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POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES: A REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE AND PROJECTS

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We as a nation, have had the opportunity to learn a great deal about ourselves in the last ten years. Our experiences have made some of us intensely aware of the immense problems facing us.

We have seen our cities go up in smoke and smoulder in chaos as our citizens rioted in ghettos across the country.

We have witnessed the assassinations of three of our most dynamic national leaders; President John Kennedy, Martin Luther King, and Robert Kennedy.

We have watched our students protest the inadequacies of our universities, in many cases actually initiating a guerilla war with the school administrations.

We have heard shocking reports of the thousands of Americans who are forced to live impoverished lives, deprived of adequate nutrition, health care, and education in a nation that has immense resources.

And we have heard thousands of complaints of police brutality from cities in the East to cities in the West. In fact, we have witnessed this brutality in person, in photographs or on television screens, in the South, at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, at San Francisco State, and in Washington, D. C.

We have experienced this violence and we have experienced much more that tells us that our country is in trouble, that we are faced with complex "social problems." The problems are shocking, depressing, staggering and most of all, they press for immediate solution.

This article is about only one of these problems—police-community relations. The awareness that problems exist between the police and the public

has inspired hundreds of studies and innumerable publications which attempt to analyze the situation and recommend or initiate programs to solve the problems. What follows is a selected review of that literature.

THE POLICE

Before jumping into an analysis of the problem, a proper perspective must be established. Today's police are faced with an extremely difficult and complex task. America is a place of great diversity and rapid change. It is a country divided by a rigid socio-economic class system and by a multitude of minority and ethnic groups. In the last fifty years, America has been urbanized at a tremendous rate. Even now people are leaving the country and moving to the city; people from the South are pouring into cities in the North. The cities become more and more crowded, especially in the ghettos. Consequently, this is a time of increased crime and social unrest. Police work is particularly complicated, delicate, and important.

The policeman's role, unlike many other occupational roles, is ambiguous. The policeman is a friend and a protector. He assures safety on the streets and keeps the peace. You call him when you are in trouble, when your neighbors are making too much noise, or when your cat is caught in a tree. At the same time, the policeman is foe and repressor. He inhibits your freedom, tickets you when you are speeding or illegally parked, comes to your house to quiet you down when your neighbors complain about noise, investigates, and interrogates you when you are suspected of or involved in some illegal activity.

Clark (1965) examined the isolation/integration

of the police in the community in Britain and America. He noted that policemen are isolated from people in a community because of a desire for privacy by people, a history of incompetence and occasional brutality by police, the general social avoidance of seamy elements in society and the occupational, professional, and official policies of policing groups. But police are integrated within a community because they are recognized as legitimate and needed by the public, a fear of what could happen if they were not integrated, an ongoing process of accommodation between police and the policed, and a need for cooperation to more effectively police.

The ambiguity of the policeman's role is especially striking in urban slums and ghettos. In these concentrated minority group areas, police are often hated and feared. They are perceived as soldiers of a White occupation army in a bitterly hostile country. Yet, the amazing paradox is that the police are the ghetto resident's most important source of help in times of sickness, injury, and trouble. The poor and uneducated, it seems, use the police in the same way that middle-class people use family doctors and clergymen. They are called on in noncriminal and emergency situations (Bayley and Mendelsohn, 1969; Cumming, Cumming, and Edell, 1965; Bard and Berkowitz, 1968; Black, 1968). Liberman (1969) discovered that, in their pathways to the state mental hospital, almost 50 per cent of mentally ill patients and their families from Baltimore utilize the police as a community resource. To better understand why so many people use the police for help with mental problems, a comparison was made between first admission patients who used the police ($N = 17$) and those who used more conventional medical resources ($N = 35$). The results indicate that families decide to call the police because other, more appropriate resources are not as accessible and will not offer services to recalcitrant patients. Liberman concluded that until community mental health facilities develop more active evaluation and treatment programs for reluctant patients, the police will continue to serve a needed role in the care of the mentally ill. This ambiguous role of repressor and helper complicates the policeman's job and frustrates the people he is dealing with.

The often debated issue of police power and police restraint points to another complexity of police work. The means required to achieve police ends may often conflict with the conduct required of the police as legal actors. There are those who

believe that police should have more power and more freedom in terms of the law. On the other hand, there are those who emphasize that police must stick to the Rule of Law. Police and law enforcement officials are under a great deal of pressure to maintain law and order. They perform their job where all eyes are upon them. They are strongly criticized if they try to bypass or go beyond the limits of the law and rarely are they praised for good deeds.

The activities of the policeman vary from the city to the country, from large cities to small cities, from district to district. Each precinct has its own unique problems. For example, a precinct located near docks, with railroad yards and warehouses, will have to deal with problems quite different from the problems of a precinct in an area like Greenwich Village where there are coffeehouses, demonstrations, and nonconformists (Black, 1968).

Some generalizations, however, can be made about the work of policemen. Algernon D. Black, former chairman of the 1966 Civilian Review Board of the Police Department of the City of New York, in a book entitled *The People and the Police* (1968), explained the ramifications and complications of police work. The popular conception of the task of the policeman is thought to be *law enforcement*. He is responsible for protecting life and property, preventing lawlessness, and apprehending law breakers. He is imagined as chasing hardened criminals, capturing bank robbers, and investigating murders. His image, no doubt, is acquired from newspapers, television, and movies. In actual fact, the policeman is responsible for law enforcement, but his job involves much more too. A number of recent studies have shown that only a small percentage of police work involves law enforcement per se.

Epstein (1962) estimated that 90 per cent of the policeman's function is in activities unrelated to crime control or law enforcement. Cumming, *et al.* (1965) reported that half of the calls for assistance to an urban police department may involve family crisis or other complaints of a personal or inter-personal nature. Raymond Parnas (1967), studying just one month of Chicago's 1966 police records, reported that a total of 134,369 calls for police in the city of Chicago, 17 per cent were classified as "Criminal Incident." The remaining 83 per cent includes 12,544 traffic accident calls and 96,826 "Miscellaneous Non-Criminal." This "Miscellaneous Non-Criminal" category in-

cludes about 80 per cent of all calls for police service. Misner (1967) indicated that police departments have new missions in urban situations. The assumption has been that the policeman's task is to control crime and investigate criminals. Misner reports that more than 80 per cent of police time has been spent in non-criminal matters. These non-criminal, interpersonal incidents include anything from a cat caught in a tree to a family quarrel, to run-away children, to neighbors making too much noise. In other words the policeman makes very few arrests in comparison to the "human relations" work that he does.

THE PEOPLE

Now, what exactly is the police-community problem? The problem is that people across the nation are complaining about policemen. Policemen are being accused of acting with harsh and undue brutality. The situation is at its worst in city slums and ghettos. Minority groups—Negroes, Puerto-Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and others—accuse police of racial prejudice and claim that they are being unjustly treated. The problem is apparent in a much subtler sense by the widespread expression of negative attitudes toward police-attitudes of distrust, uncooperativeness, and hostility. At the same time, the police are complaining. They complain about the lack of respect for police officers, especially in minority group districts, about the inadequate and unfair treatment of police actions by the press and about the attachment by the public of racial connotations to every police action involving non-White citizens (International Association of Chiefs of Police and the United States Conference of Mayors, 1968).

The International Association of Chiefs of Police and the United States Conference of Mayors reports that more than half of the 165 police departments they surveyed were being charged with either "differential treatment or brutality or both." These charges range from a vague opinion to fully justified cases involving excessive and unjustified use of force.

As mentioned earlier, much of the hostility towards police comes from minority groups living in concentrated, ghetto areas. To a great extent, the police-community relations problem is a racial problem. A number of studies have been conducted for the purpose of exposing this predicament. The National Opinion Research Center conducted a study of opinions towards police for the President's

Commission. They found a spectrum of opinion, but they noted that the differences in attitude by race were striking. Twenty and three tenths per cent of all white people thought that the police were doing an "excellent" job of enforcing the law while only 15 per cent of non-Whites held that view. At the opposite end of this rating scale, 7 per cent of all Whites felt that the police were doing a poor job, as contrasted with 16 per cent of non-Whites.

Prejudicial news reporting is one problem (Jaffe, 1965 a and 1965 b; Haines, 1968), while minority views are another. Epstein (1967) made a study of a Negro weekly newspaper in order to determine the legitimacy of police complaints about unfavorable news coverage. A two year content analysis of the paper was made covering 1964 and 1965. Epstein concluded that in terms of space, articles, headlines, pictures and letters, police were treated unfavorably. The Negro press is a reflection of the attitudes in the Negro community. In the March-April 1968 issue of the *American Behavioral Scientist*, Burton Levy reports on a survey of Black-White attitudes toward police. He tells about a 1965 poll of Detroit, Michigan where 68 per cent of the Negro community believed that law enforcement was not fair and equitable. He points out further that the hostility towards police is not exclusively confined to the poor or to those engaged in illicit activity in the Negro community. Black doctors, lawyers and even police officers share the beliefs. For example, the Guardians, the New York City Organization of Negro Police Officers endorse the establishment of a civilian review board in opposition to the organizations of White officers. The Guardian president publically stated that he had witnessed "incidents of police brutality."

Levy also reported that Negroes feel, two to one, that police brutality is a major cause of civil disorder. This was, in fact, the conclusion of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. This Advisory Commission cited deep hostility between police and ghetto communities as a *primary cause* of the disorders that they survey.

It is interesting to note that in the year of the Watts Riot, 1965, complaints about police totaled 979. Of these charges, there were enough sustained to result in discipline of the police force. Three policemen were dismissed; eight were retired; 13 resigned rather than face disciplinary action; 88 were suspended without pay; 70 were reprimanded; 49 received admonishment; and 4 received warnings. One hundred fifty-two others

underwent some sort of "relinquishment." When the police moved to contain the Watts Riot, they were looked on as the cause and were the target of hatred and the symbol of brutality. (Black, 1968, p. 59).

Aside from contributing to the cause of civil disorders, the negative attitudes towards police have other indicators and other results. A number of studies have suggested that relations between the police and schools are not always as good as they should be. For example, Milander (1967) found that upon an analysis of the contact between police departments and school systems in thirteen Illinois school districts, five major areas of concern were reported. These included juvenile delinquency detection, prevention and control, traffic and control, safety education, crowd control, and student or adult problems on or near school property. Milander felt that *police-school relationships were much in need of improvement.*

Ennis (1967) indicated that the dissatisfaction with police and bad attitude towards police departments led many people to refuse to report crime and criminal behavior. A study done under the sponsorship of the U. S. President's Crime Commission confirmed other studies which had demonstrated that much crime goes unreported. In the summer of 1965, 10,000 households were surveyed and it was found that more than 20 per cent had been victimized in the past year. This finding was about twice as high as that reported by the FBI statistics. Some 55 per cent of non-reporting people indicated they did not notify police because of their attitude toward police effectiveness.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of the extent of the negative police image is seen through an incident that occurred in a Covina, California, project. This project was called "Operation Empathy—Skid Row." As a learning experience, Covina police officers spent a day playing the part of skid row inhabitants. They were dressed accordingly, given props such as shopping bags containing collected junk or a bottle of wine, and were sent into a community where they were unknown. Nearing the end of the day, two of the policemen-bums stopped in a parking lot to finish off their bottles of wine. All of a sudden, two uniformed policemen appeared, and the two "skid-row bums" were spread against a building and searched. Forgetting the agreement not to reveal identities and purpose unless absolutely necessary, one of the "skid-row bums" panicked and identified himself as a policeman. When asked later to explain why

he was so quick in his revelation of his identity, the policeman found it very difficult to explain. Finally, he blurted out that he felt he might get shot. He admitted that as he was being searched, he suddenly thought of every negative thing he had ever heard about a policeman. He even perceived a mental flash on a newspaper heading "Police Officer Erroneously Shot While in the Field." This policeman was afraid of the treatment he would receive from another policeman.

SPECIAL PROJECTS IN LAW ENFORCEMENT

The police-community relations problem is very diverse, and a variety of special programs have developed across the country. Each program attacks the problem with a different approach and, in that sense, points to a different aspect of the problem. Many of the programs are briefly explained to lend further insight into the problem as well as point towards solutions.

One of the most unusual and most exciting of these projects was developed in New York City by Morton Bard (1968) (Bard and Berkowitz, 1967). Basically, the project was set up to demonstrate the possibilities for prevention of crime and promotion of mental health in training police as specialists in family crisis intervention.

That the majority of police work does not involve law enforcement per se, has already been discussed. Bard goes further in pointing out how much of the police work in New York City involves family crisis in the form of marital fights. These family crises are extremely serious. Statistics show that homicides and serious assaults are more likely to occur within family relationships than among strangers. Thus, family crisis intervention is very often dangerous for policemen. An example used earlier will again be helpful here. One policeman interrupting a marital quarrel may have to disarm a very angry husband. Policemen evidently often get hurt in this type of incident. Bard points out that policemen may, in these situations, without intent, provoke violence rather than subdue it. Bard feels that policemen need training in how to handle these situations where subtle techniques may calm the family crisis, rather than stimulate it. For example, by showing compassion and understanding, he might talk the angry husband into handing over the weapon rather than using violence to force him to disarm.

Some eighteen policemen were chosen from a largely disadvantaged, racially mixed community in New York, and were trained to operate as police

crisis intervention specialists. The responsibility of this unit is to investigate family disturbance complaints in the precinct. The men receive regularly scheduled group and individual professional consultation with members of the Psychology Department at The City College of the City University of New York. A later evaluative phase of the project will examine changes within the demonstration precinct in the areas of homicide and assault among members of families and *policemen*. This final evaluation is not yet complete, but there are strong indications that the project is successful. The policemen are learning how to walk in on family crises, to talk to each individual separately, to disarm people if armed, and when they have calmed the family members, to refer them to a counseling center.

Another of the most exciting and most successful programs was the Covina, California, project mentioned briefly earlier. An eight week course was designed to provide greater knowledge of values and ethics, individual human behavior, interpersonal and group relations, organizational behavior, intergroup or race relations and the nature of the community for the twenty members of the Covina Police Department who participated. This course was held under the direction of the City of Covina officials. The program was conducted by Creative Management Research and Development, a non-profit organization. Included in the program was an opening two-day retreat, a series of seven discussion sessions, a field experience in Riverside County Jail, research and evaluation and a closing banquet.

One of the most unique aspects of this program was the field experience referred to as "Operation Empathy." Policemen from a nearby county came into one of the class meetings and arrested the entire class. They were handcuffed and transported to the Riverside County Jail. Each member of the class was booked and sentenced to spend the night in jail. Afterwards the members of the class reported they had learned a great deal from the experience.

Because of the success of that experience the Covina Police Department planned additional field experience. Policemen were dressed up as skid-row bums, given the appropriate paraphernalia and asked to spend a day in the Los Angeles skid-row district. Again the experience was found to be very valuable. Police claimed that they had learned the importance of certain techniques for handling people, such as telling a man exactly how he is

going to be searched before searching him and using respectful names in talking with people rather than words that will trigger hard feelings.

Yet, in another quite different project in Houston, Texas, a group of businessmen formed Community Effort, Inc., as a private funding agency for the Houston Cooperative Crime Prevention Programs. A program was set up to bring together "Police and Community for Mutual Exchange of Attitudes and Images." The design and methodology followed closely the model provided by the Houston Veterans Administration Human Relation Training Laboratory, employing t-group and sensitivity-training approaches.

A series of human relations laboratories were devised. Each laboratory lasted six weeks, meeting for three hours each week. Each group contained an equal number of police officers and community members (especially representatives of minority and dissident groups). There were approximately twelve members in each group.

Group leaders were doctoral level psychologists and their assistants were graduate students in psychology. In initial meetings the police and community members used an exchange of images model. Police were asked to develop a list of images of the community and of themselves. Community people were asked to do the same. The two sub-groups then confronted each other with these images. After that, other methods were used depending on the group leader—techniques such as psychodrama, role reversal, and role mirroring.

The course was evaluated by a brief and anonymous questionnaire. Police and community members were asked to rate the program on a scale and to indicate in what ways the course had changed their attitudes. An analysis of these questionnaires yielded a number of results, of which some can be summarized. In answer to the questions about attitude changes, community people said that they had gained (1) better awareness of the policeman's role, his problems and scope of his responsibilities; (2) recognition of their responsibility as citizens to enforce law and order, to become involved, and to work with, not against or apart from the police; (3) greater respect for the police as individual human beings rather than being classed into one undifferentiated group, the "Blue Minority;" and (4) hope that some of the police will change their behavior and attitudes towards minority group members. At the same time, policemen said they were gratified that (1) the com-

munity had gained some appreciation of the policeman's role, and what he can and cannot do; (2) the recognition that police may provoke situations and aggravate feelings by verbal abuse; (3) an awareness and a shocked reaction by some of the intensity of the hatred for police held by some community members and (4) some awareness of the need to control personal feelings and emotions.

More details and more anecdotal material on this project are provided in *Ebony*, October, 1968, in an article entitled "Psychotherapy for Houston Police." (McLean, 1968). In Houston, sensitivity-training and encounter-group techniques were used. These techniques are quite controversial, and have been praised and criticized.

For example, Skousen (1967), one of the critics, discussed the role of sensitivity-training for policemen in an article in *Law and Order*. He indicated that sensitivity training was not useful for policemen because policemen became sensitive to the feelings, aspirations, and frustrations of criminals. He indicated that no similar effort was being conducted among the criminals to make them sensitive to the riots and messes they were making in the communities. He felt that sensitivity training forced the group to look at the personal attitudes and convictions of individuals and tried to manipulate them. He felt also that sensitivity training challenged and discredited the traditional Christian value system and essentially constituted an ideological war against American culture.

In Boston, thirteen police districts have a community relations workshop which includes a captain and a representative steering committee of about 12 citizens from the area. They meet on a regular basis. Some of the programs already set up by these young men, especially minority group members, prepare men for a police entrance examination. Another is a city wide community relations conference. A third is a police seminar including junior and senior high school students who participate. A fourth project includes a three-day institute conducted by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. A fifth program involves planning in order to bring grade schools and high schools into contact with police departments and operations.

One police community relations training program was developed by the Newark Police Department. The plans involved police and poor people in a dialogue forum. The sample of citizens selected included probationers and parolees. They planned on five classes of sixty persons each including

thirty law enforcement officers and thirty poor citizens from Newark. Programs would include lectures, case discussions, field experiences and open discussions. Attitudes and behavior patterns both would be evaluated in a follow-up study designed to determine effectiveness of the program.

Lipsitt and Steinbruner (1969) designed a project to study the effectiveness of group discussion in mitigating the rise of hostility between police and residents of the urban ghetto. Two fifteen member groups of police and ghetto residents held weekly discussions, led and observed by university researchers, for twelve weeks. Attitude scales administered at the beginning and end of the study, as well as recorded logs of the meeting, reveal increased understanding and empathy between initially hostile and defensive participants by the end of the study. With increased awareness of each other's problems came an increased faith in the power of cooperation to solve problems. Police became more interested in serving merely as disciplinarians. Some of the community members began to attempt to instill in their neighbors a more friendly attitude toward the police.

A short-term kind of police community relations workshop was developed at Adelphi University in New York. Sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews and Adelphi University, the project started on July 5, 1966, and was completed on July 29, 1966. Its purpose was to improve relationships between community organizations and administrators of justice including police, corrections, and courts. The participants included members of both groups.

In Dayton, Ohio, a police-community relations program was developed by Harold Silverman. This project is supported by Miami University of Ohio and Ohio State University and the Dayton Ohio, Police Department. The project began in 1967 and was scheduled to be completed in 1968. It included some eleven different groups of policemen over an eleven-week period in which fifteen officers of varying ranks were chosen at random and exposed to twelve hours of group discussion, lectures and role playing each week. Prior to the course an attitude questionnaire was administered which was to be readministered at a six-month interval. Each participating officer was given an opportunity to evaluate the course anonymously.

In addition to these programs aimed at bringing policemen and community people together or at increasing police understanding, a number of

programs involve such techniques as having the police educate the public, getting police involved with the schools, and having a police love-in.

The Tampa, Florida, Police Department, for example, has developed a program to help prevent crime. Through police talks, films, radio announcements, and educational television programs, the project is supposed to educate the public about law enforcement, to improve the image of the policeman, to discuss responsibilities of the public for law enforcement and to enable the crime prevention division to listen to public opinion and thereby design prevention programs to fit the needs.

An interesting project was set up in Des Moines, Iowa to have police officers instruct business men and women on how to reduce their chances of being victimized by criminal activity. This includes such things as shoplifting, forgery, burglary, auto thefts, and assaults. A ten week course meeting for two hours once a week was set up at the police academy there.

In Kansas City, a program was set up whereby a team of policemen including one White officer and one Black officer visited fourth grade classes in some eighty elementary schools. They spoke to a total of over 6,000 children. On a secondary level, eleven schools were visited with a total of 5,500 ninth graders involved. The role of the police department and obligations of policemen to protect people and property were explained to these young people. Apparently, no evaluation was carried out on this project.

A special program to develop good relationships between police departments and the schools was set up in the Minneapolis Junior High Schools. Selected police officers in the juvenile division were placed, to conduct preventive and educational work, in various junior high schools in Minneapolis.

Cormack (1967) conducted attitude surveys in Wauwatsa, Wisconsin. In a report of police community relations, a program was set up to train police officers and to prepare a code of conduct to provide public instruction and information about the police force and to establish special law and order week programs in conjunction with local service groups.

Another police community relations unit was set up in Richmond to develop programs relating to education and training. Reports, a manual, pamphlets, booklets and other literature were pre-

pared, published and circulated. Consultative service was provided to interested police and other agencies and organizations. Police-citizen partnership was encouraged to prevent crime and more professional use of other agencies was advocated as a solution of community problems and stress. An attempt was also made to smooth the role of policemen with the prosecution, courts and correctional departments. Additionally, the police and other community leaders were given assistance in trying to understand the complexity of social relationships, especially police-minority group relationships. An official police community relations unit, a realistic training program, and the involvement of civic organizations in human relations as well as many other community resources, was established.

In Detroit, Michigan, the new Chief of Police, Johannes Spreen, (*Taking a Chance on Love*, 1969) issued a St. Valentine's Day appeal for a 100-day public love-in toward the police—an era of good feeling to enable him to make needed reforms. It worked. Almost overnight bouquets of flowers and "cops are tops" valentines began flooding his office. He followed this by asking Detroiters to help their police by \$1.00 contributions for new equipment. Ten thousand donations were made. Spreen had other brainstorm ideas which include motor scooters (as in New York City) for use instead of squad cars which he claims "isolate the police and citizenry;" an information center to keep relatives informed of the status of prisoners; Review Boards; and \$1,000.00 raises for police with college degrees.

Another form of program which has attempted to deal with the police-community relations problem is the civilian review board. The President's Commission felt that it was an absolute necessity for every police department to have machinery for investigation of complaints against police activity or employees. Furthermore, a number of police-community relations projects have been criticized and accused of failure because they lacked a channel through which citizen complaints could be received and reviewed.

In the November 29, 1968, issue of *Commonweal*, Joe Riggert reports on three police-community relations projects: in San Francisco, St. Louis and Baltimore. His assessment of these three projects is that they are "only half successful at best, and doomed to failure at worst." Riggert claims that these programs have failed because no mechanism has been set up for public hearings on citizen complaints. The processing of grievances in these

three cities still remains largely a secret process, with findings, but no subsequent disciplinary action, and no report back to the complaining citizen. It is just this practice, in the view of the Crime Commission on Civil Disorders, that leads to distrust and belief in a "white wash" among minority residents. The San Francisco project serves as a good illustration.

In 1962, Dante Antreotti was named to head the Community Relations Unit of the San Francisco Police Force. Under this program a crew of community-relations police officers, civilian-clothed, were sent into the ghetto area to learn about the community and its needs, and to set up a number of different programs. They helped young Blacks obtain jobs by explaining their criminal records to prospective employers. Over a ten month period, they worked with 200 youths in the area of jobs and contacted 5,000 persons. They set up recreational activities sponsoring scores of athletic events and dances. They talked at Black Panther meetings, converted a rock throwing problem into a rock clean-up, and enlisted the aid of 22 street walkers to help dispel rumors and ease hostilities. In addition, the Community Relations Unit listened to complaints from minority groups and turned these in to the police department. According to Antreotti in an interview with *Fortune* magazine (Carruth, 1968), this created much antagonism among the other members of the police department. And since few if any of these complaints were acted on, the community still did not feel that their voices were being heard.

Packer (1966) advocated that police make full use of review boards as a means to gain more effective relationships with the public. Naegele (1967) indicated that police review boards would be extremely valuable in cities where there was little trust in the police departments. When public confidence began to develop, the wrongs of the police would no longer be ignored in a police review board. Only this can curb police abuses and satisfy citizens who have legitimate complaints. He discussed the system in Los Angeles as a case in point. He put down the police arguments that civilian complaints are the prerogative of police management, that legally constituted enforcement agencies lose power with the development of such review boards and that the review boards should have power to discipline but should not necessarily just rest within the police department. There is sometimes no recourse in the courts so

that civilians may have legitimate complaints which are not recognized through current structures.

As former chairman of the New York Civilian Complaint Review Board, Algernon Black is perhaps one of the best sources of information on civilian review boards. Let it suffice to say here that he is very strongly in favor of these types of boards in all cities.

The preceding review makes it evident that many projects and ideas are circulating. It is important to look at implications of these ideas and projects for police agencies. The following summary identifies some implications in broad outlines.

1. There is a major social problem in this country. This problem stems from a social and economic system which produces, maintains, and fosters inequalities among people. Only part of the policeman's role concerns crime and law enforcement, and this is further restricted to crime among people oppressed by the system. But the policemen are involved with the oppressed in many ways. Thus, emergency situations and non-criminal problems, especially with minority group members and poor people, constitute areas in which police spend considerable amounts of time. Many of these police services involve human relations, often under extremely stressful conditions. And yet, police work, by its very nature, tends to produce cynicism, isolation, and conservatism.

2. Frequently too few policemen are given too large a task. Police departments are typically understrength. Aside from the quantity issue, major changes are needed in quality of services. Policemen are in need of better training. Procedures for screening applicants must be improved, with more emphasis given on emotional fitness standards. Culling out those who cannot meet the quality standards must take place. Educational standards must be improved. At least some college or university training is a necessity for personnel in law enforcement positions. The types of education, and the topics considered must be altered, with more emphasis given to non-law enforcement problems in police training. Internships and on-the-job training are both important aspects of police education. More minority group members must be recruited to the police force. More contact is needed between police and ghetto communities, especially contact in which police learn about and experience empathy. Police relationships with the school systems must

be improved through contact of the police with school people.

3. Community and public images are negative. Only through increasing police effectiveness will this dissatisfaction change. Therefore, more university programs to perform research, train policemen, and develop programs relating to crime and criminal justice must be set-up. A model system, as developed by California, to promote law enforcement, should be extended. Teaching junior high and high school students about police work through contact with policemen may be effective in interesting students in careers in law enforcement. This would also involve policemen with the schools. Serious long-range research studies concerning the philosophy of law enforcement and policing must be developed. Mental health training for police intervention in family crises is possible. This should be extended. Empathy experiences in the field, i.e., what it's like to be a member of a minority group, are important. Sensitivity training may provide one technique by which police can learn what it is like to be a member of a minority group. Periodic community relations meetings between police and members of the communities at large should take place. Classes teaching businessmen and women, or others on how to reduce chances of being victimized may be legitimately conducted by a police-community program. Some special endeavors could go a long way to help.

4. Information centers to provide help for relatives about prisoners may be important. Civilian review boards are generally advisable. Special programs such as sports programs, conducted by policemen in problem areas may be very valuable in developing community-police relationships. Some of these recommendations are in practice now in many communities. Interested citizens, and policemen, can help to promote better law enforcement in communities through developing some of the above suggestions.

CONCLUSION

In concluding, it should be clear that only the surface of published literature and ideas has been scratched. The problem is vast. It can only be seen in the context of the total social structure, of which it is a part, and in the context of the judicial system of which it is a part. Nevertheless, some literature and ideas have been presented. It is hoped that a clear understanding in the direction of future solutions has been gained.

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