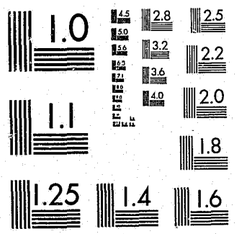

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POLICE FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENTION AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT:

AN ACTION RESEARCH ANALYSIS

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ERRATA

Police Family Crisis Intervention and Conflict Management:
An Action Research Analysis

The following should read:

p. 3, line 8
" 6. Physical intervention on the part of the police was required 7% of the ..."

p. 11, footnote: "[1]See Bard, M. "Training Police..."

p. 15, footnote: "[2]See Bard, M. "Police Management..."

p. 22, lines 2-4: "Tour of Duty. Analysis of the data indicates that 27.9% of the family...to 8 AM); 27.9% during...4PM): 44.1% during the night tour...

p. 93, line 4: "... of age (more than 50% of families in these developments are black)." In 55% of...

p. 97, line 5: "...df=2, $p < .001$)..."

p. 98, line 9: "most nearly approximates the use of force;..."

p. 101, line 3: "...the disputants ere "cooled off, at least for awhile," although the"

p. 117, footnote: "[2]...Beckel,..."

Page 120 should, in its entirety, appear as follows:

The prediction regarding this criterion was fully confirmed. The conflict-management trained officers showed an improvement in police performance both within that same development (compared to preceding years) and when compared to Control I (which also had new officers who had received additonal training) and to Control II (having senior officers only, and no additional training).

Felony clearance rate. It was predicted that CM I would effect a higher clearance rate for this category of crime. However, since felony arrests in the NYHAPD are often made by and/or credited to detectives who make follow-up investigations of reported felonies, the relative increase on this criterion was expected to be somewhat less than the increase predicted for other criteria.

Year	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	21%	8%	15%
1969	13	12	23
1968	11	11	13

Within-development comparisons--No significant changes occured in any of the housing developments when 1970 was compared with either the average of the preceding two years or with 1969 alone.

Between-development comparisons--Since the average rate for the two preceding

years is similar among the three developments, their 1970 rates can be meaningfully compared. Control II was not different in 1970 when compared to either CM I or to Control I. The 1970 rate in CM I was superior to that of Control I (X^2=5.38, $p<.05$).

The prediction regarding felony clearance rate was partly confirmed: CM I was the only development to numerically increase its clearance rate for this offense (though not to a statistically significant degree); CM I had a 1970 rate superior to that of Control I.

Misdemeanor clearance rate. IT was predicted that CM I would effect a higher clearance rate for this category of crime.

YEAR	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	37%	25%	9%
1969	14	13	22
1968	8	5	8

Within-development comparisons--There were significant changes in 1970 over the previous year (Wagner increased ($p<.001$), Jefferson did not change, and Grant decreased ($p<.05$)); and over the average of the two preceding years (Wagner increased ($p<.001$), Jefferson increased ($p<.05$), while Grant showed no change).

Between-development comparisons--Since the rates for the average of the two preceding years are essentially similar among the three developments, their 1970 rates can be meaningfully compared. Doing so reveals that CM I had a 1970 rate superior to Control II ($p<.001$), but no different than that of Control I. Control I was superior to Control II ($p<.05$)in 1970 rate.

The data suggest that two effects occurred: 1)affective-experiential training is superior to cognitive training for recruits on this criterion, and, 2) either form of additional training (or recruit status) leads to performance on this criterion that is superior to that of senior officers.

Offense clearance rate. It was predicted that CM I would demonstrate a high clearance rate for this category.

Offense arrests. Within-development comparisons--Comparing 1970 with the average of the preceding years reveals no change for CM I or Control II, and a decrease in Control I ($p<.05$). Comparing 1970 with 1969 reveals no change for CM I and Control II, and a decrease for Control I ($p<.05$).

The following should read:

p. 129: "Misdemeanor clearance rate II 2 1 "

p. 129: "Offense Arrests I 63 38
II 3 0.5 "

p. 129: "Total misdemeanors I 189 342 .001
II 350 163.5 "

p. 130, line 3: "...while CM II increased ($p<.001$)"

p. 133, footnote, last line: "....and Professor Joseph Zacker."

p. 165, line 2: "....may provide the undiscriminating observer or.."

p. 166, line 4: ".....in only 7% of thecases and in"

p. 166, line 16: "disappointing--since most reported cases...."

p. 170, line 16: ".....However, this was not only related to:

p. 170, line 18: ".....of dissatisfaction more than an increase in"

ABSTRACT

This report is an in-depth analyses of data derived from tandem action research programs: 1) police family crisis intervention, and 2) police management of conflicts among people. The data analyzed concerned 1287 cases processed by the New York City 30th Precinct Family Crisis Unit, and 312 cases processed by the conflict-management trained of the New York City Housing Authority Police Department who staffed two low-cost public housing developments in New York City. In addition to the analysis of the variables that make for disputes in which police are called upon to intervene, the study addressed itself to an examination of general police performance of conflict management trained officers, attitudes of the community toward the police where conflict management trained officers were operating, the effects of training upon the police and their function, and, the relationship of the trainees to their training consultants.

Findings and Conclusions

Findings Related to the Disputes

Analysis of the data indicated, among other findings, the following:

1. There was a surprisingly low incidence of violence involved in the disputes managed in both projects. An actual assault had occurred in about one-third of the cases.

2. People, in their interactions with others, appear to differ in their tolerable limits of aggressive behavior. Our data suggests that families establish regular dispute styles ranging from verbal behavior to assaultive behavior.

3. Most disputes occur in the home and are managed by the police in that setting.

4. Cultural expectation notwithstanding in only about one-half of all disputes did one or both participants appear to have been drinking, although not necessarily intoxicated. Related to that finding, chronic alcoholism was identified as a causative factor in fewer than 14% of the cases, and the complainant charged drunkenness in only 10% of the cases.

5. The data indicated a lack of relationship between assaultive behavior and the use of alcohol.

6. Physical force on the part of the police was required in 8% of the housing cases and in 1% of the FCIU cases.

7. About 15% of all family disputes involved a parent and child.

Effects of Training

There were a number of methods used to evaluate the effects of training:

1. The most striking finding was that police trained in conflict management skills can learn and practice these skills while their attitudes remain unchanged, at least as measured by the instruments used in this study.

2. The most effective training method involved regularly scheduled training consultations while in the process of functioning as conflict managers.

3. The period of regularly scheduled training has important significance, that is, to be effective such training should continue on a weekly basis for from eight to twelve months.

4. Evaluation indicated that the following training effects occurred: a) trained officers regarded disputants as being mutually contributory to the dispute and that it was interactionally rather than multifactorally determined; b) trained officers appeared able to maintain their objectivity both in their perceptions and in their behavior; c) response of the disputants was usually positive; d) trained officers tended to approach disputes as mediators rather than as enforcers; e) trained officers did not sustain injuries; f) trained officers demonstrated the use of community resources other than the courts.

5. Objective measures of general police performance indicated the superiority of men who were conflict management trained.

6. Despite inevitable methodologic difficulties in field studies, it appears that areas policed by conflict-management trained personnel signified an increased sense of being better protected by the police.

7. An increased sense of being protected is not related to a positive attitude towards the police; a finding that may reveal an underlying dilemma in the delivery of police services in a free society.

8. Attitudes towards the police cannot be separated from attitudes towards other systems of social regulation with which they may be identified.

9. Police organizational innovations must be supported by institutional rewards in order to avoid development of lowered morale and cynicism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project could not have been realized without the support and encouragement of a great number of people. Among the staff of the New York City Housing Authority, a number merit very special acknowledgement: to Dr.Louis Alper, Director of Training, and former Police Chief Joseph Weldon, for their instrumental roles at the very outset; to former Authority Chairman Albert Walsh and the present Chairman, Simeon Golar, for their unfailing interest and commitment to bettering the lives of housing project tenants; and to Mr. Donald Schatz, Mr. John Christian, and Mr. Arthur Welling, for their indispensable help in facilitating the program administratively.

Without the active support and commitment of the superior officers of the New York City Housing Authority Police Department, this complex undertaking could have foundered on the rocks of ease and expediency. Former Acting Chief Joseph Rothblatt helped a great deal by assigning his most able supervisors to aid the project, most particularly Deputy Inspector Arthur Ferrin and Lt. Jack Weisel. Very special thanks must be extended to Deputy Inspector Richard Beckel, whose vision, sensitivity and knowledge added a rare and critical dimension to the program. And, of course, our gratitude to Chief Daniel Daley, who quickly grasped the significance of the program and continues to provide instant consultative support.

The academic community of The City College gave generously of time, thought and service. Particular thanks to Professor Harold Wilensky and Professor Laurence Gould, as well as to the following doctoral students in clinical psychology who volunteered to serve as consultants: Joan Abelove, Jane Borin, Elsie Chandler, Margaret Dolid, Jeff Eagle, Joel Falkin, Joan Freyberg (noe Ph.D.), Bonnie Kamil, Elizabeth McDonald, Suzanne Resnick, and Susan Schneier. Also serving as consultants were Cesar Cortez, M.D., Roger Graham, M.D., and Hugo Kierzenbaum, M.D., Fellows in Community Psychiatry at Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons. Arthur A. Anderson, M.D. has given unstintingly of time and effort in providing on-call consultations to the police of the CR projects. Sincere appreciation also to the Center for Organizational and Personal Growth (C.O.P.G.), an action group of City College undergraduates. And gratitude is expressed to our collaborators, The City University's Center for Social Research; Professor Leonard Kogan, Professor Morey Wantman, Mr. Morton Israel, and the field supervisors and interviewers for the creation and conduct of the Community Attitude Survey.

Sincere appreciation is expressed to Professor Arthur D. Lynch of The City College Department of Psychology, who carried the major role in statistical design and computer analysis. Given the nature of the action research method emphasized in these studies, Professor Lynch contributed most creatively.

The present program rests upon foundations provided by the men of the 30th Precinct Family Crisis Intervention Unit. Again our thanks to the administration of the New York City Police Department and to its personnel. Particular thanks to Lt. Timothy O'Shea and the following members of the 30th Precinct FCIU who served as group co-leaders in the present project: Ptl. John Beatty, Ptl. Ernest Bryan, Ptl. Alfred Castagna, Ptl. Tony Donovan, Ptl. Adriaan Halfhide, Ptl. John Harnett, Ptl Richard Madewell, Ptl. Joseph Mahoney, Ptl. Nat Monroe, and Ptl. John Mulitz.

Finally, it was the staff of the Psychological Center who were so indispensible in so many ways. Mrs. Bess Williamson, Social Worker, labored long and diligently and was "always there."

Finally, to Mrs. Janet Hruska, special thanks for her devoted attention to the many details that were required in preparing this report.

Morton Bard, Ph.D.
Professor of Psychology
Project Director

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This report is intended to communicate the findings of the analyses of data derived from two action research programs: 1) a demonstration project in police family crisis intervention; and, 2) a quasi-experimental project in police management of conflicts among people. The family crisis project was a first-stage study, and as such, was more broadly conceived than the one which followed. The second project in conflict management can be considered a succeeding stage in action research methodology in that it was built around another police system and, attempted to proceed from gross to finer comparisons. In a sense, the second project constituted an attempt to contribute "new and more refined knowledge to solution of the social problem under consideration" (Fairweather, 1967).

In order to place the present report in meaningful perspective, a summary description of both projects follows.

Training Police as Specialists in Family Crisis Intervention[1]

Training police in family crisis intervention was intended to demonstrate innovative methods of crime prevention and preventive mental health. Processing family disturbances constitutes a major aspect of police work. Traditional police approaches to the problem do not reflect the realities of this aspect of the police experience. There is evidence that a significant proportion of injuries and fatalities suffered by police occur in the highly volatile family conflict situation. This demonstration project attempted to modify family assaults and family homicides in a circumscribed area, as well as to reduce personal danger to police officers in such situations.

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[1]See "Training Police as Specialists in Family Crisis Intervention," Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.

In addition, the project attempted the development of a new preventive mental health strategy. Assuming that family conflict may be an early sign of emotional disorder in one or all of the participants, the project attempted to utilize policemen as front-line "casefinders" in keeping with theories of primary prevention. It was proposed that selected policemen could be provided with the interpersonal skills necessary to effect constructive outcomes in deteriorating situations which require police intervention.

Rejection of an exclusively specialized role for the police officers involved was a major emphasis. The program assiduously avoided the conversion of policemen into social workers or psychotherapists. The officers were expected to perform all generalized police patrol functions but were the individuals dispatched on all family disputes in a given geographical area of about 85,000 residents.

The project was organized in three stages:

1. Preparatory Phase. During the first month, 18 police volunteers were selected; all had had at least three years of service and gave evidence of motivation and aptitude for family crisis specialization.

The second month entailed an intensive, 160-hour, training course involving the entire Unit on the campus of The City College of the City University of New York. In addition to lectures and field trips, there was active participation in "learning by doing" through Family Crisis Laboratory Demonstrations. These demonstrations involved specially written plays depicting family crisis situations which were enacted by professional actors and in which the patrolmen in the Unit actively intervened in pairs. These practice interventions were subjected to group critique and discussion. Finally, human relations workshops were conducted to sensitize the patrolmen to their own values, attitudes, and automatic responses.

2. Operational Phase. For the two-year duration of the project one radio patrol car was reserved for family crisis work in the experimental precinct. It was dispatched on all complaints or requests for assistance that could be predetermined as involving a "family disturbance." The car responded to calls anywhere in the precinct without regard to sector boundaries. The 18 men in the Unit were able to provide continuous coverage, and at most times in each tour of duty four additional family crisis specialists were available to assist processing calls during peak evening and weekend periods.

During this phase discussion groups of six men each met with group leaders who were familiar with the work of policemen. Consideration of current crisis situations evoked assumptions, preconceptions, and misapprehensions about human behavior and family relationships that may have been implicit in the attitudes and performance of Family Crisis Intervention Unit (FCIU) members.

In addition to continuous group experience, each family specialist was assigned an individual consultant for at least one hour's weekly consultation. The individual consultants were advanced clinical psychology students who were able to acquire, in this way, an unusual community consultation training experience.

3. Evaluation Phase. The evaluation phase encompassed the last four months of the project, although normal operations of the FCIU continued during that time. Systematic data collection took place over the duration of the project, with an emphasis on simple tabulation in order to assess changes over time in a number of variables.

To facilitate evaluative procedures, a neighboring police precinct with a population composition somewhat similar to that of the demonstration precinct served as a basis of comparison. Comparisons were made based on changes in the total number of family disturbance complaints in the demonstration precinct as compared with the control precinct, differences in reoccurrence of complaints by the same families within the demonstration precinct and with the control precinct, and changes in the number of homicides and assaults involving both family members and policemen responding to family fight complaints.

The demonstration in Police Family Crisis Intervention was evaluated primarily in relation to police functioning as it affected certain categories of crime. Over the life of the project, the demonstration precinct reported a significantly greater number of interventions; there was an increase in the total homicides (significantly) and in total assaults (not significantly); there was an increase in family homicides but there were no homicides in any of the 962 families previously seen by the FCIU; family assaults decreased; and there were no injuries to any officer in the Family Crisis Intervention Unit. In the final report of the original FCIU project, in addition to the formal evaluative criteria, a number of impressions and observations were discussed with special reference to the implications for law enforcement, mental health, and education.

Police Management of Conflicts Among People[2,3]

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

The second project was an outgrowth of the FCIU program which demonstrated the feasibility of training police for effective family crisis intervention. In the second project, policemen of the New York City Housing Authority were trained in the exercise of conflict management skills within an experimental design which permitted further determination of feasibility and, in addition, permitted the elaboration of methodologic refinements. Also, the second project offered prospects for furthering understanding of conflict, aggression, and violence, and for determining the impact upon the community of police trained in conflict management skills.

The program described involved the training of recruits and patrolmen of the Police Department of the New York City Housing Authority, which is responsible for the security of individual public housing projects. The presence of permanent police complements in intact and descrete inner-city communities offered an unusual opportunity to evaluate the effects of conflict-management training.

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[2]See "Police Management of Conflicts Among People", unpublished report (NI-028) to National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, LEAA, U.S. Department of Justice, August, 1970.

[3]Bard, M. & Zacker, J. Design for Conflict Resolution. In: Law Enforcement, Science and Technology III (Cohen, S.I., & McMahon, W.B., Eds.). Chicago: IIT Research Institute, 1970.

This program was organized in three stages:

1) Recruit training phase. Concurrent with 13 weeks of Police Academy training, an entire recruit class attended The Psychological Center of The City College, the City University of New York, one-half day per week for 12 weeks. The recruit class was randomly divided into two groups:

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

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

Just prior to graduation and assignment to patrol, 14 of the recruits from the conflict management group were randomly selected and assigned to staff two preselected housing projects. In addition, three of the conflict management trained senior patrolmen were assigned to each housing project. Five of the recruits from the BASS group were randomly selected and assigned as two thirds of the police complement of a third preselected housing project. A fourth preselected housing project served as a control - its normal complement was left unchanged.

2) Operational and Consultation Phase. The operational phase lasted for one year (February 9, 1970 - February 8, 1971). During this time data was collected for all disputes managed by the officers who had been assigned to staff the two conflict management housing projects.

For the first fourteen weeks of the operational phase, the police officers staffing the two conflict management projects reported once weekly to the Psychological Center of the City College where they participated in one hour of individual consultations and two hours of amall group discussions. The consultants were students in the doctoral program in clinical psychology at The City College, The City University of New York, or Fellows in Community Psychiatry at the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons. After the fourteen weeks of regular consultations, the police officers were able to enlist the help of consultants on an on-call basis, when the officers felt it necessary to do so.

3) Evaluation Phase. Data deriving from both the housing study and the previous demonstration project in family crisis intervention were subjected to statistitical analyses.

Extensive procedures to evaluate the effects of conflict management training undertaken during the housing study included:

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

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

c. Evaluation of community attitudes toward the police of the four housing study projects just prior to assignment of the police to their projects and again one year later. This was intended to measure changes in community attitudes toward officers with increased awareness of human behavior.

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

e. Analysis of data regarding interpersonal conflicts in conflict-management trained officers intervened.

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

The report that follows will present further analyses of the data derived from the initial demonstration project in family crisis intervention and will deal with variables not included in the original evaluation such as: descriptive data regarding family disputes; analyses of police perceptions, judgements, and actions in relation to such disputes, and, interrelationships among certain variables with specific reference to issues of special interest. This report will also contain analyses of a greater range of experimental variables addressed in the second project such as: police attitudes in relation to training; examination of the consultative process; descriptive data regarding disputes, police perceptions, judgements, and actions; interrelationships among certain variables with specific reference to issues of special interest; analysis of police performance in general patrol functions; and, community attitudes changes over time.

CHAPTER II

FAMILY CRISIS INTERVENTION DATA

Data Preparation

The data which served as the basis for the analyses to follow were derived from: 1) the family disturbance report forms completed by the FCIU patrolmen after each intervention, and; 2) the de-briefing forms completed by consultants after each individual consultation with an FCIU officer.

After coding and keypunching of this data, frequency distributions were generated. Thus, for each coding item, frequencies were available describing the number of cases for which that item applied. After careful inspection and where advisable, a number of categories were transformed so as to combine items within a single dimension for both greater clarity and so as to reduce the number of items without obscuring trends suggested in the data.[1] For similar categories (e.g., Identity of Complainant and Identity of First Disputant) the same transformation was applied.

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[1] Indeed, even during the coding operation, it became apparent that many coding items were ambiguous and/or unused. As a result the following categories and coding items included in the original code book (see Appendix G), were dropped during the coding phase: Categories : Precinct; Complainant's Statement, Behavior of Disp. #1 and Request that Disp. #1; Ethnic Identification; Birthplace, Disp. #1 and #2; Length of Residence in N.Y.C.; Others Involved in Dispute; Others Present, Not Involved; Others in Household, Not Present; Receiving Public Assistance; Religious Affiliation; Frequency of Religious Attendance; Current Marital Status; Resolution of Dispute; Identity of Individuals Involved in Resolution; D1 Agreed to: D2 Agreed to; Outcome of Referrals; Resolution of Dispute; Details; and Previous Arrests.

Coding Items: 161, 170-173,196, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 303, 304, 351, 352, 482, 933, 934, 936-939, 951, 952, 958, 960, 962, 963, 967, 969, 970, 972, 1043, 1044, 1046, 1047, 1054-1059, 1062, 1063, 1079, 1080, 1082, 1083, 1090-1095, 1098, 1099, 1109, 1129, 1131, 1135, 1137, 1138, 1140, 1141, 1143, 1144, 1146, 1157, 1159, 1163, 1165, 1166, 1169, 1171, 1172, 1174.

The following items were added/amended to read: 161=neglecting complainant and/or household; 176=damage to property; 196=be made to admit complainant to apartment; 197=request police to take other action; 428 and 432= housewife; 479=neither; for "breadwinner": 781=1+2+other; 782=1+2; 783=1+other; 784=2+other; 851=Ptl. Monroe; 879=more than 2 hours; for "dominant": 1008= mother; 1023=father; 1045 and 1081=intoxicated, alcohol involved; 1116=discussed problem with 1 disputant, as only 1 disputant was present; 1147 and 1175=cooperative in ingratiating way, uninvolved; 1299=mediation; 1311=complaint; for "summary of resolution": 1242=officers to return at later date for consultation.

A number of categories were collapsed. Data presentations below will present frequencies based on collapsed categories (in those where meaningful collapsing was done). Following the scale transformations, descriptive distributions were analyzed for inferential trends. Single- and double-classification tables were treated by either Chi-Square analysis (used when the data analyzed was uncorrelated) or Cochran Q analysis (when the data was correlated). These procedures would permit, if trends in the data were clear, a similar statement of interpretation for the differing categories of the single-classification and the contingency (double-classification) tables.

While the transformations were particularly helpful in determining trends for the single-classification tables, the combination of two variables (categories) rarely resulted in obvious trends in the resulting contingency table. The contingency tables were relatively large (a 7 x 5 table was not uncommon) and trends were at best ambiguous for most. Even the smaller contingency tables yielded statistically significant trends which were not necessarily meaningful. As such, <u>emphasis has been placed upon psychologically meaningful trends, as opposed to those which were simply statistically significant</u>.

In order to answer questions about specific subpopulations (e.g., parent-child disputes only), new data bases were generated based upon the limited populations of interest. In the data to be presented below about the various categories studied, frequencies reflect proportions of cases in which information was available, excluding cases for which information was not available.

There is no effort in this report to analyze or present the data of the comparison precinct (24th Precinct). Experiences indicate that these data are highly unreliable due to: the high degree of case selectivity; the lesser motivation to report data of patrolmen in the comparison precinct; and, the lack of individual consultations which would have resulted in de-briefing data.

Characteristics of Disputes

Policemen everywhere regularly deal with family disputes. To hear them describe such situations with a mixture of fear and distaste suggests that there may be a tendency for officers to be "set" to perceive the disputants as dangerous persons, and their task as frustrating and unrewarding. In any case, police responses to such events are likely to be influenced by their perceptions and expectations. Naturally, the behavior of the disputants will in turn be affected by how the officers behave. Further, any police stereotype about such calls may well be self-fulfilling and self-perpetuating; people tend to react as they are expected to...and eager police recruits are often anxiously receptive to the "how-to" of more experienced men. Analysis of the FCIU data will not dispel or confirm any questions in this regard, for the officers of the FCIU were both experienced and unusually trained. What this data promises, however, are indications of what the disputes and the disputants were like, and how they responded to the FCIU officers...that is, the data can indicate how people respond to "trained"officers.

In addition, analysis of the 1287 family conflicts can provide valuable data regarding characteristics of families whose conflicts required police intervention.

When Do Disputes Occur?

Tour of duty. Analysis of the data indicates that 27.2% of the family disputes occurred during the late tour (midnight to 8 AM); 27.8% during the day tour (8 AM - 4 PM); 45% during the night tour (4 PM to Midnight). The latter tour received the largest share of calls for police intervention in family disputes.

Hour of disturbance. In Table 1 it appears that the incidence of family disputes is at a constantly low level between 2 AM and 4 PM, and is especially low during the hours before sunrise. Incidents are at a constantly high level between 4 PM and 2 AM. These hours of high incidence are the times when children are home from school and parents home from daytime jobs; they are the hours when the families are together. The sharp drop in disputes reported during the last hour of each police tour (7 AM - 8 AM, 3 PM - 4 PM, 11 PM - Midnight) may have reflected the officers' reluctance to complete Family Disturbance Report Forms which may have necessitated remaining on duty beyond the tour.

Month of disturbance. With the exception of the summer months, family disputes occurred at a relatively constant rate during the year. The 3 month period, June through August, accounted for over one-third of the cases. These summer months, when children are home from school and residents of inner-city areas are subjected to increased temperatures and often irritating discomforts, were the times of highest incidence of family disputes. The data appears to support the hypothesis of a "togetherness syndrome," where families have disputes requiring police intervention when they are most likely to be involved with each other. (This impression is supported also by the 4 PM - 2 AM finding above).

TABLE 1.

FREQUENCY OF DISTURBANCE BY HOUR

Late Tour		Day Tour		Night Tour	
Time	Percent	Time	Percent	Time	Percent
Midnight - 1 AM	7.8%	8 AM - 9 AM	3.6	4 PM - 5 PM	5.4
1 AM - 2 AM	5.6	9 AM - 10 AM	4.0	5 PM - 6 PM	4.6
2 AM - 3 AM	3.9	10 AM - 11 AM	3.6	6 PM - 7 PM	6.0
3 AM - 4 AM	3.3	11 AM - Noon	4.1	7 PM - 8 PM	5.7
4 AM - 5 AM	2.1	Noon - 1 PM	3.1	8 PM - 9 PM	6.4
5 AM - 6 AM	1.8	1 PM - 2 PM	3.1	9 PM - 10 PM	6.9
6 AM - 7 AM	2.1	2 PM - 3 PM	4.6	10 PM - 11 PM	6.2
7 AM - 8 AM	1.3	3 PM - 4 PM	1.8	11 PM - Midn.	2.9
TOTAL	27.9%		27.9%		44.1%

Calendar day of disturbance. There appears to be no relationship between incidence of family disputes and day of the month.

Day of week of disturbance. 16.4% of the disputes occurred on Sundays, 12.7% on Monday, 10.2% on Tuesdays, 17.5% on Wednesdays, 9.0% on Thursdays, 14.4% on Fridays, and 19.8% on Saturdays. There appears to be a bimodal distribution, with Saturday and Wednesday being peak points relative to neighboring days (see Fig.1.). This might reflect the possibility that tensions may build in 3-day cycles, dropping on Monday and Tuesday after the "active" weekend. The data offers further support for the "togetherness syndrome."

Year of disturbance. During the 6-month FCIU period in 1967, 39.9% of all interventions in the project took place; 51.11% occurred during the twelve months of 1968; and, 9.1% occurred during the 4 month project period in 1969. More cases per month were reported during the first year of the project than were reported during the second year and, similarly, the third year showed fewer cases than the second. This seems most likely to be a reflection of morale, a decreasing motivation to record interventions. The implications of this phenomenon will be considered in the last chapter.

Where Do Disputes Occur?

Place of occurrence. The overwhelming majority of family disputes (92.6%) occurred in the residences of the disputants. When these families had disputes requiring police intervention, they almost always have occurred in the privacy of the home. This may suggest that family disputes are kept private. If so, even when summoned, patrolmen may have entered the disputants' homes as intruders upon family privacy. This consideration may have implications for high rate of assaults upon policemen in family disputes and will be discussed in the last chapter.

Who Are the Disputants?

Identity of complainant. In 85% of the cases the complainant was female; of these cases she was identified as the wife four-fifths of the time, and a female relative or non-relative the remaining one-fifth of the time. Therefore, in two-thirds of all cases complaints originated with the wife. Two-thirds of the cases where the complainant was a male, he was the husband. One may speculate about whether or not men would be more likely to summon police intervention if they expected the third-party intervention to be performed by a policewoman.

The data indicated that the item frequencies for this category were almost identical with the category regarding identity of the first disputant. In coding then, as expected, the complainant and the first disputant were one and the same person. In this report data regarding the first disputant (D1) will refer also to the complainant.

Age of disputants. The data indicated that D1 was usually a married woman between 20 - 49 years of age, and that the second disputant (D2) was usually 20 - 49 years of age and the husband of the complainant. The age distribution of both disputants is similar.

Age difference between disputants. In half the cases (50.7%) the disputants' ages were no more than 5 years apart; they were 6 - 10 years apart in 17.9%, 11-20 years apart in 13.4%, and more than 20 years apart in 12.8%. Subsequent isolation of the incidence of parent-child disputes (see below) indicates that most cases where the disputants' ages are more than 20 years apart are those where the disputants were parents and their children.

Disputants' relationship. The majority of these disputes involved spouses as the disputants (76.2%). In 13.4% the disputes were between parent and child, between siblings in 2.0%, between formerly married people in 4.8%, and in various other relationships in 3.6%. These data indicate that it was typically a husband and a wife who were the primary disputants, but than in almost one-fourth of the disputes the parties were not married.

Older of the two disputants. In 59.4% of the cases D2 was older than D1. The disputants were of the same age in 7.3% of the cases. Since women tend to marry men older than themselves in our society, it is not surprising that D2 was usually the elder of the two disputants.

Occupation of D1. In Table 2 it can be seen that in most cases D1 is employed. Closer examination suggests that there may be an unusually high employment rate for the women in these disputes. We can estimate that at least 1,000 first disputants were adult females. Even if we assumed that all unemployed D1s were female, and added their numbers to the cases where D1 was a housewife (and presumably unemployed), that would signify that 50% of the adult females in this study were employed.[2] This minimal estimate of employment is higher than the 40.5% employment rate for Negro adult females reported for the study years.[2] While these figures are not directly comparable (e.g., due to differences in populations sampled and data collection procedures), they raise the possibility that these families are atypical in proportion of employed wives.

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[2]Statistical Abstracts, 1971, Dept. of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE 2.

OCCUPATIONS OF DISPUTANTS

Occupation	D1		D2	
	N	Percentage	N	Percentage
White Collar	254	22.3%	194	17.1%
Government Employee	24	2.1%	68	6.0%
Blue Collar	196	17.2%	420	37.0%
Service Worker	164	14.4%	120	10.6%
Student	37	3.3%	68	6.0%
Unemployed	118	10.4%	213	18.8%
Housewife	344	30.3%	51	4.5%
		100.0%		100.0%

Occupation of D2. Table 2 reveals that D2, is typically employed, often as a blue-collar worker. The unemployment rate, even if adjusted downward to eliminate female unemployed D2s is higher than the national unemployment rate. While this rate may not be a high percentage for the neighborhood, the unemployment rate of 18.8% is about three times the average reported in inner-city areas for Negro males during the study years.[3] This higher than expected male unemployment rate further supports the impression of higher than expected employment of wives in this sample. Hence a relationship may exist between atypical employment patterns and family disorder requiring police intervention.

Identity of breadwinner(s). In 32.6% of the cases D2 was the sole family provider. In 19.5% D1 was the sole provider, and in 42.7% the family income was provided by both D1 and D2. In 5.2% others contributed partly or solely to the family's income. It can be noted that in over 75% of these families, D2 was a breadwinner.

Number of children under 19 in household. In 30.8% of these families there were no children living in the household; 25.5% had 1 child; 28.8% had 2 or 3 children; and 14.9% of these families had 4 or more children living with them.

Parentage of these children. In most families, the children were offspring of the existing relationship. In approximately one fourth of the families, one or more of the children resulted from previous relationships of mother or father.

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[3]Ibid. (p.211)

Length of time family had been together. Only 8.9% of these families were together less than 1 year; 15.4% were together between 1 - 3 years; 14.2% for 3 - 5 years; 22.2% for from 5 - 10 years; 26.3% for from 10 - 20 years; and 13.0% for over 20 years. Thus the intervening officers most often provided intervention services to families likely to have been together for more than five years. It would appear then that the early years of a relationship are not overrepresented as the problem years, as one might expect given the adaptational requirements early in marriage.

Previous patterns of violence between disputants. In roughly half (52.8%) of the disputes about which information was available, there had been previous violence in the family. This indicates that the dispute occurred in the context of continuing familial difficulties for many of the families.

Were children present during disturbance? In about one-half of the disputes (56.5%) children under 19 were present. Since children tend to imitate behavior, it may be that what children observe in these instances will tend to affect their behavior as well as their perceptions of police officers. And, these children may model their own responses to policemen after their parents' responses to the intervening officers. An added dimension to the effects of the officers' intervention then, is that the behavior he elicits from the adult disputants may have effects, perhaps years afterwards, on these youngsters' later reactions to policemen.

Events transpiring immediately before officers' arrival. The events referred to here were those which the officers judged to have occurred prior to their arrival. Officers were free to list several events so that the percentages reported in Table 3 total more than 100%. In one-third of the cases (34.8%), violence had occurred; in almost one-half there had been a verbal dispute, while in one-fourth the point of contention was the presence or absence of one of the disputants. These data indicate that while violence is not a rare occurrence during these family disputes, officers would likely be wrong if they had a high expectation that violence figured in them.

Complainants' statement about D2's behavior. Here, too, officers could list several items for each case, so that the percentages total more than 100%. In those cases for which information was available, the complainants' statement referred to D2 (or the problem) as being: violence in 39.5% of the cases; threat of violence in 13.0%; the other's presence or absence in 28.0%; financial problems in 4.5%; sexual problems in 2.6%; illness in 3.1%; and general complaints about aspects of D2's behavior (drinking, neglect,etc.) in 22.5% of the cases.

The complaints specified here indicate what the officers were first told of the dispute. In descending order, then, the first information the officers had about the dispute had to do with such issues as: violence having occurred or being threatened, the presence or absence of the second party, and other aspects of D2's behavior. Here, too, an officer would likely be wrong if he expected that the complainant would probably report that violence had taken place.

TABLE 3

EVENTS TRANSPIRING BEFORE OFFICERS' ARRIVAL

EVENT	N	Percentage of Total[1]
Verbal dispute[2]	503	44.5%
Violence (assault)[3]	394	34.8
Other's presence or absence[4]	260	23.0
Undesirable behavior[5]	192	17.0
Threat of violence[6]	126	11.1
Infidelity[7]	84	7.4
Illness (physical or emotional)[8]	15	1.3

[1]Percentages total more than 100% since each dispute could be coded for two preceding events.

[2]Comprised of codebook items: 912

[3]Comprised of codebook items: 910, 913, 914, 927, 929

[4]Comprised of codebook items: 917 - 920

[5]Comprised of codebook items: 915, 916, 924, 925

[6]Comprised of codebook items: 911, 926, 928

[7]Comprised of codebook items: 923

[8]Comprised of codebook items: 921, 922

Complainants' requests of officers. In 39.0% of the cases about which we have information the complainant wanted the officers to force D2 to comply with her/his wish. In 20.2% the officers were asked to mediate the dispute; in 13.3% the officers were requested to arrest D2; in 12.9% to protect the complainant from D2; in 12:2% to take other actions; and in only 2.5% were the officers requested to have D2 treated for physical or mental illness.

In the majority of cases the complainant first indicated a desire that the police should force compliance with his/her wishes. In about one-fourth of the cases the complainant requested the officers to provide nurturance or wisdom. Thus the police stereotype of being tough, strong, and action-oriented is shared (validated?) by complainants whose first request of them is usually that they use overt or covert force, thus reinforcing such police stereotypes of their own role. It may be that officers familiar with this contingency can develop skills to move the disputants from a force to a helping mode. If complainants' first requests to officers are at all stereotypical, it would be interesting to speculate on what the first requests might be if the responding officers were women.

How police are notified. Information regarding these family disputes came to the Unit via radio in 55.9% of the cases; by a citizen telephoning the station house in 16.3%; by a citizen coming directly to the station house in 9.4%; and by pick-up (e.g., approach to officers on patrol, observation by officer, etc.) in 18.4%. While crime-control possibilities of uniformed patrol may have limitations, clearly it does act as a resource in the kinds of cases being considered here. It may be that these 18.4% of the cases might not otherwise have come to the attention of the police.

Number of preceding calls to same family. The FCIU "car-file" was a mechanism intended to provide officers with immediate information about previous Unit contacts with families. Of those cases for whom the data is available, there had been no prior contacts with FCIU members in 63.6%. In 18.8% there had been one prior call to that family; in 17.6% there had been 2 or more prior FCIU contacts with the family. Data previously presented (See Bard, 1970, p.25) indicates that over 30% of the calls were repeats, attesting to the wisdom of keeping a carfile in order to provide continuity of service and as an "early warning" system for the police. The majority of family calls were not "repeats," however; during the 22 month FCIU operational period, most families required the intervention in their disputes only once.

Characteristics of the Police: Perceptions, Judgements and Actions

What Were the Perceptions and Judgements of the Officers?

Appearance of the home. The conditions in the home were described by the officers as being "neat, tidy" in 60.3% of the cases, "fair" in 18.8%, and "unkempt" in 20.9%. It is interesting to note that although called upon to deal with family disorder, the officers were not disposed to perceive the family's residence as particularly disordered; their perceptions of interpersonal disorder did not extend to and contaminate their perceptions of the home. The ability of these officers to make such discriminations may reflect training for disciplined observation.

Appearance of the disputants. In the majority of disputes, the disputants were seen as "neat, tidy" (71.0%) in appearance. Judgements regarding the personal appearance of the disputants seem to conform to the judgements made about the appearance of the home.

Dominant household member. In over half the cases (51.7%) the officers perceived neither disputant to be clearly dominant. Of those cases where one party was seen as dominant, it was the husband in 47.8%, the wife in 35.3%, and another person (e.g., parent, in-law, other relative, etc.) in 16.9%. These figures support the impression that these families may be atypical, in that there is often no clear dominance pattern (as seen in employment status, for example).

Person(s) judged at fault. Data coding allowed for 2 persons per dispute to be judged at fault, thus the percentages below total more than 100%. In half (49.6%) of the cases the officers perceived no person as being at fault. This may reflect their willingness to suspend their critical judgements in appreciation of the complexities of human behavior, so as not to bias their efforts. In those cases where one or two persons were seen at fault, it was the husband in 79.9%, the wife in 54.2% (in addition to or instead of, the husband), another relative in 18.2%, and non-relatives in 3.5%. While we have no base-line data for comparison, after training these officers did not exclusively side with the woman, as one might expect given the cultural stereotype of policeman-as-Sir Galahad (i.e., the protective rescuer).

Officer's impressions of D1. In those cases where data was available, D1 was perceived as having only interpersonal problems in 2/3 (66.6%) of the cases, only intrapersonal problems in 14.2% of the cases, and both interpersonal and intrapersonal problems in 19.2%. These data emphasize the ability of trained officers to discriminate among behaviors those related to social interaction as distinct from those derivative of personal disorder.

Officer's impressions of D2. In those cases where data was available, D2 was perceived as having only interpersonal problems in 69% of the cases, only intrapersonal problems in 14%, and both intrapersonal and interpersonal problems in 17% of the cases. This is further indication that in the eyes of these policemen, the disputes were clearly not a question of one of the parties being crazy or lazy. They really believed that "it takes two to tangle." Such data reinforces the hypothesis that training should emphasize the interactive within the context of understanding individual motivation.

Officer's opinion regarding causative factors. Officers often saw two factors as contributory in the same dispute, thus the percentages that follow total more than 100% (see Table 4). Intrapersonal deficit, referring to one disputant's personal problem as causative (i.e., behavioral deficiency, crisis or inappropriateness) was less frequently judged a cause than were interpersonal problems arising from the relationship itself. The discriminative abilities of these officers thus appeared quite sophisticated and in accord with those social scientists who maintain that marital discord derives from the contributions of both parties. The range of perceived causative factors portrayed in Table 4 indicates that these officers did not rely on a simplistic approach (e.g., as would be the case had the officers assumed that D2 was always wrong, or that both were "crazy".).

TABLE 4

OFFICERS' OPINION OF CAUSATIVE FACTORS

Causative Factor	N	Percentage of Total[1]
Interpersonal problem[2]	277	31.0%
Outside influence[3]	194	21.7
Infidelity[4]	160	17.9
Dependence (alcohol or drugs)[5]	149	16.7
Insufficient income[6]	136	15.2
Intrapersonal problem[7]	122	13.7
Problem with child[8]	83	9.3

[1]Percentages total more than 100% since each dispute could be coded for 2 causative factors.

[2]Comprised of codebook items: 935, 940, 943, 948, 965, 973

[3]Comprised of codebook items: 945 - 947

[4]Comprised of codebook item : 932

[5]Comprised of codebook items: 953, 954

[6]Comprised of codebook items: 949, 950, 964

[7]Comprised of codebook items: 942, 944, 957, 961, 966, 968, 971

[8]Comprised of codebook items: 956, 959

What Did the Officers Do and What Were the Consequences?

Officer's approach. In two-thirds of the cases (66.2%) the officers discussed the problem with disputants both separately and together. In only 1% of the cases was it necessary to physically separate the disputants. In even fewer (0.6%) did they find it necessary to command the disputants to stop arguing or order them to refrain from further outbursts. As a result of the officers' appreciation of the importance of communication they felt free to enlist friends and relatives as facilitators of the communication process in 16.8% of the cases. Clearly and dramatically the officers could utilize a wide range of behavioral options as alternatives to the use of force. As the figure of 16.8% will attest, they could use available resources (other people) without fearing loss of face or abdication of power role.

D1's response to the police. Since some disputants' responses were codable by two items, the frequencies below total more than 100%. In 83.2% of cases for which data is available, the officers perceived D1's response as positive; in 22.7% D1 appeared unresponsive; in 3.1% D1's response was judged to be negative. The FCIU officers perceived D1 (the complainant) as typically having positive response to their intervention. Such positive reinforcement to the delivery of service likely promotes job satisfaction and a sense of effectiveness which may improve performance not only in family disputes but, perhaps, in other police functions as well.

D2's response to the police. In 65.8% of the cases where data was available, D2's response was positive. In 35.0% D2 appeared to be unresponsive, while in 12.2% a negative response was noted. Although D2's responses were, not surprisingly, less often positive than D1's, it is noteworthy that the officers perceived the response to be positive in most cases for which data was available. These data add further support to the contention that trained officers can mitigate responses - even in those complained against.

The outcome. Here again multiple responses per case lead to item frequencies totalling more than 100%. In only 5.1% of the cases an arrest was made. Mediation was employed in 77.9%, and a referral was made in 69.2% of the cases. In the officers' judgement, the dispute remained essentially unresolved in 37.9% of the cases.

Thus, in over three-fourths of these cases, the officers endeavored to mediate the disputes. While the complainant's first request of the officers (see above) was for mediation in only one-fifth of the cases and arrest in under one-seventh of the cases, the officers provided more mediation services and, in considerably fewer cases employed criminal sanctions.

Agency to which referred. In 47.5% of cases referred, the FCIU referred to a service agency; they referred to the courts in 43.4%, and they referred both to court and a service agency in 9.1% of the cases. The officers exercised discriminating judgements in rendering their services. It should be emphasized that there officers apparently regarded themselves as gatekeepers to the helping system just as equally as they did as gatekeepers to the criminal justice system. (Reliance on the helping system is reflected also in the low frequency of arrest, mentioned above.)

Elapsed time of police intervention. In about one-half of the cases the police were on the scene between 30 minutes to one hour. During the study period of 22 months the FCIU handled an average of almost two calls per day. If each call was handled by two officers, then during each 24 hour day a total of approximately three man-hours was spent on family disputes, (or about 60 minutes per two-man shift for the entire precinct) leaving 45 man-hours per day available for general patrol. That is, keeping two trained officers in the "family car" 24 hours a day meant that about one hour per shift was utilized in handling such disputes in the whole precinct (about 1/2 hour per car per shift). Given this "generalist-specialist" model, the cost-effectiveness of police management of family disputes is clear. If another jurisdiction were to set up a Family Crisis Intervention Unit, they could plan on each Unit member spending about 1 hour per shift handling family crises - an inexpensive strategy indeed, in terms of the benefits in increased service and crime prevention (and increased morale) that might result.[4]

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[4]The FCIU comprised 8 - 10% of the 30th Precinct's complement. Utilizing a larger or smaller percentage of available manpower for a Unit would be expected to correspondingly reduce or increase the average length of time spent by each Unit member in this function.

TABLE 5

LENGTH OF POLICE INTERVENTION

Length of Time	Percent of Cases
1" - 30"	17.9%
31" - 60"	49.0
61" - 90"	23.5
91" - 120"	6.5
Over 120"	3.1
	100.0%

Relationships Among Variables: Disputants

In order to acquire a better understanding of the nature of family disputes, cross-tabulations were performed on selected pairs of variables. The first section is concerned with characteristics of the disputants; the second, with police actions or perceptions. The third section is concerned with interactions between disputant characteristics and police characteristics, i.e., one variable in each pair concerning the disputants, the other the police.

In deriving the data for these cross-tabulations, only those cases were included where there was information available on both variables in the pair. This procedure was followed so that the information presented would not be confounded by cases with partial or missing information. The comparisons below refer to selected pairs of variables of special interest. In all cases the interaction was highly significant statistically. Comments will, however, be limited to trends within the data which appear psychologically meaningful.

Complainant's Statement About D2's Behavior

Comparison with previous patterns of violence between disputants reveals that where a family has a history of violent conflict, there is more apt to be a complaint of violence or the threat of violence. Further, complaints about atypical behavior, other than violence, and about financial problems, are less likely to occur in families with histories of violent interactions.

Events Transpiring Before Officers Arrival

It was decided that events occuring immediately before the officers' arrival would be considered a reflection of real events rather than a subjective judgement by the officers. Comparison of this variable with previous patterns of violence reveals a trend for violence and the threat of violence to ensue in those families with a violent history. This finding is consistent with that noted above regarding the relationship between history of violence and complainants' statements to the police. Furthermore, when there is no history of violence the disputes are more likely to involve verbal exchange and one in which the whereabouts of the other party is at issue. Apparently families establish dispute patterns: some rely on physical violence; while the disputes of others are consistently characterized by verbal conflicts and by attempts to alter proximity (i.e., the disputants disagree as to whether one of them will leave, return or remain).

Relationships Among Variables: Police

Elapsed Time of Police Intervention

When related to officers' opinion regarding causative factors no trend is apparent; it would appear that the length of the intervention was not determined by the perceived cause of the dispute.

In relation to the officers' opinion regarding person(s) at fault, it appeared that the length of their intervention was similar regardless of whether the husband or the wife was at fault. However, they did tend to stay longer when another party was seen as being at fault, perhaps this is a reflection of the desire to modify the influence of others on the marital partners.

When related to agency to which referred, there is the suggestion of a tendency for the officers to have spent somewhat less time, on the average, with families they eventually referred to court, as compared with those they referred to service agencies. In as much as the courts are capable of imposing solutions upon people, the officers' actions in this regard may reflect their sense of limitation in certain situations; that is, if they perceived the problem as one requiring an externally imposed solution, they saw less that they could do and left sooner.

Officers' Opinion Regarding Causative Factors

When related to D1's response to police, D1 tended to be especially positive in response to the intervention when the officers perceived the dispute as having originated in problems with the children.

Cross tabulations with agency to which referred suggests that the officers were somewhat more likely to refer to court when they perceived disputes to be caused by either infidelity or insufficient income. They were somewhat more likely to refer to service agencies when the perceived causes involved intrapersonal problems and problems with children. Disputes seen as being caused by interpersonal problems were referred equally to both service agencies and the courts. These data portray the objectivity in the ability of the officers to discriminate as to the relative appropriateness of the helping system in making referrals. It may be that such ability to discriminate and the enlargement of the range of alternatives utilized are among the most significant results of training for human service functions by police officers.

Cross-tabulation with the outcome suggests a tendency for disputes with interpersonal causes to more often remain unresolved than those with intrapersonal causes. It may be that when one party is deficient or inappropriate, it is easier to manage the conflict than when the dispute arises out of the more complex interaction between two or more disputants.

Persons at Fault

Cross-tabulation with dominant household member suggests that the husband is more often seen as being dominant regardless of whether he or his wife is seen as being at fault. When other relatives or non-relatives are seen as being at fault, they are also seen as being dominant. Perhaps the officers judged that anyone who dominated both spouses had to be primarily at fault.

Officers' Impressions of D1

Cross-tabulation of this variable with the outcome reveals no clear trend. While there is a stereotype that what officers think of the disputant affects his disposition of the case, this did not occur in relation to the first disputant. This may be further evidence of disciplined objectivity.

Officers' Impressions of D2

Cross-tabulation with agency to which referred similarly suggests that officers' referrals were independent of their impression of D2 (i.e., referrals being made more often to service agencies whether D2 was seen as having interpersonal or intrapersonal difficulties). This further supports the notion that the officers did not let their impressions of the disputants determine their disposition.

Cross-tabulation with the outcome reveals no trend, once again highlighting the officers' objectivity.

Relationships Among Variables: Police-Disputant Interaction

Complainants' statement about D2's behavior X The outcome: Cross-tabulation of these variables revealed no clear trend. However, it appears that arrests tended to occur when violence was the complaint; although complaints of violence usually did not lead to either citizen requests that an arrest be made nor to actual arrests.

Complainants' statement about D2's behavior X Elapsed time of police intervention: Revealed here was a tendency for officers to spend less time with families who had complained of violence than when other complaints had been made. This may be due to greater clarity in police guidelines regarding violence, such clarity would tend to make for quicker police response. For example, if D2 was arrested for having committed an assault (when D1 indicated that charges would be pressed), little time needed to be spent.

Complainants' statement about D2's behavior X D2's response to police: Analysis revealed that, regardless of the nature of the complaint, D2 generally responded positively. Even on complaint that D2 had been violent, D2's responses are, if anything, even more likely to be positive towards the police. Thus these officers perceived generally positive responses from D2 regardless of the nature of the complaint, suggesting that their skills are effective in a wide variety of situations.

Complainants' request of police X Elapsed time of intervention: In general, no relationship was found between these variables. A tendency was noted, however, for interventions to be briefer when the complainant requested the officers to make an arrest ($x^2 = 3.90$, $p < .05$), that when other requests were made.

Complainants' request of police X Agency to which referred: The data suggests that referrals "fit" the request -- i.e., when D1 requested that the officers provide treatment, mediation, or other services, referrals were more likely to be to service agencies. On the other hand, when D1 requested that the officers use force, referrals were more likely to be made to the courts. It appears that the officers viewed the courts as a resource for enforcement.

Complainants' request of police X The outcome: The data indicates that arrests tend to occur when an arrest had been requested. However, as noted above, most such requests did not result in arrest.

Identity of complainant X Person(s) seen as at fault: This cross-tabulation suggests that the officers often did not side with the complainant. Even though husbands were perceived as being at fault more often than the wives, (regardless of who was the complainant) wives were nevertheless seen as being at fault surprisingly often.

Age of D1 X Officers' impressions of D1: While there was no general trend, the data suggested that D1s under 20 years are more often perceived as having intrapersonal difficulties than when D1 is older than 20 ($x^2 = 5.48$; $p < .05$ - compared to what would be expected from the frequencies of interpersonal and intrapersonal in all cases).

Age of D1 X The Outcome: There seems to be no meaningful relationship between D1's age and outcome of the dispute. The officers apparently functioned similarly despite age differences in D1.

Age of D2 X D2's response to the police: No major trend was apparent for these data. Although age-related differences might be expected in response to police intervention, this was apparently not the case.

Age of D2 X The outcome: As with D1, there appeared no trend in the relationship between these two variables. Age thus appears to have had little effect on the outcome of these disputes.

The outcome X Occupation of D1 and of D2: Cross-tabulations reveal that the occupation of each disputant did not show any apparent relationship with outcome of the dispute.

Disputants' relationship X Elapsed time of intervention: No trend was apparent between these variables. The amount of time the officers spent with the disputants did not appear to be determined by the latter's relationship.

Disputants' relationship X Person(s) seen as at fault: Officers perceived disputes between spouses as more often being the fault of the husband than the wife ($x^2 = 13.70$, $p < .001$).

Disputants' relationship X The outcome: No trend was apparent in the relationship of these variables.

Children under 19 present at disturbance X Elapsed time of intervention: Inspection of these data suggests that there was no relationship between the amount of time spent in an intervention and whether or not there were children present.

Events transpiring before officers' arrival X Elapsed time of intervention: There is no specific precipitating event which determines the length of the intervention.

Elapsed time of intervention X D2's response to police: The data suggest that in cases where the officers stayed 60 minutes or more, D2's response was positive. Since the average length of intervention even when D2's response was not positive, was between 30 - 60 minutes, the officers did not withdraw quickly. The data suggest, rather, that they did not waste time in the face of continued resistance by D2 to their efforts to mediate the dispute.

Events transpiring before officers' arrival X Person(s) at fault: There was no clear trend in these data. Preceding events did not seem related to who these trained officers perceived of as at fault. Even when violence had occurred they maintained their objectivity. So often in police work, injuries to officers accrue when they attempt to stop the male, whom they see as the "aggressor," assuming that the wife will be grateful, only to find themselves attacked by her. The FCIU officers did not "side" with the female simply because there had been an assault; this may explain, in part, the absence of injuries to Unit officers.

Events transpiring before officers' arrival X D1's response to police: The data here portrays D1's response to be overwhelmingly positive regardless of events prior to the arrival of the police.

Events transpiring before officers' arrival X D2's response to police: Here, too, D2's response was consistent and usually positive regardless of the preceding event. Whatever these officers derived from their training, they could apparently handle a variety of situations skillfully.

Events transpiring before officers' arrival X The outcome: The only trend apparent in this cross-tabulation was that when an arrest occurred, it was likely that violence had taken place before the officers arrived.

Officers' opinion of cause of dispute X Previous patterns of violence: These data suggest that when disputants have a previous pattern of violence, the immediate dispute is more likely to be perceived by the officers as caused by interpersonal difficulties and/or by dependency on drugs; and less likely by problems with children or by outside influences. This is further support for the interactive hypothesis, that is, that patterns of violence occur in a mutually contributory context, perhaps of a sado-masochistic nature.

Person(s) at fault X Previous patterns of violence: Previous patterns of violent interaction do not appear to be related to whether husband or wife is at fault, as the interactive hypothesis for patterns of violence would predict. When other people are seen as being at fault, there tends to be no previous pattern of violence between the disputants. Perhaps the existence of such a pattern requires the continuing presence of those who contribute to the violence.

Appearance of the home X The outcome: Neatness of the home seems to be positively associated with successful outcome and negatively associated with incidence of arrests.

Appearance of the disputants X The outcome: Neatness of the disputants appears to be associated with successful outcome (though not with number of arrests).

Officers' impressions of D1 X D1's response to police: The absence of any clear trend is remarkable. It suggests that the officers' behavior was not grossly affected by their impression of D1, thus likely having no demonstrable effect on D1's reaction to them. Apparently the officers' objectivity led to their engendering positive responses from D1 regardless of their impressions of D1.

D1's response to police X The outcome: In this cross-tabulation no trend was apparent, other than an apparent tendency for disputes to be unresolved and for arrests to occur when D1's response was not positive.

D2's response to police X The outcome: These data suggest that when D2's response is not positive, the disputes tend to be unresolved and to result in a higher incidence of arrest. When D2's response is positive, mediation is more likely to occur. This and the preceding set of data suggest that the outcomes of these disputes depended on the disputants' responses to the police; that is, when they were cooperative mediation and successful resolution were more likely to occur. It should be noted that the data above indicated that the disputants' responses to the officers was not caused by the officers' impressions of them.

D1's response to police X Previous patterns of violence: D1 responds positively to the police regardless of the history.

Officers' impression of D2 X D2's response to the police: No trends were revealed. Regardless of the officers' impressions, D2's reaction to the officers was generally positive.

D2's response to police X Previous patterns of violence: Even more so than D1, D2 is likely to respond positively to the police when there has been no prior pattern of violence. Although families with histories of violent interaction are more likely to have violent disputes, it was previously noted that events preceding officers' arrival was not apparently related to the disputants' response to the officers. It may be that families with a violent interactive style also happen to have more negative attitudes to authority; or, that their tendency to overtly express negative feelings led the officers to perceive their reactions as less positive.

Agency to which referred X Previous patterns of violence: Inspection of these data indicates that the officers tended to refer to courts when there was a history of violence, to service agencies when there was no history of violence.

Parent-Child Disputes

Of the total of 1287 family disputes, 172 were between parents and children. The opportunity to examine characteristics of such disputes promised information on the similarities and differences between these disputes and those between spouses. What, for example, may police officers expect when they intervene and find the disputants are parent and child? Is violence more of a factor, and hence a danger, than in disputes between spouses? What do trained officers perceive as causative in such disputes? Are there differences in the officers' actions? In the outcome?

In the procedure used, separate frequency tabulations were generated for the 172 parent-child disputes. Visual comparison between these data and the data for all 1287 interventions was made for each variable. When a difference between the two sets appeared meaningful, a third set of frequencies were generated comprised of the data for all disputes other than those between parent and child. The frequencies for this latter set were then compared to those for parent and child only. Chi-square analyses were performed to test the significance of the differences between these two sets of data.

Characteristics of the Disputants

The disputes between parents and children predictably showed a larger age difference than did the other disputes. When the disputes occurred or how the police were notified indicated no gross differences. Examination of the nature of the complainant's statement regarding D2's behavior revealed a slight, nonsignificant difference in the frequency of complaints of violence in parent-child disputes. Such complaints were made in 33.3% of cases for which information was available, and in 40.2% of all other cases. In parent-child disputes, requests for mediation occurred in 28.4% of cases, all other disputes 18.6%.

In the parent-child disputes, the mother was the complainant in 56.1% of the cases, the father in 15.2%, the daughter in 18.1% and the son in 7.0%. Parents are the ones who appeal for help in three-fourths of these cases. One-quarter of the appeals came from children.

No other characteristics of the disputants demonstrated differences.

Characteristics of the Police

Comparisons between the two sets of data in terms of length of intervention indicated that for both, most interventions took from one-half hour to one and one half hours. In parent-child disputes officers are less likely to spend less than one-half hour and are more likely to spend over one and one-half hours ($p < .001$). This finding probably reflects a number of factors, such as differences in the nature of the request and the incidence of prior violence (it was noted above that officers spent less time when violence had preceded their arrival or when arrests occurred).

When examination was made of events preceding officers' arrival, several differences were seen which provide some explanation for the above finding regarding the amount of time spent during the intervention. Parent-child disputes, when compared to all others, were preceded somewhat more often by "other's presence/absence" (32.9% vs. 21.2%) and by "verbal disputes" (52.9% vs. 43.7%), and were somewhat less likely to be preceded by "violence" (26.5% vs. 35.8%). These data suggest that in parent-child disputes there may be a tendency for the disputants to have conflicts in which both seek to maintain the basic relationship while trying non-violently to alter the other's behavior.

As for the officers' opinion of causative factors, parent-child disputes were less often perceived as being caused by outside influences than were other disputes (10.6% vs. 23.5%; $p < .05$).

In parent-child disputes the officers' approach was more likely to involve "discussions with other family members" (32.3% vs. 14.5%; $p < .05$). It would seem that the officers saw the intra-familial relationships as the crucial factors, and, in recognizing the role played by other family members, enlisted their cooperation.

The officers were more likely to refer to service agencies in parent-child disputes than in other disputes (70.7% vs. 47.9%; $p < .05$), and were less likely to refer parent-child disputes to the courts (20.7% vs. 46.5%; $p < .01$). It appears that the officers were less likely to resort to judicial imposition of a resolution in disputes between parents and children. Compared to all other disputes, the officers were less likely in parent-child disputes to obtain an agreement from the complainant to "leave permanently" (19.3% vs. 3.6%; $p < .01$), but just as often obtained such an agreement from D2. This seeming paradox can be explained as perhaps reflecting the officers' reluctance to ask the complainant (the parent) to leave; there were a number of cases, however, in which the "child" (D2) was either old enough to leave home (being over 18) or in which the dispute was between a parent and a child over 20 years of age ("extended families" are quite common in inner-city areas), and it might be quite appropriate to suggest that such a "child" live elsewhere.

The data revealed that there was less likely to be a previous pattern of violence ($p < .001$) in parent-child disputes than in all others.

No other differences were noted in characteristics of police perception and behavior in these disputes.

Analysis of the data regarding disputes between parents and children points out certain characteristics in which these differ from other intra-familial disputes requiring police intervention. In parent-child disputes, the disputants' behavior and statements to the police are seen as more likely to reflect a desire to maintain the essential stability of the relationship. Apparently the officers perceived this desire and tended to direct their efforts toward stabilizing or improving the families' situations by spending more time mediating, enlisting other family members' involvement and referring to service agencies.

Parameters of Physical Assault

It has been said that "violence, like charity, begins at home" (Malinowski, 1948). Data gathered during the course of 1287 police interventions in family disputes provides an unusual opportunity to acquire information about human violence in naturalistic settings. We have determined that complainants say that violence has occurred in 39.5% of the cases, and, more specifically, that physical assaults have taken place in 35.5% of all disputes. Further, information has been presented in which the police officers concluded that violence preceded their arrival in 34.8% of the disputes, and more specifically, that physical assault had occurred in 29.2% of all disputes. Fortunately, there is even more that can be learned from the data, some of which is presented below. To permit finer analysis, most of the data to follow is derived from "first-generation" data, that is, prior to collapsing of categories.

Agreement Between Officers and Complainants

Of all disputes in which the complainants' statement indicated that a physical assault had taken place, the officers perceived that a physical assault had in fact preceded their arrival in 65.9%. Thus in about two-thirds of those cases where, upon entering the home, the officers are told that an assault had occurred, further inquiry verified the claim. When other categories are added so that the more general domain of "violence" is examined (including, for example, assaults with a weapon), the agreement between complainants' statement and officers' impressions of events preceding their arrival rises to 74.5%.

In view of these findings, an officer would have had reason to expect that violence had probably occurred if on entering the home he had been told that it had occurred. If, on the other hand, there is no mention of violence having occurred, further inquiry or mediation will probably not disclose that an assault had occurred. Stated more generally, these data suggest that complainants are relatively accurate sources of information when they claim an assault has occurred; in the absence of such a claim an officer can properly assume that there probably was no assault.

Causes of Disputes in Which Assaults Allegedly Occurred

Cross-tabulation of the variables: Complainants' statements to police and Officers' impressions of causes, allows for examination of the more frequently perceived causative factors in disputes where a physical assault was claimed to have taken place. Rank-ordering those factors provides the following list: infidelity (a factor in 16% of these disputes); history of constant arguments and/or assaults (11%); lack of communication, attention, understanding (9%); alcoholism (9%); complaint regarding another's outside friends or activities (5%); excess time spent away from home (5%); financial difficulties (5%).

It readily becomes apparent that there is no one cause which accounts for a major portion of these disputes. Even infidelity, the factor most commonly associated with claims of physical assaults, is seen in only 1 case out of 6. This data is consistent with the hypothesis in which families are seen to differ in "style" of conflict. Perhaps for families with an assaultive style, violence is likely to occur once a conflict-tension threshold has been reached, and many precipitating factors can lead to crossing that threshold.

Officers' Impressions of D2 in Disputes in Which Assaults Allegedly Occurred

Additional information concerning disputes in which the complainant claimed that a physical assault had occurred comes from examining the officers impressions of D2 in those cases. Where such claims had been made, the officers found the second disputant (usually the husband) to be under the influence of alcohol in 16.3% of the cases. This low frequency of association does not support the expectation of a strong relationship between violence and alcohol. The officers found D2 to be unable to communicate with D1 in 14.3% of these disputes, to be jealous or suspicious of D1 in 10.3% and to have little regard or affection for D1 in 5.2% of these disputes. Again one finds no one factor which is consistently associated with disputes in which the complainant claims that an assault had occurred.

Causes of Disputes in Which Officers Conclude that Assaults Did Occur

There is reason to believe that in some disputes physical assaults did occur but were not mentioned by the complainant. Similarly, there may well have been cases in which a vengeful complainant may have falsely stated that an assault occurred, or emotionally overreacted to a push or shove. While the officers' impressions of events preceding their arrival provided confirmation of alleged assaults in 65.9% of these cases, indicating considerable agreement, there remain many cases in which the officers concluded that an assault had occurred even without a complaint. Could it be that the officers' impressions are a more valid indicator of the prior occurrence of physical assaults?

In the 330 cases in which the officers judged that a physical assault had preceded their arrival, the most frequently seen causative factors were infidelity (13.0% of these cases); alcoholism (11.2%); history of constant arguments and/or assaults (9.7%); lack of communication, attention, understanding (8.8%); and complaints regarding another's outside friends or activities (5.5%). These five factors are identical to five most frequently associated causative factors in disputes where the complainant claims that violence had occurred.

Officers Impressions of D2 in Disputes Where Officers Concluded that Assaults Did Occur

In those disputes where the officers judged that a physical assault had taken place, they found the second disputant to be: under the influence of alcohol (20.9%); unable to communicate with D1 (13.3%); jealous or suspicious of D1 (9.7%); to have little regard or affection for D1 (7.6%); to act childishly or immaturely (5.5%).

Once again, considerable overlap is found when the officers' impressions of D2 in cases where they conclude that assaults had occurred are compared with their impressions of D2 when the complainant claims that an assault had occurred. Here, too, one may note that D2 is under the influence of alcohol in only a minority of family disputes in which these police officers had judged that an assault had occurred prior to their arrival.

Estimating the Extent of Alcohol's Influence

Information on the role of alcohol in family disputes can be inferred from several aspects of the data. Alcohol's influence in family disputes can be viewed from at least two perspectives: 1.) its role as an acute situational circumstance; i.e., where alcohol has played some role whether or not it has led to a state of intoxication; and, 2.) its expression as a chronic habit pattern, e.e., alcoholism. Both views of alcohol have implications for the disputes themselves as well as for the role of assaultiveness within those disputes. Several aspects of the data permit us to gain some understanding of the interplay of these issues.

For example, the officers judged that the complainant was under the influence of alcohol...though not necessarily intoxicated...in 26.4% of the cases, and the other disputant in 30.3%. While alcohol use was judged to have influenced the disputants in many of the cases, it should be noted that alcoholism was perceived by the officers as causative of the dispute in only 13.6% of the cases.

Agreement Between Officers and Complainants

The complainant charged drunkenness in 10% of the cases. Of these cases, the officers agreed with the complainants charge only 43.1% of the time. When the intervening officer is greeted by accusations of drunkenness, the charges are typically not substantiated by him.

Another dimension is added when the relationship is examined between alleged drunkenness and officers' perception of alcoholism as a cause of the dispute. Here again the agreement is not impressive: of all cases where the complainant alleges drunkenness, alcoholism is usually not seen to be a cause of the dispute (29% agreement). Comparison with the above figure of 43.1% agreement suggests that there were a number of cases where the officers agreed with the complainants, but felt that alcoholism was not a cause of the disputes. This may reflect these trained officers' sophistication in being able to search for underlying causes behind surface manifestations of conflict.

Causative Factors When D2 was Under the Influence of Alcohol

Cross-tabulation of the variables: Officers' impressions of D2 and Officers' perception of causative factors reveals the following factors to be most often causative of disputes where D2 appeared to be under the influence of alcohol: alcoholism (20.9%); infidelity (11.4%); unemployment (7.6%); a history of constant arguments and/or assaults (7.6%); and, a lack of communication, attention, understanding (6.5%). Here again one finds little relationship between a disputant's being under the influence of alcohol and the officers perceiving alcoholism to be a factor. In other words, they appeared able to discriminate between the use of alcohol and a chronic condition of alcoholism.

Complainants' Statement about D2's Behavior

Many police officers and social scientists hypothesize a relationship between assaultiveness and alcohol intoxication. In view of this, the complainants statement about the behavior of the other party was examined to determine the extent to which assaultiveness and intoxication coexisted as complaints. While there were 252 cases where D1 complained that a physical assault had occurred, and 72 cases where D1 complained that D2 was intoxicated, there were only 15 cases where D1 complained both that D2 was intoxicated and had committed a physical assault. Thus it can be said that where an assault allegedly occurred, in only 6% (15/252) was intoxication also alleged. These data suggest that complainants do not in their first statements to the police indicate a relationship between alcohol and assault.

Relationship Between D2's Being Intoxicated in Disputes Where Officers Concluded that an Assault Had Occurred

Of all cases where the officers judged that a physical assault preceded their arrival, in only 20.9% (as noted above) was D2 under the influence of alcohol. An officer who concluded that an assault had probably taken place because he sees D2 as intoxicated would likely be in error.

CHAPTER III

ASSESSMENT OF ATTITUDES BEFORE AND AFTER POLICE ACADEMY TRAINING[1]

The research design of the housing study presented opportunities to assess effects of training upon certain dimensions which appeared relevant to effective police work: the extent to which one can understand and predict others' behavior; the officer's attitudes concerning his job, other people, and society.

In addition to providing measures of differential effects of training between the two groups, the assessment of group B's attitudes was seen as perhaps providing indications of the effects of police academy training. In as much as group B's training at The Psychological Center consisted primarily of lectures, it closely resembled in form (although not in content) much of their academy training. The typical police academy's strategy has been described as using "indoctrination" methods in order to mold "personnel over whom the organization can easily exercise control" (Germann, 1969, p.22). Despite such critical description, little scientific investigation of the effects of police academy training upon recruits has been forthcoming; assessing group B's attitudes was seen as a means of obtaining knowledge relevant to this issue.

The remainder of this chapter will describe the methodology, findings and conclusions resulting from the evaluation of attitudes of recruits in both group A (the affective-experiential conflict-management group) and group B (the cognitive group).

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[1] Material in this chapter is based on elements of Dr. Zacker's doctoral dissertation. Zacker, J.W. The effects of experiential training upon empathy, interpersonal sensitivity, cynicism and alienation in police recruits. Doctoral dissertation, City University of New York, Ann Arbor, Michigan; University Microfilms, 1971, No. 71-16, 546.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were probationary patrolmen entering the New York Housing Authority Police Academy. Their average age was 26.69 years. In addition, six senior patrolmen received training with group A but were not included in the evaluative procedures.

During these recruits' first day at the Academy they were told simply that they were to take part in an experiment to evaluate two different methods of training intended to increase the policeman's effectiveness and safety through increased knowledge about human behavior. The entire entering class then completed the measuring instruments and was then randomly divided into two groups: group A, which was to receive affective-experiential training for conflict management, and group B, which was to receive cognitive education in the behavioral and social sciences. To conform to the practical needs of the Academy training staff and facilities, it was necessary that neither group be larger than 30 men. Thus 24 recruits were randomly assigned to group A (plus the six senior patrolmen) and 30 to group B.[2]

The two groups did not differ significantly either in age or on the test of mental ability routinely administered by the Academy. In group A, 16 recruits were Negro, 5 were Caucasian, and one was Puerto Rican. In group B, 17 recruits were Negro, 9 were Caucasian, and 3 were Puerto Rican.

[2]Data for two recruits in group A and one from group B are not included because they did not complete all evaluative procedures.

The Measures

Empathy, the ability to understand another person's feelings and thoughts, was in part measured by the Empathy scale (Hogan, 1969). Additional measures of empathy involved the presentation of a motion picture, "Judging Emotional Behavior," in which two people are under post-hypnotic suggestion to believe that emotion-laden events they are hearing had occurred to them in the past (some of the events had, in fact, happened to either of the two people in the film).[3] Recruits judged which emotion (from a list of 13) was being experienced and which of the subjects, if either, was hearing his/her own past experience. Recruits made their judgements without hearing the narrator's stories, thereby reproducing a situation common to police work - the necessity of making rapid judgements based on limited information. A recruit's feeling identification score consisted of the number of correct judgements (out of 10) as to which emotion was being experienced; his person identification score consisted of the number of correct judgements (out of 10) regarding which subject, if either, was reliving the event described in each sequence.

Interpersonal sensitivity, the ability to predict what another person will think, say, or do, was measured by a procedure (Grossman, 1967; "men test," 2nd-order predictions), in which typescripts of interviews with three men are presented, containing their answers to questions about themselves. The recruits then predicted which of the three men had described himself in a given way.

Alienation from other people and from society was measured by Gould's (1964) Manifest Alienation Measure (MAM).

[3]Churchill-Wexler production: available from the New York University Film Library, 26 Washington Place, New York, New York, 10003, and other sources.

Police cynicism was measured by Niederhoffer's (1967) scale, slightly modified for use with Housing Authority policemen and with response choices counterbalanced. It consists of 20 open-ended statements concerning significant areas of police work, and recruits selected one of three completions which made each statement most nearly correct in his eyes. This scale is the only known measure of police cynicism. One statement is:

Housing Police Academy training of recruits_____
- a. might as well be cut in half. The recruit has to learn all over when he is assigned to a project.
- b. cannot overcome the contradictions between theory and practice.
- c. does a very fine job of preparing the recruit for life in the project.

Training

Police Academy training. Each recruit underwent the normal 12-week program at the Academy. To accomodate the additional training this recruit class received, their Academy training lasted one extra week. Academy training is provided mainly by officers who are staff members of the Academy.

Group A training. Concurrent with their Academy training, members of group A met at The Psychological Center of the City College, CUNY on 12 Tuesday mornings, where they received a total of 42 hours of training. Members spent much of this time in one of two small groups, the leaders of which were graduate students in the University's clinical psychology program. Occasionally serving as co-leaders were members of the 30th precinct (New York Police Department) Family Crisis Intervention Unit (Bard, 1969), each of whom was a seasoned patrolman with experience in small group discussions and real-life situations.

Training procedures for group A included group discussions, real-life simulations, role-plays, films, and lectures, all of which were designed to improve the officer's ability to manage interpersonal conflicts. Emphasis was often upon attitudes, behaviors, and understanding as these determined the effectiveness of police intervention in conflicts among people. The aura of expertise usually placed by participants upon (and accepted by) leaders of other forms of groups was discouraged by the two primary group leaders. Bard (1970) provides a more detailed description of the training given to groups A and B.

Group B Training. To provide group B with training that was similar in form to usual Police Academy classroom training, lectures and (a few) films were the sole methods used. The curriculum covered aspects of psychology, sociology, and physical and social anthropology, and was designed to provide a well-rounded view of human motivation and behavior. Fourteen instructors geared their presentations to cover major issues and trends in these areas; they contributed to the 42 hours of training received by group B at The Psychological Center during 12 Wednesday mornings concurrent with their Academy training.

Recruit Evaluation of Training

During the last week of Academy training, just prior to being assigned as regular patrolmen, the entire class of recruits completed the same procedures as on their first day at the Academy. In addition, each completed an anonymous, open-ended questionnaire evaluating his training (on all other instruments recruits identified themselves by name).

Results

In Table 1 are presented the scores of groups A and B obtained during the first day of Academy training and during the last week of Academy training.

Pre-Training Comparison with Other Groups

Hogan (1969) reports scores for several groups on the Empathy scale. Recruits obtained higher scores than did young delinquents, prison inmates, and junior high school boys; recruits' scores were below those of architects, military officers, research scientists, and college students.

Recruits' interpersonal sensitivity scores were similar to those of college undergraduates reported by Grossman (1967).

Recruits' alienation scores were significantly higher ($p < .001$) than those of 429 college undergraduates reported by Gould (1964).

Recruits' police cynicism scores were significantly lower ($p < .001$) than those of recruits entering the New York City Police Department; recruits' police cynicism scores at the end of Academy training were significantly lower than recruits in the New York City Police Department with two to three months of Academy training (reported by Niederhoffer, 1967).

Lack of Change

Repeated Measures Analyses of Variance - Unweighted Means Solutions (Winer, 1962) for each measure revealed that for none was there any significant change in terms of group, time of testing, or in the interaction (df=1/49, F values ranging fron 0.00 to 2.92).

TABLE 1

SCORES BY GROUPS

Variable	Group	Before Training Mean	Before Training S.D.	After Training Mean	After Training S.D.
Feeling Identification	A[a]	2.91	1.27	3.41	1.47
	B[b]	2.97	1.74	3.34	1.48
	A+B	2.94	1.54		
Person Identification	A	3.73	1.39	4.00	1.11
	B	3.72	1.51	3.93	1.33
	A+B	3.72	1.45		
Empathy Scale	A	34.97	3.64	34.23	4.25
	B	33.83	4.73	36.34	4.32
	A+B	34.15	4.32		
Interpersonal Sensitivity	A	11.54	3.68	10.82	2.29
	B	11.52	2.94	11.21	2.68
	A+B	11.52	3.51		
Cynicism	A	34.64	7.05	34.55	10.00
	B	35.79	5.96	37.45	7.03
	A+B	35.17	6.51		
Alienation	A	73.09	11.85	74.77	12.38
	B	72.00	14.20	69.31	12.45
	A+B	72.45	13.22		

[a] N = 22
[b] N = 29

Minimal Racial Differences

Similar statistical analyses were performed by groups and by race. In group A only one (of the six) main effect was significant: Caucasian recruits achieved higher feeling identification scores than did Negro recruits both before and after training ($p < .01$). No other racial differences were found in group A; none at all occurred in group B.

Recruits' Evaluation of Training

Both groups evaluated their training favorably. Affective-experiential training (group A) was evaluated more highly by its recipients than was cognitive (group B) training.

When asked whether they thought future groups of police recruits should receive the kind of training they had, unconditionally affirmative replies were given by 91% of group A recruits, and by only 68% of recruits in group B ($X^2=4.21$, $p < .05$).

More recruits from group A (86%) then from group B (58%) replied affirmatively when asked if experienced patrolmen should receive the training they had ($p < .10$).

Having spent a good deal of time together, the recruits had many opportunities to compare the two training methods. When asked which group they believed had benefited most, mone of the men in group A felt that group B had profited more than they, whereas six group B recruits felt that group A had benefited more from training than they had ($p < .05$).

Naivete About Human Motivation

To determine whether more subtle changes in sensitivity to others had occurred, group responses to item #15 on the MAM ("It is almost impossible for one person to really understand the feelings of another") were examined. On entering the Academy the recruits seemed quite confident, perhaps naively so, of one's ability to "understand the feelings of another." Post-training scores on this item for group B showed no change to have occurred; group A recruits, however, seemed to have had their belief shaken by their training experiences since they were less sure that one could "understand" another by the end of training ($p < .10$). This may reflect an increased awareness of the complexities of human behavior and motivation in group A recruits; an awareness which may be part of a process that leads to enhanced social sensitivity.

Fear of Criticizing the System

The increase in police cynicism in recruits after two to three months of Academy training reported by Niederhoffer (1967) was not present for the recruits in this study. Niederhoffer did not, however, require his subjects to identify themselves, while those in the present study were so required. In view of this procedural difference and of candid remarks by several recruits that as regards the police cynicism scale, the class had taken no chances and had given responses guided by what they thought "the Inspector would want to see," responses to item #6 on the MAM ("It is best to tell your superiors or bosses what they really want to hear") were examined. It was found that there was significantly more agreement with this statement at the end of recruit training than there had been at its start ($F=7.02$, $df=1/49$, $p < .025$). This finding suggests that the recruits had exercised caution in their choice of responses to the police cynicism scale (responses to the other instruments, having little or nothing to do with the police department, would seem likely to be of less interest to such an "Inspector"), a caution which increased as they became more familiar with the "system."

Discussion

This investigation has provided data about police recruits' scores on several measures. While 51 subjects are too small a group to be considered a normative sample for policemen in general, these scores do provide a basis for comparison with other groups and other police departments.

A global impression, based on the data for these recruits, is that at the time of entry into the department their sensitivity to human interaction was not outstanding and they felt somewhat alienated from people and society. 480 hours of Academy training and 42 hours of training experiences at The Psychological Center saw no changes on these dimensions, as measured, 13 weeks later. These findings suggest that men selected (and/or applying) for police work do not possess characteristics that appear to be particularly conducive to sensitive interaction with people. Further, Police Academy training was not found to promote these characteristics, a finding that would surprise few who are familiar with typical Academy curriculum and methods. It is noteworthy that when given an opportunity to anonymously evaluate the two training elements (cognitive and affective-experiential), the recruits indicated that the latter was more desirable for both recruits and experienced officers; the general finding for the other measuring instruments (which were not anonymous and were very "test-like), however, was that neither element led to appreciable (i.e., measurable) changes.

This lack of change on the tests, however, may not reflect actual effects of the training, for a recruit may have integrated his experiences in a highly personal way, a way in keeping with the language and behavior of the field in which he operates rather than the language and behavior tapped by the measures. Except for the police cynicism scale, these measures were developed by, and have been primarily applied with, middle-class people. Some evidence suggests that there are class-related differences in verbal and behavioral expressions of concepts (Deutch, 1964; John,1963; Lesser, Fifer and Clark, 1965; and Pavenstedt, 1965). Hertzig, Birch, Thomas & Mendez (1968), for example, reported that middle-class children used verbal expression significantly more often ($p < .001$) than did lower-class children in responses to demands for cognitive functioning. Protheroe (1967), analyzing comments by 2nd grade boys working with scientific concepts, found the lower-class boys used a smaller variety of words and different words than the middle-class boys to express the same idea. Such findings underline the need for careful selection of measuring instruments appropriate to the subjects' background.

The recruits' experiences at The Psychological Center may have been so stimulating for both groups as to obscure or wash out other group differences. The atmosphere there, unlike that at the Academy, was positive for both groups -- it was common for recruits to seek out staff and instructors during breaks, exchanging ideas, asking for opinions or for advice on personal matters. These actions suggest that training for goals differnt than those transmitted in the organization's value system may be most successful if conducted outside the organization (that the police system rarely rewards effective conflict management or human relations skills in officers reflects its low valuation of these skills).

It was not surprising to find that police recruits, many of whom were from minority groups, were more alienated than middle-class college students. If assertions that police are alienated (Black and Labes, 1967; Toch, 1969) are true, the atypical proportion of minority group members among subjects in the present study precludes determination as to whether men entering the police system on a nationwide basis are already alienated and/or whether the system itself promotes alienation. As regards the time spent in recruit training, however, the men in this study spent only about 15% "in the field," thus they probably had only a weak identification with the system after 13 weeks. On the basis of discussions with these men after this period, though, their alienation did seem to be increasing -- many spoke with bitterness and frustration about: manipulative, amoral citizenry; inept superiors; outmoded departmental procedures; and judicial and governmental lack of support for policemen. Such gripes, common to policemen, especially in the early portion of their service, suggests that police work more than police training may contribute to alienation.

Lessons Learned

Both hindsight and comments by the recruits themselves suggest that measures of police attitudes are likely to be affected by both garden-variety social desirability as well as by lack of trust specific to the police system. One lesson learned was that of factors which predispose to invalid responses on nonanonymous measures, foremost for these recruits was an apparently generalized distrust of authorities. Experiences in life whereby authority had served to restrain them (most were from lower-class or lower-middle-class backgrounds,had served as enlisted men in the Armed Forces, and were minority group members) may have contributed to the belief that the truth might hurt them if their superiors knew their real opinions. Yet the data suggests that the officers' experience of their academy training may have been the paramount cause of their increased distrust of police authorities.

A second lesson was the need for measures which to the officers had clear relevance to police work. Unlike the usual subject in psychological experiments -- the college undergraduate who is still in a dependent role in society, these recruits were concerned with such issues as: how to survive in the streets, how to earn a living, and how to integrate their new roles into their self-concepts. Whether or not they were threatened by and/or unfamiliar with paper-and-pencil tests, or were "turned off" by them, it was as if many of the recruits felt: "these tests are your concern, staying alive is ours."

Certain limitations in group A's training appeared to be due to socio-cultural differences between the recruits and the two primary group leaders (who were Caucasian, middle-class, and not policemen). The leaders felt that their effectiveness and acceptance may have been limited thereby, an impression reported also by Newman & Steinberg (1970) during small group discussions with policemen. The instructors for group B, on the other hand, functioning in the more traditional, more familiar, and less demanding role of instructor, experienced little loss of effectiveness due to their middle-class backgrounds.

To summarize, effective and modern police work demands sensitivity to human behavior and motivation. Recognizing this, the importance of the selection and training procedures as they affect human interactional skills in policemen becomes apparent. In assessing attitudes before and after training, several findings emerged. Recruits beginning training were found to be somewhat alienated and to possess no unusual sensitivity to people. Academy training, buttressed by additional experiences (cognitive training in the behavioral and social sciences for one group; affective-experiential training for conflict management for a second group) was not found to affect sensitivity, alienation, or police cynicism, as measured. The recruits, however, judged the latter form of training experience as more worthwhile for policemen. Recruits' distrust of the measuring instruments; and the lack of face validity of these instruments were among factors considered which may have contributed to the absence of measured change.

CHAPTER IV

EVALUATION OF ATTITUDES BEFORE AND AFTER CONSULTATIONS[1]

Shortly after the recruits completed their academy training and began their field assignments, the consultation phase began. Collaborative meetings between police officers and mental health professionals to discuss actual cases managed by the officers were viewed as central to the process by which the patrolmen could receive the ongoing feedback considered crucial for the learning and integration of human relation skills.

The growing involvement in community consultation by mental health professionals requires adequate evaluation in order to maximize effectiveness. The remainder of this chapter will present the methodology, results and conclusions regarding the study of attitudes during the consultation phase.

Method

Subjects

Twenty police officers from the New York City Housing Authority Police Department, 14 of whom had recently completed recruit training and six of whom were senior patrolmen, were the consultees. Each had completed a 42 hour training program designed to improve his skill in the management of interpersonal conflicts. The 14 recent graduates had been randomly selected from a group of 23 men who had received such training; these 23, in turn, were randomly selected from among an entire recruit class upon entering the Housing Police Training Unit on their first day as probationary patrolmen.

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[1]This chapter is a modified version of the following paper: Zacker,J., Rutter, E., & Bard, M., Evaluation of attitudinal changes in a program of community consultation. Community Mental Health Journal, Vol. 7, 1971, pp. 236-241.

Of the consultants, 9 were female and 5 were male. Eleven were students in the doctoral program in clinical psychology at The City College, The City University of New York, and three were Fellows in Community Psychiatry at the Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons.

The Consultations

Once weekly the officers reported to The Psychological Center of The City College where they participated for one hour of individual consultations and two hours of small group discussions. The officers usually met with a different consultant each week. The consultation period lasted 14 weeks. The purpose of the consultations was for each participant to share his (her) unique qualifications so as to attain a greater understanding of the conflict intervention discussed, the officer's effectiveness, and possible alternative approaches for dealing with similar situations. The consultations were not, however, limited solely to the discussion of actual police cases, rather, they also included discussions of more and less personal areas and issues. Ongoing supervision was provided the consultants by the Project Director.

The Measuring Instruments

(1) During the first week of consultations and once again near the end of the consultation period, consultants and officers each completed anonymous adjective check lists incorporating adjectives from the Adjective Check List (Gough & Heilbrun, 1965) which contributed to the following scales: intraception, the extent to which a person is seen as trying to understand his own behavior or the behavior of others; nurturance, the extent to which a person is seen as extending material or emotional benefits to others; aggression, the extent to which a person is seen as attacking or hurting others; and change, the extent to which a person is seen as seeking novelty of experience and avoiding routine. The number of lists completed sufficed so that each officer was rated at least once by a consultant and each consultant was rated at least once by an officer. Instructions directed the respondent to check those adjectives which expressed his (her) opinion of the person with whom he had just engaged in consultation.

(2) Before the consultations began and again near the end of the consultation period, all officers and consultants completed semantic differential scales (Osgood, 1952) for each of the following concepts: housing patrolmen, New York City patrolmen, psychologist, consultant, and housing tenant. For each concept, the following dimensions were assessed: potency, activity, and evaluative. This procedure provides measurement of meaning. It involves a set of 7-point scales ending in bi-polar adjectives, for example, "good-bad." Respondents rated each concept, thus indicating the "meaning" each concept had to them.

(3) Before the consultations began and again near the end of the consultation period, consultants completed Niederhoffer's (1967) Cynicism scale, a measure of cynicism about the police system. This procedure presents the respondent with 20 open-ended statements about the police, with three sentence completion options, each of which expresses a different degree of cynicism.

(4) Before the first consultation and again near the end of the consultation period, consultants completed the F-scale (Adorno et al, 1950), a measure of authoritarianism, with instructions to respond as they thought the typical police officer would.

Results

For each scale, ratings of the adjective check list by each group of the other are presented in Table 1. The consultants' first impressions of the officers were that they were aggressive, rating them higher on aggression than on either change($t=3.97$, $df=21$, $p < .001$) or nurturance ($t=2.31$, $df=21$, $p < .05$), but not intraception ($t=1.47$, $df=21$, $p < .20$). At the end of the consultation period, however, the consultants perceived the officers as both less aggressive and more intraceptive. Ratings of consultants by the police did not change over time. The police rated the consultants higher on nurturance than the consultants rated the police both before ($t=2.45$, $df=41$, $p \leq .02$) and after training ($t=3.44$, $df=33$, $p < .01$). Whereas there was no difference in the aggression each group perceived in the other at the inception of the consultation period ($t=1.20$, $df=41$, p=n.s.), the consultants perceived the police as less agressive than the police perceived the consultants by the end of the consultation period ($t=2.43$, $df=33$, $p < .05$).

TABLE 1.

ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST RATINGS

Variable	First week[1] Mean	S.D.	Last week[2] Mean	S.D.	t	p
Ratings of policemen by consultants						
Change	41.22	8.10	36.06	14.13	1.29	n.s.
Aggression	51.36	8.45	40.62	10.43	3.39	.01
Nurturance	45.00	9.42	40.18	8.28	1.54	n.s.
Intraception	47.27	9.55	56.93	15.36	2.37	.05
Ratings of consultants by policemen						
Change	44.00	6.34	41.83	3.84	1.29	n.s.
Aggression	48.50	6.94	48.27	7.46	0.09	n.s.
Nurturance	51.60	8.05	50.55	7.82	0.40	n.s.
Intraception	51.90	8.03	51.88	10.69	0.00	n.s.

[1] n=20 for policemen, n=22 for consultants

[2] n=18 for policemen, n=16 for consultants

For the semantic differential scales, the officers rated the following concepts higher on the evaluative dimension than did the consultants both at the start and at the end of the consultation period: housing patrolman (F=31.27, df=1/31, $p < .001$), New York City patrolman (F=54.70, df=1/31, $p < .001$) and psychologist (F=9.15, df=1/31, $p < .01$). Psychologist was rated lower by both groups on the evaluative dimension by the end of the consultation period (F=8.46, df=1/31, $p < .01$).

Consultants' cynicism about the police system at the end of the consultation period (mean=60.00, S.D.=9.47) was higher (t=2.43, df=13, $p < .05$) than before the consultations began (mean=52.57, S.D.=6.43). On both occasions consultants' cynicism about the police was greater than the cynicism of housing police recruits reported by Zacker (1970) on their first day at the police academy (mean=35.29) and during their last week of police academy training (mean=36.19).

The consultants initially perceived the typical police officer as high in authoritarianism (mean=145.00, S.D.=22.56). Their perception did not change in this regard by the end of the consultation period (mean=144.92, S.D.=15.89, t=0.01, df=13, p=n.s.).

Discussion

It was a general finding that the police officers' attitudes, as measured, did not change in the course of their consultations. Concerns that short-term meetings with students might cause the police to change their attitudes defensively, to become confused or self-critical were not borne out; indeed, the officers maintained their high self-evaluation(as reflected on their semantic differential ratings). This lack of measured change supports impressions noted in the evaluation of recruits' attitudes before and after academy training - "tests" with little apparent relevance to police officers may be especially likely to elicit "safe," socially desirable patterns of response.That is,social desirability can serve as a great equalizer, obscuring differences among and between individuals over time.

An alternate interpretation for the lack of measured change in police officers is that there was no change in officer attitudes. This explanation would sit well with the stereotypical view that police officers are a rigid, insensitive lot who are closed-minded and resistant to change. It is our impression, however, based on our associations with these and other officers, their previously noted distrust of their police superiors, their candid comments about tests, and empirical data regarding class-related differences in tests, that this interpretation is unjustified.

The consultants initially expected the police to be authoritarian, were mildly cynical about the police system, and, on first meeting the officers, perceived them as aggressive. The finding that consultants saw the officers as less aggressive by the end of the consultation period may have been due to either a dissolution of their stereotypes about policemen or to actual decreases in defensive aggressiveness displayed by the officers. The former seems more likely, for if the latter were so, the obtained change would require that a consultant stereotype of policeman as being authoritarian and aggressive would not have been so strong as to blind them to actual changes in the officers' behavior towards them.

Changes in the consultants' attitudes as a result of their relatively brief consultative experiences may denote changes in their views of the policeman vis-a-vis his police department. It appears that at the outset of their experiences with policemen, the consultants viewed the officers in negative terms relative to the police system. By the end of the consultation period their perceptions had changed so that the police officer was seen in a more favorable light while the police system was seen more negatively. Near the end of the consultation period, one consultant made the observation that the officers were "victims" of the system. The above explanation of the changes in consultant attitudes implies that their perceptions became more realistic, or, at least, more in accord with those observers of the police system who see the police officer as being molded by the system rather than the other way around.

It is all too unusual for social scientists and policemen to collaborate; even rarer are occasions when policemen meet with students to work towards common goals. The oft-met antagonism between police and students was not altogether absent in those who participated in this study, and the findings are particularly noteworthy since the Kent State University and Jackson State College deaths occurred during the consultation period. The furor in the nation over these tragedies was mirrorred at The City College, where the consultations took place. Feelings ran high between the officers and the consultants and some members of each group tended to polarize their attitudes about the other. Communication was maintained, however, and each group did not change its opinion of the other on the semantic differential scales, although one may wonder whether favorable changes might have occurred if the tragedies had not taken place. By error one consultant completed her F scale early, just prior to the Kent State shootings - it was 33 points lower than her first, indicating a decrease in perceived police authoritarianism. She completed another two weeks later which was 28 points higher than the second. This isolated instance supports the impression that the tragedies affected the groups' attitudes.

To sum up, there has been little evaluation of the community consultation process. As part of a larger study, mental health students consulted with police officers once weekly for 14 weeks, discussing interpersonal conflicts in which the officers had intervened. Although they are frequently involved with such conflicts, policemen usually receive little or no formal training which provides them with an understanding of human behavior. Pre- and - post - consultation measures of participants' attitudes were obtained. Officers' attitudes, as measured, did not change; their initially high self-evaluation was maintained. Some consultants' attitudes did change. By the end of the consultation period the officers were perceived as less aggressive and more interested in understanding human behavior. Consultants' cynicism about the police system increased, suggesting that their experiences led them to perceive the officers in a more positive/realistic light, and the police system in a more negative way. The findings were noteworthy since the Kent State University and Jackson State College shootings occurred during the consultation period.

CHAPTER V

HOUSING DATA

The patrolmen assigned to Manhattanville and Wagner Houses were trained in data collection methods and were expected to complete a data form after each conflict intervention. In the previous family crisis intervention project the officers completed dispute data forms only on those conflicts which occurred among family members. In the current project, <u>all</u> disputes or conflict situations requiring police intervention were to be recorded on the designed data form.

Data Collection Procedures

The data collection system was essentially a modification of the one used in the family crisis intervention project. There were, however, several important changes. The dispute data forms used in the housing study were constructed so that the family crisis project's costly and confusing coding operation was eliminated. In the housing study the design of the data forms enabled coding by the officers themselves as they recorded information. The data were then directly translated to keypunch cards, were sorted and, finally, were computer analyzed. These procedures were intended to enhance the reliability of the data.

Lessons learned in analyzing the data from the family crisis study permitted the development of more reliable and more meaningful data categories. On initial inspection of the data from the family crisis intervention project, it was found that many categories were too long, too confusing, and only too infrequently used. It was therefore decided to "collapse" many of the categories in order to make them more amenable to statistical analysis. It appeared also that by designing smaller and more meaningful categories, the patrolmen were likely to be more accurate in recording their observations. And, finally, the use of interval scales for recording behavior, feelings, and reactions required the officer to make fewer and less complex discriminations, thus contributing to statistical accuracy.

Unrecorded information (INA - information not available) was an additional problem in the FCIU data analysis. In that project, the dispute forms permitted coding more than one item in many categories. In the housing study, officers were limited to one item per category in all but three categories. Thus, by eliminating the necessity of dropping data because of multiple choices, we ensured more complete information. In the discussion of the data that will follow, missing data is not included and the description will be based on those cases for which the data was complete. It should be emphasized that the improved data collection procedures in the housing study resulted in an extremely low frequency of INA.

Data Preparation

Initially, frequencies and percentages were tabulated for each item in all 72 categories for the 312 disputes managed by the patrolmen of Manhattanville and Wagner. This tabulation was done separately for the disputes managed by the officers at Manhattanville (93 disputes) and those by the officers at Wagner (219 disputes). In addition, frequencies and percentages were tabulated for the total of 312 disputes managed by officers of both projects combined. Upon inspection of the data, it was decided to collapse 13 of the categories in an attempt to make them even more meaningful. New frequencies and percentages were then generated and tabulated for the 13 collapsed categories. Frequencies and percentages will be presented for the combined data and for collapsed categories (when done). Discrepancies between the separate projects will be noted only when they appear meaningful. The data are also compared to the data from the FCIU study when such comparisons are warranted and meaningful.

In addition to the frequency and percentage data, cross tabulations, Pearson product-moment correlations, and point-biserial correlations were computed for the combined data in order to answer questions of interest regarding the relationship of several variables to three main categories: 1) assault and the threat of assault, 2) the officers perceptions, judgements and actions, 3) the officers perception of the effectiveness of his intervention.

Characteristics of Disputes

Who Intervened?

There were 312 disputes managed by the officers at both Manhattanville and Wagner between February 9, 1970, and February 8, 1971. The men at Wagner intervened in 70% of these disputes, and the men at Manhattanville in 30%. The senior men at both projects, who comprised about 30% of the staff at both projects, handled 25% of the disputes. The recruits, comprising 70% of the total staff, handled 75% of the disputes. This indicates that neither group avoided involvement in this area of police functioning. The senior officers did not leave the "dirty work" to the recruits, nor did the recruits avoid conflict situations or elect to leave their management to the "old pros." Rather, both men new to police work as well as those who are experienced officers, accepted their share of this kind of work, i.e., they were as likely to handle a conflict situation when it arose as often as would be expected by chance.

Generally, two or more Housing Authority patrolmen (53%), or one Housing Authority Patrolman alone (44%) handled each dispute. In only 3% of the cases were one or more New York City policemen involved. It should be noted that, unlike New York City Police Department personnel, the housing police typically patrol unaccompanied by another patrolman.

How Were the Officers Notified?

In two-thirds of the cases (67%) the patrolmen were notified by walkie-talkie that a dispute was in progress. In another 21% of the cases the officer was directed to a dispute by a citizen. These two methods represent the most common ways that the officers received notification of disputes in progress. There were differences in the manner of notification between the two individual Housing projects. While in both projects the patrolmen were most often notified of a dispute via walkie-talkie, compared to the men at Manhattanville, the officers at Wagner were more often directed to a dispute by a citizen (Wagner=24%; Manhattanville=13%), and less often notified via walkie-talkie (Wagner=63%; Manhattanville=77%). Two possible explanations may account for the differences between the two housing projects. The first is concerned with the greater physical area covered by Wagner Houses. This project consists of 22 low rise buildings spread over several city blocks. In contrast, Manhattanville consists of 5 high rise buildings which are located in close physical proximity. It is possible that the officers at Wagner Houses are more readily observed by the citizenry during a tour of duty since they must walk longer distances between buildings and hence were more likely to be approached. A second possible explanation of the difference, is that the larger percentage of disputes directed by a citizen at Wagner Houses is a reflection of greater community expectations regarding police performance at that project.

When Do Disputes Occur?

It was during the 4 P.M. to Midnight tour of duty that the greatest number of disputes occurred (consistent with the FCIU findings). The second busiest tour was midnight to 8 A.M. and the fewest disputes were handled during the 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. tour. It was found that 70% of all the disputes occurred during the 12 hour period between 4 P.M. and 4 A.M. It was to be expected that the day tour (8 A.M. to 4 P.M.) would be the quietest, since during that period both adults and children ftequently are away from home. Their return home begins at about 4 P.M., thus indicating that "togetherness" may well be evocative of conflict.

No patterns were discernable as to the number of disputes as a function of either day of the month or month of the year. For both of these variables disputes occurred randomly.

Analyzing disputes in relation to the day of the week reveals that conflict is a week-end occurrance. More than one-half (54.6%) occurred on week-ends (Friday 14.4%; Saturday 23.6%; Sunday 16.6%). These data add further support to the notion of a "togetherness" syndrome and are consistent with the FCIU findings (see Fig 1.).

Where Did Disputes Take Place?

In the great majority of cases (74%) the dispute took place in the disputant's apartment and in 79% of the cases, it was there that the patrolman spoke to the disputants.

Who Are the Disputants?

In this study Disputant 1 was defined as the complainant or the person seeking relief. Typically, D1 was a black, female tenant between 31 and 40 years of age. Typically, Disputant 2 (D2) was a black, male tenant between 31 and 40 years of age. In 55% of all cases, D1 and D2 were married, in 15% of the cases they were a parent and child - with D1 usually being the parent of D2; and, in an additional 6% of the cases, D1 and D2 were related in another manner. Thus 76% of all conflicts reported in this study can be considered to be family disputes. The percentage of parent-child disputes in this study is remarkably consistent with the findings from the FCIU study in which 13% of the disputes were found to be between a parent and a child. In the remaining 24% of the cases, the disputants were not related, but usually friends or acquaintances. In only 4% of all the cases reported here were the two principal disputants strangers to each other.

In 88% of the cases the officers were able to ascertain who had called the police, and typically it was D1 (70%). In 16% of the cases, the call was made by D2. It was the officers impression that D2 was agressor in 63% of the cases, while D1 was seen as an agressor in 35% of the cases (see Table1.). These data corroborate FCIU findings which indicated that in about two-thirds of the cases the officers felt that D2 was at fault, and in one-third of the cases, D1 was seen as being at fault.

In only 2% of the cases reported was there a dispute between a tenant and an outsider providing services. In these cases, the disputants accused the outsider either of failure to provide proper service, or of teasing and/or insulting behavior. Another 2% of the cases involved a dispute between a tenant and housing management. In these cases, the management typically complained that the tenant was not following a Housing Authority rule. It was decided that since these kinds of disputes were too few to be evaluated meaningfully, they would not be included for subsequent statistical consideration.

Most of the disputes took place between two principal disputants only. In 11% of the cases there was a third disputant (D3) involved. The third participant was usually a child or other relative of D1 and D2. In approximately one-half of the cases in which a third disputant was involved, he or she was seen as one of the aggressors by the police officers. In 2% of all cases it was disputant 3 who called the police. In only 4% of all cases was there a fourth disputant. Typically, the fourth disputant was usually a child or other relative of D1 and D2. As with D3, in one-half of the cases in which there was a fourth disputant involved, he was seen as an aggressor by the police officers. Since the number of cases in which there was a third or fourth disputant was too small to be evaluated meaningfully, the categories relating to D3 and D4 were not considered for subsequent statistical analysis.

How Did the Disputants Interact?

Upon his arrival, the officer rarely found that there was the need for force. In fact, in only 8% of the cases were the disputants struggling upon the officer's arrival, indicating that some type of restraint might be required. Rather, the officer typically found the disputants arguing (30%) or one of the disputants absent (28%), or both silent and not communicating (22%). In only 2% of the cases were all the disputants gone upon the officer's arrival. The fact that in 30% of the cases one or both of the principal disputants were gone upon the officers arrival, indicates that the great majority of the disputants remained on the scene. Corresponding data from the FCIU study indicated also that most disputants remain on the scene after the police have been called. In fact, in 20% of the FCIU incidents were one or both disputants absent when the police arrived. The fact that a greater percentage of disputants left the scene before the arrival of the Housing officers suggests that public housing residents may be sensitive to the deleterious consequences of disturbed behavior; that is, possibly jeopardizing tenant status for unbecoming behavior. The tenants may see the dispute as disadvantageous due to the fact that disputes managed by Housing Police are routinely reported to management and permanently filed. Such consequences would not obtain for police intervention in non public housing accomodations, e.g., as in the 30th precinct.

As noted above, the disputants were rarely struggling when the officer arrived. However, in 30% of all cases an assault had already occurred, and, in another 30% of the cases, the threat of an assault had preceded the officer's arrival. Of these 60% of all cases, a significant number (39%) involved an assault without a weapon, 11% involved an assault with a weapon, and 15% involved a threat of assault with a weapon, and a significant number (35%) involved a threat of assault without a weapon ($x^2 = 45.05$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$). In 15% of all cases, a weapon was involved in an actual assault or threat of assault. Threats of assault or actual assaults without weapons occurred in 45% of the cases. These data are consistent with the findings of the FCIU study where it was found that in fewer than 50% of the cases had an assault occurred before police arrival.

Since in only 8% of the cases were the disputants still struggling when the police arrived, whereas in 60% of the cases an assault or threat of assault had occurred prior to tha officers arrival, it may be hypothesized that the dispute was "hotter" when the call was first made, and that perhaps making the call itself had a "cooling" or pacifying effect on the disputants.

In 41% of the disputes, the disputant's accusations and complaints centered on "interpersonal issues".[1] The most common of these were complaints about alcohol abuse and although it was the most frequent complaint, it constituted only 15% of all complaints. In 32% of all cases, the complaint involved "outside issues",[2] and in 27% of all cases, the disputant complained of the "others presence or absence".[3] Clearly then, the disputants'complaints varied widely and involved a wide range of issues.

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[1]Consists of the following items from What the disputants accused each other of, and, Patrolman's impression of cause 5, 7-10, 17,22. (Appendix B.).

[2]Consists of the following items from the same categories: 6, 11, 12, 14-16, 18-21, 23 (Appendix B.).

[3]Consists of the following items from the same categories: 2-4, 13 (Appendix B.).

Officers' Judgement of Causative Factors

In contrast to the disputants, the officers saw the cause of the conflict as being "interpersonal issues" in a significant number of the disputes (57%; $x^2 = 83.01$, $df = 2$, p .001). "Outside issues" were seen as the cause in 30% of the cases, and "others' presence or absence" in 13%. In contrast to the disputants, the officers' greater emphasis on "interpersonal issues" and lesser emphasis on "others' presence or absence" as the perceived causes may reflect the greater sensitivity of these trained patrolmen to the dynamics of interpersonal relationships. It would appear that in a number of disputes in which the disputants' complaint entered upon the immediate siutation (i.e., "others' presence or absence"), the officers perceived that situation as but a manifestation of the interpersonal relationship of the disputants.

It is to be expected that an officer's perception of what is causing a dispute will determine what actions he decides to take in dealing with that conflict. The ability of these trained officers to "see beyond" the disputants' stated complaints, and to discriminate these from more basic interpersonal issues naturally increased the variety of possible actions they could employ in attempting effective conflict managment. For example, disputants' complaints of "other's presence or absence" (where one disputant wanted the other leave or wouldn't allow the other to leave), raise issues which, if taken at face value, would conduce to the use of force by the officers. These officers' sensitive appreciation that such complaints are often manifestations of more basic interpersonal issues, however, suggests that they used alternatives other than force for conflict management.

Actions Taken By the Officers

Regarding the officers' approach, the data suggests that the officers tried to mediate the dispute (44% of all cases). This was their most common conflict management approach. Other actions were used less frequently: in 11% of the cases, the officer commanded the disputants to cease; in 8% the officer accompanied a disputant to some destination; and in 7% the officers physically separated the disputants. (It will be recalled that in 8% of the cases, the disputants were struggling upon the officers' arrival.). This last category most clearly represents the use of force; its infrequent use indicates that the officers utilized other options as alternatives to the use of force. In 34% of the cases, the patrolman indicated that he tried to verify the truthfulness of the disputant's statements. Finally, in 8% of the cases, the officer indicated that he observed injuries allegedly inflicted by the other disputant. This figure probably represents the true occurrance of injury to disputants since (as will be seen shortly) in 7% of all cases the officers aided one or both of the disputants.

Officers at Wagner and Manhattanville tended to use different approaches to conflict management. When compared to Manhattanville, the officers at Wagner less often tried to mediate the dispute (Manhattanville = 57%; Wagner = 38%); and somewhat more often commanded the disputants to cease (Manhattanville = 4%; Wagner = 13%). The men at both housing projects utilized the other approaches equally often.

When one examines official actions taken by the officers, referral to court or to a community service agency was the most commonly used (73%, $x^2 = 76.09$, $df = 3$, $p < .001$). Thus, in almost three-fourths of the cases, the officers felt that more effective management of the conflict would depend on seeking outside intervention (these findings parallel the 30th Precinct FCIU experience). Other official actions were utilized much less frequently: in 33% of the cases the officer filed a complaint against the disputants; in 8% of the cases, the officers aided one or both of the disputants; and in only 3% of the cases was an arrest made.

A referral was made to Family Court[4] in 49% and to community service[5] agencies in 18%. This indicates that when a referral was made the officers tended to rely on agencies which had legal power to enforce resolution.

Differences emerged in referral patterns between the two housing projects. When a referral was made, the patrolmen at Wagner were more likely to refer disputants to Family Court (Manhattanville = 63%; Wagner = 82%) and less likely to refer to community service agencies (Manhattanville = 40%; Wagner = 23%) than were the officers at Manhattanville.

It is assumed that what the officer does effects how the disputants behave, feel and react to his intervention. And it is similarly assumed that how the disputants behave and feel during the intervention affects and determines the actions taken by the officer. Conflict management, then, can be said to be an interactive process, and it is this interaction that determines the degree of success of third party intervention. In an attempt to understand this interaction process, the patrolman was asked to make a descriptive judgement of the behavior and feelings of the two principal disputants during his intervention, and was asked to judge what the disputants thought of the way he handled the situation. In addition, the officer was asked to estimate the effectiveness of his intervention.

[4]Consists of the following item from: If you made a referral, to which agency was it? :20

[5]Consists of following items from the same category: all other items

The officers described the behavior of D1 as generally disruptive[6] in 60% of the cases; as indifferent[7] in 13% of the cases and as cooperative[8] in 27%. In comparison, the officers described the behavior of D2 as generally disruptive[6] 53% of the cases, as indifferent[7] in 23% and cooperative[8] in 24%.

The patrolmen described the emotional state of D1 as feeling bad (angry and unhappy) in 68% of the cases, as feeling indifferent in 26%, and as feeling happy or pleased in only 6%. In comparison, they described the emotional state of D2 as feeling bad (angry and/or unhappy) in 56% of the cases, as feeling indifferent in 42%, and as happy or pleased in only 2%. Thus, the officers perceived D2 as more likely to be indifferent, compared to D1, and less likely to feel either happy or unhappy. Thus, the patrolmen tended to perceive D2 as manifesting less extreme feelings than D1.

The officers usually saw the two principal disputants as satisfied with their handling of the dispute. The officers felt that D1 was satisfied[9] with their handling of the dispute in a significant proportion of the cases (72%); was indifferent[10] in 16% of the cases, and was dissatisfied[11] in 12% ($x^2 = 199.65$, $df = 22$, $p < .001$). In comparison, the officer perceived D2 as satisfied[9] with their handling of the dispute in a significant proportion of the cases (55%); as indifferent[10] in 28% of the cases; and as dissatisfied[11] in 17% ($x^2 = 60.60$, $df = 2$, $p < .001$).

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[5](cont'd.) except 20 and 2 were considered community service agencies.

[6]Consists of the following items from While You Were on the Scene the behavior of the two principal disputants was generally : 2 - 4

[7]Consists of the following item from the same category: 5.

[8]Consists of the following item from the same category: 6 - 8

[9]Consists of the following items from: What do you think the two principal disputants thought of the way you handled the situation? : 6 - 8.

[10]Consists of the following item from the same category: 5.

[11]Consists of the following item from the same category: 2 - 4.

Finally, the officers were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of their interventions. In significant proportion of the cases (55%) the officers felt that the disputants were cooled off, at least for awhile, although the dispute was not resolved; in 17% they felt that the dispute had been resolved, and that the disputants were starting to understand each other; in 7%, they felt that the dispute had definitely been resolved and that the issues were clear and settled; and, in the remaining 21% of the cases, the officers felt that they had had no effect ($x^2 = 161.29$; $df = 3$; $p < .001$). Thus, in 79% of the cases, the officers felt that they had an effect on the conflict situation, and in one-third of these they felt their third party intervention had resulted in a resolution.

Relationships Among Variables

In order to acquire a fuller understanding of these conflicts, the relationships of several key variables were examined. The data was amenable to several techniques of statistical analysis. To investigate those relationships in which both variables of interest were continuous interval scales, Pearson product moment correlation coefficients were computed; for those in which one of the two variables being considered was a continuous interval scale, and the other was dichotomous, point biserial correlation coefficients were computed; and, for those in which both variables were discrete and qualitative categories, cross-tabulations were generated and Chi-Square or Cochran Q analyses were performed.

The relationships reported below are based on the data for all 312 disputes managed by officers at both housing projects. In addition, for those categories which had been collapsed, the data used in the statistical analysis was derived from these collapsed categories rather than from the original uncollapsed categories. Only those cases for which information was available on both variables of the pair were included in the statistical analysis. This was done so that the data would not be confounded by partial or missing information.

The relationship of several variables to three main areas of interest were investigated. The first section is concerned with variables related to assault and the threat of assault; the second, with the police officer's perceptions, judgements, and actions; and, the third, with variables relating to the effectiveness of the police intervention.

Assault and the Threat of Assault

The following comparisons are based on data derived only from those 189 cases (60% of all cases) in which an actual assault or threatened assault had occurred.

Age of D1 and D2. The category concerned with assault or threatened assault was not significantly related to either the age of D1 ($r=.12, p=n.s.$), or the age of D2 ($r=.11$, $p=n.s.$).

Race of D1 and D2. The occurance of an assault or threatened assault was independent of the race of both D1 ($x^2 = 5.82$, $df = 6$, $p = n.s.$), and D2 ($x^2 = 2.59$, $df = 6$, $p = n.s.$). Closer inspection of the data revealed that there was no significant difference in the race of either D1($x^2 = 1.40$, $df = 1$, $p = n.s.$), or D2 ($x^2 = 0.04$, $df = 1$, $p = n.s.$) for those cases in which a weapon had been used for an actual or threatened assault, and those cases in which no weapon had been used.

Did D1 or D2 call the police? The data indicate that when disputes were less violent, D1 was somewhat more likely to have called the police ($r=.37$, $p < .01$); while D2 was more likely to have called when the dispute was more violent ($r=-.12$, $p < .05$).

What the disputants accused each other of. The degree of assaultiveness was independent of what the disputants accused each other of ($x^2 = 9.30$, $df=6$, $p = n.s.$).

Closer inspection of the data reveals that what the disputants accused each other of was, however, significantly different for those cases in which a weapon had been used for an actual or threatened assault, and those cases in which no weapon had been used ($x^2 = 7.03$, df = 2, $p < .05$). The difference seems to be that for complaints involving either "others presence or absence" or "outside issues", weapons were used less often than would be expected; whereas when complaints were concerned with "interpersonal issues", weapons were involved more often than would be expected.

The officer's impression of the cause of the dispute. This variable was not related to the degree of assaultiveness (x^2=8.53, df=6, p = n.s.).

Closer inspection of the data reveals that the patrolman's impression of the cause of the dispute was significantly different when cases in which a weapon had been used for an actual or threatened assault, were compared to those in which no weapon had been used (x^2=7.02, df=2, $p < .05$). These differences parallel those found above in regard to what the disputants accused each other of. Weapons were involved less often than would be expected in those cases where the officer saw the "other's presence or absence" or "outside issues" as causative; whereas weapons were involved more often than would be expected in those cases in which the officer judged "interpersonal issues" to be causative.

The Officers' Perceptions, Judgements, and Actions

Whether D1 and D2 were seen as aggressors. As regards the disputant's age, the older D1 was, the less likely she was to be seen as an aggressor (r= -.13, $p < .05$), and the more likely was D2 to be seen as an aggressor (r=.12, $p < .05$). There was, however, no significant relationship between D2's age and whether he was seen as an aggressor (r= -.04, p-n.s.), or whether D1 was seen as an aggressor (r=.01, p = n.s.).

There was no significant relationship between the occurrance of assault or threatened assault and whether either D1 (r= -.07, p=n.s) or D2 (r=.09, p = n.s.) was seen as an aggressor.

As regards the disputants' behaviors, the more cooperative D1 was, the less likely she was to be seen as an aggressor (r= -.14, $p < .05$). Similarly the more cooperative D2 was, the less likely he was to be seen as an aggressor (r= -.20, $p < .01$). However, the more cooperative D2 was, the more likely D1 was to be seen as an aggressor (r=.14, $p < .05$). There was no significant relationship between D1's behavior and whether D2 was seen as an aggressor (r=.06, p=n.s.).

There was no significant relationship between D1's feeling tone during the intervention and whether she was seen as an aggressor (r=.02, p=n.s.), nor between D2's feeling tone during the intervention and whether he was seen as an aggressor (r= -.07, p=n.s.). In addition, there was no significant relationship between D1's feeling tone and whether D2 was seen as an aggressor (r=.01, p=n.s.), nor between D2's feeling tone and whether D1 was seen as an aggressor (r=.01, p=n.s.).

With regard to the disputants' reaction to the officer's handling of the dispute, D1 was more likely to have been satisfied when she was not seen as an aggressor (r= -.29, $p < .01$). The same relationship was found for D2 (r= -.23, $p < .01$). In addition, D1 was more likely to have been satisfied when D2 was seen as an aggressor (r=.25, $p < .01$). Likewise, D2 was more likely to have been satisfied with the officer's handling of the dispute when D1 was seen as an aggressor (r=.24, $p < .01$).

No significant relationship was found between the officer's judgement about the effectiveness of his intervention and whether he saw either D1 (r= -.01, p=n.s.) or D2 (r=.05, p=n.s.) as an aggressor.

The officer's perception of the behavior of D1 and D2. As regards the age of the disputants, there was no significant relationship between the age of either D1(r=.00, p=n.s.) or of D2 (r=.01, p=n.s.) and their respective behaviors during the intervention.

There was a significant relationship between the behavior of D1 and D2 during the intervention (r=.21, $p < .01$): when D1 was seen as cooperative, so was D2, when D1 was seen as disruptive, so was D2.

As regards who called the police, there was no significant relationship between D1's behavior and whether or not she had called the police (r=.04, p=n.s.). There was, however, a relationship between D2's behavior and whether he had called the police (r= -.21, $p < .01$): when D2 had called the police, his behavior was somewhat less likely to be seen as cooperative; when he had not called, his behavior was more likely to be seen as cooperative.

When D1 called the police, D2's behavior was more likely to be seen as cooperative (r=.29, $p < .01$). There was no significant relationship between whether D2 called the police, and the officers description of D1's behavior (r=.08, p=n.s.).

The officer's perception of the disputants' feelings. In comparison with the age of the disputants, no relationship was found between either D1's age (r=.02,p=n.s.) or D2's age (r= -.11,p=n.s.) and their respective feelings during the intervention, as perceived by the officers.

There was a significant relationship between the feelings shown by D1 and those shown by D2 during the intervention (r=.32,$p < .01$): for example, D2 was more likely to be perceived as happy and pleased when D1 was.

The officer's descriptions of both the feelings and the behavior of D1 during the intervention were positively correlated (r=.28,$p < .01$); for example, when D1 was seen as cooperative, she was also more likely to be seen as happy and pleased; when D1 was seen as disruptive, she was also more likely to be seen as feeling either angry or unhappy. Similarly, the officer's descriptions of both the feelings and the behavior of D2 were positively correlated (r=.43, $p < .01$).

The feeling shown by D1 during the intervention was independent of who called the police, whether she had (r=.00,p=n.s.), or D2 had (r=.02,p=n.s.). In contrast, when D2 called the police, he was somewhat more likely to be seen as feeling badly and less likely to be seen as happy (r= -.20, $p < .01$). In addition, when D1 called the police, D2 was more likely to be seen as happy (r=.31, $p < .01$).

There was no relationship between the officer's description of D1's feelings during the intervention and the degree of assaultiveness (r=.02,p=n.s.). Unlike D1, the officer was somewhat less likely to describe D2 as feeling angry and unhappy when less serious violence had occurred, and more likely to describe D2 as angry or unhappy when more serious violence had occurred (r=.26,$p < .01$).

The officer's judgement of the disputants' reaction to his management of the dispute. As regards the age of the disputants,no relationship was found between either D1's age (r=.02,p=n.s.) or D2's age (r=-.12,p=n.s.) and their respective reactions to the officer's management of the dispute.

As regards who called the police, when D1 called, her reaction to the officer's management of the dispute was more likely to be seen as satisfied ($r=.27, p < .01$); but she was more likely to be dissatisfied with the intervention when D2 had called the police ($r=-.15, p < .01$). There was no relationship between D2's reaction whether or not he had called the police ($r=.00, p=$n.s.), or whether D1 had called the police ($r=-.05, p=$n.s.).

As regards disputants' interaction upon the officer's arrival, no relationship was found with either D1's reaction ($x^2=18.84, df=12, p=$n.s.) or D2's reaction ($x^2=8.62$, $df=12$, $p=$n.s.) to the officer's management of the dispute. Closer inspection of the data reveals that there was no significant difference in officers' impressions of D1's reaction to his management of the dispute for those cases in which the disputants were communicating upon his arrival, and those cases in which the disputants were not communicating, upon his arrival ($x^2=3.66$, $df=2$, $p=$n.s.). Similarly, no relationship existed for D2 in this regard ($x^2=1.80$, $df=2$, $p=$n.s.).

As regards the disputants' behavior during the intervention, when D1 was seen as cooperative he was likely to be seen as satisfied with the officer's intervention; when D1 was seen as disruptive he was likely to be seen as dissatisfied with the officer's intervention ($r=.18$, $p < .01$). A similar relationship was found between D2's behavior during the intervention and his perceived reaction to the officer's management of the dispute ($r=.23$, $p < .01$). The perceived reaction of D1 to the intervention was independent of the perceived behavior of D2 ($r=.03$, $p=$n.s.); and, the perceived reaction of D2 to the intervention was independent of the perceived behavior of D1 ($r=.04$, $p=$n.s.).

As regards the disputants' feelings during the intervention; there was no relationship betweeb D1's reaction to the intervention and the feelings shown by either D1 ($r=.07$, $p=$ n.s.) or D2 ($r=.13$, $p=$ n.s.) during the intervention. Similarly, no relationship was found between D2's reaction and the feelings shown by either D1 ($r=.01$, $p=$n.s.), or D2 ($r=.14$, $p=$n.s.) during the intervention.

There was a significant relationship between the officer's impression of the reaction of both D1 ($Q=587.063$, $df=6$, $p < .001$) and D2 ($Q=302.572$, $df=6$, $p < .001$) to his management of the dispute and the official actions taken by the officer. This seems largely to be a function of both disputants' greater satisfaction when referrals were made.

The officer's use of referral. As regards the disputant's behavior during the intervention, the making of a referral was independent of the officer's impression of the behavior of either D1($r=.10$, $p=$n.s.) or D2 ($r=.07$, $p=$n.s.). Similarly, as regards the disputant's feelings during the intervention, the making of a referral was independent of the officer's impression of the feelings shown by either D1 ($r= -.06$, $p=$n.s.) or D2 ($r= -.02$, $p=$n.s.). As regards the disputant's reaction to the officer's management of the dispute, the officer was more likely to judge both D1 ($r=.15$, $p < .01$) and D2 ($r=.19$, $p < .01$) as satisfied with his management of the dispute when a referral had been made, in comparison to when he had not made a referral. In addition, as regards the officer's judgement of the effectiveness of his intervention, he was likely to see his intervention as somewhat more effective when he had made a referral than when he had not made a referral ($r=.23$, $p < .01$).

As regards the degree of assaultiveness, a referral was more likely to have been made by the officer when a threatened assault had occurred rather than when an actual assault had occurred ($r=.19$, $p < .05$).

Thus, it would appear that the use of referrals by the officers was related to events preceding their arrival, rather than how the disputants acted and felt during the intervention. In addition, use of referrals was associated with greater satisfaction by both the intervening officer and the disputants.

The Officer's Judgement of the Effectiveness of His Intervention

Age of D1 and D2. The officer's judgement of the effectiveness of his intervention was not related to D1's age ($r = -.03$, p = n.s.), but was negatively related to D2's age ($r = -.16$, $p < .01$). The officer was likely to feel that he had been somewhat more effective when D2 was younger, and less effective when D2 was older.

Race of D1 and D2. The officer's impression of the effectiveness of his intervention was independent of the race of both D1 ($x^2=7.46$, $df=6$, p=n.s.) and D2 ($x^2=10.89$, $df=6$, p=n.s.).

Did D1 or D2 call the police? The officer's impression of the effectiveness of his intervention was not related to whether either D1 ($r=.01$, p=n.s.) or D2 ($r=-.11$, p=n.s.) had called the police.

The disputants' interactions upon the officer's arrival. This was not related to the officer's judgement of the effectiveness of his intervention ($x^2=26.75$, $df=18$, p=n.s.). Closer inspection of the data revealed that the officer's impression of the effectiveness of his intervention was independent of whether or not the disputants were communicating upon his arrival ($x^2=4.62$, $df=3$, p=n.s.), and further, was independent of whether or not the disputants were struggling upon his arrival ($x^2=2.50$, $df=3$, p=n.s.).

What the disputants accused each other of. This was not related to the officer's impression of the effectiveness of his intervention ($x^2=5.81$, $df=6$, p=n.s.). Closer inspection of the data revealed that there was no significant difference in what the disputants accused each other of for those cases in which the officer felt he had had no effect, and those cases in which he felt he had successfully managed the dispute ($x^2=1.53$, $df=2$, p=n.s.).

The officer's impression of the cause of the dispute. The officer's impression of the effectiveness of his intervention was significantly related to his impression of the cause of the dispute ($x^2=13.13$, $df=6$, $p < .05$). Visual inspection of the data reveals a tendency for officers to perceive their interventions to more likely have fully settled or, to have had no effect at all, in disputes caused by "other's presence or absence," compared to disputes caused by either "interpersonal issues" or "outside issues".

The officer's impression of the behavior of D1 and D2. The officer's impression of the effectiveness of his intervention was not related to his perception of D1's behavior during the intervention ($r=.05$, p=n.s.), but was, however, significantly related to his impression of D2's behavior ($r=.16$, $p < .05$). That is, when D2 was seen as cooperative the officer was more likely to see the conflict as somewhat more effectively managed, and when D2 was seen as disruptive, the officer was more likely to see the conflict as less effectively managed.

The officer's perception of the feelings shown by D1 and D2. When D1 was seen as happy or pleased, the officer was more likely to see the conflict as somewhat more effectively managed; when D1 was seen as feeling bad (i.e., angry or unhappy), the officer was more likely to see the conflict as less effectively managed ($r=.18$, $p < .01$). No such relationship was found for D2 ($r=.13$, $p=$n.s.).

The behavior of D2 and the feelings of D1 during the intervention seem to be important variables which are related to effective management of conflicts among people. It may be that these police officers feel that effective conflict management depends on maintaining or fostering the cooperation of D2 and the positive feelings of the complainant (D1) during their intervention.

Figure 1.

INCIDENCE OF DISPUTES BY THE DAY OF THE WEEK

Reported in Percentages for Housing [---] and FCIU [___]

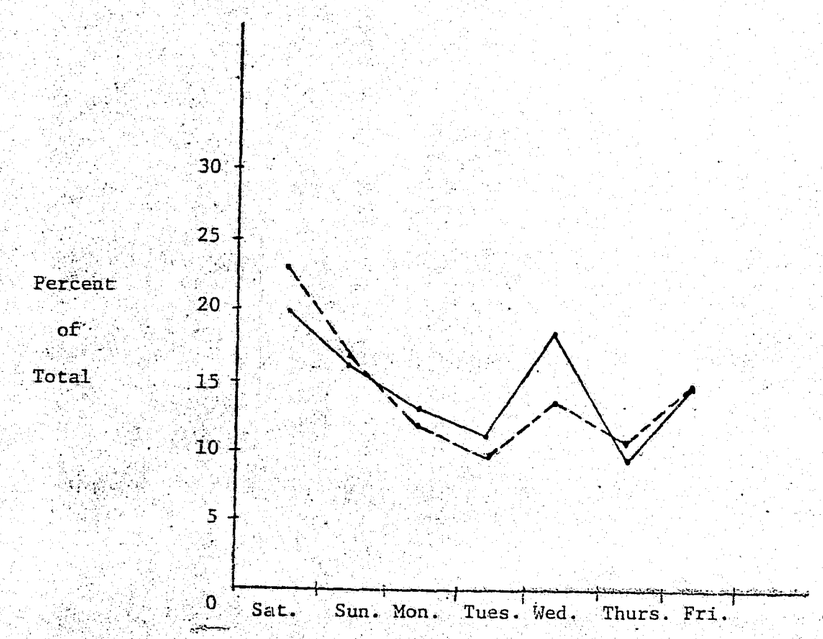

TABLE 1.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISPUTANTS

(Expressed as Percentages)

Category	Disputant 1	Disputant 2
Age		
Under10	1	1
10-15	7	12
16-20	6	9
21-30	24	23
31-40	32	32
41-50	24	19
51-65	5	3
Over 65	1	1
	100%	100%
Sex		
Male	35	69
Female	65	31
	100%	100%
Race		
White	2	3
Black	65	65
Puerto Rican	33	32
	100%	100%
Tenancy		
Tenant	93	82
Visitor	6	18
Manager	0	0
Assistant Manager	0	0
Other Project Employee	1	0
Business Person	0	0
	100%	100%
Was the Disputant an Aggressor?		
Yes	35	63
No	65	37
	100%	100%

TABLE 1. (cont'd.)

Category	Disputant 1	Disputant 2
Did the Disputant Call the Police?		
Yes	70	16
No	30	84
	100%	100%
Relationship of D1 to D2		
Spouse	55	
Parent	12	
Grandparent	0	
Child	3	
Grandchild	1	
Other Relative	5	
Friend	10	
Acquaintance	10	
Stranger	4	
	100%	

CHAPTER VI

EFFECTS OF TRAINING UPON POLICE PERFORMANCE

The design of the study afforded opportunities for experimental comparison of the effects of training. At the very outset four comparable housing developments were selected in order that the effects of the two training procedures (affective-experiential and cognitive) could be evaluated.[1]

The assessment of the effects of training upon police performance was a crucial aspect of the evaluation. In addition to management of conflicts, we considered crime control and police efficiency as centrally important variables for study. In other words, we considered it important to gain some understanding of the ramifying effects of the training methods employed.

There are many criteria available to police organizations that are derived from day-to-day police operations. The selection of criteria for evaluation of police performance in this study was made with the following considerations in mind: 1) the police themselves were considered to be the best to determine the criteria, i.e., to undertake a definition of "good" police work; 2) predictions were based on the hypothesis that training enhances police performance...accordingly the question asked for each criterion was, "how would a superior police officer perform in this regard?"; and, 3) recognizing existing differences among police organizations and the communities they serve (e.g., operational procedures, community characteristics, special crime and control problems, etc.), criteria appropriate for one police department was considered as not being entirely suitable for another.

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[1] "Police Management of Conflicts Among People", op.cit.

Before the results of the study were known, a list of police performance criteria was prepared, based on those for which data could be reliably obtained. These criteria were presented to the patrol commander of the New York City Housing Authority Police Department.[2] In view of this police administrator's sensitivities to the realities of police performance, requirements and operations in his department, he was regarded as a person unusually well-suited for the role of defining criteria which would be valid indicators of good police performance.

Thus, without knowing what the data would ultimately reveal, criteria were selected and predictions were made. The criteria were divided into those considered most valid, those only moderately valid, and those considered minimally valid as indicators of good police performance. This distinction was made because some criteria were expected to reflect other than purely police performance factors (total offenses for example, was considered only moderately valid, because these are also dependent on such a factor as the officer's motivation to report them.)

The following criteria were selected as the most valid indicators of effective police performance in the NYCHAPD: total crime clearance rate; offense clearance rate; misdemeanor clearance rate; felony clearance rate; danger-tension index; number of offense arrests; number of misdemeanor arrests; and, number of misdemeanors.

The following criteria were sekcted as moderately valid indicators of effective police performance: total crimes; total number of arrests.

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[2] Deputy Inspector Richard T. Bechel; Chief of Patrol, NYCHAPD.

The following criteria were rejected as having minimal validity as indicators of effective police performance due to a multiplicity of determinants; number of felonies; number of felony arrests; number of sick days; number of sick days per incident requiring action; days off for injury; breach of Housing Authority Rules and Regulations; damage, cause unknown; mischief, criminal and tampering; investigations; number of aided cases; number of assists; total number of interpersonal disputes; total service duties; and, total offenses.

Data for each criteria selected for use was obtained from police records. Chi-Square with Yates' Correction for Continuity served as the method for statistical analyses.

Comparisons made in this chapter reflect: first, effects of conflict-management training; and, second, effects of conflict-management training upon police performance in different communities. To determine the former, data will be presented for each criterion in three housing developments over time. These three, similar in level of crime activity and in demographic features, are comprised of: 1) Wagner Houses - staffed by 11 conflict-management trained officers (CM 1) 8 of whom were recently appointed officers, 2) Jefferson Houses - staffed by 5 recently appointed officers who had received cognitive training and 4 senior officers (Control 1), and, 3) Grant Houses - staffed by 11 senior officers who had received no special training (Control 2).[3] For each criterion, data will be presented for the study year 1970 (2/9/70 - 2/8/71) and for the two years immediately preceding the study year (i.e., prior to assignment of specially trained personnel).

[3]Ibid., Appendix A.

The second set of data compares two housing developments which differ in several ways, but to both of which conflict-management trained officers were assigned. Manhattanville Houses, the newest of the four projects (CM 2), was regarded as more "stable" than the other developments, had less crime, had a higher average income, had fewer welfare families, and, had fewer broken homes. In Housing Authority Police Department parlance, this housing development was often regarded as a desirable, "country club" assignment. Wagner Houses (CM 1), like Control 1 and Control 2, was regarded as anything but a "country club."

Effects of Training Upon Police Performance I: The Most Valid Criteria

Total crime clearance rate. This rate was calculated by dividing total arrests by total crimes. One of the accepted criteria of effective police work is the demonstration of high total crime clearance rates. Hence, it was predicted that CM I would conform with that expectation in the study year.

Year	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	26%	13%	11%
1969	14	14	20
1968	8	9	11

Within-development comparisons--CM I showed an increase in total crime clearance rate in 1970 over the average of its two preceding years ($p < .05$); there was no change in Control I or Control II. Closer inspection of the data reveals that CM I increased in 1970 over the preceding year ($p < .10$), whereas there was no change in Control I or Control II.

Between-development comparisons--since the average rate for the two preceding years is similar among the 3 developments, their 1970 rates can be meaningfully compared. There is no difference between Control I and Control II in 1970 (p=n.s.). CM I has a higher rate than Control I ($p < .10$) and Control II ($p < .05$).

The prediction regarding this criterion was fully confirmed. The conflict-management trained officers showed an improvement in police performance both within that same development (compared to preceding years) and when compared to Control I (which also had new officers who had received additional training) and to Control II (having senior officers only, and no additional training).

Misdemeanor clearance rate. It was predicted that CM I would effect a high clearance rate for this category of crime.

Within-development comparisons--There were no significant changes in 1970 over the previous year or over the average of the two preceding years in any of the developments.

Between-development comparisons--Since the rates for the average of the two preceding years are essentially similar among the three developments, their 1970 rates can be meaningfully compared. Doing so reveals that CM I has a 1970 rate that is superior to Control I ($p < .10$) but is no different than that of Control II. Controls I and II do not differ in 1970 rates.

The data suggests that for police recruits, affective-experiential training is superior to cognitive training for this criterion.

Offense clearance rate. It was predicted that CM I would demonstrate a high clearance rate for this category.

Year	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	11%	2%	6%
1969	13	23	6
1968	13	13	15

Within-development comparisons--Comparing 1970 with the average of the two preceding years reveals no change for CM I, or for Control II, and a decrease in Control I ($p < .001$). Comparing 1970 with 1969 shows no change for CM I or Control II, but a decrease for Control I ($p < .001$).

Between-development comparisons--The rates for 1968 and 1969 are similar between the three developments. Control II has a rate for 1970 similar to the rates for CM I and Control I. CM I's 1970 rate is superior to that of Control I ($p < .05$).

Since cognitively trained recruits show a decrease in offense clearance rate not shown by affectively-experientially trained recruits or senior officers with no special training, it may be that the CM I group resisted a tendency for new officers to have a lower offense clearance rate. The data for this criterion is equivocal.

Number of offense arrests. It was predicted that CM I would demonstrate an increased number of offense arrests.

Year	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	10	1	3
1969	10	9	3
1968	10	11	6

Within-development comparisons--Comparing 1970 with the average of the preceding years reveals no change for CM I on Control II, and a decrease in Control I ($p < .05$).

Between-development comparisons--The rates for 1968 and 1969 are similar for CM I and Control I, but not for either of these and Control II. CM I has a higher rate for 1970 than Control I ($p < .05$).

The prediction was confirmed; at least partly. CM I training appears to prevent a reduction in number of offense arrests obtained by cognitively trained officers (and for experienced officers too, perhaps).

Danger-tension index. In considering ways of assessing morale, the amount of time lost because of illness loomed large as a measure. It became increasingly clear that sick time probably reflected factors related to morale, that is, the need for relief from danger and tension on the job. Working (often alone) in high crime areas could be considered to exact a toll expressed in tension-related absenteeism. Therefore, while work in a high-crime area necessarily causes tension, it was predicted that CM I would experience less tension (expressed in fewer sick days) relative to objective danger (as reflected by number of arrests). While it is not considered that all police sick days are due to tension-related illness, it may well be that many are. The "danger-tension index" then was calculated as: $\frac{\text{total arrests}}{\text{total sickdays}} \times 100$.

Year	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	63	66	40
1969	70	83	89
1968	46	48	54

Within-development comparisons--Comparing 1970 with the average of the preceding years shows no change for CM I or Control I, and a decrease in Control II ($p < .01$; decreases reflect lower efficiency - more sickdays per arrest). Closer analysis, comparing changes from 1969 to 1970, reveals no change for CM I or Control I, and a decrease in Control II ($p < .001$). For some reason all three developments showed an improvement in 1969 over 1968.

Between-development comparisons--The 1968-1969 rates are similar for the three developments. CM I and Control I do not differ in their 1970 danger-tension indeces. Control II, however, has a 1970 index which is lower than either CM I ($p < .05$) or Control I ($p < .05$).

The prediction was partly confirmed. The senior officers at Control II deteriorated in the danger-tension index, a change which did not accrue for either of the other developments. The data do not indicate whether the lack of change in the developments staffed primarily by recruits with special training was due to their respective training programs, to their being new police officers, or to some combination of both.

Number of misdemeanor arrests. It was predicted that CM I would effect an increased number of such arrests.

Year	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	70	35	22
1969	43	20	49
1968	31	12	19

Within-development comparisons--Comparing 1970 with the average of the preceding years reveals increases in CM I ($p < .01$) and in Control I ($p < .05$), but no changes for Control II. Comparisons between 1970 and 1969 reveal increases for CM I ($p < .05$) and Control I, ($p < .10$), and a decrease for Control II ($p < .01$).

Between-development comparisons--Rates for the preceding years are similar only for CM I and Control II, thus their 1970 rates can be compared. CM I had a much higher number of misdemeanor arrests than did Control II ($p < .001$) in 1970.

The prediction is partly confirmed. The number of misdemeanor arrests rose most significantly in CM I, more so than for Control I. Control II saw a decrease in 1970 on this criterion. Visual inspection of the data suggests that new officers with special training effects more misdemeanor arrests, and that affective-experientially trained officers appeared to have made more such arrests than did cognitively trained officers.

Number of misdemeanors. It was predicted that CM I would discourage this category of crime by more active prevention control and by engendering greater citizen cooperation and respect.

Year	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	189	140	251
1969	302	158	220
1968	382	237	240

Within-development comparisons--Comparing 1970 with the average of the preceding years reveals a decrease for both CM I ($p < .001$) and Control I ($p < .05$), with no change in Control II. Closer analysis, comparing 1970 with 1969 reveals that there was no decrease in either Control II or Control I, but that CM I did decrease in 1970 ($p < .001$).

Between-development comparisons--The 1970 data for Controls I and II can be compared since their data for the prior years are equivalent. Control I had fewer misdemeanors in 1970 than did Control II ($p < .001$). Comparison of CM I with the others can be made by averaging the two prior years (thus accounting for differences) and by comparing this with the 1970 figure. Doing so indicates that CM I is much different than Control II ($p < .001$) and is somewhat different from Control I ($p < .10$).

The prediction that CM I would reflect effective performance was partly confirmed. CM I was the only development showing a decrease in 1970 compared with 1969. Once again, however, Control I improved in police performance almost as much as did CM I.

Effects of Training Upon Police Performance II: The Moderately Valid Criteria

Total crime. (felonies + misdemeanors + offenses) - CM I was expected to engage in more effective and aggressive patrol, and to gain community respect thereby. While some felonies would not be prevented even by effective patrol, CM I was expected to reduce the incidence of crime.

Year	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	486	397	440
1969	593	384	402
1968	568	546	487

Within-development comparisons--Comparing 1970 with the average of the two preceding years shows no change for Control II and decreases for Control I ($p < .05$) and CM I ($p < .05$). Closer inspection reveals that there was no change from 1969 to 1970 for either Control I or Control II, while CM I decreased ($p < .01$).

Between-development comparisons--The average of the two preceding years is similar for Controls I and II, so their 1970 rates can be meaningfully compared. Doing so reveals that Control I and Control II do not differ significantly in their 1970 rates. Intercomparisons in terms of both 1970 and the average of the two prior years reveal that while Controls I and II do not differ, and CM I and Control I do not differ, CM I shows a decrease relative to Control II ($p < .10$).

The prediction that CM I would have a decrease in total crime was partly confirmed. CM I was the only development to have seen a decrease in 1970 from the preceding year.

Total arrests. It was predicted that CM I would effect a larger number of arrests.

Year	CM I	Control I	Control II
1970	124	53	47
1969	82	53	83
1968	56	48	54

Within-development comparisons--Comparison of 1970 figures with the average of the preceding two years indicates that CM I increased ($p < .001$) in total arrests, Control I did not change, and Control II decreased ($p < .10$). Comparing 1970 with 1969 also shows an increase in CM I ($p < .01$), no change for Control I, and a decrease in Control II ($p < .01$).

Between-development comparisons--Since their rates for the preceding years are similar, the 1970 rates for CM I and Control II were compared. In 1970, CM I had significantly more arrests than did Control II ($p < .001$). In terms both of 1970 rates and the average of the prior two years, CM I was found to differ from Control I ($p < .05$) reflecting its greater increase in arrests, and Controls I and II were found not to differ.

The prediction that CM I would show effective performance of this criterion was fully confirmed. CM I increased in number of arrests.

Effects of Conflict-Management Training Upon Police Performance III: Communities with High vs. Moderate Police Activity

It was important in evaluating the effect of training for conflict-management to determine whether different results would obtain in different communities. Wagner Houses (CM I) is considered to be a housing development in a relatively high crime area (East Harlem); Manhattanville Houses (CM II) on the other hand, is in a moderate crime area in West Harlem. Obtained differences in police performance in these two developments might be generalizable to other locations with comparable crime rates if staffed by similarly trained officers.

In the data presented below all comparisons were calculated by Chi-Square analysis with Yates' Correction for Continuity. Overall comparisons are most commonly referred to, and these comprise two entries for each housing development. One is the average of the years 1968 and 1969, and the other is the figure for 1970. Only in the danger-tension index was a difference expected between CM I and CM II.

Most Valid Criteria

Total crime clearance rate. Figures for each housing development are presented in Table 1. Overall comparison reveals that the two housing projects are similar ($X^2=2.53$, p=n.s).

Felony clearance rate. Overall comparison between CM I and CM II reveals a significant difference between the two ($p < .05$), apparently due to CM II's decrease in 1970 from 1969 ($p < .01$). The expected lack of difference was not obtained. CM II decreased on this criterion.

Misdemeanor clearance rate. Overall comparisons could not be made due to low cell frequencies for CM II. Inspection of the data in Table 1 suggests that CM II improved, as CM I was found to do.

Offense clearance rate. CM I was not found to change in this regard, but when overall comparison was made with CM II a significant difference was obtained ($p < .05$). Inspection of the data indicates that CM II improved in this area of police performance.

Number of offense arrests. The expected frequencies for CM II are too low to permit statistical analysis. Visual inspection suggests that there was some improvement for CM II in number of offense arrests (there were none made in 1968, 1 in 1969, and 3 in 1970).

Danger-tension index. It was expected that CM II would improve relative to CM I because the former was less dangerous overall and an increase in arrest activity would have had a correspondingly smaller effect.

There was no change found in CM II over the 3-year period. Overall comparison between the two developments found no difference between them. ($X^2 = 0.11$; p=n.s.). The prediction was not confirmed.

Number of misdemeanor arrests. CM II increased in 1970 from 1969 ($p < .10$). Overall comparison with CM I indicated no differences between the two, as expected. On this criterion, conflict-management training was related to improved police performance in both projects.

TABLE 1.

Comparison of Police Performance Rates in the Two Conflict-Management Projects

Criterion	Project	1970	1968 & 1969 2	p
Total crime clearance rate	I	26%	11%	n.s
	II	3%	4.5%	
Felony clearance rate	I	21%	12%	.05
	II	6%	15.5%	
Misdemeanor clear. rate	I	37%	11%	
	II	7%	1%	
Offense Clear. rate	I	11%	13%	.05
	II	7%	1%	
Offense and arrests	I	63	58	
	II	11	7.5	
Danger-tension index	I	63	58	
	II	11	7.5	n.s
Misdemeanor arrests	I	70	37	n.s
	II	7	1	
Total misdemeanors	I	189	342	
	II	350	163.5	
Total crime	I	486	580.5	.001
	II	457	286.5	
Total arrests	I	124	69	n.s
	II	13	13	

Number of misdemeanors. CM II increased in 1970 from 1969 ($p < .001$). Overall comparison revealed a significant difference between the two CM housing developments; CM I decreased while CM II increased. Perhaps affective-experiential training for new officers in "country club" projects is conducive to greater crime reporting, or that there was an idiosyncratic change in the complexion of crime (e.g., increase in drug traffic in that particular area).

Moderately Valid Criteria

Total crime. CM II increased in 1970 from 1969 ($p < .001$) primarily because of the increase in misdemeanors noted above. Overall comparison with CM I revealed a highly significant difference ($p < .001$) between the two, due to a decrease in CM I and an increase in CM II in 1970.

Total arrests. As for the two control housing developments, CM II showed no changes in number of arrests in 1970. Overall comparison of CM I and CM II indicated no significant difference between them (p=n.s.).

It should be emphasized that police performance was studied to determine whether or not conflict-management training had a deleterious effect on police effectiveness. Indeed, it can be said that while officers in CM I generally improved but on comparison with CM II, there were no significant differences on most of the performance criteria. These findings strongly suggest that conflict-management training does not interfere with crime control effectiveness; in fact, it can be said that, if anything, such effectiveness generally improved.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITY ATTITUDE SURVEY IN FOUR HOUSING PROJECTS[1]

For the purpose of determining whether the attitude of the community toward the police would be affected by the training variable, prior to the changes in police assignments, a random sample of households from each of the four projects was drawn. Each household was to be interviewed just before the assignments were instituted and again one year later in order to determine whether or not any changes in attitude took place between the two interview periods.

A. Samples

Under the budget limitations, it was possible to aim for approximately 100 households per project in the final interview (hereafter referred to as the "post"). Because attrition was anticipated from the initial interview (hereafter referred to as "pre") to the post interview, the number of interviews in the pre stage was in excess of the targeted 100. The actual number of interviews in the pre and the post are shown in Table I.

Table I: Number of Households Interviewed in the Pre and the Post

	Project			
	Grant	Jefferson	Manhattanville	Wagner
Pre	137	141	114	135
Post	110	108	89	118
Attrition Rate	20%	23%	22%	13%

[1]This study was carried out by the Center for Social Research, Graduate School, City University of New York, Professor Leonard S. Kogan, Director. This chapter was written by Professor Morey J. Wantman of the Center for Social Research, who directed the Survey. Morton Israel was the project director.

The initial sample of households was selected at random with the following restrictions:

(1) White households were to be excluded

(2) Each household must have at least one member eighteen years of age or younger

The ethnic restriction was imposed because the proportion of whites in the population in each project was so small, that too few white households would fall into the sample to permit any reliable estimates to be made about changes of attitude of the white population, e.g., the "expected" number of white households in a sample of 100 for Grant, was 4, and for Jefferson, 14.

The requirement of children in the households was specified in order to attempt to obtain information about the effect on the young of the police training variable. It, of course, would have been preferable to interview teenagers, but this was not feasible.

A check on how representative the four initial samples were of their populations indicated that no unknown bias entered into the study; the differences between the sample and the population characteristics are attributable to the selection procedures above. For example, the percentage of families on welfare is generally higher in the sample than in the population. (Table II).

Table II: Percentage of Families on Welfare as of January 1, 1971

	Percentage on Welfare	
Project	Population	Sample
Grant	25.8	33.6
Jefferson	35.4	42.6
Manhattanville	14.7	23.6
Wagner	35.6	36.8

Again, because of the method of selection of families for interview, the number of minors per family is larger in each project sample than in the population - approximately 3 vs. 2. Similarly, because of the selection criterion above, the samples have fewer individuals over 60 years of age than in the corresponding population, e.g., Wagner in the "post" had less than 2 percent in the sample 60 years of age or over; the population had more than 6 percent.

On other demographic characteristics each sample was well matched with its corresponding population.

B. Survey Schedule

The table of specifications for the interview schedule (See Appendix) was drawn up after a series of meetings were held to determine the areas to be covered in the interview.[2] The interview schedule included questions related to other services besides those of the police not only to provide comparative bases for the attitude toward the housing police but also to conceal the main purpose of the interview. The latter goal seemed to have been attained. Not only did the respondents fail to infer the main purpose of the interview, but the interviewers upon being told at the end of the study what its real nature was, expressed surprise.

[2]The different individuals who contributed to the formulation of the final interview schedule were: Professor Morton Bard, Deputy Inspector Richard D. Beckel, Professor Barbara Dohrenwend, Lieutenant Gilbert Hunt, Dr. Donald Hay, Mr. Morton Israel, Professor Leonard S. Kogan, Professor Morey J. Wantman, Mrs. Lisa Weiss, and Dr. Joseph Zacker.

The interview schedule included 173 questions in the pre-stage, and these same 173 questions plus 18 additional questions in the post interview. Of the 173 questions, 5 were grouped into six sets so that a summary attitude score for each set could be obtained, each of which would be more reliable than responses to individual questions. The six scores are hereafter referred to as indices; their question numbers, descriptions, and range are shown in Table III.

Table III: Description of Indices I - VI

Index	Description	Question Numbers	Range of Possible Scores
I	Attitude Toward Project Environment and Services	19-32	+14 to -14
II	Sociability & Neighborliness	33-39	+7 to -7
III	Attitude Toward Housing Management	90-96	+7 to -7
IV	Attitude Toward Housing Police	97-106	+10 to -10
V	Avoidance	107-114	0 to +8
VI	Attitude Toward General Services	115-122	+8 to -8

The scores for Indices I, II, III, IV, and VI were derived as follows: For each question in the set of questions making up the index, a +1 was assigned for each of either of the two "favorable" responses, e.g., Very Satisfied - Satisfied, Excellent - Good, etc., and a -1 was assigned for each of the two "unfavorable responses, e.g., Very Dissatisfied - Dissatisfied, Disagree - Strongly Disagree, etc. For Index V, the score was the number of times a respondent indicated she would "do nothing" when she "saw" each of the 8 incidents described. Thus, a high score on Index V indicates a high degree of avoidance or withdrawal from the situation.

To obtain average scores for response to individual questions in the index sets, responses were assigned values from 5 to 1 as indicated in Table IV.

Table IV: Scale Values for Responses to Single Questions

Value	5	4	3	2	1
	Very Satisfied	Satisfied	Neither Satisfied nor Dissatisfied	Dissatis-fied	Very Dis-satisfied
	Very Often	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor

These same scale values were used for questions #14-18, 47-54, 145-150.

For questions 174-191 which appeared only in the post interview, there are three possible responses for each question. The scale values assigned for these questions were "Better" = 3, "Same" = 2, "Worse" = 1.

C. Interviewing Procedures

The "pre" and "post" interviews were conducted by two different sets of interviewers. Each set of the interviewers was trained by an experienced interview supervisor and her staff. While the interviewers were different for the "pre" and "post" interviews, the field supervisor was the same person each time.[3] The pre-interviews were conducted in January - February, 1970. The post-interviews were carried out February - March, 1971. The start of the post-interviewing was postponed for 10 days because of a threatened "job action" by the housing police in sympathy with an ongoing "job action" among city police. Each set of interviewers included both black and Puerto Rican women, and each interviewer was assigned households whose ethnic background matched hers. Because it was more likely that more female heads of households would be available for interview, and because the female head would be more likely to reflect views of teenage children, all interviews were conducted with female heads of households. The response rate in the "pre" stage was over 90%. In the "post" stage it varied from 77% to 87%.

[3]The field supervisor was Mrs. Lisa Weiss. Assistant field supervisors were Constance Heyworth, Carlos Walker, Doris Brody, and Libby Newborn.

D. Results[4]

1. Comparability of "Pre" and "Post" sample Households

As noted above, the response rate in the post-interview varied from 77 to 87 percent of the "pre" samples. The figures for the four samples are shown in Table II above.

In order to check whether or not any bias may have arisen in the results due to the attrition, the "pre" cases which responded in the "post" interview, the survivors were compared to the "drop-out" pre-cases. In view of sampling errors, it was clear that no appreciable differences in the results existed between the surviving pre-cases and the drop-out pre-cases either for demographic characteristics or for responses to individual questions or for responses to individual questions, or for the indices. Typical comparisons are shown in Table V.

Table V: Pre-Means of Drop-Out Cases and Surviving Cases

Question or Index Number	Range of Scores		Mean of Project: Grant	Jefferson	Manhattanville	Wagner
#19-Attitude Toward Privacy	1 to 5	Drop-Outs	3.78	3.39	3.81	3.53
		Survivors	3.55	3.62	3.74	3.55
#23-Attitude Toward Schools	1 to 5	Drop-Outs	3.17	3.27	3.32	3.29
		Survivors	3.01	3.29	3.26	3.27
#122-Attitude Toward Recreation	1 to 5	Drop-Outs	2.73	3.50	3.26	2.88
		Survivors	2.99	3.27	3.20	2.54
Index IV-Attitude Toward Housing	-10 to +10	Drop-Outs	3.54	4.72	3.00	3.50
		Survivors	3.95	5.28	3.55	3.27
Index VI-Attitude Toward General Services	-8 to +8	Drop-Outs	3.10	3.04	2.10	2.07
		Survivors	3.20	3.25	2.37	1.24

[4]The following members of the staff of the Center for Social Research participated in the coding, tabulating and analyses of the results: Rose Burdman, Michael Fulco, Andrew Condey, Mark Grossman, Susan Gurock, Francine Perlman.

Comparisons of the pre-results for the two groups in each project with respect to percentage satisfaction, percentage agreement, etc. on other questions showed no important differences between surviving cases and the drop-outs. Finally, other results such as variabilities, and inter-correlations among indices, showed no appreciable differences between the "survivors" and the total initial pre-group. Thus, there is no evidence that any bias in the results arose because of the attrition between pre and post interviewing.

2. Correlation Between Pre and Post Indices

Coefficients of correlation were computed between the pre-index score and the corresponding post-index score for each of the six indices for each project. The correlation coefficient indicates the degree of stability of the responses between the pre and the post interviews, i.e., the more often the respondent changed her reply, the lower the correlation would be. The results are shown in Table VI.

Table VI: Correlations Between Pre and Post Results for Indices I - VI

	Project			
Index	Grant	Jefferson	Manhattanville	Wagner
I	.51	.56	.60	.48
II	.40	.41	.51	.34
III	.39	.34	.41	.20
IV	.47	.43	.54	.21
V	.33	.48	.64	.47
VI	.31	.40	.50	.36

Wagner was the least stable of the four projects and Manhattanville was the most stable. For Index III, Attitude Toward Housing Management, and for Index IV, Attitude Toward Housing Police, the Wagner respondents were not consistent in their attitudes from pre to post; many who were unfavorable in the pre, were favorable in the post, and the converse was also true. On the other hand, the correlations of .41 and .54 for the same two indices for Manhattanville imply that there was less shifting in attitude for the respondents in this project.

The intercorrelations among the indices are also of interest here. Index IV, Attitude Toward Housing Police, correlated on the average .50 with Index I, Index III, and Index VI. On the other hand, Index IV correlated near zero with both Index II and Index V. In general, the correlations among indices which are directly related to services to the project are positive while those correlations involving either Index II, Neighborliness, or Index V, Avoidance, with any of the other four indices are near zero. Thus, there is a general attitude toward services related directly to the project. Specifically, the highest relationship is between Index III and Index IV. A respondent who is favorable to Housing Management is favorable toward the Housing Police in that project, a respondent who is unfavorable to her Housing Management tends to be unfavorable toward the Housing Police in her project. For Jefferson, Manhattanville, and Wagner this relationship was stronger in the post than in the pre.

3. Index I - Questions #19 - 32

The four projects differed in their attitude toward their housing environment and services before the changes in the police personnel took place. (Table VII).

Table VII: Index I - Pre, Post and Adjusted Post Means

	Project			
	Grant	Jefferson	Manhattanville	Wagner
Pre	5.24	3.90	4.12	1.92
Post	4.33	1.34	2.96	.65
Adjusted Post	3.46	1.23	2.71	1.76

Grant was the most favorable, 5.24, and Wagner was the least favorable, 1.92. After one year, all four projects expressed less satisfaction with the environment and specific services of the project. The greatest drop was shown by Jefferson and the smallest change was in Grant. Because the four projects did not have the same attitude at the time of the pre-interview, it was necessary to adjust the post means for this fact before the differences among the four project means could be tested for statistical significance. The adjustment tends to eliminate the effect of initial (pre) differences, which obviously could not be controlled experimentally, on the final (post) differences. The analysis of co-variance technique was applied, and resulted in an F - value which was highly significant, $P < .01$, i.e., the adjusted post means differed significantly. When the differences for each pair of means were tested for statistical significance, only the difference between Grant and Jefferson was beyond the .05 level. Thus, it can be confidently concluded that at the end of the experimental year, Grant was more satisfied with their environment and services than was Jefferson.

Index I was derived from 14 questions, one of which was question #26 - Police Protection. The change in mean value for question #26 was compared for each project with the change in mean value for the other 13 questions of Index I. (Table VIII)

Table VIII: Means for Police Protection and for Other Services in Index I

	Project							
	Grant		Jefferson		Manhattanville		Wagner	
Question	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
#26	2.93	2.83	2.76	2.83	2.68	2.81	2.35	2.75
#19 - 32 (without #26)	3.39	3.33	3.33	3.05	3.29	3.21	3.18	3.07

Only Jefferson, Manhattanville, and Wagner showed an increased mean on the satisfaction scale for Police Protection from pre to post and Wagner had the largest increase, viz. .40. Manhattanville increased .13, and Jefferson only .07. The change in Wagner is statistically significant. The increase in the mean was the result of dissatisfaction with police protection dropping from 67 percent to 49 percent, and of satisfaction with police protection increasing only from 25 percent to 34 percent. Thus, the "improved" attitude toward police protection in Wagner was in the main a reflection of less dissatisfaction. Perhaps, less hostility toward the police is the best one can hope for when special training is given to the police officer.

The means for the other 13 questions of Index I, even though they are higher than the means for police protection both in pre and post, showed slight negative changes. The co-variance analysis for Index I above, therefore, is reflecting a generalized downward change in attitude toward the project environment and services with changes in the attitude toward "police protection" an exception; the relatively large upward change for question #26 in Wagner is striking.

4. Index II - Sociability-Neighborliness Questions #33-39

None of the four projects showed an inclination to be sociable and to visit with their neighbors. The responses of "rarely" and "never" occurred more often than "very often" and "often." Thus, all the means, both pre and post, are negative (Table IX).

Table IX: Index II (Sociability) Pre, Post, and Adjusted Means

	Project			
	Grant	Jefferson	Manhattanville	Wagner
Pre	-3.85	-4.54	-3.53	-3.61
Post	-4.00	-4.76	-3.95	-4.03
Adjusted Post	-4.03	-4.51	-4.11	-4.27

An analysis of co-variance was done for the post means, i.e., the initial (pre) mean of each project was taken into account as was done above for Index I. There were no significant differences among the projects, $P > .50$. This index correlated near zero with each of the other indices and hence does not seem to be related to the other findings of the study.

5. Index III - Attitude Toward Housing Management Questions #90-96

All four projects in the pre-interview tended to agree with statements that were commendable with respect to the housing management (Table X).

Table X: Index III (Housing Management) Pre, Post, and Adjusted Means

	Project			
	Grant	Jefferson	Manhattanville	Wagner
Pre	1.75	3.58	2.93	1.54
Post	1.95	2.15	1.87	.36
Adjusted Post	2.12	1.75	1.68	.71

Manhattanville "agreed" more often than the other projects, 3.58 times on the average, while Wagner agreed the least often, an average of 1.54 times.

Grant showed a more favorable attitude toward housing management after one year. The other three projects showed a less favorable evaluation of the housing management a year later. The analysis of co-variance yielded a statistically significant ($P < .05$) result for the differences among the adjusted post means. However, the difference between Grant and Wagner, 2.12 vs. .71 , was the only statistically significant difference among all possible differences between pairs of means. Grant commended its housing management more often than Wagner commended the management of Wagner.

6. Index IV – Attitude Toward Housing Police Questions #97-106

In the pre-interview, all four projects tended to agree with statements that were commendable with respect to the housing police. Jefferson agreed the most often, an average of 5.28 times, and Wagner the least often, an average of 3.27 times (Table XI).

Table XI: Index IV (Housing Police) Pre, Post, and Adjusted Means

	Project			
	Grant	Jefferson	Manhattanville	Wagner
Pre	3.95	5.28	3.55	3.27
Post	4.12	3.75	3.21	1.50
Adjusted Post 1	4.11	3.20	3.37	1.90
Adjusted Post 2	3.49	3.64	3.12	2.28

In the post-interview, Grant was the only project to show a higher average than in the pre; the other three projects agreed less often with statements about housing police. The analysis of co-variance, adjusting the post means of Index IV for the differences in pre-means on Index IV, yielded a significant F – ratio, $P<.01$. The mean values for the four projects are shown in the Adjusted Post 1 line of Table XI. The difference between the Grant mean of 4.11 and the Wagner mean of 1.90 is statistically significant beyond the .01 level.

It will be recalled that Grant was the most satisfied project with respect to services in the project, Index I. Thus, the more favorable attitude of Grant toward the housing police may be reflecting its generalized favorable attitude to its project. A second analysis of co-variance with both Pre-Index IV means and Post-Index I means used to adjust the Post-Index IV means confirmed this inference. The means shown in the Adjusted Post 2 line of Table XI are the result of partialing out both Pre-Index IV and Post-Index I means. The mean for Wagner, 2.28, is still the lowest, but Jefferson is now the highest, 3.64, and the difference between them is not statistically significant at the .05 level. These analyses therefore lead to the conclusion that the changes in Index IV are probably reflecting a general increase in dissatisfaction with project services.

The responses to the 10 individual questions for Index IV were examined for each project both for the total sample and for the sample divided according to ethnic groups – blacks and Puerto Ricans. Both means and percentage disagreement with the statement were computed for the pre and post interviews.

The mean agreement response was lowest for question #100, the "Police are getting better," for each of the four projects in both the pre and post interviews. Also, consistent with this finding, was the fact that percentage disagreement with the statement is higher for this question than for any of the other 9 questions. On the other hand, from the pre to the post, the mean value increased slightly for Grant, .05, increased more for Manhattanville, .11, and increased the most for Wagner, .16 (Table XII). Jefferson decreased by .46.

Table XII: Pre and Post Means for Question #100 - Housing Police Are Getting Better - By Ethnic Group

	Project							
	Grant		Jefferson		Manhattanville		Wagner	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
Black	3.03	2.95	3.16	3.16	2.69	2.79	2.72	2.74
Puerto Rican	2.73	3.09	3.45	2.74	2.83	3.00	2.37	2.70
Total	2.94	2.99	3.35	2.89	2.73	2.84	2.56	2.72

When the data are broken down by ethnic group, it is interesting to note that the changes occurred in the main for the Puerto Rican respondents. In Jefferson the entire drop is attributable to the Puerto Ricans. in Wagner the increase is largely due to the increase in the .23 gain for Puerto Ricans, and for Manhattanville, the Puerto Ricans showed more of an increase than the blacks. In Grant, the only project with an overall increase, the Puerto Rican mean rose, the mean for blacks decreased slightly. The percentage disagreement changes, as to be expected, agree with these results. Therefore, there appears to be an ethnic factor affecting the attitude of the respondent toward the police.

It should be noted that even though both Manhattanville and Wagner had the lowest mean values of the four projects for question #100 both in the pre and the post, these two projects showed increases only for this question. For the other nine questions, the means were either lower in the post or the same as in the pre. Jefferson showed a decrease from pre to post on each of the ten questions of Index IV, but none of the decreases was as large as that for question #100. Grant, on the other hand, showed an increase on 5 of the questions, and a decrease for 5 questions - the changes ranged from -.26 to +.19.

7. Index V - Avoidance-Questions #107-114

The 8 questions used for Index V, Avoidance, describe specific incidents for which the respondent was to indicate what action she should take. "Do nothing" was one of the possible responses. Thus, a high score on this index is in the "unfavorable" direction. The results are shown in Table XIII.

Table XIII: Index V (Avoidance) - Pre, Post, and Adjusted Post Means

	Project			
	Grant	Jefferson	Manhattanville	Wagner
Pre	2.45	2.37	2.44	2.46
Post	1.95	2.00	1.62	2.51
Adjusted Post	1.97	2.06	1.64	2.42

In the pre-interview, the four projects were similar on the average number of times they would "do nothing." In the post-interview, the co-variance analysis showed a statistically significant difference among the four projects - the P- value for the F- ratio was less than .01. For the comparisons of pairs of projects, the difference between Manhattanville and Wagner is the only statistically significant one, P<.01. Thus, the respondents in Wagner, with its lowest economic status, its least favorable attitude towards the housing management, and its least favorable attitude towards the housing police, indicated the most often that they would avoid becoming involved in incidents such as a "kid shooting dope," "two men fighting with a housing cop," etc. However, the correlation of this index with each of the other indices was low (in Grant it was near zero). Thus the implications of the results here are not clear.

For each of 7 incidents of Index V, the percent response "call housing police" was contrasted with the percent response "call city police" in the pre and post interviews. (For the fire incident #111, the omitted incident here, the response "call fire department" was given by nearly all respondents in both pre and post). For each of the 7 incidents, the number of respondents on whom the percentage is based varies because, as noted above, "do nothing" was a possible response as well as other possible responses such as "call management," "call hospital," etc. The total number of respondents who indicated either "call housing police" or "call city police" on which percentages were based ranged from a low of 13 for questions #110 and #113, to a high of 92 for question #107.

In Jefferson and Wagner, for all 7 incidents, the percent who indicated "call housing police" decreased from pre to post, and thus conversely the percent who indicated "call the city police" increased for all 7 incidents in these two projects. In Manhattanville, for two incidents, the percentage for "call housing police" increased from pre to post, and for 5 incidents this percentage decreased. In Grant, for 3 incidents the percentage for "call the housing police" increased from pre to post, and for 4 incidents this percentage decreased. Thus, in at least three of the projects, there were shifts to the response "call the city police." In Grant, the results are not clear-cut. This result has implications for the findings for question #116, Police Protection, discussed below.

8. Index VI - Attitude Toward General Services - Questions #115-122

Grant and Jefferson were similar in the pre-interview on the average number of times they rated the general services in the project area "excellent" or "good." Their means are 3.20 and 3.25 (Table XIV).

Table XIV: Index VI - Attitude Towards General Services - Pre, Post and Adjusted Means

	Project			
	Grant	Jefferson	Manhattanville	Wagner
Pre	3.20	3.25	2.37	1.24
Post	3.48	2.40	2.20	1.51
Adjusted Post	3.21	2.11	2.25	2.00

Manhattanville had an average of 2.37, and Wagner had the lowest average, viz. 1.24. Because of these initial differences among the projects, the analysis of co-variance with Pre-Index VI score as the co-variate was applied to test the differences among the post-means. This analysis yielded a significant F-ratio, $P<.05$. The difference between the adjusted post mean of Grant and the adjusted post mean of Wagner was the only statistically significant one among all possible differences between pairs of means. It is interesting to note that only Grant and Wagner showed an increase in means from Pre to Post.

An analysis of the individual questions of Index VI similar to that carried out for the questions of Index I was performed. The changes in responses for the question on Police Protection #116 were compared with the changes in responses for the other seven questions of Index VI. Just as was the case for question #26 of Index I, Police Protection, the mean rating for Police Protection #116 showed the greatest gain in Wagner viz. .52 (Table XV). Manhattanville gained .15, Jefferson decreased .26, and Grant decreased slightly viz. -.09. The gains in Wagner and Manhattanville are due in the main to shifts from the "poor" and "very poor" ratings. Forty-eight percent of Wagner respondents gave these ratings in the pre-interview, and only 18.6 percent rated Police Protection "poor" or "very poor" in the post. This change was significant beyond the .01 level. Similarly, for Police Protection, the ratings of "poor" and "very poor" in Manhattanville moved from 29 percent in the pre to 17 percent in the post. This change was statistically significant beyond the .05 level. The percentage changes for the two "poor" ratings were in the opposite direction in Grant and Jefferson and neither was significant. As for question #26, neither Wagner nor Manhattanville showed any appreciable increase from pre to post on the high side of the ratings; Wagner's "excellent" and "good" ratings moved from 21 percent to 24 percent, Manhattanville had the same percentage viz. 29, "excellent" and "good" ratings in pre and post. Thus, the improved ratings in Wagner and Manhattanville are, as in question #26, a reflection of less down-rating of the police.

Table XV: Means for Police Protection and for Other Services of Index VI

Question Number	Project Grant Pre	Grant Post	Jefferson Pre	Jefferson Post	Manhattanville Pre	Manhattanville Post	Wagner Pre	Wagner Post
116	3.10	3.01	3.20	2.94	2.92	3.07	2.48	3.00
115-122 (without 116)	3.47	3.52	3.45	3.35	3.27	3.31	3.15	3.16

The means for the total of the other seven questions of Index VI showed very little change from pre to post, the greatest change, +.10, was in Jefferson.

The co-variance analysis of Index VI above, which yielded a significant difference between Grant and Wagner in the mean difference between numbers of "excellent-good" and "poor-very poor" ratings, is reflecting for Grant the higher frequency of "excellent-good" ratings for the seven questions of Index VI without question #116. The change of Wagner ratings for police protection is significantly improved over the other projects.

In the discussion above for Index V, it was pointed out that the percentages of households giving the response "call city police" for each of the seven incidents increased from pre to post in Wagner and thus percentages for "call housing police" decreased. It is therefore necessary to be cautious in drawing a conclusion that the favorable results for "police protection" ratings in Wagner are attributable to improved rating of the housing police. Question #116 was, on the other hand, asked with respect to "this project area" (See Appendix for exact wording). Additional evidence on this point is presented below.

9. Other Questions Related to Police Services

Analysis of changes in responses from pre to post for the other questions in the interviews directly related to Police Services led to the following findings:

(a) For question #52, "Housing Police Do Their Best to Protect Tenants and Their Property," all four adjusted post means from the analysis of co-variance were all near the value 3, i.e., the "neither agree nor disagree" response. The changes in percentages of disagreement were slight and none was statistically significant.

(b) For question #62, "During the Past Month How Many Times Have You Seen a Housing Policeman on Duty?", the four adjusted post means for the analysis of co-variance ranked in the order Grant, Manhattanville, Wagner, Jefferson. The Grant and Manhattanville means were statistically significantly greater than Jefferson. Other differences between means were not significant, $P>.05$. Only in Jefferson was there a significant change from pre to post in the percentage of households responding "not at all" - the percentage went from 20 to 43. More than 30 percent in each of the other three projects gave this response in both the pre and post interviews.

(c) For question #63, "In the Past Year, Have You Called the Housing Project Police?", none of the projects had a significant change from pre to post interviews. The median percentage for responding "yes" for all four projects was approximately 36. Hence for the questions immediately following #63, i.e., 64-67, the number of cases was too small to permit any analyses or conclusions.

(d) For question #73, "In the Past Year, Have You Called the City Police," again none of the projects had a significant change from pre to post interviews. Here, the median percentage for responding "yes" for all four projects was approximately 13, so that the number of cases for questions #74-77 was far too small for any further analyses.

(f) For questions #80, 83, 86, 89, 141, 146 and 149 the data were insufficient for drawing any conclusions regarding any real differences among the projects or any changes from pre to post. It is interesting to note, however, that from the responses to questions #141, 144, 146 and 149, it is clear that the respondents had more contact with the housing police than with the city police. For a given project the number having contact or experience with housing police is more than twice as great as the number having contact with city police. This finding suggests that the greater verbal responses for "call city police" over "call housing police" discussed above with respect to the incidents in Index V, may not be an indication of what in fact is the behavior of the respondents. Indeed, one is led to infer that the changes in question #26 and #116 "police protection" discussed above, are more related to housing police than to city police.

(g) For questions #160 and 164, knowledge of the phone numbers of the city and housing police, the number for the city police is known much more often than that for housing police. In the post-interview more than 60 percent in each project was able to give the telephone number for the city police, less than 14 percent could give the telephone number for the housing police. This difference may be attributable to the widespread publicity given to the 911 city police number, and to the fact that this number has only three digits. Furthermore, the housing police number was posted on the telephone instrument of each household which had one.

(h) Questions #175-191 were asked only in the post-interview. Analysis of co-variance was carried out for the means of the four projects for each of these questions using income as the co-variate. There were no significant differences among the projects for questions #174, 175, 177, 178, 181, 183, 184, 187, 188, and 191 when income was controlled. For each of the questions #176, - project maintenance staff, #179, - hospital clinics, #180, - neighbors getting along with each other, #182, - neighbors getting along with housing police, #185, - robbery problem on project grounds, #186, - robberies of apartments, #189, - living in the project, #190, - living in New York City, the co-variance analyses with income as the covariate, yielded an F-ratio which was statistically significant. Differences between the projects, however, were small. In general, Wagner gave the response "worse" more often than the other projects. For question #182, Wagner's adjusted post-mean was 1.80; for Grant, the corresponding value was 2.05, the highest of the four means. (2.00 was the value assigned for the response "same"). The data for question #176, 180, 185, 186, and 190 are similar. Thus, it seems clear that the results here for the police-related question #182, are a reflection of a general discontent of the Wagner respondents with life in the city and in their project, as was true for the four indices discussed above.

10. Other Questions in the Interview Schedule

All responses in the interview schedule were coded and subjected to analyses. For many of the questions a "no" type of response was given so often that no inferences were possible from the questions. Examples of such questions which were directly related to police have already been cited above. Other examples which are not directly related to police activities are questions #78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 142, 143, 147, 148.

Other questions yielded results which were consistent with those already discussed above under the "Indices." For example, questions such as #14-18 yielded results consistent with Index I; results for questions #40, 42, 47 were similar to those for Index II, etc.

The results of the remaining questions are not presented here because these had been inserted in the interview to conceal the main purpose of the study.

SUMMARY

(1) Wagner, the project to which the conflict-management trained police were assigned, showed the greatest changes with respect to Attitude Toward Housing Management (Index III) and Attitude Toward the Housing Police (Index IV).

(2) In each of the four projects, the attitude toward the housing management and the attitude toward the housing police were positively related; if a respondent had a favorable attitude toward housing management, she tended to have a favorable attitude toward the housing police; if she was unfavorable with respect to housing management she tended to be unfavorable toward the housing police.

(3) Similarly, in each of the four projects, attitude toward housing project services was positively related to attitude toward housing police.

(4) Grant, the control project, at the end of the study, had a more favorable attitude than Wagner with respect to housing project services (Index I), with respect to housing management (Index III), with respect to housing police (Index IV), and with respect to general services to the housing project (Index VI).

(5) These results, coupled with the results in (2) and (3) above, lead to an inference that a general housing-project-dissatisfaction factor was operating. Thus, when the final attitude toward project services (Post-Index I) and the initial attitude toward the police (Pre-Index IV) were both taken into account, there was no significant difference between Grant and Wagner with respect to attitude toward housing police in the post-interview (Post-Index IV).

(6) On the two individual questions about police protection, #26 and #116, Wagner showed the greatest improvement in attitude after one year. The four projects differed in attitude toward police protection in the pre-interview; Wagner was the least favorable for each question. By the end of the year Wagner had improved so much in attitude that there were no differences among the four projects at the close of the study.

(7) The significant change of attitude toward police protection (#26) in Wagner was in the main the result of verbally expressed dissatisfaction with police protection dropping from 67 percent to 49 percent; the expressed satisfaction percentage increased from 25 percent to 34 percent. Thus, the "improved" expressed attitude toward police protection was a reflection of <u>less</u> dissatisfaction. The change shown by the other police protection question (#116) yielded the same type of result.

(8) Manhattanville, the other project to which the conflict-management trained police were assigned, also showed an improvement with respect to attitude toward police protection (questions #26 and 116). The change for question #26 was not statistically significant ($P > .05$) but, the change was statistically significant ($P < .05$) for question #116. As was true in the case of Wagner, the improvement in expressed attitude resulted in the main from a decrease of the unfavorable ratings.

(9) Questions #26 and #116 on police protection appeared in the lists of questions about housing services (Index I) and about general services (Index VI) respectively. For all the other questions in each of these two lists, the four projects did not differ significantly from each other in their changes of attitude.

(10) In Wagner, Manhattanville, and Jefferson, there was a decrease from pre to post of the percent of respondents who indicated verbally that they would "call the housing police" when they observed 7 of the incidents listed under Index V (e.g., "a kid shooting dope," "two men fighting with a housing cop," etc.); thus for these projects there was an increase from pre to post of the percent who responded "call the city police." On the other hand, there were many more responses of "no contact" or "no experience" for #141 and #146 (experience with city police) than were for #144 and #149 (experience with housing police). Indeed, for a given project, the number of respondents having contact or experience with the housing police is more than twice as great as the number having contact with the city police.

CONCLUSIONS

1. The assignment of specially trained policemen to Wagner and Manhattanville for a period of one year was accompanied by an improved attitude of the female heads of the type of household in this study toward police protection after one year. This improved attitude was not evident in Grant and Jefferson which did not have conflict-management trained policemen.

2. Because the respondents in the study reported more contact with the housing police than with the city police, it can be inferred that the improved attitude toward "police protection" in Wagner and Manhattanville was related to the housing police rather than to the city police.

3. The improved attitude toward police protection in the two projects was primarily the result of a decrease in dissatisfaction.

4. An improved change of attitude did not occur in Wagner and Manhattanville with respect to other general services to the project.

IMPLICATIONS

1. The suggestion in the results of the study that blacks and Puerto Ricans differed in their attitude toward the police at the beginning of the study and were more alike at the end of the year indicates that the ethnic variable as related to police protection warrants further investigation.

2. The fact that less dissatisfaction was responsible for the improved rating on the satisfaction scale for Wagner and Manhattanville suggests that even specially trained policemen are not likely to be rated excellent or good in the near future. On the other hand, there may be a latent effect in the study which might have shown itself at a later time than the end of one year, i.e., if the specially trained policemen had remained in the project two or three years, increases in satisfaction might have become evident in the "post" interview after such longer periods.

3. Finally, a community attitude survey such as the one conducted is of value; however, in order to maximize its usefulness, it should be done on a larger scale, and over a longer period of time.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCUSSION

Third party intervention in human conflict was the overriding consideration in the two programs reported here. As time progressed, our conception of the third party process underwent change; it began with conflict resolution as the objective and later was enlarged to conflict management. It appeared to us that the initial conception was an extension of the prevailing social value that conflict is "bad" and that it is desirable to resolve or to eliminate the badness. Indeed, the work reported here was undertaken with policemen as the intervention agents and if any group can be said to represent the repressive cultural view of conflict as evil - it is they.

However, as suggested by the theories of Simmel and of Coser, among others, social conflict can be viewed as essential to change and as such can even be regarded as desirable. But in order for conflict to serve a constructive purpose it must be managed either by the participants themselves or by them with help of a third party. In addition to resolution, then, the goal of third party intervention in conflict can be said to be the prevention of destructive escalation or the furtherance of constructive constraints.

Given this theoretical perspective, the methods employed in these tandem studies permitted the examination of:1) those parameters of human conflict which require police intervention; and, 2) the effects of training for third party intervention.

In this discussion there will be no effort to summarize all of the findings presented in the foregoing sections of this report. Instead, we will address ourselves to major issues within the two categories stated above.

Parameters of Conflict

One of the striking findings in these studies was the surprisingly low incidence of violence. Since an actual assault occurred in about one-third of the cases in our sample, there is reason to question the stereotypical expectation that summoning the police is likely to result when actual violence has taken place. Why then are the police asked to intervene? Apparently, the majority of those seeking police intervention were seeking something other than restraint of assaultive behavior. There is the suggestion that the call for police intervention is a call for a third party to prevent destructive escalation of the conflict. In fact,further confirmation is provided by our finding that in only slightly more than one-third of the cases did the complainant request the use of force against the other disputant.

Stated another way; people in their interactions with others may differ in tolerable limits of aggressive behavior. In one group, a physical shove may constitute an unacceptable form of aggression whereas in another group the same action would go unnoticed even in the course of an argument. Requests for police intervention are preceded by the conflict's movement into the zone of intolerable aggressive behavior. Since the behaviors experienced as "intolerable" by a disputant may or may not involve an actual assault, it follows that an expectation by the responding officer that violence must have occurred, would often be erroneous. Indeed, our data suggest that families, as well as individuals, establish regular dispute styles; some engaging in disputes consistently assaultive in nature, while the disputes of others' typically do not go beyond verbal exchange. Perhaps such expectations account for the high nationwide incidence of injuries and deaths to police officers who have responded to such disputes: that is, an officer who expects and is prepared to deal with violence may unintentionally bring about the behavior he expects.[1]

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[1] Bard, M. Iatrogenic Violence. The Police Chief, 1971.

Further, our data indicate that the largest percentage of family disputes occur in the home and that police officers deal with them in that setting. This suggests the exquisitely sensitive nature of "intrusion by outsider" (particularly one who has power and authority) into the sacrosanct domain of the home. The dilemma for the officer is that he has been summoned but in highly volatile emotional "territoriality", his presence can be regarded as either a threat or a challenge. Clearly, under such circumstances there are enormous potentials for both:be it either insightful or inciteful. That is, the officer may be aware of the contextual circumstances that affect his intervention, and behave in accordance with that understanding; or, he can be unaware and in that way provoke a response which may act to his own detriment or to the disadvantage of others.

Traditionally, police have heavily weighted the role of alcohol in the family crisis equation. In the view of many, family disputes in this country are simply the result of alcohol abuse. Our data provides considerable basis for questioning that common assumption. We found that: 1) in only about one-half of all disputes did one or both disputants appear to have used alcohol; and, importantly, were not necessarily intoxicated; 2) chronic alcoholism was indicted as the causative factor in fewer than 14% of the cases; 3) the complainant charged drunkenness (not necessarily alcoholism) in only 10% of all cases..

It may be, therefore, that the presence of alcohol use by the parties to a dispute may provide the observer or third party with a ready and convenient explanation for highly complex disordered behaviors. Obviously, when the third party can discriminate among the subtleties of human behavior, he is less likely to err in a simplistic direction. It may be that inadequate training for third party intervention predisposes to stereotypical perceptions and self-fulfilling outcomes. That is, if alcohol use (not necessarily abuse) is noted, then the untrained officer's expectation is that the cause lies in that direction and that nothing can be accomplished. In terms of job satisfaction, much frustration can ensue leading to police behaviors that are marked by avoidance, irritability and possibly provocation which may only serve to widen the gap between the police and the people they serve.

What about the relationship of alcohol use to violence? We were impressed by the fact that our data indicated a lack of relationship between assaults and the use of alcohol in our population. This surprising finding warrants further exploration. Again, it suggests the possibility of the willingness to explain away assaultive behavior on the basis of the most readily observable behavioral characteristics. And, too, the special training provided the officers in this experiment may have modified the prevailing cultural expectation that alcohol and assault are inevitably related.

In the traditional police role perception the concept of enforcement has priority. Again, the self-fulfilling prophecy should be considered insofar as intervention in disputes is concerned. In the housing study, the disputants required physical separation in only 8% of the cases and in the FCIU study it was necessary in only 1%. From these data it would be safe to say that in most instances, common expectation not withstanding, an officer need not anticipate that force will be required. Several factors may be involved: 1) as noted earlier, violence may not be the reason underlying a request for police intervention; in fact, it is usually not even a reason; 2) summoning the police may have a pacifying effect, even when violence has occurred; and, 3) the behavior of skilled third party interventionists may render power displays by the disputants as unnecessary.

It was the intention of the investigation that the housing study expand the approach of family crisis intervention to include all disputes among people, whether they were related or not. The experience in that study was disappointing. More reported cases involved families. This may have resulted from a set in the housing officers because of their knowledge of the previous study; it may have merely reflected the fact that there are few disputes other than those in families that occur within the purview of housing patrolman; or, they may have hesitated to record some disputes (as a matter of discretion) that would have necessarily required official management notification; (that is, family disputes by their very nature would have been more likely to require a report than non-family disputes as a matter of policy).

About 15% of all family disputes in both studies involved a parent and child. This testifies to the rather high proportion of families in which the generation gap is serious enough to require outside intervention. Further, it suggests that an even higher degree of skill, training and objectivity is required in the management of these particular disputes. It goes without saying that the long range effects of interventions in parent-child disputes can be singularly significant: developmental crises are often the most telling in the life of any family.

It is interesting to note that the officers trained in conflict management frequently ascribed intrapersonal factors in the youngsters as primarily involved. In fact, they more frequently saw intrapersonal difficulties in younger people than they did in adults. This may have resulted from sensitivity to the problems of younger people, or, on the other hand, it may have reflected the officers' tendency to identify with adults. While it would be difficult to say which factor weighed more heavily, nevertheless, it is clear that these officers could discriminate and ascribe the difficulties of youngsters to intrapersonal factors.

Effects of Training

Training was the critical variable in these studies. There were a number of methods used to evaluate the effects of training. Among them, naturally, we were interested in determining changes in attitudes and in interpersonal skills in the trainees (and in the training consultants, as well).

The most striking finding was that police trained in conflict management skills can learn and practice relevant interpersonal skills without necessarily undergoing attitude change, at least as measured by the instruments used in this study. Apparently, there were changes in behavior which were not detected by the psychometric instruments employed but which were reflected in the performance data and in the community attitude survey.

It is our impression that to achieve the kinds of behavioral changes demonstrated in these studies, the most effective method is training-over-time; that is, learning while doing. Our experience leads us to the conclusion that maximum benefit can be derived from a brief period of intensive orientation followed by weekly two-hour consultation sessions over a period of from eight to twelve months. We arrived at this conclusion from the period in the first project which evaluation deemed to be unnecessarily long (21 months) and the period in the second which we regarded as too short (by at least 4 months). Perhaps one indication of the effects of the brevity of the training consultation period for the housing officers was the tendency of the housing police to use referral to community agencies less frequently than did the members of the 30th Precinct FCIU. In addition to the brevity, the training consultation procedure in the housing study was less structured and varied the previous program's practice by rotating consultants rather than having each patrolman work with the same consultant. It should be noted, however, that despite the brevity (and other differences) of the weekly consultation period in the second study, the procedure nevertheless appeared to have had positive effects.

It would be worthwhile to take a closer look at the kinds of changes in behavior which were engendered by the training methods used. It is clear that the following training effects occurred: 1) the officers tended to regard disputants as mutually contributory rather than to see the dispute as the responsibility of one "crazy" person; in fact, intrapersonal difficulties seemed more likely as a perception for a child who was in a dispute with his parent; 2) the officers apparently were able to maintain objectivity in their perceptions and in their behavior; 3) in the main, the response by the disputants to intervention was positive; 4) the diminished tendency to approach disputes from an enforcement stance; 5) the virtual absence of injuries to officers; and, 6) the increased use of community resources other than the courts.

In general, the objective measures of police performance underscores the relative superiority of those men who were conflict management trained. It should be emphasized that conflict management training specifically avoided matters pertaining to the areas comprising the indices of police performance. It may be that a sense of competence, with concomitant recognition, generalized to total job performance. If true, this finding has profound implications for police training ... particularly since the Hawthorne effect suspected at the conclusion of the FCIU project was controlled for in the housing study.

As one feature of the experimental design of the housing study, we assessed the effects of conflict-management training upon police performance in two developments. From our data it may be anticipated that existing differences in the level of police activity in different environments will be evident after assignment of trained personnel. Further, the data suggests that the effects of training is related to the pre-existing level of police activity; that is, already "active" settings showing more marked increments in activity than less active settings.

One of the major questions at the conclusion of the FCIU project was... how did the community react to the innovations? In the housing study, a community survey was designed expressly to determine the answer to that question. Regardless of the inevitable methodologic difficulties in this kind of field study, the findings were suggestive of several noteworthy trends. We found that during the study year those housing projects policed by conflict management trained personnel showed a measurable increase in the sense of being protected by the police. However, this was not related to a positive attitude toward the police; rather, the conflict management trained projects indicated a diminution of dissatisfaction; not an increase in satisfaction. What may be represented by this finding is the essential dilemma of the delivery of police services in a free society. While changes in police methods may inspire a greater sense of security and protection in the public, the policeman in his role of social regulator may nevertheless remain an anathema. Of course in this study the finding was further complicated and confirmed by the fact that similar attitudes prevailed toward the other major regulatory entity in the lives of the residents -- namely, the housing managements.

If the police cannot logically expect to be regarded favorably even when behaving relevantly and compassionately, it becomes exceedingly important that police organizations institutionalize internal rewards consistent with increased professionalization. If the organization fails to develop such mechanisms coincident with an innovation, a deleterious effect on morale may result. Indeed, this may have occurred in the projects under consideration. For example, as the project approached termination, the 30th Pct. FCIU submitted fewer incident reports even when logic dictated that no decrease should have occurred. Lessened involvement may have been the result of decreasing morale as there was organizational silence about the future of the innovation. This is a predictable outcome when organizations fail to insitutionally reinforce satisfying changes.

In sum, these studies strongly suggest that there is a role for the police as conflict managers; that they can effectively be trained to perform such roles within their law enforcement function; that such training has a positive effect on their overall police performance; and, that the community, even when the innovation is unpublicized, evinces a greater sense of security.

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL CODING FORM 30th PCT. FCIU

Names_____ Case #_____

Coded on Keydex_____

SOURCE OF INFORMATION (VIA)

[1] CB
[2] TS
[3] PU
[4] SH

TOUR OF DUTY

[5] 12:00 midnight – 8:00 a.m.
[6] 8:00 a.m. – 4:00 p.m.
[7] 4:00 p.m. – 12:00 midnight

TIME OF DISTURBANCE

[8] midnight – 12:59 a.m.
[9] 1:00 a.m. – 1:59 a.m.
[10] 2:00 a.m. – 2:59 a.m.
[11] 3:00 a.m. – 3:59 a.m.
[12] 4:00 a.m. – 4:59 a.m.
[13] 5:00 a.m. – 5:59 a.m.
[14] 6:00 a.m. – 6:59 a.m.
[15] 7:00 a.m. – 7:59 a.m.
[16] 8:00 a.m. – 8:59 a.m.
[17] 9:00 a.m. – 9:59 a.m.
[18] 10:00 a.m. – 10:59 a.m.
[19] 11:00 a.m. – 11:59 a.m.
[20] 12:00 noon – 12:59 p.m.
[21] 1:00 p.m. – 1:59 p.m.
[22] 2:00 p.m. – 2:59 p.m.
[23] 3:00 p.m. – 3:59 p.m.
[24] 4:00 p.m. – 4:59 p.m.
[25] 5:00 p.m. – 5:59 p.m.
[26] 6:00 p.m. – 6:59 p.m.
[27] 7:00 p.m. – 7:59 p.m.
[28] 8:00 p.m. – 8:59 p.m.
[29] 9:00 p.m. – 9:59 p.m.
[30] 10:00 p.m. – 10:59 p.m.
[31] 11:00 p.m. – 11:59 p.m.

DATE OF DISTURANCE (MONTH)

[32]	January	[38]	July
[33]	February	[39]	August
[34]	March	[40]	September
[35]	April	[41]	October
[36]	May	[42]	November
[37]	June	[43]	December

DATE OF DISTURBANCE (DAY OF MONTH)

[44]	1	[59]	16
[45]	2	[60]	17
[46]	3	[61]	18
[47]	4	[62]	19
[48]	5	[63]	20
[49]	6	[64]	21
[50]	7	[65]	22
[51]	8	[66]	23
[52]	9	[67]	24
[53]	10	[68]	25
[54]	11	[69]	26
[55]	12	[70]	27
[56]	13	[71]	28
[57]	14	[72]	29
[58]	15	[73]	30
		[74]	31

DATE OF DISTURBANCE

DAY OF WEEK

[75]	Sunday	**YEAR**	
[76]	Monday	[82]	1967
[77]	Tuesday	[83]	1968
[78]	Wednesday	[84]	1969
[79]	Thursday		
[80]	Friday		
[81]	Saturday		

PRECINCT

[85] 30 (experimental)
[86] 24 (control)
[87] 26 (out of command)
[88] 34 (out of command)
[89] other precinct (out of command)

Names_____ Case # _____

PLACE OF OCCURRENCE OF DISPUTE	PLACE OF POLICE INTERVIEW REGARDING DISPUTE	
[90]	[98]	Home or apts. of disputant(s)
[91]	[99]	Home or apt. of other than disputant(s)
[92]	[100]	Street
[93]	[101]	Restaurant or bar
[94]	[102]	Public facility (park, stadium, etc.)
[95]	[103]	Station house
[96]	[104]	Other
[97]	[105]	Information not available

COMPLAINANT'S STATEMENT

Behavior of Disp. #1	Behavior of Disp. #2	
[106]	[141]	Physical violence
[107]	[142]	Threats of physical violence
[108]	[143]	Drunkenness
[109]	[144]	Drug addiction
[110]	[145]	Infidelity
[111]	[146]	Gambling
[112]	[147]	Promiscuity
[113]	[148]	Homosexuality
[114]	[149]	Refusal to admit complainant to house/apt.
[115]	[150]	Refusal to allow complainant to leave house/apt.
[116]	[151]	Refusal to allow complainant to remove child/children from home
[117]	[153]	Refusal to allow complainant to remove possessions from apt./house
[118]	[154]	Refusal to enter house/apt.
[119]	[155]	Refusal to leave house/apt.
[120]	[156]	Removing child/children from house/apt.
[121]	[157]	Removing possessions, personal belongings from home
[122]	[158]	Removing complainant's belongings from house/apt.
[123]	[159]	Violation of order of protection
[124]	[160]	Annoying, bothersome behavior
[125]	[161]	Passivity: neglecting complainant, not taking c. out socially, not helping with household chores, etc.
[126]	[162]	Spending too little time at home
[127]	[163]	Making sexual advances toward complainant
[128]	[164]	Unresponsive to comp. sexual advances
[129]	[165]	Neglecting or improperly caring for children
[130]	[166]	Non-support; not enough support
[131]	[167]	Money problem other than non-support
[132]	[168]	Physical illness
[133]	[169]	Mental illness

Names_____ Case #_____

COMPLAINANT'S STATEMENT (cont'd.)

[134]	[170]	Argumentativeness
[135]	[171]	Dispute over property or money
[136]	[172]	Wants man to marry pregnant woman
[137]	[173]	Rebellious, uncontrollable behavior of child
[138]	[174]	Assault with weapon
[139]	[175]	Forcible entry
[140]	[176]	Glue sniffing, etc.

Request that Disp. #1	Request that Disp. #2	
[177]	[185]	Be told/made to stop behaving in manner complained of
[178]	[186]	Be hospitalized for physical illness
[179]	[187]	Be hospitalized for mental illness
[180]	[188]	Be committed to narcotics center
[181]	[189]	Be treated for alcoholism
[182]	[190]	Be arrested
[183]	[191]	Be made to leave house or apartment
[184]	[192]	Be made to return child to house or apartment

Request that police:

[193]	Accompany complainant to remedy grievance/fulfill above request
[194]	Trace missing individual(s)
[195]	Give advice, mediate, talk with disputant(s) or subject of dispute
[196]	Correct behavior by physical means
[197]	Give aid and assistance in emergency situation
[198]	Just listen to complainant, serve as sounding-board

Other:

[201]	Feeling of existential despair
[202]	No complaint, police just passing by
[203]	Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

IDENTITY OF COMPLAINANT	IDENTITY OF FIRST DISPUTANT	IDENTITY OF SECOND DISPUTANT	
			Female
[209]	[257]	[305]	Wife
[210]	[258]	[306]	Ex-wife
[211]	[259]	[307]	Common law wife
[212]	[260]	[308]	Ex-common law wife
[213]	[261]	[309]	Girlfriend
[214]	[262]	[310]	Mother
[215]	[263]	[311]	Mother-in-law
[216]	[264]	[312]	Grandmother
[217]	[265]	[313]	Daughter of this union
[218]	[266]	[314]	Daughter not of this union
[219]	[267]	[315]	Sister
[220]	[268]	[316]	Step-sister
[221]	[269]	[317]	Half-sister
[222]	[270]	[318]	Sister-in-law
[223]	[271]	[319]	Daughter-in-law
[224]	[272]	[320]	Granddaughter
[225]	[273]	[321]	Aunt
[226]	[274]	[322]	Niece
[227]	[275]	[323]	Cousin
[228]	[276]	[324]	Friend
[229]	[277]	[325]	Neighbor
[230]	[278]	[326]	Boarder
[231]	[279]	[327]	Employee
			Male
[232]	[280]	[328]	Husband
[233]	[281]	[329]	Ex-husband
[234]	[282]	[330]	Common law husband
[235]	[283]	[331]	Ex-common law husband
[236]	[284]	[332]	Boyfriend
[237]	[285]	[333]	Father
[238]	[286]	[334]	Father-in-law
[239]	[287]	[335]	Grandfather
[240]	[288]	[336]	Son of this union
[241]	[289]	[337]	Son not of this union
[242]	[290]	[338]	Brother
[243]	[291]	[339]	Step-brother
[244]	[292]	[340]	Half-brother
[245]	[293]	[341]	Brother-in-law
[246]	[294]	[342]	Son-in-law
[247]	[295]	[343]	Grandson
[248]	[296]	[344]	Uncle
[249]	[297]	[345]	Nephew
[250]	[298]	[346]	Cousin
[251]	[299]	[347]	Friend
[252]	[300]	[348]	Neighbor
[253]	[301]	[349]	Boarder
[254]	[302]	[350]	Employee
[255]	[303]	[351]	Public Agency
[256]	[304]	[352]	Private Agency

Names_____ Case #_____

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

Disp. #1	Disp. #2	
[353]	[360]	Caucasian
[354]	[361]	Negro
[355]	[362]	Puerto Rican
[356]	[363]	Latin American
[357]	[364]	Oriental
[358]	[365]	Other
[359]	[366]	Information not available

AGE

Disp. #1	Disp. #2	
[367]	[379]	Under 15 years
[368]	[380]	15–19
[369]	[381]	20–24
[370]	[382]	25–29
[371]	[383]	30–34
[372]	[384]	35–39
[373]	[385]	40–44
[374]	[386]	45–49
[375]	[387]	50–54
[376]	[388]	55–59
[377]	[389]	60 yrs. and above
[378]	[390]	Information not available

BIRTHPLACE

Disp. #1	Disp. #2	
[391]	[408]	New York City
[392]	[409]	New York State other than N.Y.C.
[393]	[410]	Northeastern states other than N.Y. State
[394]	[411]	Southern states
[395]	[412]	Mid-western states
[396]	[413]	Western states
[397]	[414]	Puerto Rico
[398]	[415]	West Indies
[399]	[416]	Cuba
[400]	[417]	Dominican Republic
[401]	[418]	Central America
[402]	[419]	South America
[403]	[420]	Europe
[404]	[421]	Africa
[405]	[422]	Asia
[406]	[423]	Other
[407]	[424]	Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN N.Y.C.

Disp. #1	Disp. #2	
[425]	[429]	Under 1 year
[426]	[430]	1–3 years
[427]	[431]	Over 3 years
[428]	[432]	Information not available

OCCUPATION

Disp. #1	Disp. #2	
[433]	[450]	White-collar
[434]	[451]	Professional, technical, kindred, clergy
[435]	[452]	Manager, official, proprietor
[436]	[453]	Clerical, kindred worker
		Sales worker
[437]	[454]	Government employee
[438]	[455]	Policeman, fireman, etc.
		Postal, transit, sanitation worker
[439]	[456]	Blue-collar
[440]	[457]	Craftsman, foreman, kindred
[441]	[458]	Operative, kindred
		Laborer
[442]	[459]	Service
[443]	[460]	Private household worker
		Service worker, except private household
[444]	[461]	Student
[445]	[462]	Primary school
[446]	[463]	High school
[447]	[464]	College
[448]	[465]	Unemployed
[449]	[466]	Retired
		Information not available

AGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DISPUTANTS

[467]	1 year
[468]	2 years
[469]	3 years
[470]	4 years
[471]	5 years
[472]	6–10 yrs.
[473]	11–15 yrs.
[474]	16–20 yrs.
[475]	21–25 yrs.
[476]	26–30 yrs.
[477]	31–35 yrs.
[478]	36 yrs. and more
[479]	Information not available

OLDER OF THE TWO DISPUTANTS

[480]	Disputant #1
[481]	Disputant #2

DISPUTANTS' RELATIONSHIP

[482]	Adulterous relationship
[483]	Married
[484]	Common law
[485]	Former common law
[486]	Divorced
[487]	Separated—living apart
[488]	Other love relationship
[489]	Brothers
[490]	Sisters
[491]	Brother/sister
[492]	Parent/child
[493]	Grandparent/grandchild
[494]	Grandparent/parent
[495]	Other relative relationship
[496]	Non-relative relationship

Names_____ Case #_____

OTHERS INVOLVED IN DISPUTE Relationship to Disp. #1	Disp. #2	OTHERS PRESENT NOT INVOLVED Relationship to Disp. #1	Disp. #2	OTHERS IN HOUSEHOLD, NOT PRESENT Relationship to Disp. #1	Disp. #2	
						Female
[497]	[545]	[593]	[641]	[689]	[737]	Wife
[498]	[546]	[594]	[642]	[690]	[738]	Ex-wife
[499]	[547]	[595]	[643]	[691]	[739]	Common law wife
[500]	[548]	[596]	[644]	[692]	[740]	Ex-common law wife
[501]	[549]	[597]	[645]	[693]	[741]	Girlfriend
[502]	[550]	[598]	[646]	[694]	[742]	Mother
[503]	[551]	[599]	[647]	[695]	[743]	Mother-in-law
[504]	[552]	[600]	[648]	[696]	[744]	Grandmother
[505]	[553]	[601]	[649]	[697]	[745]	Daughter of this union
[506]	[554]	[602]	[650]	[698]	[746]	Daughter not of this union
[507]	[555]	[603]	[651]	[699]	[747]	Sister
[508]	[556]	[604]	[652]	[700]	[748]	Step-sister
[509]	[557]	[605]	[653]	[701]	[749]	Half-sister
[510]	[558]	[606]	[654]	[702]	[750]	Sister-in-law
[511]	[559]	[607]	[655]	[703]	[751]	Daughter-in-law
[512]	[560]	[608]	[656]	[704]	[752]	Granddaughter
[513]	[561]	[609]	[657]	[705]	[753]	Aunt
[514]	[562]	[610]	[658]	[706]	[754]	Niece
[515]	[563]	[611]	[659]	[707]	[755]	Cousin
[516]	[564]	[612]	[660]	[708]	[756]	Friend
[517]	[565]	[613]	[661]	[709]	[757]	Neighbor
[518]	[566]	[614]	[662]	[710]	[758]	Boarder
[519]	[567]	[615]	[663]	[711]	[759]	Employee/er
[520]	[568]	[616]	[664]	[712]	[760]	Information not available
						Male
[521]	[569]	[617]	[665]	[713]	[761]	Husband
[522]	[570]	[618]	[666]	[714]	[762]	Ex-husband
[523]	[571]	[619]	[667]	[715]	[763]	Common-law husband
[524]	[572]	[620]	[668]	[716]	[764]	Ex-common law husband
[525]	[573]	[621]	[669]	[717]	[765]	Boyfriend
[526]	[574]	[622]	[670]	[718]	[766]	Father
[527]	[575]	[623]	[671]	[719]	[767]	Father-in-law
[528]	[576]	[624]	[672]	[720]	[768]	Grandfather
[529]	[577]	[625]	[673]	[721]	[769]	Son of this union
[530]	[578]	[626]	[674]	[722]	[770]	Son not of this union
[531]	[579]	[627]	[675]	[723]	[771]	Brother
[532]	[580]	[628]	[676]	[724]	[772]	Step-brother
[533]	[581]	[629]	[677]	[725]	[773]	Half-brother
[534]	[582]	[630]	[678]	[726]	[774]	Brother-in-law
[535]	[583]	[631]	[679]	[727]	[775]	Son-in-law
[536]	[584]	[632]	[680]	[728]	[776]	Grandson
[537]	[585]	[633]	[681]	[729]	[777]	Uncle
[538]	[586]	[634]	[682]	[730]	[778]	Nephew
[539]	[587]	[635]	[683]	[731]	[779]	Cousin
[540]	[588]	[636]	[684]	[732]	[780]	Friend
[541]	[589]	[637]	[685]	[733]	[781]	Neighbor
[542]	[590]	[638]	[686]	[734]	[782]	Boarder
[543]	[591]	[639]	[687]	[735]	[783]	Employee/er
[544]	[592]	[640]	[688]	[736]	[784]	Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

IDENTITY OF BREADWINNER IN HOUSEHOLD

[785] Disputant #1
[786] Disputant #2
[787] Other
[788] Information not available

RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

[789] Disputant #1
[790] Disputant #2
[791] No assistance being received
[792] Information not available

CHILDREN PRESENT AT DISTURBANCE

[793] Yes
[794] No
[795] Information not available

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLD

[796] None
[797] 1
[798] 2
[799] 3
[800] 4
[801] 5
[802] 6
[803] 7
[804] 8 or more
[805] Info. not available

APPROXIMATE AGE RANGE OF CHILDREN

Low point	High point	
[806]	[826]	Less than 1 yr.
[807]	[827]	1
[808]	[828]	2
[809]	[829]	3
[810]	[830]	4
[811]	[831]	5
[812]	[832]	6
[813]	[833]	7
[814]	[834]	8
[815]	[835]	9
[816]	[836]	10
[817]	[837]	11
[818]	[838]	12
[819]	[839]	13
[820]	[840]	14
[821]	[841]	15
[822]	[842]	16
[823]	[843]	17
[824]	[844]	18
[825]	[845]	Info. not available.

PARENTAGE OF CHILDREN LIVING IN HOUSEHOLD

[846] From existing relationship
[847] From male's previous relationship
[848] From female's previous relationship
[849] From both the existing and a previous relationship
[850] Other
[851] Information not available

REPORTING OFFICERS

[852] Timony
[853] Ellsworth
[854] Bryan
[855] Timmins
[856] Mullin
[857] Edmonds
[858] Beatty
[859] Halfhide
[860] Bodkin
[861] Anderson
[862] Donovan
[863] Mahoney
[864] Harnett
[865] Robertson
[866] Glover
[867] Castagna
[868] Madewell
[869] Richardson
[870] Not FCU officer

ELAPSED TIME OF POLICE INTERVENTION

[871] 1–15 minutes
[872] 16–30 minutes
[873] 31–45 minutes
[874] 46–60 minutes
[875] 61–75 minutes
[876] 76–90 minutes
[877] 91–105 minutes
[878] 106–120 minutes
[879] Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Disp. #1	Disp. #2	
[880]	[889]	Protestant
[881]	[890]	Catholic
[882]	[891]	Jewish
[883]	[892]	Buddhist
[884]	[893]	Hindu
[885]	[894]	Islamic
[886]	[895]	Other
[887]	[896]	None
[888]	[897]	Information not available

FREQUENCY OF RELIGIOUS ATTENDANCE

Disp. #1	Disp. #2	
[898]	[904]	Daily
[899]	[905]	Weekly
[900]	[906]	Monthly
[901]	[907]	Rarely
[902]	[908]	Never
[903]	[909]	Information not available

EVENTS TRANSPIRING IMMEDIATELY BEFORE OFFICER'S ARRIVAL: TYPE OF OCCURRENCE

[910] Dispute and physical assault
[911] Dispute and threat of physical assault
[912] Verbal dispute; screaming, abusive language
[913] Sexual assault
[914] Damage to property
[915] Individual(s) under influence of alcohol
[916] Individual(s) under influence of drugs
[917] Individual wishes to leave household; refuses to return to home
[918] Individual refuses admittance to another into household
[919] Individual demands that another leave household; evicts another
[920] Individual missing from household
[921] Individual became physically ill
[922] Individual behaved in irrational manner
[923] Suspicion or discovery of another's extra-marital relationship
[524] Suspicion or discovery of another's use of drugs
[925] Suspicion or discovery of another's homosexual relationship
[926] Threat with weapon
[927] Assault with weapon
[928] Suicide threat
[929] Suicide
[930] Homicide
[931] Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

OFFICER'S OPINION REGARDING CAUSATIVE FACTORS OF CRISIS: TYPE OF CASUALTY

[932] Infidelity
[933] Boasting of or reviewing to past mates, extra-marital partners
[934] Money or possessions given to extra-marital partner or ex-family member
[935] Refusal of sexual advances
[936] Incest or sexual relations with children or step-children
[937] Question of paternity of child/children
[938] Homosexuality
[939] Problem regarding up-coming divorce and/or custody rights
[940] One partner wishes to reconcile after divorce or separation
[941] Maturational crisis: emancipated child
[942] Maturational crisis: change of life, aging
[943] Lack of communication; attention; understanding
[944] Neglecting family responsibility; helping around house, etc.
[945] Excessive time spent away from home
[946] Complaint regarding another's outside friends or activities
[947] Intrusion in marital life by outsiders
[948] History of constant arguments and/or assaults
[949] Financial difficulties
[950] Non-support or not enough support
[951] Destruction or pawning of possessions
[952] Disagreement regarding location of residence
[953] Alcoholism
[954] Drug addiction
[955] Gambling
[956] Problem in controlling children
[957] Negligence, improper care of children
[958] Dislike of child's friend(s), fiance(s), etc.
[959] Child demands greater freedom and independence
[960] History of physical illness
[961] History of mental illness
[962] New member introduced into household
[963] Loss of member of household: death, divorce, etc.
[964] Unemployment
[965] No love in marriage
[966] No conception of marital roles
[967] Found another mate
[968] Injured pride
[969] End of extra-marital affair
[970] Refusal to marry pregnant woman
[971] Simple verbal disagreement got out of control
[972] Child fears loss of position and love due to third party
[973] Difference over property or money
[974] Information not available

DOES OFFICER'S OPINION COINCIDE WITH COMPLAINT?

[975] Yes
[976] No
[977] Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

OFFICER'S OPINION REGARDING CAUSATIVE FACTORS OF CRISIS: INDIVIDUAL(S) INVOLVED

[978] Husband
[979] Former husband
[980] Wife
[981] Former wife
[982] Child
[983] Father
[984] Mother
[985] Father-in-law
[986] Mother-in-law
[987] Grandmother
[988] Grandfather
[989] Siblings
[990] Other relative
[991] Boyfriend
[992] Girlfriend
[993] Friend/neighbor
[994] Other
[995] Information not available

LENGTH OF TIME FAMILY HAS BEEN (OR WAS) TOGETHER DOMINANT HOUSEHOLD MEMBER

[998] 1–6 months
[999] 6 months–1 year
[1000] 1–2 years
[1001] 2–3 years
[1002] 3–4 years
[1003] 4–5 years
[1004] 5–10 years
[1005] 10–15 years
[1006] 15–20 years
[1007] More than 20 years
[1008] Information not available
[1017] Husband
[1018] Wife
[1019] Grandmother
[1020] Grandfather
[1021] Child
[1022] Other
[1023] Information not available

CURRENT MARITAL STATUS

[1009] Legally married
[1010] Common law
[1011] Divorced
[1012] Legally separated, less than 6 mos.
[1013] Legally separated, more than 6 mos.
[1014] Living apart, less than 6 mos.
[1015] Living apart, more than 6 mos.
[1016] Information not available

APPEARANCE OF HOUSE

[1024] Neat, clean
[1025] Fair
[1026] Unkempt, dirty
[1027] Information not available

APPEARANCE OF INDIVIDUALS

[1028] Neat, tidy
[1029] Fair
[1030] Unkempt
[1031] Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

OTHER IMPRESSIONS

Disp. #1 appeared	Disp #2 appeared	
[1032]	[1068]	Aloof, distant, remote
[1033]	[1069]	Cold, defensive
[1034]	[1070]	Overwrought, agitated, highly emotional
[1035]	[1071]	Despondent, unhappy
[1036]	[1072]	Excessively angry, explosive, unable to control temper
[1037]	[1073]	Angry, but anger controlled, contained
[1038]	[1074]	Brash, flirtatious, provocative
[1039]	[1075]	Disoriented, confused, vague communication
[1040]	[1076]	Sensitive about masculinity or femininity
[1041]	[1077]	To act childishly, immaturely
[1042]	[1078]	To have no conception of responsibility, of adult role
[1043]	[1079]	To enjoy being the center of attention
[1044]	[1080]	To display poor adjustment to aging
[1045]	[1081]	Intoxicated
[1046]	[1082]	Under the influence of drugs
[1047]	[1083]	Physically ill
[1048]	[1084]	Warm, loving, affectionate toward other disputant
[1049]	[1085]	To have little regard or affection for other disputant
[1050]	[1086]	To fear other disputant
[1051]	[1087]	Belittling, mocking, teasing or nagging other disputant
[1052]	[1088]	Jealous, suspicious of other disputant
[1053]	[1089]	To be unable to communicate with other disputant
[1054]	[1090]	To ignore other disputant
[1055]	[1091]	To degrade other disputant's masculinity or feminity
[1056]	[1092]	To have different cultural or religious background from other disputant
[1057]	[1093]	To have different interests, enjoy different activities from those of other disputant
[1058]	[1094]	To be of different social classes
[1059]	[1095]	Anxious about physical illness
[1060]	[1096]	In need of love
[1061]	[1097]	Very passive, docile
[1062]	[1098]	Very independent
[1063]	[1099]	Mentally ill
[1064]	[1100]	Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

OCCURRENCE AFTER POLICE ARRIVAL: OFFICER'S APPROACH

[1104] Discussed problem with disputants separately
[1105] Discussed problem with disputants together
[1106] Discussed problem with disputants both separately and together
[1107] Physically separated disputants
[1108] Reprimanded disputants to end argument, prevent further outburst
[1109] Calmed disputants to end argument, prevent further outburst
[1110] Attempted to verify veracity of complainant's statement
[1111] Observed bruises allegedly inflicted by other disputant
[1112] Accompanied disputant to home so that belongings could be removed, entry made, etc.
[1113] Gathered information, as only one disputant was present
[1114] Spoke to other family members or other non-relatives
[1115] Neither disputant present
[1116] Information not available

RESPONSE TO POLICE INTERVENTION

Disp #1	Disp. #2	
[1124]	[1152]	Satisfied, grateful for police handling, intervention, suggestions
[1125]	[1153]	Cooperative, favorable response, spoke freely and openly
[1126]	[1154]	Admitted presence of problems
[1127]	[1155]	Admitted to being at fault in dispute
[1128]	[1156]	Calmed down in presence of police
[1129]	[1157]	Passive agreement with police suggestions
[1130]	[1158]	Wished only to air complaint; not willing to speak freely or openly of own role in dispute
[1131]	[1159]	Dissatisfied with police handling, intervention, suggestions
[1132]	[1160]	Reluctant to talk of dispute, unresponsive
[1133]	[1161]	Resented presence of police
[1134]	[1162]	Ignored police, continued dispute in their presence
[1135]	[1163]	Refused to cooperate, gave no information, unwilling to speak
[1136]	[1164]	Became belligerent toward police, arrogant, antagonistic
[1137]	[1165]	Became enraged at police, cursing, throwing, hard to control
[1138]	[1166]	Suspicious of officers and their suggestions
[1139]	[1167]	Unwilling to accept officers' suggestions
[1140]	[1168]	Refused police admittance to home
[1141]	[1169]	Could not respond, drugged state
[1142]	[1170]	Could not respond, intoxicated
[1143]	[1171]	Could not respond, language barrier
[1144]	[1172]	Could not respond, wounded or dead
[1145]	[1173]	Not present
[1146]	[1174]	Felt police could not understand one of different race
[1147]	[1175]	Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

RESOLUTION OF DISPUTE

[1180] Mediation
[1181] Referral
[1182] Aided
[1183] Arrest
[1184] Officers to return at later date for consultation
[1185] Not resolved

IDENTITY OF INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN RESOLUTION

[1186] Disp. #1
[1187] Disp. #2
[1188] Other person involved in dispute

AGENT OR AGENCY TO WHICH REFERRED

[1189] Catholic Charities
[1190] Hamilton Grange
[1191] Alcoholics Anonymous
[1192] Psychological Center
[1193] Narcotics center
[1194] Family Court
[1195] Juvenile Court
[1196] PINOS
[1197] SPCC
[1198] Criminal Court
[1199] Civil Court
[1200] Department of Welfare
[1201] Hospital for physical treatment
[1202] Hospital for psych. treatment
[1203] Legal Aid Society
[1204] Private lawyer
[1205] Private physician
[1206] Clergyman
[1207] Other public agency
[1208] Other private agency

OUTCOME OF REFERRAL

[1209] Applied for assistance
[1210] Did not apply for assistance
[1211] Information not available

Names_____ Case #_____

RESOLUTION OF DISPUTE: DETAILS

Disp. #1	Disp. #2	Agreed to contact agent or agency to obtain:
[1221]	[1260]	Marriage and family counseling
[1222]	[1261]	Aid with budget
[1223]	[1262]	Legal separation
[1224]	[1263]	Order of protection
[1225]	[1264]	Order to claim belongings, personal property from house
[1226]	[1265]	Divorce
[1227]	[1266]	Visitation rights
[1228]	[1267]	Non-support warrant
[1229]	[1268]	Financial aid, welfare
[1230]	[1269]	Protection against abuse from parents
[1231]	[1270]	Job, employment
[1232]	[1271]	Legal advice in order to take other disputant to court
[1233]	[1272]	Help with alcoholism
[1234]	[1273]	Help with drug addiction
[1235]	[1274]	Help with physical illness
[1236]	[1275]	Help with mental illness
[1237]	[1276]	Information regarding adult activities
[1238]	[1277]	Occupational training
[1239]	[1278]	Contraceptive information
[1240]	[1279]	Warrant for assault
[1241]	[1280]	Paternity suit action
[1242]	[1281]	Information not available

		Agreed to:
[1246]	[1285]	Sleep separately from other disputant
[1247]	[1286]	Leave house temporarily
[1248]	[1287]	Leave house permanently
[1249]	[1288]	Cease contact with other disputant
[1250]	[1289]	Try to understand, communicate
[1251]	[1290]	Pay more attention to spouse, go out socially, entertain, etc.
[1252]	[1291]	Fulfill own responsibilities: provide support, stop drinking, etc.

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTION

[1299]	Dispute resolved through discussion with police	[1306]	Dispute not resolved—one disputant absent
[1300]	UF61 filed	[1307]	Dispute not resolved—both disputants absent
[1301]	Disputant arrested	[1308]	Dispute not resolved—one intoxicated
[1302]	Disputant taken to hospital	[1309]	Dispute not resolved—both intoxicated
[1303]	Disputant committed for psychiatric treatment	[1310]	Dispute just not resolved
[1304]	Disputant committed to narcotics center	[1311]	Information not available
[1305]	Referral made		

PREVIOUS PATTERNS OF VIOLENCE

[1312]	Yes
[1313]	No
[1314]	Information not available

PREVIOUS ARRESTS

Disp. #1	Disp. #2	
		For violence:
[1315]	[1320]	Yes
[1316]	[1321]	No
		For other causes:
[1317]	[1322]	Yes
[1318]	[1323]	No
[1319]	[1324]	Information not available

NUMBER OF PRECEDING CALLS MADE BY POLICE TO SAME DISPUTANTS OR SAME FAMILY

[1325]	One
[1326]	Two
[1327]	Three
[1328]	Four
[1329]	Five
[1330]	Six
[1331]	Seven
[1332]	Eight
[1333]	Nine
[1334]	Ten
[1335]	More than ten
[1336]	Information not available

APPENDIX B

HOUSING POLICE DISPUTE DATA FORM

Disp. #1 Name _____

Address _____ Apt. # _____

Disp. #2 Name _____

Address _____ Apt. # _____

PATROLMAN'S DISPUTE INFORMATION FORM

Reporting Officer _____ (print name)

Check each place that is appropriate:

1. Notification of the dispute came via :

1XX
2 walkie-talkie
3 directed by citizen
4 N.Y.C.P.D.
5 telephone
6 self-observed

2. The time of notification was between:

1XX
2 2400-0400 hrs.
3 0400-0800 hrs.
4 0800-1200 hrs.
5 1200-1600 hrs.
6 1600-2000 hrs.
7 2000-2400 hrs.

3. During the month of:

1XX
2 February 1970
3 March 1970
4 April 1970
5 May 1970
6 June 1970
7 July 1970
8 August 1970
9 September 1970
10 October 1970
11 November 1970
12 December 1970
13 January 1971
14 February 1971

4. The day of the month was the:

1XX	6 5th	11 10th	16 15th	21 20th	27 26th
2 1st	7 6th	12 11th	17 16th	22 21st	28 27th
3 2nd	8 7th	13 12th	18 17th	23 22nd	29 28th
4 3rd	9 8th	14 13th	19 18th	24 23rd	30 29th
5 4th	10 9th	15 14th	20 19th	25 24th	31 30th
				26 25th	32 31st

5. When you arrived, the parties were:

1XX
2 in a physical struggle
3 not talking, though all present
4 not talking, one party absent
5 not talking, all parties absent
6 engaged in quiet discussion
7 arguing
8 other

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

1XX
2 assault with weapon
3 assault without weapon
4 threat with weapon
5 threat without weapon

APPENDIX B (continued)

IDENTITY OF THE DISPUTANTS

	The 2 Principal Disputants		Other Disputants	
	Disp. 1	Disp. 2	Disp. 3	Disp. 4
7. AGE	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
Under 10	2	2	2	2
10 - 15	3	3	3	3
16 - 20	4	4	4	4
21 - 30	5	5	5	5
31 - 40	6	6	6	6
41 - 50	7	7	7	7
51 - 65	8	8	8	8
Over 65	9	9	9	9
8. SEX	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
Male	2	2	2	2
Female	3	3	3	3
9. RACE:	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
White	2	2	2	2
Black	3	3	3	3
Puerto Rican	4	4	4	4
Other	5	5	5	5
Can't tell	6	6	6	6
10. PERSON IS:	1XX	1XX	1XX	1XX
A tenant	2	2	2	2
A visitor	3	3	3	3
Project manager	4	4	4	4
Project ass't.	5	5	5	5
Other project employee	6	6	6	6
Business person	7	7	7	7
11. WHO IS(ARE) THE AGGRESSOR(S)?	1XX 2	1XX 2	1XX 2	1XX 2
12. WHO CALLED?	1XX 2	1XX 2	1XX 2	1XX 2

13. Check only if disputants are RELATED:

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

14. Check only if disputants are NOT RELATED:

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

CONTINUED

2 OF 3

15. LOCATION

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

THE CAUSE OF THE DISPUTE

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

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

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

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

19. REGARDING ACTIONS TAKEN BY OFFICER:

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

20. REGARDING ACTIONS TAKEN BY OFFICER: (Official)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25. How many patrolmen handled this dispute?

1XX
2__ one
3__ two or more Housing patrolmen
4__ one or more N.Y.P.D. patrolmen

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

1XX
2__ ACCEPTED
3__ Addiction Services
4__ Alcoholics Anonymous
5__ Assn. for Homemaker Services
6__ Booth Mem. Hosp. (unwed mother)
7__ Catholic Charities
8__ Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
9__ Community Action for Legal Serv.
10__ Community Service Society
11__ Dept. of Social Services (Welfare)
12__ Bur. of Child Guidance
13__ Bur. of Child Welfare
14__ Bur. of Special Services
15__ Bur. of Pub. Assistance
16__ Community Med. Serv.
17__ Emergency Shelter
18__ East Harlem Tenants Council
19__ East Harlem Youth Employ. Serv.
20__ Family Court
21__ Family Planning Clinic
22__ Family Service Center
23__ Federation Employ. Guid. Serv.
24__ Fed. Prot. Welfare Agencies
25__ Hamilton Grange
26__ Harlem Assertion of Rights
27__ Harlem-Dowling Children's Serv.
28__ Harlem Teams for Self Help
29__ Haryou-Act
30__ Hosp.--drug or alcoholic trtmnt.
31__ Hosp.--physical treatment
32__ Hosp.--psychiatric treatment
33__ Inwood House
34__ Jewish Family Service
35__ Legal Aid Society
36__ Mobilization for Youth
37__ Morris Berstein Inst. (narc.)
38__ Narcotics Institute
39__ N.Y.C. Youth Board
40__ Open City/Urban League
41__ Psychological Center
42__ Psychological Cons. Center/TC
43__ Puerto Rican Guidance Center
44__ Reality House
45__ CFCC
46__ Tutorial Dev. Prog./CCNY
47__ Visiting Nurse Service
48__ Vocational Foundation
49__ Vocational Youth Work Prog.
50__ West Side Planned Parenthood
51__ West Side Youth Unit
52__ Youth Consultation Service
53__ private physician
54__ clergyman
55__ other public agency
56__ other private agency

Other impressions you have which aren't included above:

APPENDIX C

COMMUNITY ATTITUDE SURVEY INTERVIEW FORM

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
CENTER FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
9 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016

Tel: 889-6697

HOUSING PROJECT STUDY

Housing Project _____

Housing Account No. _____

Respondent No. _____

Address _____

_____

	Visit 1	Visit 2	Visit 3
Date			
Time			
Result			

Interviewer: _____
(please print)

Time Interview Begins: ____A.M. ____P.M.

Telephone Number: _____

Time to Call: _____

CSR-HSP-POST 122170

For Office Use Only:

	Card 1	
Post	2	2
Ethnic Group (Housing Authority)	3	
Housing Account No.	4-9	
Respondent No.	10-13	
Month of Interview	14-15	
Day of Interview	16-17	
Interviewer No.	18-19	
Initial Coder No.	20-21	
Final Coder No.	22-23	

For Office Use Only:

Reason for Non-Interview:

( ) Refusal ( ) Temporarily Away

( ) Not at Home ( ) Other _____

( ) Move Out

For Office Use Only:

Date from Field _____

	Date	Code No.
Reviewer		
Coder		
Final Checker		
Key Puncher		
Verifyer		

1. HOW LONG HAVE YOU LIVED IN THIS APARTMENT?

IBM 1, Col. 24

Under 6 months	1
6 mos. to under 1 year	2
1 year to under 3 years	3
3 years to under 5 years	4
5 years to under 10 years	5
10 years or more	6
DK	7
NA	8

For Office Use Only: 25 ____ 26 ____

4. WHERE WERE YOU BORN? 27-28

New York City	06
Puerto Rico	07
Other: Write in City, State, Country	

5. WHERE WAS YOUR FATHER BORN? 30-31

6. WHERE WAS YOUR MOTHER BORN? 32-33

(Do not ask for this information) 36

8. Enter race or ethnic group of respondent.

Black	1
Puerto Rican	2
Other - Specify:	3

For Office Use Only: 37-38 ____

END IBM 1

CSR-HPS-POST-122170

10. PLEASE GIVE ME THE NAMES OF ALL PERSONS LIVING HERE, INCLUDING CHILDREN AND INFANTS. HOW IS HE/SHE RELATED TO YOU? HOW OLD WAS HE/SHE ON HIS/HER LAST BIRTHDAY? WHAT IS THE LAST GRADE HE/SHE COMPLETED IN SCHOOL?

	Relation to R	Name, if offered	Age	Grade Completed (00 - 17+)
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				
11				

11. ARE YOU NOW MARRIED, WIDOWED, DIVORCED, SEPARATED, OR NEVER MARRIED?

IBM 2, Col. 72

	Married, spouse present	1
	Married, spouse absent	2
	Widowed	3
	Divorced	4
	Separated	5
Skip to Q. 13	Never married	6
Skip to Q. 13	DK	7
Skip to Q. 13	NA	8

CSR-HPS-POST 122170

12. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN (MARRIED) (SEPARATED) (DIVORCED) (WIDOWED)?

73-74

Years	

13. WHO IS HEAD OF THIS HOUSEHOLD?

75

Respondent	1
Spouse	2
Son	3
Daughter	4
Sibling	5
Other - Specify:	
	6
DK	7
NA	8

END IBM 2

Show Card 1. For questions 14 - 32, ask respondent to choose answer from card.

NOW SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT WHERE YOU LIVE. I'D LIKE TO KNOW HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT LIVING HERE NOW. YOU CAN USE ONE OF THE ANSWERS ON THIS CARD.

Q.14-18

		Very Satisfied	Satis.	Neither Sat. nor Dissat.	Dissat.	Very Dissat.
14. FIRST, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE NEIGHBORHOOD?	14	1	2	3	4	5
15. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE HOUSING PROJECT?	15	1	2	3	4	5
16. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR APARTMENT?	16	1	2	3	4	5
17. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR NEIGHBORS?	17	1	2	3	4	5
18. ALL IN ALL, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT LIVING HERE?	18	1	2	3	4	5

CSR-HPS-POST 122170

Q.19-32

USING THE SAME CARD FOR THE ANSWERS, TALKING JUST ABOUT THIS PROJECT, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THE FOLLOWING?

	Very Satis.	Satis.	Neither Sat. nor Dissat.	Dissat.	Very Dissat.
19. PRIVACY? [19]	1	2	3	4	5
20. QUIETNESS? [20]	1	2	3	4	5
21. FRIENDLINESS OF PEOPLE? [21]	1	2	3	4	5
22. PARKING CONDITIONS? [22]	1	2	3	4	5
23. SCHOOLS FOR PROJECT CHILDREN? [23]	1	2	3	4	5
24. SANITATION SERVICE? [24]	1	2	3	4	5
25. FIRE PROTECTION? [25]	1	2	3	4	5
26. POLICE PROTECTION? [26]	1	2	3	4	5
27. LIGHTING OF PROJECT WALKWAYS? [27]	1	2	3	4	5
28. ELEVATOR SERVICE? [28]	1	2	3	4	5
29. CONDITION OF HALLWAYS? [29]	1	2	3	4	5
30. REPAIR SERVICES? [30]	1	2	3	4	5
31. LAUNDRY SERVICES? [31]	1	2	3	4	5
32. RECREATION FACILITIES? [32]	1	2	3	4	5
INDEX I	33-34		35-36		37-38

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Show Card 2.

	Very Often	Often	Some-Times	Rarely	Never
33. HOW OFTEN DO YOU VISIT WITH YOUR NEIGHBORS HERE IN THE PROJECT? I MEAN SOMETHING MORE THAN JUST SAYING GOOD-MORNING. [39]	1	2	3	4	5
34. HOW OFTEN DO YOU VISIT WITH YOUR FRIENDS WHO DON'T LIVE IN THIS PROJECT? [40]	1	2	3	4	5
35. HOW OFTEN DO YOU HELP OUT ANY NEIGHBORS WITH ANYTHING LIKE SHOPPING, COOKING? [41]	1	2	3	4	5
36. HOW OFTEN DO YOU TAKE CARE OF YOUR NEIGHBORS' CHILDREN? [42]	1	2	3	4	5
37. HOW OFTEN DO YOUR NEIGHBORS HELP YOU OUT? [43]	1	2	3	4	5
38. HOW OFTEN DO YOUR NEIGHBORS COME TO YOU WITH THEIR PROBLEMS? [44]	1	2	3	4	5
39. HOW OFTEN DO YOU AND YOUR NEIGHBORS GO OUT TOGETHER (MOVIES, PARTIES, ETC.)? [45]	1	2	3	4	5
INDEX II	46-47		48-49		50-51

40. DO YOU GO TO A CHURCH AROUND HERE? [52]

Yes	1
No	2
Does not attend any church	3

41. DO YOU BELONG TO A CLUB, LIKE A CHURCH CLUB OR MOTHERS' CLUB, AROUND HERE? [53]

Yes	1
No	2

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42. DO YOU BELONG TO ANY NEIGHBORHOOD ORGANIZATIONS OR COMMUNITY ACTION GROUPS?

54

Yes	1
No	2

43. DO ANY OF YOUR CLOSEST FRIENDS LIVE AROUND HERE?

55

	Yes	1
Skip to Q.45	No	2

44. HOW MANY?

56-57 ____

45. DO ANY OF YOUR RELATIVES (NOT IN THIS APARTMENT) LIVE AROUND HERE?

58

	Yes	1
Skip to Q.47	No	2

46. HOW MANY?

59-60 ____

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Q. 47-54. Show Card 3. PLEASE LOOK AT THIS CARD. WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
47. REAL FRIENDS ARE HARD TO FIND IN THIS PROJECT. 61	1	2	3	4	5
48. OUR SCHOOLS DO A GOOD JOB OF GETTING OUR CHILDREN READY FOR LIFE. 62	1	2	3	4	5
49. OUR PROJECT IS PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY. 63	1	2	3	4	5
50. FAMILIES IN THIS PROJECT KEEP THEIR CHILDREN PRETTY WELL UNDER CONTROL. 64	1	2	3	4	5
52. THE HOUSING POLICE DO THEIR BEST TO PROTECT TENANTS AND THEIR PROPERTY. 65	1	2	3	4	5
53. LATELY THERE SEEMS TO BE MORE CRIME IN THE PROJECTS. 66	1	2	3	4	5
54. IN SPITE OF ALL THE PROBLEMS OF LIVING IN NEW YORK CITY, THINGS IN THIS PROJECT HAVE GOTTEN BETTER. 67	1	2	3	4	5

END IBM 3

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55. DO YOU PLAN TO MOVE WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR?

IBM 4, Col.14

	Yes	1
Skip to Q.57	No	2
	DK	7

56. DO YOU PLAN TO BUY OR RENT?

15

Buy	1
Rent	2
DK	7

57. IF YOU HAD YOUR CHOICE, WOULD YOU STAY OR MOVE?

16

	Move	1
Skip to Q.60	Stay	2
	DK	7
	NA	8

58. WHERE WOULD YOU LIKE TO LIVE? (Probe)

17-18

Out of Housing Project	01
To another Housing Project	02
Puerto Rico	03
Southern United States	04
Suburbs	05
Anywhere in New York City	06
Anywhere outside New York City	07
Other-specify:	11

59. WHY WOULD THAT BE BETTER?

19-20

Better environment for children, family	01
Closer to family and friends	02
Less dangerous	03
Larger apartment	04
Less noise, dirt, congestion	05
Closer to job	06
Better housing	07
Other-specify:	98

60. DURING THE PAST MONTH, HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU MET WITH HOUSING MANAGEMENT?
(Circle the word)

21

None	1
Once	2
Twice	3
Three or more times	4

61. DURING THE PAST MONTH, HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU CALLED A HOUSING MAINTENANCE MAN?
(Circle the word)

22

None	1
Once	2
Twice	3
Three or more times	4

62. DURING THE PAST MONTH, HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU SEEN A HOUSING POLICEMAN ON DUTY?

	23
Not at All	1
1 - 4 times	2
5 - 9 times	3
10 - 19 times	4
20 or more times	5

63. IN THE PAST YEAR, HAVE YOU CALLED THE HOUSING PROJECT POLICE?

		24
	Yes	1
Skip to Q.68	No	2

64. ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES? 25-26

65. WHY DID YOU CALL THEM?

	27-28 Prob.1	29-30 Prob.2	31-32 Prob.3
Robbery	01	01	01
Assault	02	02	02
Family problem	03	03	03
Locked out of apartment	04	04	04
Disruptive children	05	05	05
Injury	06	06	06
Illness	07	07	07
Other	10	10	10
	(specify)	(specify)	(specify)

10

62. DURING THE PAST MONTH, HOW MANY TIMES HAVE YOU SEEN A HOUSING POLICEMAN ON DUTY?

	23
Not at All	1
1 - 4 times	2
5 - 9 times	3
10 - 19 times	4
20 or more times	5

63. IN THE PAST YEAR, HAVE YOU CALLED THE HOUSING PROJECT POLICE?

		24
	Yes	1
Skip to Q.68	No	2

64. ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES? 25-26

65. WHY DID YOU CALL THEM?

	27-28 Prob.1	29-30 Prob.2	31-32 Prob.3
Robbery	01	01	01
Assault	02	02	02
Family problem	03	03	03
Locked out of apartment	04	04	04
Disruptive children	05	05	05
Injury	06	06	06
Illness	07	07	07
Other	10	10	10
	(specify)	(specify)	(specify)

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Punch"x" in col. 33

66. HOW DID YOU GET THEM?

	34-35 Prob. 1	36-37 Prob. 2	38-39 Prob. 3
Phoned operator	01	01	01
Phoned "911"	02	02	02
Phoned housing police	03	03	03
Friend contacted police	04	04	04
Police in area	05	05	05
Other	06	06	06
	(specify)	(specify)	(specify)

Punch "x" in col. 40

Show Card 1

67. HOW SATISFIED WERE YOU WITH THE WAY THEY HANDLED THINGS (Probe for level of satisfaction)

	41 Prob. 1	42 Prob. 2	43 Prob. 3
Very satis.	1	1	1
Satisfied	2	2	2
Neither sat. nor dissat.	3	3	3
Dissatis.	4	4	4
Very dissat.	5	5	5

Punch "x" in col. 44

68. IN THE PAST YEAR, HAVE YOU CALLED THE NEW YORK CITY HEALTH DEPARTMENT?

45

Yes 1

Skip to Q.73 — No 2

69. HOW MANY TIMES? 46-47

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70. WHY DID YOU CALL THEM?

	48-49 Prob. 1	50-51 Prob. 2	52-53 Prob. 3
Health condition	01	01	01
Information about clinic	02	02	02
To make a complaint	03	03	03
Immunization	04	04	04
Check-up	05	05	05
Other	06	06	06
	(specify)	(specify)	(specify)

Punch "x" in col. 54

71. HOW DID YOU GET THEM?

	55 Prob. 1	56 Prob. 2	57 Prob. 3
Phone oper.	1	1	1
Letter	2	2	2
Phone Health Dept.	3	3	3
Other	4	4	4
	(specify)	(specify)	(specify)

Punch "x" in col. 58

Show Card 1.

72. HOW SATISFIED WERE YOU WITH THE WAY THEY HANDLED THINGS? (Probe for level of satisfaction)

	59 Prob. 1	60 Prob. 2	61 Prob. 3
Very satis.	1	1	1
Satisfied	2	2	2
Neither sat. nor dissat.	3	3	3
Dissatisfied	4	4	4
Very dissat.	5	5	5

Punch "x" in col. 62

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END IBM 4

73. IN THE PAST YEAR, HAVE YOU CALLED THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE?

IBM 5, Col. 14

	Yes	1
Skip to Q.78	No	2

74. ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES? 15-16 ____

75. WHY DID YOU CALL THEM?

	17-18 Prob. 1	19-20 Prob. 2	21-22 Prob. 3
Robbery	01	01	01
Assault	02	02	02
Family problem	03	03	03
Locked out of apartment	04	04	04
Disruptive children	05	05	05
Injury	06	06	06
Illness	07	07	07
Other	10	10	10
	(specify)	(specify)	(specify)

Punch "x" in col. 23

76. HOW DID YOU GET THEM?

	24-25 Prob. 1	26-27 Prob. 2	28-29 Prob. 3
Phone operator	01	01	01
Phone "911"	02	02	02
Friend contacted police	03	03	03
Police in area	04	04	04
Other	05	05	05
	(specify)	(specify)	(specify)

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Show Card 1.

Punch "x" in col. 30

77. HOW SATISFIED WERE YOU WITH THE WAY THEY HANDLED THINGS?
(Probe for level of satisfaction)

	31 Prob. 1	32 Prob. 2	33 Prob. 3
Very Sat.	1	1	1
Satisfied	2	2	2
Neither sat. nor dissat.	3	3	3
Dissat.	4	4	4
Very Dissat.	5	5	5

Q. 78-83

Punch "x" in col. 34

IN THE PAST YEAR, HAVE YOU MADE A COMPLAINT AGAINST:

		Yes	No
78.	THE HOUSING MANAGER? 35	1	2
79.	A HOUSING MAINTENANCE MAN? 36	1	2
80.	A HOUSING POLICEMAN? 37	1	2
81.	A FIREMAN? 38	1	2
82.	A SANITATION MAN? 39	1	2
83.	A CITY POLICEMAN? 40	1	2

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Q.84-89

IN THE PAST YEAR, HAVE YOU REPORTED THE GOOD WORK OF:

		Yes	No
84. THE HOUSING MANAGER?	41	1	2
85. A HOUSING MAINTENANCE MAN?	42	1	2
86. A HOUSING POLICEMAN?	43	1	2
87. A FIREMAN?	44	1	2
88. A SANITATION MAN?	45	1	2
89. A CITY POLICEMAN?	46	1	2

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Show Card 3.
PLEASE LOOK AT THIS CARD. WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

Q. 90-96

HOUSING MANAGEMENT:

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
90. IS COOPERATIVE WITH ALL TENANTS.	47	1	2	3	4	5
91. WANTS TO HELP PEOPLE IN THE PROJECT.	48	1	2	3	4	5
92. IS GENERALLY FAIR TO ALL TENANTS.	49	1	2	3	4	5
93. KNOWS HOW TO COOL PEOPLE DOWN IN A DISPUTE.	50	1	2	3	4	5
94. IS UNDERSTANDING OF TENANTS' PROBLEMS.	51	1	2	3	4	5
95. DESERVES MORE RESPECT FROM PEOPLE IN THE PROJECT.	52	1	2	3	4	5
96. TRIES TO SATISFY TENANT REQUESTS.	53	1	2	3	4	5

INDEX III 54-55 [ ] 56-57 [ ] 58-59 [ ]

END IBM 5

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Show Card 3.
REGARDING HOUSING POLICE, WHAT IS YOUR ANSWER TO THE FOLLOWING STATEMENTS?

Q. 97-106 HOUSING POLICE:	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
97. ARE HELPFUL WHEN THERE'S REAL TROUBLE. IBM 6, Col. 14	1	2	3	4	5
98. WANT TO HELP PEOPLE IN THE PROJECT. 15	1	2	3	4	5
99. ARE WELL TRAINED. 16	1	2	3	4	5
100. ARE GETTING BETTER. 17	1	2	3	4	5
101. KNOW HOW TO COOL PEOPLE IN A DISPUTE. 18	1	2	3	4	5
102. ARE MORE UNDERSTANDING THAN THE AVERAGE PERSON. 19	1	2	3	4	5
103. KNOW HOW TO QUIET DOWN TEENAGERS. 20	1	2	3	4	5
104. KNOW HOW TO QUIET DOWN TROUBLESOME TENANTS. 21	1	2	3	4	5
105. DESERVE MORE RESPECT FROM PEOPLE IN THE PROJECT. 22	1	2	3	4	5
106. THINK BEFORE THEY ACT IN TOUGH SPOTS. 23	1	2	3	4	5

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Q. 107-114
IF YOU WERE LOOKING OUT YOUR WINDOW, WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF YOU SAW: (Probe)

	Nothing	Call City Police	Call Fire Dept.	Call Housing Police	Call Management	Call Hospital	Other (Specify below)
107. SOMEBODY BEING MUGGED? 30-31	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
108. SOMEBODY FALL DOWN ON THE GROUND UNCONSCIOUS? 32-33	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
109. A KID SHOOTING DOPE? 34-35	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
110. SOMEBODY SLIP ON THE ICE? 36-37	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
111. A FIRE IN ANOTHER APARTMENT? 38-39	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
112. A GROUP OF TEENAGERS FIGHTING? 40-41	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
113. A MAN AND A WOMAN FIGHTING? 42-43	01	02	03	04	05	06	07
114. TWO MEN FIGHTING WITH A HOUSING COP? 44-45	01	02	03	04	05	06	07

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Q. 115-122 (Show Card 4)

HOW GOOD DO YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING SERVICES ARE IN THIS PROJECT AREA? PLEASE TELL ME IF YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING SERVICES ARE EXCELLENT, GOOD, FAIR, POOR, OR VERY POOR.

		Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor
115. HOSPITAL SERVICE?	48	1	2	3	4	5
116. POLICE PROTECTION?	49	1	2	3	4	5
117. AMBULANCE SERVICE?	50	1	2	3	4	5
118. SANITATION SERVICE?	51	1	2	3	4	5
119. THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS?	52	1	2	3	4	5
120. FIRE PROTECTION?	53	1	2	3	4	5
121. PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION?	54	1	2	3	4	5
122. RECREATION: PARKS, SWIMMING POOLS ETC.?	55	1	2	3	4	5

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123. DID YOU SEE OR TALK TO A DOCTOR ABOUT YOUR HEALTH IN THE LAST 6 MONTHS? 62

Skip to Q.125	Yes	1
	No	2

124. WHEN WAS THE LAST TIME YOU TALKED TO OR SAW A DOCTOR ABOUT YOUR HEALTH?

Skip to Q.129

Month 63-64

Year 65-66

125. WHAT WAS THE MATTER THE LAST TIME YOU SAW A DOCTOR?

_____

_____

_____ 67-68

_____

126. WHERE WAS THE DOCTOR LOCATED? 69

Private Office	1
Clinic	2
Hospital	4
Other-specify:	3

127. HOW DID THE DOCTOR ACT TOWARDS YOU? 70-71

He was very kind (nice) to me	01
He was O.K. (nothing special)	02
He didn't pay much attention to me as a person	03
He wasn't interested in me at all	04
He acted as if I were nothing (dirt)	05
Other-specify:	06

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128. HOW GOOD WAS THE SERVICE THE DOCTOR GAVE YOU FOR YOUR PROBLEM? WAS IT EXCELLENT, GOOD, FAIR, POOR, OR VERY POOR?

	72
Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Very Poor	5

END IBM 6

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129. HAVE YOU BEEN HOSPITALIZED IN THE PAST YEAR?

		IBM 7, Col. 14
	Yes	1
Skip to Q.133	No	2

130. FOR HOW LONG?

15-17	18-20	21-23
Hosp. 1 _____ days	Hosp. 2 _____ days	Hosp. 3 _____ days

131. HOW DID THE NURSES AND ATTENDANTS ACT TOWARD YOU GENERALLY?

	24-25
They were very kind (nice) to me	01
They were O.K. (nothing special)	02
They didn't pay much attention to me, as a person	03
They weren't interested in me at all	04
They acted as if I were nothing (dirt)	05
Other-specify:	06

132. HOW GOOD WAS THE SERVICE THE NURSES AND AND ATTENDANTS GAVE YOU?

	26
Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Very Poor	5

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(Ask only if child(ren) in school)

133. HAVE YOU TALKED WITH YOUR CHILDREN'S SCHOOL TEACHERS IN THE PAST YEAR?

27

	Yes	1
Skip to Q.136	No	2

134. ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES?

28-29

No. of times	

135. HOW DID THE TEACHER(S) ACT TOWARD YOU GENERALLY?

30-31

He was very kind (nice) to me	01
He was O.K. (nothing special)	02
He didn't pay much attention to me, as a person	03
He wasn't interested in me at all	04
He acted as if I were nothing (dirt)	05
Other-specify:	06

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136. HAVE YOU SEEN A SOCIAL WORKER ABOUT ANY PROBLEM IN THE PAST YEAR?

32

	Yes	1
Skip to Q. 140	No	2

137. ABOUT HOW MANY TIMES?

33-34

No. of times	

138. HOW DID THE SOCIAL WORKER(S) ACT TOWARD YOU GENERALLY?

35-36

He was very kind (nice) to me	01
He was O.K. (nothing special)	02
He didn't pay much attention to me, as a person	03
He wasn't interested in me at all	04
He acted as if I were nothing (dirt)	05
Other-specify:	06

139. HOW GOOD WAS THE SERVICE THE SOCIAL WORKER(S) GAVE YOU FOR YOUR PROBLEM? WAS IT EXCELLENT, GOOD, FAIR, POOR, OR VERY POOR?

37

Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Very Poor	5

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140. FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE, GENERALLY, HOW HAS HOUSING MANAGEMENT ACTED TOWARD YOU?

38-39

They were very kind (nice) to me	01
They were O.K. (nothing special)	02
They didn't pay much attention to me, as a person	03
They weren't interested in me at all	04
They acted as if I were nothing (dirt).	05
Other- specify:	06
No contact	07

141. FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE, GENERALLY, HOW HAVE CITY POLICE ACTED TOWARD YOU?

40-41

They were very kind (nice) to me	01
They were O.K. (nothing special)	02
They didn't pay much attention to me, as a person	03
They weren't interested in me at all	04
They acted as if I were nothing (dirt)	05
Other-- Specify:	06
No contact	07

142. FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE, GENERALLY HOW HAVE POLITICIANS ACTED TOWARD YOU?

42-43

They were very kind (nice) to me	01
They were O.K. (nothing special)	02
They didn't pay much attention to me, as a person	03
They weren't interested in me at all	04
They acted as if I were nothing	05
Other- Specify.	06
No contact	07

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143. FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE, GENERALLY, HOW HAVE AMBULANCE ATTENDANTS ACTED TOWARD YOU?

44-45

They were very kind (nice) to me	01
They were O.K. (nothing special)	02
They didn't pay much attention to me, as a person	03
They weren't interested in me at all	04
They acted as if I were nothing (dirt)	05
Other- Specify:	06
No contact	07

144. FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE, GENERALLY, HOW HAVE HOUSING POLICE ACTED TOWARD YOU?

46-47

They were very kind (nice) to me	01
They were O.K. (nothing special)	02
They didn't pay much attention to me, as a person	03
They weren't interested in me at all	04
They acted as if I were nothing (dirt)	05
Other-Specify.	06
No contact	07

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Q. 145-149 (Show Card 4)
FROM YOUR EXPERIENCE, HOW GOOD HAS SERVICE BEEN FROM:

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor	No Experience
145. HOUSING MANAGEMENT [48]	1	2	3	4	5	6
146. CITY POLICE [49]	1	2	3	4	5	6
147. POLITICIANS [50]	1	2	3	4	5	6
148. AMBULANCE ATTENDANTS [51]	1	2	3	4	5	6
149. HOUSING POLICE [52]	1	2	3	4	5	6

150. HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT YOUR FAMILY'S HEALTH IN GENERAL? WOULD YOU SAY IT IS EXCELLENT, GOOD, FAIR, POOR, OR VERY POOR? 53

Skip to Q.153	Excellent	1
	Good	2
	Fair	3
	Poor	4
	Very Poor	5

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For office use only 54-55 [00-17+]

For office use only 56

Protestant	1
Catholic	2
Jehovah Witness	3
Other-Specify:	4
No Religion	5

153. DO YOU GO TO WORK? 57

	Yes	1
Skip to Q.155	No	2

154. DO YOU WORK FULL OR PART-TIME? 58

Full	1
Part	2

155. WHAT DO YOU DO?

_____

_____

_____ 59-60

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If spouse in household, ask: (otherwise skip to Q.159)

156. DOES YOUR HUSBAND WORK?

61

	Yes	1
Skip to Q.158	No	2

157. DOES HE WORK FULL OR PART-TIME?

62

Full	1
Part	2

158. WHAT DOES HE DO?

_____

_____

_____ 63-64

159. HAS ANYONE IN THIS FAMILY BEEN ON WELFARE IN THE PAST YEAR? WE DO NOT MEAN SOCIAL SECURITY.

65

Yes	1
No	2

End IBM 7

160. DO YOU KNOW THE PHONE NUMBER OF THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT?
If "yes," ask: WHAT IS IT?

IBM 8, Col. 14

_____

Yes	1
No	2
Has number at hand	3

161. DO YOU KNOW THE PHONE NUMBER OF THE NEW YORK CITY FIRE DEPARTMENT?
If "yes," ask: WHAT IS IT?

15

_____

Yes	1
No	2
Has number at hand	3

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162. DO YOU KNOW THE PHONE NUMBER OF THE NEAREST HOSPITAL?
If "yes," ask: WHAT IS IT?

_____

16

Yes	1
No	2
Has number at hand	3

163. DO YOU KNOW THE PHONE NUMBER OF THE MANAGER'S OFFICE IN THIS HOUSING PROJECT?
If "yes," ask: WHAT IS IT?

_____

17

Yes	1
No	2
Has number at hand	3

164. DO YOU KNOW THE PHONE NUMBER OF THE HOUSING POLICE IN THIS PROJECT?
If "yes," ask: WHAT IS IT?

_____

18

Yes	1
No	2
Has number at hand	3

171. WHAT IS THE TELEPHONE NUMBER HERE?

_____
Number

33

No. Given	1
None	2
Refused	3

For office use only

36 _____

37 _____

38-40 _____

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Q. 174-179
IN THE PAST YEAR, HAS SERVICE BEEN BETTER, THE SAME, OR WORSE FROM:

		Better	Same	Worse
174. PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION?	41	1	2	3
175. THE HOUSING MANAGEMENT?	42	1	2	3
176. THE HOUSING PROJECT MAINTENANCE STAFF?	43	1	2	3
177. THE HOUSING PROJECT POLICE?	44	1	2	3
178. THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE?	45	1	2	3
179. HOSPITAL CLINICS IN THE AREA (Outpatient/emergency care)	46	1	2	3

Q.180-183
IN THE PAST YEAR, HAVE YOU NOTICED THAT THINGS HAVE BEEN BETTER, THE SAME, OR WORSE IN REGARD TO:

		Better	Same	Worse
180. NEIGHBORS IN THE PROJECT GETTING ALONG WITH EACH OTHER?	47	1	2	3
181. NEIGHBORS IN THE PROJECT GETTING ALONG WITH THE HOUSING MANAGEMENT?	48	1	2	3
182. NEIGHBORS IN THE PROJECT GETTING ALONG WITH THE HOUSING POLICE?	49	1	2	3
183. NEIGHBORS IN THE PROJECT GETTING ALONG WITH THE NEW YORK CITY POLICE?	50	1	2	3

Q. 184-186
IN THE PAST YEAR, HAVE THINGS BEEN BETTER, THE SAME, OR WORSE IN REGARD TO:

		Better	Same	Worse
184. THE DRUG PROBLEM IN THE PROJECT	51	1	2	3
185. THE ROBBERY PROBLEM ON THE PROJECT GROUNDS?	52	1	2	3
186. THE PROBLEM OF ROBBERIES OF APARTMENTS?	53	1	2	3

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		Better	Same	Worse
187. HOW MEMBERS OF YOUR FAMILY GET ALONG WITH EACH OTHER?	54	1	2	3
188. HOW WELL YOU'VE BEEN ABLE TO MAKE ENDS MEET ("PAY THE BILLS")?	55	1	2	3
189. LIVING IN THIS PARTICULAR PROJECT?	56	1	2	3
190. LIVING IN NEW YORK?	57	1	2	3
191. YOUR OWN PERSONAL HAPPINESS WITH LIFE?	58	1	2	3

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

IN CASE I'VE OVERLOOKED ANYTHING, WHEN IS THE BEST TIME TO CALL?

Morning	1
Afternoon	2
Anytime	3
Evening	5

Time interview ends	A.M. / P.M.
Total interviewing time	

Comments

Use inside of cover page for additional comments

Interviewer's Certificate of Record

I hereby certify that this interview was conducted with the individual specified, at the date and time indicated, and in accordance with specified instructions. I further certify that I have, to the best of my ability, honestly recorded and coded the answers to the questions.

DATE

INTERVIEWER'S SIGNATURE

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