTION. Since the only public hospital where skid row inebriates are taken, Ben Taub, is located in M.D. #1, this form of the dependent variable is understandable. Also, in M.D.#1, the officers apparently are not reporting substantial informal action (BUDDIES X ACTION).

4. Strategic Environment Variable

- a. ENVIRON. This grouped variable is defined as follows:

$$\text{ENVIRON} = \text{THREAT} + \text{WELLDRESS} + \text{BELLIG}$$

Attitudinal scores and interviews suggest these items are much more likely to correlate in non skid row than in skid row areas. Houston police officers with a "law enforcement" and "crime fighting" orientation are more likely to take action where they perceive an individual to be a threat and belligerent. WELLDRESS tends to be irrelevant in a skid row area. THREAT is more likely to matter in skid row areas and more likely to be associated with disorderly and assaultive behavior which would prompt an officer to take action. Hence, we hypothesize that officers who disagree with ENVIRON would take more ACTION, APPROVED, and INS ACTION. This hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is positive and substantial. No citywide significant correlation was found.

	<u>N.S.</u>
ENVIRON X ACTION	.0900 S=.261
ENVIRON X APPROVED	.2454 S=.038
ENVIRON X INS ACTION	.3484 S=.005

The only noteworthy correlation is in North Shephard for ENVIRON X APPROVED and ENVIRON X INS ACTION. It is understandable that if an individual is a threat and belligerent, the officer is less likely to take informal action (ACTION) and more likely to take formal action (APPROVED and INS ACTION). Since the only difference between APPROVED and INS ACTION is the inclusion of HOME1 in APPROVED -- which is a questionable option to include among approved actions in Houston -- it is not surprising that INS ACTION shows the strongest relationship. INS ACTION represents the full custody, formal options available to Houston police officers.

- b. WEATHER. This single indicator is expected to be more relevant in explaining dispositions in skid rather than non skid row areas. Public inebriates in non skid row areas generally have a home to go to and often are able to find a means of getting there. We hypothesize that officers who agree with this item are more likely to take ACTION, APPROVED and INS ACTION. This hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse and the correlation is substantial.

	<u>M.D.1</u>	<u>Central</u>	<u>N.S.</u>
WEATHER X ACTION	-.1795 S=.104	-.2073 S=.009	.0850 S=.273
WEATHER X APPROVED	-.2312 S=.051	-.1265 S=.077	.2273 S=.051
WEATHER X INS ACTION	-.1895 S=.091	-.0955 S=.142	.2182 S=.058

While not very strong, correlations worthy of mention occur in M.D.1 in the form of WEATHER X APPROVED, and Central in the form of WEATHER X ACTION. The correlations in North Shephard are in the wrong direction: officers who agree that persons intoxicated in public need protection from inclement weather take less action.

- c. MUGGING. We hypothesize that police officers who agree with this item are more likely to take ACTION, APPROVED and INSACTION. This hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse and the correlation is substantial. The strongest relationship is in Master District 1. No substantial relationships appeared for any other areas.

	<u>M.D.1</u>
MUGGING X ACTION	-.4134 S=.001
MUGGING X APPROVED	-.3886 S=.002
MUGGING X INSACTION	-.3923 S=.002

5. Strategic Interaction Variable

- a. GROUPS. This grouped variable is defined as follows:

$$\text{GROUPS} = \text{BUSINESS} + \text{PACKST} + \text{GENPUB} + \text{POLITICO}$$

We hypothesize that police officers who agree would take more ACTION, APPROVED and INSACTION. Police officers who believe that significant others in their patrol areas want them to increase their pickups will act more often in such encounters. This hypothesis is proven if the direction of the relationship is inverse and the correlation is substantial.

The data provides no correlations worthy of note. The absence of correlations in Houston and other cities merits comment. Some possible explanations are: (1) officers do not take into consideration pressures from "significant others" when making decisions about public inebriates; (2) officers who take the most actions tend not to agree with the items making up the GROUPS variable because they see themselves as having adequately responded to the expectations of significant others; (3) officers do not consciously associate the existence of community pressures with their decisions to take action. Many arrests of public inebriates result from a direction of the radio dispatcher to respond to an incident at a particular location. Although the source of the dispatcher's order may be the complaint of a businessman, etc., the officer may regard his decisions to take action and the form of action as largely autonomous.

6. Background/Situation Specific Variables

- a. AGE. No significant relationships appear for AGE and any of the forms of the dependent variable.
- b. HTIME. No significant relationship appears for HTIME and any form of the dependent variable.
- c. EDUC. One correlation worthy of mention appears in Master District 1.

	<u>M.D.1</u>
EDUC X ACTION	.1507 S=.146
EDUC X APPROVED	.1753 S=.109
EDUC X INSACTION	.2309 S=.052

A somewhat interesting correlation is EDUC X INSACTION in Master District 1. The positive relationship indicates that police officers with higher levels of education in M.D.1 are more likely to take INSACTION. It may be that officers with higher levels of education are more likely to take skid row inebriates to Ben Taub hospital because they have a greater perception of their need for medical attention and realize the desirability of this disposition.

- d. WINO. We hypothesize that the more winos that the police officer sees the more he will take ACTION. This hypothesis would be proven by an inverse relationship since WINO is reverse loaded.

	<u>Citywide</u>
WINO X ACTION	.0124 S=.429
WINO X APPROVED	.2508 S=.001
WINO X INSACTION	.2421 S=.001

The correlations run in the wrong direction. Police officers who encounter more winos take less APPROVED and INSACTION. Since Houston tends to have a relatively high level of enforcement of its public drunkenness law, this correlation, although not especially strong, is surprising.

- e. CLASS. A citywide relationship appeared between the relative wealth of the officer's area and APPROVED. The relationship is negative indicating that the poorer the residences in the officer's patrol area, the less the officer takes APPROVED. The wealthier the residences in the area, the more the officer takes APPROVED.

	<u>Citywide</u>
CLASS X ACTION	-.1541 S=.001
CLASS X APPROVED	-.2717 S=.001
CLASS X INSACTION	-.1888 S=.002

It may be reasonable to expect that in middle and high income areas citizens are more likely to complain to the police department about the presence of a publicly inebriated person and that this would produce arrest.

- f. MAJOR/BUSDIST. A correlation of .3887 (S=.007) appeared citywide between MAJOR and APPROVED. If the police officer perceives his district as major business district, he is less likely to take ACTION. This relationship runs contrary to expectations. On the other hand, there was a weak correlation of -.1907 (S=.011) for BUSDIST X INSACTION, suggesting that in neighborhood retail business district, an officer encountering a publicly intoxicated person is more likely to take INSACTION.

7. Conclusion.

Correlation analysis was not expected to yield significant results. This is especially true citywide in Houston because the factors that would tend to influence actions involving skid row

inebriates are different from those expected to influence actions involving non skid row inebriates. Of the relatively few significant relationships that appear, most appear in North Shephard. In North Shephard, officers who perceive the department as giving a high priority to enforcement of the public drunkenness laws take more positive actions, both formal and informal (PROLE and TRAINING). They will take more actions when their colleagues (BUDDIES) have a positive attitude toward removal of public inebriates. Officers in North Shephard also will take more actions when public inebriates are perceived as a threat and belligerent (ENVIRON). Some results were also of interest in the skid row area. Officers in Master District 1 will take more action where they perceive the inebriate in need of protection from inclement weather and from the danger of being mugged. The strategic interaction indicators proved to be unproductive for correlation analysis. Background and situation specific indicators yielded no particularly interesting results.

PART THREE

The Prescriptive Model

The present section is designed to present our initial thinking concerning the prescriptive phase of the project. At the present time, we have developed a tentative model to guide our inquiry and have sent out questionnaires and conducted local interviews aimed at developing a list of possible target cities. Our plan is to visit these cities and conduct elite interviews. The interview schedules would be based on the prescriptive model.

The tentative model is premised on four principal elements: (1) the goals that a jurisdiction may wish to achieve; (2) the conflict and compatability of these goals; (3) delivery mechanisms that are available to achieve these goals; and, (4) techniques of administration whereby the delivery mechanisms are utilized to achieve the goals. The goals then are perceived as the dependent variable and the delivery mechanisms as the independent variable. Techniques of administration may be perceived as the intervening variables. The objective will be to analyze the relationship of these elements.

(1) Goals

As indicated, the goals of a jurisdiction would be viewed as the dependent variable in our model. At the present time, we have identified four primary goals of a jurisdiction in dealing with the problem of public inebriation:

1. Removal of the inebriate from the street.
2. Saving criminal justice resources.
3. Providing emergency services to the inebriate.
4. Curing or rehabilitating the inebriate.

(2) Conflict and Compatibility of Goals

A problem arises for a jurisdiction from the fact that these goals may often be in conflict with one another. Pursuit of one objective may often produce negative consequences for realization of other goals. On the other hand, some of the goals are complimentary and may be pursued together. Appreciation of this potential conflict and compatibility is essential if a workable system is to be developed whereby delivery mechanisms and techniques of administration are effectively adapted to viable expectations regarding goals to be achieved.

In terms of conflicts among goals, we've seen empirically a conflict between providing emergency services and curing the inebriate. For example, in St. Louis, and possibly in any system, a Detox facility

which begins providing emergency services finds that this doesn't yield success in rehabilitation -- they just see the same people coming back again and again. Both the staff of the Center and the police become disenchanted with the program. Others in the system, (e.g., political leaders, the public, news media) complain because they don't understand what that facility was designed to do. So, the system may change its goals and attempt to become a rehabilitation facility. But, if they're going to rehabilitate, that means dealing less with the emergency cases which are usually the skid row types and more with the middle class. Since the police as a delivery mechanism usually emphasize delivery of skid row type emergency cases in their deliveries to a Detoxification Center, it becomes necessary for the Center to stress voluntary intake mechanisms rather than the police delivery system.

Empirically, then, there is a conflict of goals and the delivery mechanisms are accordingly adjusted. There may well be a pattern. Starting out with an emergency pickup process, the system becomes over time more specialized, more discriminating, regarding who is treated. Success becomes defined not in terms of servicing the emergency case; but rather in terms of the recidivism rate.

Another conflict that we've experienced is between cleaning the streets and curing the inebriate. If your goal is to clean the streets, that suggests that you pick up all inebriates or at least get them off the street. If you're going to clean the streets in the sense of deliver the inebriate to the legally appointed location, then

there is a conflict because you're going to be delivering individuals who are not capable of rehabilitation. You'll flood the market and there won't be enough room for the potentially curable given the limited resources of the system. So you do have a conflict, in fact. But the conflict may be avoided. The police officer could clean the streets by channeling the skid row types into the alleys and in their special areas, and channel other drunks that are "curable" middle class types into your rehabilitation system. There isn't a conflict if, in fact, the pickup agent is willing to violate the letter of the law and channel the inebriates, e.g., if they just move them off, get them moving. We can show that systems adjust to achieve both goals. But the way they can adjust is to, in some way, violate the intent of the law. We can show that informal norms and mechanisms emerge to overcome the conflict.

Another conflict arises between the goals of cleaning the streets and providing emergency services. Emergency services and cleaning the streets cut in different directions -- respectively indiscriminate and discriminate in pickup. Emergency services is discriminate in that it is directed to picking up people who are in really serious trouble. On the other hand, cleaning the streets is indiscriminate in removing all inebriates. Again, if the police officer is willing to violate the law as it is usually written, the goals are probably not incompatible because he can deliver the emergency case to a hospital or detox, deal with the non-emergency skid row type by just getting them off the streets and send the non-skid row inebriates home.

It may be suggested that informal pickup behavior is in part a response to these conflicts and an effort by the officer to reconcile them. Indeed, not just the officers but the whole system might tacitly accept such informal norms for processing the inebriates. We haven't seen any special objection when the police just dispose of inebriates in cities where this is a primary model of police behavior. In such cases, the police confine inebriates to parks and places where they're not bothersome or visible and counter pressure seems nonexistent.

Another conflict emerges between cleaning the streets and the saving of police resources. If you're going to clean the streets effectively, it requires substantial commitment of police resources. The police officers would have to deliver inebriates to detox, send inebriates home, tell inebriates to move on, etc. Since this does involve use of police resources, there is a potential conflict.

There is also compatibility of goals. Providing emergency services and saving criminal justice resources are probably basically compatible. A minimal commitment of police resources is involved in seeing to the needs of the emergency case. However, this does not mean that there are no more effective ways of handling emergency cases than using the police, or that more effective ways of using the police are not available.

There is also compatibility between the goals of curing inebriates and saving criminal justice resources because curing depends very much on voluntary intake. In emphasizing the goal of rehabilitation, the

emphasis is generally on the middle class inebriate and not the skid row inebriate. Since the police tend to deemphasize the pick up of the non skid row type of drunk, there is less expenditure of criminal justice resources. It must be stressed, however, that in pursuing the rehabilitation goal, the detox may be unwilling or unable to accept the police emergency cases, thus producing the goal conflict noted above.

Theoretically, there is also compatibility between the goals of providing emergency services and rehabilitation. However, this compatibility does not exist in fact. In other words, what we've found is that empirically there seems to be conflict between these goals. Theoretically, it is supposed to be possible to channel the emergency case from detox into the rehabilitation system. That was the essential idea in St. Louis in instituting a seven day detox program. The extended time was not for drying out, not for providing medical services, but was intended as a vehicle for channeling the inebriate into the rehabilitation system. In fact, goal conflict emerged with a greater emphasis on rehabilitation, on middle class voluntary admissions at the expense of the emergency care of the skid row inebriate brought in by the police. Even in St. Louis where the seven day service, which is very unusual, maximizes the compatibility of goals, a conflict of goals has emerged.

(3) Delivery Mechanisms

The third element of the model deals with the independent variable, the delivery mechanisms. It seems useful to divide this element into two headings.

(a) Police delivery mechanisms.

Within this category we include the traditional model for police pickup of public inebriates in which all police resources are used, i.e., squads, scout cars, foot patrol, motorcycles and tricars, vans. We would also include police variations on the traditional model:

- Special squads for both pickup and delivery. In Chicago, for example, they use a "bum squad." Similarly, in the 9th district in St. Louis they employed a special squad car which was to place stress on handling drunks. And in Houston, they have a wagon to patrol the inner city which is primarily for picking up and delivering inebriates.

- A second device is to use a special transport vehicle where the pickup agent is relieved of the necessity of delivering the inebriate. In St. Louis, in 1963, one of the factors that produced the large increase in pickup rates was the fact that the patrolmen merely had to call for a specialized transport. It is desirable to distinguish squads that pick up and deliver versus the use of special transport vehicles.

- Another police device for removing inebriates is the greater use of foot patrol. Foot patrol seems to be another way of encouraging the removal of public inebriates from public places.

(b) Other delivery mechanisms.

Within the category of other delivery mechanisms, we have thus far

identified:

- the use of medical teams for pickup and delivery.
- the use of former drunks,
- the use of combined teams such as medical police or drunks and police,
- the use of private agencies as delivery mechanisms,
- and the use of emergency squads such as fire and ambulance.

(4) Techniques of Administration

The fourth element in the prescriptive model would emphasize techniques of administration, i.e., how the various independent variables (delivery mechanisms) are utilized to achieve the dependent variable (goals). What kind of factors intervene between the independent variable and the dependent variable which influence the effectiveness of the delivery mechanisms in the achievement of the various goals. The basic techniques of administration were defined as incentives and disincentives in the Second Project Report -- the economic, informational, communication, and authority -- power incentives and disincentive

The information and communication category can perhaps be combined although we are tentatively leaving them separate. They are both communicational -- they are "flow" type of incentives or disincentives. An example of how this category can be manipulated is the following. If there is a problem of police dealing with medical personnel, it might be possible to alter the contacts that take place between the persons involved. You might create some device whereby the police,

as pickup agent, would not come into contact with the medical personnel. This might alleviate tension that inhibits delivery of inebriates when it might otherwise be desirable.

While the economic incentives are generally described in the Second Project Report, the influence of paperwork and time might also be considered. This is not simply a function of the time involved in the delivery of the inebriate, but rather in the processing of the drunk through the therapeutic system (to the extent the pickup agent is involved). Time and paperwork seem to be classical resource allocation problems and thus can be characterized as economic incentives and disincentives and partly communication incentives/disincentives to the extent that you need paper to communicate. The category of economic incentives then might be more broadly labeled as resource allocation.

We have also added another category of incentives - disincentives that we're calling environmental. The first and most important technique of administration in this category is the location of the delivery point -- where is the inebriate delivered following pickup. It might be possible to use neighborhood facilities rather than a central detox. Another alternative is the use of the central jail as an initial delivery point for subsequent delivery to a central detox. District or precinct lockups could also serve as initial delivery points. It might be possible to deliver inebriates to private agencies for subsequent transmittal to a central facility, e.g., the Salvation Army, a mission. Also inebriates might be taken to hospitals either as the place for treatment, or for subsequent delivery. In Maryland, for

example, the police deliver inebriates to the hospitals as the point of delivery, but they could thereafter be transferred en masse to a central facility.

Another possible environmental factor would be the effect of the number of calls on the pickup pattern. The amount of police business necessarily places a constraint on the ability of the officer to pick up inebriates. It is a part of the environment, although there is only a limited ability to manipulate it as a technique of administration. There's not much that can be done about the extent to which other calls occupy the time of the officers. However, we might consider the effect of the size of the force and techniques for limiting the use of manpower in response to radio calls. But it seems doubtful that this can be a major factor, subject to manipulation for influencing the pickup of inebriates.

This, then, is the initial formulation of the prescriptive model. But we must still define our methodology. We plan to try to find cities that will give us examples of the variations in delivery mechanisms and techniques of administration. We would then visit these site cities and try to find out the goals that they seek to effectuate and their success in implementing them. A major difficulty arises from the difficulty in measuring the degree to which jurisdictions are achieving their defined goals. For example, if the jurisdiction emphasized the saving of criminal justice resources, analysis of their success would require fairly sophisticated cost-benefit analysis, which is probably beyond the capabilities of this project (even assuming such methodological techniques are available). If the goal is

providing emergency services to public inebriates, the critical question becomes measuring the extent to which inebriates in need of emergency services are getting them. Perhaps some very rough qualitative measure of this could be achieved by determining if there has been any litigation or newspaper reports of persons dying for lack of services. Also, one might consider the kinds of facilities that are maintained for providing services. Some sense of this relationship might be achieved by direct observation.

At this point it seems most probable that we would attempt to develop an elite interview schedule for the various key actors in the system which would cover the various elements in the model. It would be a fairly crude measure and there will be no attempt to be rigorous. In terms of more sophisticated data, we do have the material gathered in various cities for our discretion and impact models. There was, in fact, a great deal of empirical data gathered in those cities relevant to information and communication flows, economic incentives, power and authority relationships, and environmental conditions influencing the pickup of inebriates.

The task of identifying an initial list of cities that can be studied in some depth and narrowed to a manageable number for site visits has been a difficult one. Most writing that exists on treatment of public inebriates has been done on a statewide basis (e.g., the state plans) and does not contain the specific information we needed about pickup and delivery programs in individual cities. We, therefore, decided on the following initial research approaches which together yielded our preliminary list of cities.

1. State plans for all states were read with an eye toward identification of pickup and delivery programs that suited our prescriptive model.
2. Letters were sent to the appropriate alcoholism agency of the state Department of Health requesting that a short questionnaire be completed identifying innovative programs within the state.
3. Personal interviews were conducted in the D.C. area with experts in the handling of public inebriates. Often these interviews yielded valuable information, particularly in regard to smaller cities, that we might otherwise not have found.

Additionally we are trying to gain access to the results of several national studies that are currently being conducted on a city by city basis which have potentially valuable information on the intake process in those cities.

The following, then, is a list of jurisdictions identified thus far that merit further investigation in regards to our prescriptive model. These jurisdictions, arranged alphabetically by state, have been identified by the various means outlined above. Since this phase of our study is still in an early stage, our information is in greater detail for some jurisdictions than for others. We propose to narrow this initial list, by means of further letters and telephone interviews, to a workable number of cities best fitting the needs of our prescriptive model. Those cities will then be visited and studied in more depth.

Since much of the resistance to decriminalizing public inebriation comes from smaller cities and towns we have particularly attempted to identify those smaller jurisdictions that have made innovative attempts to handle the intake of public inebriates.

1. California. The State of California has not decriminalized public inebriation, but each county is given the option to adopt section 647F of the penal code giving a protective custody option to arresting officers. There have been extensive studies done of various counties in California that have elected to implement this option. Cities we are currently interested in include:

A. Los Angeles. We understand that Los Angeles has been experimenting in pickup programs and alternatives to arrest.

B. Monterey. Monterey has passed 647F. It currently has put a 24 bed detox facility into an existing ward of a TB sanitarium within ten minutes of the main Salinas police pickup area for public inebriates.

C. Sacramento. Sacramento has been identified as one of the only cities that specifically instructs police cadets on the handling of public inebriates. Sacramento has also enacted 647F and operates a 70 bed detox facility in a warehouse within nine blocks of the main police pickup area for public drunkenness arrests. Public inebriates are generally delivered by police vans in groups of 4 to 7. The intake process takes an average of 5 to 10 minutes per inebriate for the officer. It is reported that Sacramento also admits public inebriates brought in by roving "drunk squads".

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D. San Diego. San Diego, along with Sacramento above has been identified as one of the few cities in the nation offering police cadets training in the handling of public inebriates.

E. San Francisco. San Francisco reportedly has a highly defined skid row, accounting for a large percentage of the arrests for public inebriation. The Public Health Department runs an alternatives to arrest program. This program, modeled to some degree on the program used to handle public inebriates in Denmark, employs hospital busses equipped with two-way radios and manned by reformed alcoholics. This program is funded by a grant and while it initially encountered police resistance, reportedly the police have begun to accept the program and to cooperate with it in the intake process.

F. San Mateo. San Mateo is another city that has enacted 647F. It provides a 16 bed detox facility which has been criticized as being inconvenient to areas of major pickup of public inebriates.

G. Santa Clara. Santa Clara, which has also adopted 647F, surely has the most unique intake mechanism yet identified in California. The city has a 53 bed detox unit located 6 miles from the main pickup neighborhood. There are, however, 7 county alcohol treatment centers spread throughout the city that accept police and voluntary admissions and provide, where necessary, transportation to the detoxification unit. The program also has 6 radio equipped cars that can patrol generally and respond to police requests for on-site pickups.

2. Canada. While, of course, not a state, Canada interest us because of its systemic approach to the problem of alcoholism. Within

the framework of nationalized medicine, individualized treatment programs are defined for the individual public inebriate when he is just brought in. Detoxification, then, is more of a step toward rehabilitation than a holding station.

3. Colorado. Both Mesa County, Colorado, and another northeastern county of the state had programs of pickup patrols during 1974-5 for the intake of public inebriates. These patrols were not funded after 1975 primarily because of budgetary, as opposed to effectiveness, problems. This emergency transportation was provided either to the public inebriate's home or to a treatment facility. Off duty ambulance drivers and off duty police officers manned these transport vehicles. Colorado has enacted the Uniform Act but detox facilities per se were not available in either of these counties during their experiment.

4. Connecticut. New Haven, Connecticut, has been specifically recommended to us as an enlightened city in the handling of public inebriates. Apparently all public inebriates are handled there through the city's mental health center.

5. Florida. Florida has passed the Uniform Act but only recently implemented it. Their "sobering up" stations are currently averaging 4,020 admissions per month statewide, 51% of which are transported by the police. Some areas have begun experimenting with transportation programs in the intake process.

6. Indiana. Indianapolis has, apparently, experimented with various pickup mechanisms.
7. Iowa. Iowa is still a criminal state, but Des Moines has taken the interesting approach of sending public inebriates delivered to the jail, to treatment facilities rather than keeping them in lockup. An LEAA grant has funded a study in Des Moines to look at the violent alcoholic.
8. Maryland. Baltimore has a shelter program for public inebriates.
9. Massachusetts. Boston incorporates rescue teams as a pickup device.
10. Minnesota. Minneapolis, which we have already studied in some depth, has used public health vans to pick up public inebriates.
11. Missouri. Kansas City has a project called "Sober House" set up in coordination with the police department there. The project operates as a diversion from incarceration within a city where drunkenness in public is still a crime.
12. Montana. Flathead County, Montana, is a small town that has experimented with innovative procedures for handling public inebriates.
13. New Jersey. New Jersey has only recently passed the Uniform Act. While still in the implementation stage Jersey City has shown a great interest in experimenting with innovative approaches.

14. New Mexico. New Mexico is interesting because, having been decriminalized for some years, at the insistence of cities such as Albuquerque, the state is now considering re-criminalizing public inebriation. The problems encountered by Albuquerque could be interesting in terms of what not to do to make the system effective.
15. New York. The "Bowery Project" in New York City will, of course, be examined in more depth as a program aimed specifically at the skid row derelict.
16. Ohio. Columbus, Ohio, has a pickup program that operates from 8:00 AM to midnight Monday through Friday under the city health department. City owned station wagons manned often by former inebriates patrol high arrest areas and take the public inebriates either home or to treatment facilities.
17. Oregon. Three experimental programs aimed at implementing the Uniform Act have been funded in Salem, Pendleton, and Portland.
18. Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania has several public inebriation programs. Probably the most innovative is that of Erie. There the "crossroads" program was begun by AA members several years ago. With a little money from the city and some from the catholic church they set up a detox unit in a rented warehouse. They now have 2 vans and a "hot line" to the police department. Van drivers are made deputy sheriffs and police do not call for the van until they are relatively

sure the drunk will not get violent. The project operates 1/4, 1/2, and 3/4 houses designed to rehabilitate the inebriate in steps and also runs a farm where public inebriates beyond rehabilitation can live indefinitely.

19. Utah. Salt Lake City has taken some innovative steps within the criminal model.

20. Virginia. We are advised that Fredericksburg Virginia has been following a treatment approach toward public inebriates in varying degrees for over a century. They now have several programs that are alternatives to arrest of the public inebriate.

21. Washington. Washington is a state in the forefront of the innovators in the area. Many consider the Seattle detox program to be the best designed program in the country. Smaller towns in Washington have also confronted the problem of public inebriation. One of these, Yakama in eastern Washington has an excellent reputation and will require additional study on our part.

22. Wisconsin. Throughout the state, police serve as the official pickup agents and deliver the public inebriate to the nearest "approved public treatment facility" or to emergency rooms when these are not available. Delivery programs have begun to spring up to supplement police delivery in Lancaster, Waukesha, and Milwaukee.

23. Wyoming. Cheyenne and Pinedale (pop:500) have developed treatment programs within the criminal justice system that divert the public inebriate from jail. Both have experimented with pickup by counselors as well as by police.

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