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POLICE IN A COMMUNITY—IMPROVING A DETERIORATED IMAGE

JOSEPH FINK

Deputy Inspector Joseph Fink is Commanding Officer of the 9th Precinct of the New York City Police Department. His article deals with a program instituted in this Precinct since he has assumed command. Inspector Fink entered the New York Police Department in 1942, and has risen through the various ranks to his present grade. As a Captain he served in several assignments in low income areas which help to prepare him for his present assignment. He holds a Bachelor degree in Police Science and Sociology from the City University of New York, and has received seven departmental citations for outstanding performance of duty. In view of his work in community relations he has participated in training sessions for the Police of Boston, New Haven, Cleveland, and Westchester County, New York.—EDITOR.

Before a cauldron boils over, it simmers and seethes giving warning of what is to come. On the Lower East Side, the melting pot of New York City, the Spring of 1966 gave ominous indications that the approaching season would be the "long hot summer" dreaded by the city administration. This paper will attempt to describe how efforts were made to deal with the situations and feelings that were characterized as, "there is trouble in the air." . . . "neither will there be tranquillity in the area."¹

There are two worlds in the teeming 0.79 square mile area around Tompkins Square Park, designated on police maps as the Ninth Precinct.

One is the small secure world of the station house—a 55 year old gray-stone building that seems, despite its bustling activity, almost insulated from the other world of the seething streets outside.²

About 108,000 people live in the area. They live in a crowded nest of tenements, housing projects, middle and upper middle class apartment houses, and some in town houses that outwardly show the soil of many decades. Here, too, there are coffee-houses, bodegas, art galleries, pizza-joints, bars, book stores, storefront churches, schools, playgrounds, laundermats, and supermarkets bounded on the north by 14th Street, East Houston Street on the south, Broadway on the west, and the East River, the easterly margin.

Approximately 45% of the people are Puerto Ricans, 40 per cent are whites of Slavic, Italian,

Jewish, and other backgrounds, and about 15 per cent are Negroes.

The police precinct, one of seventy-nine in the city, has long been a haven for the poor and displaced. Irish, German, Slavic, Jewish, and Italian immigrants have lived in the area over the past one hundred years, crowding the tenements and the streets. Having arrived here, these people aspired to assimilate quickly and to improve their financial and social status. Though a language barrier also existed with the former groups, a common culture and racial appearance made for understanding if not always harmonious relationships with authorities.

Today there seems to be a tremendous conflict between the police and the residents of a poverty area, slum, or ghetto community. The policeman is the symbol of middle-class society and values. He generally comes from a middle-class community in the suburbs where he lives a well-regulated life according to middle-class standards of ethics and morality. But he works at law enforcement in an area populated largely by people who are alien to him. He finds the language, customs and resentments of Puerto Ricans and Negroes strange, hostile, and aggravating. There is no doubt that both the people of the community and the police find themselves misunderstood, mistreated, and much maligned. Under such circumstances, it is no wonder that antagonisms develop to such a point that distrust and dissatisfaction on both sides take the place of more logical thinking and conduct.

NEIGHBORHOOD FERMENT

In the Spring of 1966, the Ninth Precinct seemed to be one of the strained areas where police-civilian

¹ JAMES A. WECHSLER, *East Side Storm*, NEW YORK POST, March 24, 1966, p. 32.

² SYLVAN FOX, *The Two Worlds of the East Village*, NEW YORK TIMES, June 5, 1967, p. 52.

relations had deteriorated badly. Several incidents in the neighborhood in which the police were involved led to complaints and recriminations by individuals and neighborhood groups.

The Lower East-Side Action Project (LEAP) was a typical group that synthesized community feeling toward the local police. This organization, headed by a resident psychologist, Laurence S. Cole, was made up of young people who were given the opportunity to explore political and social avenues for remedying neighborhood problems of poverty and discrimination. One of their campaigns focused on police conditions. The community was encouraged to report misconduct and improper or unwarranted actions by the police. LEAP became a clearing house for such information. Meetings, rallies, and demonstrations were planned along these lines. Letters, petitions, and telegrams were sent to city or police officials and to the Civilian Review Board concerning incidents. The *New York Post* columnist, James Wechsler reported an incident recounted to him by Cole, which reflected "... the renewal of community tensions that has occurred..." "... LEAP's leaders frankly voice their lack of confidence in police review procedures;..."³ LEAP's publication, *What's Happening*, in an issue of March 28, 1966, featured an article titled, "Policeman is Drinking in Uniform", describing an incident and a subsequent interview with the precinct's captain who failed to satisfy a youthful interrogator with his explanation. Issues of May 9, and May 17, 1966 also contain articles demonstrating the dissatisfaction with the police services in the community.

Another vociferous group in the area was the Young Adults Action Group (YAAG). This organization was part of the community development department of Mobilization For Youth, a Federally funded anti-poverty agency. Its clientele, Negro youths, were concerned with neighborhood problems of poverty, unemployment, educational opportunities, and police brutality.

These indigenous organizations became involved in any *cause célèbre* and found themselves allied in many instances with the Progressive Labor Party and the W. E. DuBois Club. So avid for involvement in popular causes were the youth groups that they little realized that more sophisticated professionals in organizations such as those

mentioned were directing them toward community disruption rather than community correction.

One of the highlighted cases espoused by police critics was the Lopez Case. Miriam and Zaida Lopez, ages 15 and 17, became engaged in a fight with a grocer and his wife, when the girls were accused of shoplifting. When the police arrived, they, too, were kicked and bitten. The girls were subdued by force and arrested. The grocer and the two policemen required medical attention. The incident led to charges of police brutality. Neighborhood forces were enlisted to protest police actions and alleged discrimination by neighborhood merchants against Puerto Ricans and Negroes. Leaflets were distributed alleging that the girls were insulted and abused by the shopkeeper and his wife, and merely tried to defend themselves when attacked by the Ukrainian grocer and the police. The hue and cry aroused the neighborhood and police protection had to be assigned to the store where a picket line appeared each day.

Another incident occurred when a neighborhood landlord, Joseph Maccorone, was arrested for assaulting a Puerto Rican tenant. Under the leadership of the Integrated Workers Progressive Labor Party, a picket line was formed to protest alleged discrimination. Telegrams were sent by the Council of Puerto Rican and Hispanic Organizations of the Lower East Side and by the Reverend Michael Allen of the Lower East Side Civil Rights Committee to the Mayor and Police Commissioner to direct the Police Captain to do something about the flagrant discrimination in the area against Puerto Ricans. Necessary police assignments were made to the location to prevent further assaults and to protect the landlord's property which had been set on fire and otherwise damaged. The demonstrators soon turned the focus of their complaints on the police when several arrests were effected. Not only were the police accused of brutality, but opprobrium was directed at them as supporters of racial discrimination and oppressors of the poor.

A key influence in community feeling was Mobilization For Youth (MFY). Organized in 1962, this many-faceted organization served the community in many ways. Many of them added to the antagonism between the residents of the area and the police of the Ninth Precinct. That this effect was not intentional became evident in the wonderful cooperation MFY furnished when called upon. The antagonism was a by-product rather than the intent of MFY's programs. Seeking to encourage

³ WECHSLER, loc. cit.

local participation in social programs, MFY's staff identified with the community and showed the people the means and methods of protest through community organization, educational campaigns, legal aid, housing clinics, job-training and employment centers. Since the clientele served were mainly Negro and Puerto Rican youth and family units, MFY's programs were directed toward the goal of eliminating poverty by making people aware of their political rights and powers. These programs employed such informational tactics as leaflet distribution, street meetings, demonstrations, and picket lines. All were methods which generally brought some degree of confrontation with the police. It is no wonder then, that the residents of this ghetto or slum area saw the police as antagonists rather than the protectors of their rights and liberty.

THE POLICE ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY

The police serve the community in many ways. The local station house is the catch-all for all the problems of the community. Where else can a person go at any hour of the day or night and get attention and sometimes help in areas not usually included in law enforcement services.

Basically the police enforce only the law and offer equal service to all. Most police problems in intergroup relations spring from the violation of those principles, or the belief or accusation that they have been violated. Perhaps each member of a community or each group has an emotional idea of his needs of rights and where there are conflicting demands in a community the police "... must develop the ability to pick out the legal and professional determinants... from the pressure for action based... on what is demanded by (the) leaders of either the community or of our intelligentsia." "We enforce the law, not truth or social custom or good intentions."⁴

In the Ninth Precinct, as we have noted, there is a heterogeneous population, both in racial, ethnic, and economic groupings. Police procedures require that efforts be made to maintain communication and dialogue with the community in order to be aware of the needs, problems, and propensities of the people who live within the precinct territory. The public relations policies are a respon-

sibility of the precinct commander. Generally the success or failure of his administration is based on the efficiency of his program for keeping himself informed of developments and keeping the community informed of his interest in it. The rapport established in the community by the local police personnel usually has a direct relationship with the problems experienced. Basically, when complaints are made to the Mayor, the Police Commissioner, or to the higher echelon offices of the department, it becomes apparent that either no avenues of communication are open at the level of operations or that there is no confidence in the local administrators.

The Spring of 1966 marked a high-point in community dissatisfaction culminating in notifications to headquarters of lists of complaints which included criticism of police attention in the Lopez case, the arrest of Angel Hernandez,⁵ and the lack of attention afforded demonstrators who picketed the station house on April 18th to protest police brutality.⁶ The communication indicated that the police were indifferent to the needs of the community, covering up the shortcomings of the police, and failing to exact proper performance through ineptness or lack of supervision. Complaints were also sent by other groups substantially corroborating a lack of confidence.

This was the first year of Mayor John V. Lindsay's administration. He had championed the minority groups' demands for civilian review of police activities. He had brought into his cabinet a Police Commissioner who would accept civilian review even though he did not believe it necessary. In response to the minority groups' desire for recognition and representation, Lloyd Sealy, a Negro career policeman, was promoted to Commanding Officer of the Community Relations Bureau of the Police Department.

It was to this administration of interested parties that the complaints about police conduct on the Lower East Side were directed. It was this administration, alert to the danger signals, that decided that a change was indicated even before evaluating the specific guilt or innocence of each charge leveled at the Ninth Precinct personnel. Investigations had already been undertaken in each case, the results would follow in due time.

This was the background that led to a change of commanders at the Ninth Precinct.

⁴ WILLIAM P. BROWN, *The Police and Community Conflict*, NAT'L INSTITUTE ON POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS, 1962, p. 3.

⁵ WECHSLER, loc. cit.

⁶ WHEAT'S HAPPENING, May 9, 1966, p. 1.

NEW EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE UNDERSTANDING
AND COOPERATION

The writer's introduction to the Ninth Precinct consisted of briefings by personnel of the Police Commissioner's Confidential Investigating Unit, Chief Inspector Sanford D. Garelik, and Assistant Chief Inspector Lloyd Sealy. These talks covered the history of the neighborhood discord and stressed the importance of establishing a better relationship with community elements, so that both police problems and public relations could be approached most efficiently. Known complainants and specific incidents were identified. General conditions and areas of police laxity were delineated for the writer's information and attention. It was vitally important for the well-being of the community and the reputation of the department that the police image improve before the summer.

Approximately two hundred-fifty officers and men were assigned to the Ninth Precinct. Besides the Commanding Officer, two other members of the precinct have community relations responsibilities. They are the Unit Training Sergeant and the Youth Patrolman whose designation has since been changed to Community Relations Officer.

Sergeant Thomas Gaffney had been the Training Sergeant in the Ninth Precinct for several years. Primarily, his duties were to prepare and conduct in-service training sessions for precinct personnel. Secondly, he was assigned the task of assisting the Captain in community relations efforts. This was a natural combination of tasks since the Sergeant could thus learn the temper of the community and interpret it to the patrol force. He could also apprise the public of the programs and procedures of the department and serve as a liaison between the two groups. Sergeant Gaffney was a knowledgeable and articulate officer, sincere and conscientious. He had a good relationship with local individuals and groups since he had represented the former captain at most of the meetings and conferences in the area.

The Community Relations Officer was a veteran policeman of Slavic descent who had been born and raised in the area. A former pitcher for the New York Giants, Patrolman Walter Okpych was known and respected on every block where children lived, played, or attended school. He was known to all by his first name or by his childhood nickname. His knowledge of the neighborhood people and problems was extensive and indispensable.

Though he lacked formal education and a facile delivery—he was the "rough diamond" of the Ninth Precinct. At meetings, people thought well of Sergeant Gaffney and Patrolman Okpych, but since they attended as representatives of the commanding officer and had no authority to make decisions, they represented ineffective police representation, indicative of administrative disinterest.

It was decided that a starting point would be an evaluation of our personnel and the formulation of plans to make them aware of the current problem and their role in its solution. It is obvious that the community's antagonisms were actually directed against the behavior of the policemen even though they complained about the administration of the precinct. Correction had to be effected through the efforts of each individual regardless of rank.

Although they understand intellectually, policemen have certain feelings about their job and about the community in which they work. Professor Arthur Niederhoffer, a former member of the Ninth Precinct, in his study of the police in an urban society, describes the patrolman's makeup. "Although the typical policeman has a working-class background, the occupational role requires that he display a middle-class behavior and ideology partially because he is supposed to keep the public conduct as nearly conventional as possible."⁷ This conflicts sharply with the image of the police held by the slum or ghetto clientele.

For the urban poor, the police are those who arrest you. In almost any slum there is a vast conspiracy against the forces of law and order. If someone approaches asking for a person, no one there will have heard of him, even if he lives next door. The outsider is "cop" . . . (and in the Negro ghetto, most dramatically, he is "the man").⁸

The education of a patrolman begins in the Police Academy and continues on every tour of duty he performs. He must correlate the theoretical approach taught at the Academy, which was oriented toward the social sciences, with the practical lessons he learns in the street. Especially in a busy, high-hazard precinct does the "be tough" philosophy take over quickly. The recruit is often warned by older officers that he can survive only if he

⁷ ARTHUR NIEDERHOFFER, *BEHIND THE SHIELD*, p. 108.

⁸ MICHAEL HARRINGTON, *THE OTHER AMERICA*, p. 16.

makes everyone on the street understand that "he's the boss".

In a slum area the professional ethic loses most of the time: the civil rights of lower-class individuals do not count as much as the necessity to accomplish a staggering amount of police work as expeditiously as possible.⁹

STEP 2

The next order of business was to determine exactly how the community felt about the police and to evaluate the reliability of these reports. It was important to differentiate between real and imagined faults, known and hearsay complaints, and valid or subversively inspired dissatisfactions.

Visits and conferences with the directors of community agencies were held. The leaders of MFY, LEAP, the Boy's Club of New York, Boy's Brotherhood Republic Settlement House, Lower East-Side Area Services (a local branch of the City Office of Economic Opportunity), and others were eager to meet with local police personnel to define community problems and seek solutions. Most of their criticism stemmed from the fact that communication with the police was not a free exchange of ideas, but usually consisted of a formal delivery of charges and routine defensive answers. Investigations that were promised either took too long to complete or were forgotten altogether, indicating indifference. Basically, the individuals and groups in the neighborhood wanted recognition that, although they were poor and minority group members, they were human beings who were entitled to courteous, efficient, and respectful treatment by municipal agencies.

Our conversation with the staff of Mobilization For Youth was interesting and rewarding. Bertram Beck, the director, had assembled his supervisory staff to meet with us. A lively and enlightening session followed. We were interrogated and examined by professional social workers, educators, and public relations personnel. We left them with the general impression that the police were anxious to do a creditable job in the community and that we would be relying on them to supply the resources and professional know-how of their specialists. We volunteered to conduct meetings, panels and gripe-sessions on police problems. We offered to make available to the community such police services as were needed that were consistent with our resources and our scope of activities. Where

complaints were made, we asked for their suggestions and recommendations for correction.

From this meeting there evolved three programs which helped tremendously to heal police-community rifts. These were: the Human Relations Lecture Series, the Grass-Roots Leaders Conferences, and the Storefront Demonstration Workshop. These will be discussed later.

Visits to other local organizations brought forth similar expressions of support for a police organization that would listen to the voices of the community and show an interest in their welfare. The long established agencies in the area described how they had accommodated to neighborhood changes in clientele and outlook and suggested that we do the same.

Actual contact between the police and the community began shortly thereafter with a Grass-Roots Leaders meeting to which the heads of neighborhood storefront clubs, churches, and ethnic associations attended. Mrs. Marylyn Bibb, the director of Community Development for MFY, assisted in inviting and involving a broad base of representatives who are not usually included, or rather, who are left out of community activities. Large organizations were not represented at this meeting because the articulateness and sophistication of their leaders would inhibit the free expression of the others. To impress the importance which the department attached to the new program on the participants of the meeting, it was attended by the Deputy Commissioner in Charge of Community Relations and by Assistant Chief Inspector Lloyd Sealy. Several policemen and detectives were also present to indicate that the ideas and comments expressed at the meeting would reach the operational level. Too often had it been said that the command level was cooperative and understanding, but the needs and feelings of the people are never understood by the "cop on the beat". We needed the "cop on the beat" to participate so that they were aware that they were part of the team too.

The meeting was later described as, "warm but productive". Though one speaker complained about rough treatment by the police and the "occupation army" character of the Tactical Police Force, another minority-group spokesman demanded more police for the area and a tougher attitude toward hoodlums and thieves. Where complaints were voiced about ongoing conditions, promises were made that assignments and atten-

⁹ NIEDERHOFFER, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

tion would be given to ameliorate the conditions. The meeting elicited favorable reaction from the community. The first confrontation in the campaign to improve community relations, we felt, had been a success. A satisfying by-product of the involvement of patrolmen and detectives was the realization they gained that there were those among minority groups who appreciated police efforts, as well as those who constantly criticized.

More and more people were made aware that a police-sponsored organization, the Precinct Community Council, held regular meetings in the neighborhood. We encouraged those who lived, worked, or who had an interest in the community to become members and engage in necessary programs for the benefit of the community. Commissioner Howard R. Leary stressed the importance of these councils as a vehicle to interpret the role of the police to the community and the community to the policeman.¹⁰

It became readily apparent that the community, like the Police Department, was eager for a change and willing to help achieve better relations. Our job was to convince the people that we were sincere in our desire to improve understanding and that we would follow through to accomplish this end.

The Ninth Precinct Newsletter was one of the methods employed to reach into the community. This was a four page leaflet printed in both English and Spanish. Its heading stated, "A local publication for the residents of the 9th Precinct from their police at 321 East 5th Street, N.Y.C." This newsletter had been originated several years prior in a public relations campaign. It had appeared two or three times and lapsed into oblivion with the promotion and transfer of the former captain. New issues were written, printed, and distributed. They featured short biographies of a policeman and a community leader, useful neighborhood information, articles on personal and street safety, recruitment advertisements, narcotics information, and other articles and general information to inform the people that a police department had an interest and a purpose in the community.

... yesterday throughout the Lower East Side
 ... the patrolmen of the Ninth Precinct on East 5th Street began distributing 10,000 copies of their Spanish and English-language newspaper.
 ... The newsletter, distributed in supermarkets,

schools, stores, and community agencies . . . (is) . . . to be printed once every two months. . . "We feel this is one way of cementing relations between the community and the police," said Captain Joseph Fink.¹¹

A particularly successful program was the Community Relations Storefront which was established on a trial basis during the summer of 1966. With the cooperation of a local landlord, a vacant store was made available to us. Here we planned to bring police services into an area where people were reluctant, afraid, or unable to go to the station house. People in a poverty area are dependent on the police for many services. They are the victims of lawlessness, they need assistance for health services and emergencies in connection with fires, water leaks, rat infestation, and so forth. But they have a traditional distrust for authority having had few satisfactory experiences in meeting, knowing, or talking to policemen. The atmosphere of a station house is coldly official. A visitor entering encounters a uniformed officer behind a raised desk protected by an iron railing. This image is not conducive to a friendly, confident feeling on the part of a visitor seeking assistance. The storefront facility was intended to bring the policeman close to the scene and to the people. It was manned by uniformed policemen who were selected for this duty because of their language skills, racial background, or personality traits. The store was made attractive with posters and display material relating to Narcotic, Safety, Educational, and other programs. Police public relations material such as comic books, coloring books, "Advice to Women", "Household Hints for Security" and others were provided for distribution to visitors. From time to time displays and exhibits by the Narcotics Bureau or the Emergency Squad were provided in the store or on the street outside. Also applications and information were offered for Police and School Crossing Guard positions. The store was open from 10 A.M. to 10 P.M. daily. Neighborhood acceptance was immediate and gratifying. Both children and adults visited frequently to satisfy their curiosity or to seek help. Some visitors proffered information on narcotics and gambling violations after explaining that they would never come to the station house for fear of being labeled informers. Inquiries were

¹⁰ New York City Police Department, Standard Operating Procedure #8, October 14, 1966.

¹¹ BERNARD WEINRAUB, Police Newsletter Woos Lower East Side, NEW YORK TIMES, August 20, 1966, p. 37.

received and processed relating to other city departments and advice given where no direct action could be furnished. Reports of crimes were transmitted to headquarters and requests for ambulance or police services were expedited by phone.

The experiment led to the preparation and submitting of a proposal for federal funding of a Demonstration Workshop in Community Relations. New York University's Graduate School of Social Work, Mobilization For Youth, and the Ninth Precinct collaborated to prepare a program which would operate a storefront facility manned by both police personnel and a social worker, provide college level courses in Human Relations for precinct policemen and also provide for community relations training for the area.

Particularly good results were obtained from a program involving children at the Lower East Side Action Project. LEAP was established on the principle that there should be a place for children who were given up by the schools, settlement houses, and other agencies as beyond help. Its clientele was unruly, rebellious, and generally antisocial. Of course, "cops" were anathema to them. We offered the director, Larry Cole, the services of some policemen to work with the children as tutors on a one-to-one basis, to demonstrate that policemen are human beings with whom they could establish a relationship. Cole suggested that the policemen could serve better in a sports program or play relationship. We bought the idea. A former professional boxer and a former wrestler and champion weight-lifter were assigned to run boxing and wrestling clinics at LEAP's clubhouse one afternoon a week. The results exceeded all expectations. Children who formerly hated "cops" now took every opportunity to stop and talk to every one they saw. Those who would never have thought of "snitching" now asked why overt violations of law at specific locations were permitted to occur without action being taken by the local police. A relationship of trust and respect was established. This sports clinic program culminated in an outdoor boxing exhibition in which these and other youngsters participated. Noted sports-world figures such as boxing champions, Emile Griffith and Sandy Saddler, participated. The community overflowed a local amphitheatre and cheered the children and the police. A local paper editorialized:

Last night's boxing exhibition at the Jacob Riis Amphitheatre, staged by the 9th Precinct Community council and featuring local youngsters,

was a splendid example of an enlightened Police Department at work.¹²

These were some of the areas explored in establishing a better climate of police-community cooperation. Also, members of the precinct collected funds among themselves to buy sports equipment for a play-street program undertaken by a Puerto Rican block-committee. Other policemen volunteered to coach and supervise play activities at neighborhood facilities. Thus the people of the neighborhood were informed that the police did more than arrest, summons, and harass the residents of the Lower East Side.

STEP 3

Now steps were to be taken to apprise the patrol force of the problems faced by the people they met each day during their working hours. In order to highlight the local concerns and to correct erroneous stereotyped concepts, the Human Relations Lecture Series was undertaken. It was the result of earlier dialogues held with the personnel of Mobilization For Youth who had often stressed the fact that policemen failed to understand the culture, background, and values of the people of the area. We offered to disseminate such information if their staff could prepare short monographs on pertinent human relations topics.

On September 13, 1966, Police Department Press Release No. 93¹³ announced the beginning of a series of three-minute lectures to be delivered to policemen as they assembled for duty each day. A lecture would be repeated for ten consecutive rollcalls so that each member of the command would have an opportunity to hear it. The first lecture was entitled, "Who is on Welfare and Why?" It portrayed the characteristics of the city's welfare recipients. The *New York Times* reported, "Yesterday's 4 P.M. lecture appeared to be greeted with interest by the 22 policemen in the muster room. . . ."¹⁴ "We hope other precincts will take a lesson from the Ninth", read an editorial in the *New York Post*.¹⁵

Commissioner Leary introduced the second of the series, at the Ninth Precinct Station House, titled, "Puerto Ricans in New York City" while

¹² TOWN AND VILLAGE, Editorial, August 25, 1966, p. 4.

¹³ Police Department Press Release #93.

¹⁴ BERNARD WEINRAUB, *Understanding Poor—New Calling for Police*, *NEW YORK TIMES*, September 14, 1966, p. 19.

¹⁵ Police Progress Report, *NEW YORK POST*, September 15, 1966, p. 28.

the policemen listened attentively from an "at ease" position. Several local leaders of Puerto Rican ancestry present beamed proudly. At the same time, in six other station houses in ghetto areas, six captains had been directed to deliver the same lecture to their forces. The *New York Post* called it, "... a new move by the Police Department in its attempts to improve its image and involvement with minority groups."¹⁶ Jacques Nevard, later to become the Police Department's Deputy Commissioner for Press Relations, in the *New York Times* wrote, "... a program designed to reduce misunderstandings and friction between the police and minority communities."¹⁷

The next monograph, *Negroes in New York City*, has been prepared and is awaiting introduction.

CONCLUSION AND PROSPECTS

How have all these programs influenced the climate of the community? Have the police and the slum dweller or minority group representative reached a working arrangement or an understanding? Is community peace assured by these efforts? It is evident that there are no ready answers. No answers that do not need qualifications. A local weekly newspaper wrote:

Knock wood, but the "long hot summer" is just about over and there have been no blowups to amount to anything in the ghetto below 14th Street. Instead, there has been orderly progress fueled by the community organization work of Mobilization For Youth and the devoted courage of an outstanding police organization.¹⁸

Perhaps this is the answer so far. A concerted effort on the part of both the administration and the community are needed to keep "the cool".

¹⁶ CLYDE HABERMAN, Cops offer a Friendly Word—In Spanish, *NEW YORK POST*, December 29, 1966, p. 28.

¹⁷ JACQUES NEVARD, Police to Habla Espanol, Leary Says, *NEW YORK TIMES*, December 29, 1966, p. 27.

¹⁸ TOWN AND VILLAGE, Editorial, loc. cit.

In the *New York Times*, veteran reporter, Homer Bigart reported on the views of civil rights leaders in the wake of the defeat of the Civilian Review Board referendum held last Election Day. Though he stated that, "much latent hostility remains . . .", he added, "Not all the reports from civil rights leaders were pessimistic. Val Coleman, community relations director of Mobilization For Youth, said improved relations have been established between police of the Ninth Precinct and the Negro and Puerto Rican communities of the Lower East Side."¹⁹

The Police Department continues to impress on its officers and men, through the Community Relations Bureau programs, the necessity of understanding and applying the techniques of good human relations, good community relations, and good public relations. It has revised and strengthened the curriculum in Social Studies for students at the Police Academy. It has emphasized such subjects in the in-service courses on the operational and command levels. It has stressed the importance of higher education for all ranks to ensure that its personnel will have the tools with which to cope with these vital problems in a competent manner.

The solutions are not all in the hands of the police. It is important that the community develop men of good-will and understanding, of depth and perception to recognize that the word "relations" indicates a partnership, a coordination of attention, effort and confidence to work together toward worthwhile ends.

However, each member of a police administration must work with the conviction that on understanding, empathy, and the promotion of a favorable public image rests the future of successful police work in this country.

¹⁹ HOMER BIGART, New Police Board Finds Complaints Are Off Sharply, *NEW YORK TIMES*, January 9, 1967, p. 1.