

EVALUATION OF RESULTS OF OLA GRANTS 68-39, 68-41,
68-43, & 68-44

BEHAVE TO BE WRITTEN BY:

GEORGETOWN UNIV. LAW CENTER
INSTITUTE OF CRIM. LAW & PROCEDURE

DR. RUTH MIEDERHOFFER

1968

NCJ001659

ACCN: 001659

TITL: EVALUATION OF RESULTS OF OLEA GRANTS 68-39, 68-41, 68-43 AND
68-44

PAUT: NIEDERHOFFER, A.

CORP: Georgetown University Law Center, Washington, DC;

SPON: US Department of Justice Law Enforcement Assistance
Administration;

PDTE: 1968 PAGE: 31 p CLSS: Document

ORIG: United States LANG: English

GNUM: 68-39, 68-41; 68-43, 68-44

TYPE: Program/project evaluations

ANNO: A LISTING AND EVALUATION OF FOUR OLEA GRANTS FROM 1967 TO
1969.

ABST: THE GRANTS WERE GIVEN IN THE AREAS OF LOCAL JURISDICTIONS
COMPUTER INFORMATION SYSTEMS, AND COMMUNICATIONS. INCLUDED ARE
SAMPLES OF THE RESEARCH PERFORMED UNDER THE GRANTS. THE STUDIES
RELATE TO PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED DURING CIVIL DISORDERS.

Grant #68-39

Grantee: National League of Cities

Amount: \$1,113

Dates: October 1967 to November 1967

Purpose: A study of inter-local jurisdictions and their relations and agreements for coordination of efforts in civil disorder emergencies.

Summary

This was a rather weak report that discussed in very general terms the resources and authority of City, State and Metropolitan governments in responding to civil disorders.

The report reiterated what already was known to all authorities:

The Mayors of cities are in charge of municipal agencies and take direct action.

Governors have access to:

County Law Enforcement Officers

State Police

And under proper conditions, The National Guard

There are also Emergency Powers:

Martial Law

Declaration of State of Emergency

Emergency Curfew

This report adds nothing to our knowledge nor does it assist in the prevention and control of riots.

EVALUATION SHEET

Grant # 68-39

1. Was the project plan substantially followed?

Yes, to a very superficial extent.

2. Was the project innovative?

No.

3. Is it likely that the project had an impact on the criminal justice system?

No. It reiterated the obvious.

4. Is it likely that the project had a part in reducing or preventing crime?

No.

5. Would the project serve as a basis for similar projects?

No.

6. Were questions or leads for further research raised?

No.

7. Remarks.

This was a poor study. Not one new element was uncovered.

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Grant #68-41 (See #66-100)

Grantee: Federal Bureau of Investigation

Amount: \$295,000

Dates: 7/1/67 to 6/30/68

Purpose: Continuation and expansion of test effort on computer-assisted coast-to-coast information network linking local and state law enforcement agencies with National Crime Information Center. Information on fugitives, stolen cars, and property, plus other files in development.

Grant #68-43

Grantee: The Franklin Institute Research Laboratories

Amount: \$18,000

Dates: February 1968 to April 1968

Purpose: Study and meeting of representatives of communications industry and public agencies to consider single emergency telephone numbers throughout the United States.

Summary

The conference, on November 18, 1968, decided that there should be two telephone numbers, one for the police department, and one for the fire department, to be posted on all public telephone coin boxes. The coin boxes should be able to reach the department without the insertion of a coin. In addition, all calls should be automatically identified as to location and telephone numbers.

It was pointed out that as far back as 1917 the city of Norfolk, Virginia had one number for police, one for fire. Also Japan is almost completely on that two number system and by 1970 the entire system will be automated.

The number 911 was discarded because the telephone companies did not have the technical capability to work out the problems this would entail. They considered other numbers such as 333, 666, 999, 000. The number 000 seemed most likely

to satisfy the requirements. The conference called attention to the need for more receiving and dispatch centers.

Actually, nothing was decided and there was a need for further conferences.

Although a single number seems an attractive device in order that people in need can get through to police, the introduction of such a number increases the number of calls so much that police department facilities, already overloaded, would not be able to handle this extra load.

A more sensible approach would be to consider techniques for police departments like the St. Louis Police Department that handles the overload by "stacking" calls and assigning special cars to answer service calls.

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EVALUATION SHEET

Grant # 68-43

1. Was the project plan substantially followed?
No.
2. Was the project innovative?
No.
3. Is it likely that the project had an impact on the criminal justice system?
No.
4. Is it likely that the project had a part in reducing or preventing crime?
No.
5. Would the project serve as a basis for similar projects?
No.
6. Were questions or leads for further research raised?
No.
7. Remarks.

The conference ended indecisively by recommending another conference.

Grant #68-44

Grantee: International Association of Chiefs of Police

Amount: \$9,500

Dates: May 1968 to October 1969

Purpose: A survey of telecommunications in 25 largest cities (and states) to aid federal government in determining whether telecommunications assistance is needed during severe civil disorder.

Summary

A questionnaire was distributed to 25 largest cities and their states. Then a conference was held on the subjects: Results of Questionnaire and Recommendation of Other Studies.

The questionnaire was returned by 16 of 25 cities and 11 of 17 states.

- 1. 14 of 16 cities reported integrated emergency communication plans were now available.
- 2. Most had established a central command facility. Only 6 could establish a field command post.
- 3. There was a need for some portable radio equipment, more telephone lines, more teletype, etc.
- 4. Present capabilities in communication were inadequate in the face of civil disorders.
- 5. There was a need for a separate protected communications link for intelligence personnel.
- 6. There was a need for more frequencies and channels.
- 7. There was a need for security.

Evaluation

Surveys such as this are necessary and valuable.

EVALUATION SHEET

Grant #68-44

1. Was the project plan substantially followed?

Yes.

2. Was the project innovative?

No.

3. Is it likely that the project had an impact on the criminal justice system?

No.

4. Is it likely that the project had a part in reducing or preventing crime?

No.

5. Would the project serve as a basis for similar projects?

No.

6. Were questions or leads for further research raised?

No.

7. Remarks.

This was a straight forward questionnaire study that gathered data for the conference audience to work with.

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APPENDIX

Letter Accompanying the Questionnaire

Dear _____

The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration of the Department of Justice has authorized the Georgetown University Law Center-Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure to assess the programs of the Office of Law Enforcement Assistance (OLEA).

The result of this study may be used by LEAA to develop guidelines for the allocation of funds to various agencies in the criminal justice system.

Since you were associated with the project to which the questionnaire is directed, your answers and opinions will be of great value to us.

The Institute requests your cooperation in completing the attached questionnaire and returning it to us in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Arthur Niederhoffer
Research Director

Attachment

General Questionnaire sent to all Grantees

OLEA PROJECT # _____ TYPE _____

All the information needed in this questionnaire can be provided by a check or a brief comment in the proper space. Where an item lists several possible alternatives, please check as many as apply.

1. What was the principal goal of the project?

2. Is the project terminated?

Yes _____ No _____

3. Were the funds granted by OLEA sufficient to fulfill the project goals?

Yes _____ No _____

4. Obtaining personnel for the project was

- a. Difficult _____
- b. easy _____
- c. neither difficult or easy _____

5. Were members of the faculty of a college or university involved in this project

- a. at planning stage _____
- b. at implementation stage _____
- c. at evaluation stage _____
- d. only as consultants _____

6. Was the contribution of the advisory committee

- a. important _____
- b. negligible _____
- c. neither a or b _____

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7. What agency or agencies of criminal justice does the principal grantee (or grantees) represent?

- a. police _____
- b. probation-parole _____
- c. courts _____
- d. correction _____
- e. prosecution or defense such as D.A.'s or public defenders _____
- f. criminal justice research agencies _____
- g. university groups _____
- h. Other (specify) _____

8. Please check the agencies of criminal justice other than the grantee that were involved in this project. The involvement should be substantial. For this purpose do not include advisory committees.

- a. police _____
- b. probation-parole _____
- c. courts _____
- d. corrections _____
- e. prosecutor or defense such as D.A., defenders, etc. _____
- f. criminal justice research agencies _____
- g. university group _____
- h. Other (please specify) _____

9. Were minority group community representatives involved in this project in a substantial capacity?

- a. at planning stage _____
- b. at implementation stage _____
- c. at evaluation stage _____
- d. as consultants _____

10. Was the contribution of this project to the field of criminal justice

- a. of great value _____
- b. of limited value _____
- c. of no value _____

11. What was the major contribution or accomplishment?

12. Was the response of the subjects

- a. enthusiastic _____
- b. luke warm _____
- c. negative _____

13. Was the contribution of the consultants

- a. extremely helpful _____
- b. helpful _____
- c. negligible _____

14. The evaluation of the project was assigned to

- a. a member of the project team _____
- b. a representative from a similar type of criminal justice agency _____
- c. an outside group _____
- d. a university research group _____
- e. other (please specify) _____

15. Did your project continue after the termination date of the grant

Yes _____ No _____

16. The new project or the project continuing after the termination date was funded by

- a. OLEA _____
- b. LEAA _____
- c. State Criminal Justice Planning Agency _____
- d. Your own agency _____
- e. Other (please specify) _____

17. How long after the termination of the original project did the present project get under way

- a. 0-6 months _____
- b. 6 months - 1 year _____
- c. 1-2 years _____

18. As a result of the original project were there any

- a. publications _____
- b. articles _____
- c. books _____
- d. newspaper reports _____

Please describe _____

19. Were any other OLEA projects helpful to you in your project

- a. in planning _____
- b. in implementation _____
- c. in evaluation _____
- d. none _____

20. If you checked a, b, or c, please list the projects that were helpful to you.

20. Briefly list the changes or differences between the plan in the application and the completed project.

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21. Guidance and cooperation from OLEA staff was

- a. generously granted _____
- b. difficult to obtain _____
- c. neither a nor b _____

22. The dissemination of the results and reports of your project by OLEA to criminal justice agencies across the nation was

- a. very thorough _____
- b. merely adequate _____
- c. inadequate _____
- d. no knowledge _____

23. The major difficulties in this project were due to (please check as many of the following items as are applicable)

- a. lack of money _____
- b. lack of proper space _____
- c. lack of competent personnel _____
- d. political interference _____
- e. lack of cooperation _____
- f. lack of community interest _____
- g. problems of bureaucracy _____
- h. clash of personalities _____
- i. other - please specify _____

Your name (please print)

Position

Agency or Affiliation

Date

Additional Page for Police Department Planning and Research Units

A

24. Please give the total number of personnel in your police department. _____

25. Please list the three most important projects the Planning and Research Unit has conducted within 1970.

26. How many persons are assigned to the unit? _____

27. Does the unit

- a. develop projects on its own initiative _____
- b. work only on projects assigned to it by the top administrators _____

28. What special qualifications are required for appointment to the unit? _____

29. Are any non-police personnel with special qualifications employed by the unit?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, please give number and description of background

30. Does the unit work in cooperation with a college, university, or research organization?

- a. College of runiversity Yes _____ No _____
- b. Outside research organization Yes _____ No _____

31. The unit

- a. needs more highly trained personnel Yes _____ No _____
- b. needs help from a college or university Yes _____ No _____
- c. is doing a good job without a or b Yes _____ No _____

32. The planning and research unit should concentrate on (please check as many as are applicable)

- a. theoretical research _____
- b. long range problems _____
- c. immediate problems _____
- d. problems affecting only the police _____
- e. problems that may be broad enough to involve the whole community _____
- f. only those problems assigned to it by higher authority _____

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Additional Pages for Correctional Training
Projects

B-1

- 24. The correctional in-service training project should be
 - a. taught by personnel from your agency _____
 - b. taught by professionals from other agencies _____
 - c. taught by faculty from college or university _____
 - d. taught by inmates _____

- 25. The best plan for such training is
 - a. separate program in each agency
 - b. regional center to be responsible for training
 - c. training center at nearby university

- 26. The method of teaching that you would recommend is
(please check as many of the following as are applicable)
 - a. lecture plus discussion _____
 - b. lecture alone _____
 - c. films and visual aids _____
 - d. seminars _____
 - e. field observation _____
 - f. sensitivity-training type of class _____
 - g. discussion of assigned cases and readings _____
 - h. examples of actual practice _____
 - i. classroom simulation of practice _____

- 27. What educational background do you consider a proper
qualification for correctional training officers?
 - a. B.A. _____
 - b. Masters Degree _____
 - c. Ph.D. Degree _____

- 28. What field of study is the most suitable background for
the training officer as preparation for teaching correc-
tional personnel?
 - a. corrections _____
 - b. social work _____
 - c. sociology _____
 - d. psychology _____
 - e. public administration _____
 - f. Humanities _____

29. What four groups in corrections need training most?

- a. diagnostic staff _____
- b. probation-parole _____
- c. custodial staff _____
- d. staff concerned with youth or juvenile inmates _____
- e. research-planning _____
- f. supervisory _____
- g. middle management _____
- h. top administrators _____
- i. training staff _____

30. What are the six most important areas that should be included in the training programs?

- a. Philosophy of Corrections _____
- b. History of Corrections _____
- c. Characteristics of Offenders _____
- d. Techniques of Controlling Inmates _____
- e. New Developments in Corrections _____
- f. The Role of Corrections in the Criminal Justice System _____
- g. Cooperation with other agencies _____
- h. Legal Aspects of Corrections _____
- i. Civil Rights of Offenders _____
- j. Research Methods _____
- k. Social Sciences _____
- l. Behavioral Sciences _____
- m. Humanities _____
- n. Criminology _____
- o. Juvenile Delinquency _____
- p. Public Administration _____

31. The training program should be

- a. Short term workshops or institutes _____
- b. Series of lectures on selected topics from time to time _____
- c. A continuing permanent program _____
- d. A degree program with college credit _____

32. The evaluation of the program should be conducted by

- a. participants in the program _____
- b. the agency research staff _____
- c. outside group _____
- d. none _____

- 33. The literature pertinent to a good correctional training program is
 - a. excellent _____
 - b. adequate _____
 - c. inadequate _____

- 34. What educational level would you advocate for correctional personnel?
 - a. 2 years high school _____
 - b. High School diploma _____
 - c. College degree _____
 - d. Masters degree _____

- 35. What are your recommendations to improve the field of corrections?

Additional Page for State Planning Committees in Criminal Administration

C

24. Briefly describe the changes brought about by your program:

- a. Change in law _____
- b. Change in practice _____
- c. Change in attitudes _____
- d. Change in agencies or institutions _____
- e. Change in policy _____

25. When the State Planning Agency was established under LEAA after 1968, and replaced your committee, did the leadership of the new agency:

- a. hire any of the personnel of your committee? Yes ___ No ___
If yes, how many and in what capacity? _____
- b. Confer with members of your committee _____
- c. Take over, or continue your program _____
- d. Use the same advisory committees _____
- e. Use the same consultants _____

26. Approximately what proportion of your program was devoted to each of the following criminal justice agencies?

- a. police and law enforcement _____
- b. courts _____
- c. probation and parole _____
- d. corrections -- adult _____
- e. corrections -- juvenile _____
- f. criminal justice research organizations _____
- g. university centers interested in the field _____
- h. legal defender agencies _____

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Additional Page for Computer Related Projects

D

24. The next great advances in police law enforcement will most likely be the result of the application of computers to the solution of police problems. Yes _____ No _____
25. The state of the art in computer theory and practice is such that given time and money, computer experts at the present time could develop:
- a. solutions to most police system problems _____
 - b. simulation models of the entire police department and its work _____
 - c. prediction models _____
 - d. programs that will predict the occurrence of crimes with respect to type, time and place, to enable better crime prevention work by police _____
 - e. measurements of police efficiency both at the system level and at the individual level _____
 - f. new concepts and theories of police work _____
26. It would be feasible in large police departments to develop a team of policemen capable of doing computer research.
- Yes _____ No _____
27. The cost of a computer system for a criminal justice agency:
- a. is excessive considering the benefits _____
 - b. is moderate considering the benefits _____
28. A computer system in a police department would probably:
- a. create a feeling of confidence among policemen _____
 - b. create a feeling of alienation among policemen _____
 - c. create little difference in their response _____
29. A computer system in a police department:
- a. would require extensive training for police so that they might be capable of benefiting from it _____
 - b. would not require extensive training _____

Additional Page for Law Enforcement Operations Improvement Programs

E

24. In which of the following aspects of law enforcement did your program have its greatest impact? (please check as many of the following as are applicable)

- a. police mobility _____
- b. police-community relations _____
- c. attitude of policemen _____
- d. command control and supervision _____
- e. training _____
- f. crime prevention _____
- g. police communication _____

25. What criteria did you use to evaluate the effectiveness of your new procedure? _____

26. In response to this change in procedure did the police:

- a. Cooperate voluntarily _____
- b. resist the change _____
- c. show some apathy toward the change _____

27. Is this change adaptable for general use by all departments?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, briefly describe the possible adaptations _____

Additional Page for Police-Community Relations Programs

F

24. Did you model your police-community relations program after that of some other police department? Yes ___ No ___

If yes, which police department program was your model?

25. Does your police department have a specialized Police-Community Relations Unit? Yes ___ No ___

26. How many personnel are attached to this Unit? _____

27. Does the Unit:

- a. have one comprehensive program _____
- b. have many separate plans _____

28. About what percent of the total police community relations program or programs is devoted to:

- a. the police force itself
- b. the community in general
- c. specific groups within the community, as follows:
(please check as many of the following as are applicable)

1. youth _____	5. junior high schools _____
2. minority groups _____	6. elementary schools _____
3. colleges _____	7. business people _____
4. high schools _____	8. home owners _____

29. Does the community relations unit utilize the resources of a college or university? Yes ___ No ___

If yes, indicate in what way:

- a. faculty as experts, instructors, or lecturers _____
- b. research programs _____
- c. evaluation of the unit's program _____
- d. planning the program _____
- e. students as participants _____

30. What criteria do you use to evaluate your programs?

31. Please give a definition of police-community relations that would be consistent with the police community relations program of your department _____

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Additional Pages for Police Science Degree Programs

G

24. The police science degree program should be:
- a. taught by regular college faculty _____
 - b. taught by professional policemen _____
 - c. taught by those who combine a and b _____
25. The best method of teaching police science programs:
(please check as many of the following as are applicable)
- a. lecture _____
 - b. lecture plus discussion _____
 - c. films and visual aids _____
 - d. computerized instruction _____
 - e. discussion of assigned cases and readings _____
 - f. classroom simulation of actual practice _____
 - g. field observation _____
 - h. sensitivity-type class _____
 - i. seminar _____
26. What educational background do you consider most suitable for teachers in such a program:
- a. B.A. _____
 - b. M.A. _____
 - c. Ph.D. _____
27. What field of concentration is most suitable as a background for such a teacher?
- a. police science _____
 - b. criminal justice _____
 - c. public administration _____
 - d. Sociology _____
 - e. Psychology _____
 - f. social work _____
 - g. humanities _____
28. What degree of experience in police work do you consider most suitable for such a teacher?
- a. none _____
 - b. a short period _____
 - d. at least five years _____
 - d. at least ten years _____

- 29. Should the degree program be controlled or administered by:
 - a. the police department _____
 - b. the college _____
 - c. a combination of a and b _____

- 30. The most needed degree program at the present time is:
 - a. a 3 year certificate _____
 - b. a 4 year degree program _____
 - c. a masters degree program _____
 - d. a Ph.D. program _____

- 31. The police science degree program at some level ought to be:
 - a. voluntary _____
 - b. required for admission to force _____
 - c. required as qualification for promotion _____
 - d. required for all members of the police agency _____

- 32. Teachers who are qualified to teach in such a program are:
 - a. easy to obtain _____
 - b. difficult to obtain _____
 - c. neither a nor b _____

- 33. Degree programs ought not to teach practical or applied courses; these courses should be taught at the police academy.
 - Yes _____
 - No _____

- 34. Police recruit training ought to be taken over by the college that provides the agency with its degree program:
 - a. to some extent _____
 - b. to a large extent _____
 - c. all _____
 - d. not at all _____

- 35. The literature in the field of police science is:
 - a. excellent _____
 - b. adequate _____
 - c. inadequate _____

36. An associate degree in Police Science should be the minimum requirement for:
- appointment to a police force _____
 - as a special assignment within the police force such as detective or youth work _____
 - promotion to higher rank within the police force _____
37. The major problems in the field of police science are the lack of:
(please check as many of the following as are applicable)
- competent teachers _____
 - well-developed police science degree programs _____
 - facilities for mounting such programs _____
 - interest among policemen _____
 - well-defined subject matter _____
 - college level literature _____
 - money _____
 - support by police department administrators _____
38. What are the important areas that should be included in police science degree programs? (please check as many of the following as are applicable)
- philosophy of police work _____
 - history of police _____
 - human behavior _____
 - characteristics of offenders _____
 - new developments in police work _____
 - techniques of control _____
 - role of police in the criminal justice system _____
 - civil rights _____
 - legal aspects of police work _____
 - changing role of police _____
 - police-community relations _____
 - research methods _____
 - public administration _____
 - social sciences _____
 - behavioral sciences _____
 - humanities _____
 - criminology _____
 - juvenile delinquency _____

39. Evaluation of the program should be undertaken by:

- a. participants in the program _____
- b. research staff of the college or police department concerned _____
- c. outside research group _____

40. About how many students were in the program in the academic year of 1969-1970? _____

41. About how many students are expected to register for the program in Fall 1970? _____

Additional Page for State Law Enforcement Standards and Training Commissions

H

24. As a result of your efforts were law enforcement standards established for:

- a. recruitment Yes _____ No _____
- b. appointment Yes _____ No _____
- c. promotion Yes _____ No _____
- d. training Yes _____ No _____

25. Were these standards:

- a. local Yes _____ No _____
- b. state wide Yes _____ No _____
- c. voluntary Yes _____ No _____

26. Did the State Legislature pass a law making your recommended standards a legal requirement for all police candidates?

Yes _____ No _____

27. About how many departments in your state have adopted these standards? _____

28. How do candidates meet the requirements? _____

CORRECTIONS

p. 37 "amazing" should read marked (bottom of page)

p. 47 "66%" should read 63% (bottom of page)

p. 136 "1900" should read 1913 (5 lines from bottom of page)

wholly by chance. A primary influence was probably the title of the Act--Law Enforcement Assistance Act. Another important factor was the constant emphasis upon law enforcement and police as the front line of defense against crime. This is a major theme of the President's crime messages.

A majority of the grant applications submitted were heavily concentrated in law enforcement, rather than other areas of criminal justice. There were certain sources for this pattern of allocation of which we must be cognizant. The first reflects the President's Crime Commission estimate of the amount of money spent nationally in criminal justice. This estimate was 66% for police, 25% for corrections and 9% for courts and prosecutions.^{8/} An earlier 1965 study in New York indicated that New York State spent 70% for police services, 6% for courts and prosecutions, 23% for corrections, and 1% for miscellaneous auxiliary services.

These two cost studies played a significant role in the allocation plans of the OLEA. The marked amazing similarity of 63% OLEA funds for police and 66% national funds for police--as indicated by the President's Crime Commission--seems almost impossible to achieve except by design.

8/ The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. The Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 34.

In summary, OLEA emerges as a small organization composed of no more than 15 professional and 10 secretarial positions. It operated under the belief that it was a temporary expedient soon to be replaced by a larger agency. It was harassed by a hostile appropriations committee that refused to increase its budget. And it responded necessarily to external political pressures, internal bureaucratic tensions, and national crises in the form of riots and increasing crime.

Moreover, Section 7 of the LEA Act prohibited any direction, supervision, or control over the organization, administration, or personnel of any local police force. Taken literally this could have emasculated the program. It may have resulted in a watchdog atmosphere which prohibited OLEA from stimulating local agencies to undertake these projects. At the least, it meant that OLEA had to be careful not to get too actively involved in projects.

The money granted to OLEA constituted a mandate to spend it, and toward the end of a fiscal year there was an annual drive to distribute that money. Only by this complete exhaustion of funds could OLEA aspire to larger sums the next fiscal year. This may not have engendered an atmosphere conducive to objective evaluation of projects.

Obviously, OLEA favored police agencies over other parts of the criminal justice system, as the 63% figure starkly reveals.

number of crimes than in the past. It was therefore unrealistic to expect that OLEA's efforts would result in observable reductions in crime.

Similarly, police-community relations projects funded by OLEA were constructed to reduce the level of minority group tension. It is not easy to measure such tension. Tension varies according to a variety of social factors most of which are beyond the control of the police. It may well be that under these conditions a legally required police duty, performed in the most circumspect courteous manner, by a well educated policeman with a Ph.D. in psychology or sociology, may just as well cause a riot in the ghetto. In fact, police action, not necessarily action that was illegal or abusive, was found to be the second most frequent cause of riots from 1913 to 1963.* Is it fair to say then that police-community relations programs failed if there was a riot? And if we do say this, ought we not be equally scrupulous to observe the converse and praise the project when no riot has occurred?

*Stanley Lieberson and Arnold R. Silverman, "The Precipitating and Underlying Conditions of Race Riots," American Sociological Review, Vol. 30 (December 1965), p. 839.