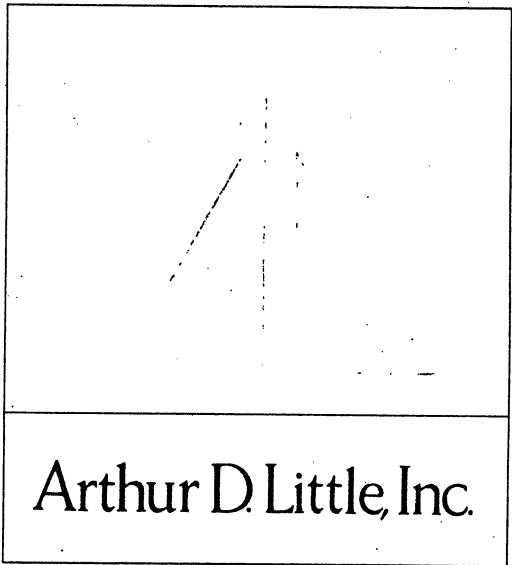


May 18, 1970

A PROGRAM IN
POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS
FOR THE CITY OF CAMBRIDGE

report to

CITY MANAGER,
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS



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Arthur D Little, Inc.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION. i

II. APPROACH USED IN THIS STUDY. 1

III. COMMUNITY GROUPS AND THEIR RESPONSES. 5

INTRODUCTION

THE POLICE "IMAGE"

YOUNG PEOPLE

MINORITIES

OTHER COMMUNITY GROUPS

COMPLEXITY OF THE "COMMUNITY"

IV. POLICE RESPONSES 19

INTRODUCTION

PROBLEMS PERCEIVED IN THE COMMUNITY

ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICE WORK AND ITS PERFORMANCE

DIFFERENCES AMONG GROUPS WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT

THE NEED FOR A PROGRAM IN POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS

V. MAJOR AREAS OF CONFLICT 24

THE MANY ROLES OF THE POLICE

POLICE DISCRETION

COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

RESPECT VERSUS FAMILIARITY

POLICE "BRUTALITY" OR PROVOCATION

PRIORITIES IN THE POLICE ROLE

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS

VI. SOME MECHANISMS FOR IMPROVING POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS 30

VII. A TRAINING PROGRAM IN POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS. 33

THE FORM OF THE PROGRAM

THE CONTENT OF THE PROGRAM

PROGRAM EVALUATION AND REVISION

APPENDICES. 40

A. SUGGESTED TRAINING OUTLINE

B. ILLUSTRATIVE PROBLEM SCENARIOS

C. GENERAL OUTLINE OF COMMUNITY INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

D. GENERAL OUTLINE OF POLICE INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

E. SOME TYPICAL COMMUNITY COMMENTS

F. BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. INTRODUCTION

For a long time now, technological advances in forensics, communications, data processing, and other areas related to police administration and operations have created training problems for police departments. More recently social innovations, social changes, and social unrest have intensified old problems and created new ones which have not generally been given special emphasis in police training programs. The administrators of the City of Cambridge and the Cambridge Police Department recognize the importance of these problems.

One way to approach these problems is through the concept of police/community relations. This concept needs to be distinguished from the traditional idea of community relations--an activity within the police department that is concerned with relating department policy to what are believed to be community interests and initiating programs to earn community respect and confidence. Police/community relations is a much broader concept, involving the idea of interaction between the police and the community in order to reach a mutual understanding of the problems of each. It is to this concept of police/community relations that this report is addressed. We feel that a training program will not be effective if it does not address the problem from the community side as well as the police side and take account of the responsibilities of each for the betterment of relations between the police and the community.

The late Professor Joseph A. Lohman, Dean of the School of Criminology, University of California at Berkeley, argued the many-sidedness of the police/community problem in an article in Federal Probation:

"...many of the problems which confront us stem from the failure of the public to know and to understand the new dimensions and ramifications of community life.

Traditional police measures will not repress and contain these populations. The fact is that our most professional police organizations have had no more success than others in containing such disturbances. No amount of focusing

on police measures which accent repression in the traditional approach to the problem can have any prospect of success.

"An effective law enforcement function must be familiar with and equal to its target. The ultimate answer is to see crime and violence, not just as problems in law enforcement, but as problems in education, family organization, employment opportunity, and housing. These are the structures which incubate deviance, and hence, crime, delinquency, and violence. They are the structures which breed disrespect for law and the police. It is a myth that man's behavior can be changed directly. It can be changed only by altering the conditions which underlie his behavior. We must, in this instance, treat the causes and not just the effects of crime and violence. In short, the demonstrations of the current day and the eruptions of a racial or youthful nature are evidence that we are at a critical juncture in the history of the United States and the development of its communities. That juncture is the emergence of a new kind of community -- the metropolitan community which is not merely a bigger place, not merely a change in population size or a change in geographic location. The distinguishing feature of the new metropolitan concentration is that it represents a whole new set of human relations, and those human relations must be the condition of action of the law and the police. The new community cannot be policed in terms which were appropriate to the village communities or to the urban centers which preceded the new, great and complex metropolitan centers."

II. APPROACH USED IN THIS STUDY

Police/community relations are obviously very complex. We made every effort possible, within the limited time and funds available for the study, to cover the wide range of problems associated with designing a program to improve police/community relations in the City of Cambridge. Our study focused upon the following goals:

- (1) Determination of community attitudes toward the responsibilities of the Cambridge Police Department.
- (2) Determination of the expectations of the community with regard to police operations.
- (3) Determination of what the Police Department perceives the expectations of the community to be.
- (4) Identification of areas of compatibility and incompatibility between the expectations of the community and the perceptions of the Police Department.
- (5) Analysis of the areas of incompatibility to determine whether the expectations of the community are realistic or unrealistic within the context of the legal mandate of the Police Department.
- (6) Development of approaches designed to (a) strengthen areas of compatibility and (b) provide a framework for educating the community with regard to unrealistic expectations and reaching an understanding in which expectations are realistic and can be met.
- (7) Preparation of a syllabus which outlines the recommended content of a training

program designed to promote better police/
community relations.

To achieve these goals we needed data both on attitudes and opinions and on actual events. We conducted an extensive program of interviews, described below. Members of the study team also spent considerable time on the street in areas of the city such as Harvard Square, Central Square, Western Avenue, and East Cambridge, where there is frequent interaction between the community and the police. We took full advantage of the very broad and extensive experience and training of the study team in individual interviewing techniques, group interviewing techniques, work role analysis, modified participant observation (for instance, accompanying a policeman on his beat), and data collection, analysis, and interpretation. We also relied heavily on the past experience of study team members in other projects dealing with urban problems, community organization, community relations, police administration, and law enforcement.

Interviews with both the community and the police were conducted in an unstructured situation in order to develop a very permissive atmosphere in which the respondent could feel perfectly free to express his or her feelings without fear of disapproval or reprisal. However, there was a general structure to the type of information which we attempted to elicit during the course of the interviews. Outlines of the general structure utilized for the community interviews and for the police interviews are included as Appendices C and D respectively.

To accomplish goals (1) and (2), we interviewed over 200 persons in the community. Their selection was based largely on suggestions made by the staff of the Assistant to the City Manager for Community Development, by members of the Civic Unity Committee, by members of various community action groups, and by leads provided through the initial contacts made in the community. We also made a very deliberate attempt to ensure that our sample would reflect the many different groups in the community with respect to race, ethnic background, economic level, age, education, and religion. Further, we made a series of on-the-street contacts, randomly stopping people in various areas of

the city and interviewing them on the spot. Our sampling covered all 13 neighborhood areas of the city.

We also interviewed members of most of the various community and citizen organizations (neighborhood associations, neighborhood houses, ethnic councils, civic associations, tenant associations, and service centers). Initial contacts with these organizations were made with an officer or other leader in the organization, but subsequent contacts were made with a broad spectrum of the membership.

A selection of typical comments made to us by community members is included as Appendix E.

As we have noted, we also spent time on the streets of the city either driving or walking through the neighborhood areas, observing, where possible, contact situations between the police and members of the community, and observing the police in the daily discharge of their duties.

The effort related to goal (3), centered around interviews with uniformed personnel in the Police Department, together with personal observation of the day-to-day activities of the Department, both within the headquarters and on the street. The officers interviewed were selected to ensure a cross-section by age; length of service; rank; education, training, and experience prior to joining the Department; education and training since joining the Department; and types of assignments within the Department. In addition to the interviewing sample selected by means of the above criteria, we also interviewed members of the Department who expressed an interest in the project and wished to be interviewed. We also reviewed the functions of the various departmental activities so that we could better understand the administrative, organizational, operational, and procedural contexts within which the police operate and the effect of these systems upon their perceptions of the role of the police officer.

An intensive, but not exhaustive (due to time limitations), review of the literature on police/community relations was also conducted during the course of the study. Appendix F lists the most important references consulted.

Once the information was all obtained, our efforts were addressed to sorting, comparing, and evaluating our findings and to preparing recommendations. The results -- goals (4) through (7) -- are presented in Sections V, VI, and VII of this report.

Some additional comments on our approach to the design of the training program -- goal (7) -- may be helpful here. We gave careful consideration to a number of approaches, i.e., traditional lecture, films, combinations of audio and visual, etc., but we decided, and received the concurrence of the training people in the Department, that what was needed was an approach that would present the material in such a manner that (1) its relevance would be readily apparent to the trainees, and (2) the trainees would not be burdened with sociological, psychological, or other jargon which might sound good but would not help them deal with real situations in the street. We decided that the approach should involve the trainees as active participants in an iterative process whereby the program would be self-perpetuating but would not be allowed to stagnate. We have, therefore, chosen an approach which includes some platform lecture time but which relies for the most part on what we have called class participatory problem solving. We do not feel that trainees need to be immersed in psychological or sociological concepts in order to become effective in promoting better police/community relations.

The major problem in the training program will be to induce members of the Department not only to participate in the training, but also to participate with at least a reasonable degree of enthusiasm. A large part of this enthusiasm must be generated by the program itself; i.e., the training must have relevance to the problems involved and provide the participant with a reasonable degree of assurance that he can obtain knowledge, skills, or insight which will help in meeting the responsibilities of his daily work activities. This requires that he recognize the problems in police/community relations that affect his daily work. Our analysis of the responses obtained from the community and the police, and the problems which surfaced during this analysis, are set forth in the rest of this report to provide a basis for establishing program requirements for training in police/community relations.

III. COMMUNITY GROUPS AND THEIR RESPONSES

INTRODUCTION

We conducted interviews of considerable length and depth with people representing all of Cambridge's minority groups, many of its ethnic groups, and all economic levels. Interviews were conducted not only with the permanent, wage-earning citizenry, but also with the teenage, student, and "hippie" populations. The latter two groups constitute a segment of the population which makes Cambridge quite different from surrounding communities, not only because of the sheer numbers in the groups, but in terms of the proportion of the population they represent. Another group which makes up an unusually high proportion of the population in Cambridge is persons over 65 years of age. Since this group has been increasing in number over the past 20 years, we took special pains to include it in our sampling.

We encountered the expected range of opinion, suggestion, and fallacy about the police and their operations. There are many commonly accepted notions about what the police do and why and how they do it. There are also several theories about whom the police perceive themselves to be serving and whom they are actually serving in performance of duties. The extent to which these notions are myth and the extent to which they adequately reflect and explain the mechanisms of police/community behavior are beginning to be unraveled. We feel that this study makes some contribution to this unraveling.

It is quite evident that social demands upon the police are changing. However, it is also true that, because of shifts in cultural and social values, society is only now beginning to question several aspects of the police/community relationship with which it has never been completely comfortable. Some of the deeper issues cannot be explored in this report because of the short-term limitations of the study and the kind of historical analysis needed to examine relevant social mechanisms. The present climate of opinion among both the community and the police, however, portends some changes in their relationship. During this study we have tried in part to discover and articulate the present state

of affairs so that future relationships will prove something better than haphazard, confused, and all too often, unfortunate.

It should be emphasized that in painting a rather gray and bleak picture of police/community problems, we are not making an overall assessment of the Cambridge Police. The aim of this study was not to make a balanced evaluation of the Cambridge Police Department but rather to probe for shortcomings, pinpointing areas of trouble and conflict and looking for solutions. The comment was often made to us that the police "are doing as good a job as possible." However, one of the operating principles of this work has been to search for and develop methods of police operation which are better than the traditional, acceptable levels of performance.

THE POLICE "IMAGE"

A few general comments should first be made about overall public opinion and perceptions with regard to the police. Almost all of the people interviewed felt the police profession to be an undesirable way of making a living. The image of the police is generally low, and the work of policing is considered one of the more unpleasant tasks in society. Almost none of the males we interviewed, for instance, expressed any desire to be a policeman. This may seem incongruous in view of the long Civil Service list which now exists. The incongruity can be partially explained by the fact that the list is based on a wider population than Cambridge alone, and partly by the fact that the prospect of job security may prompt an individual to enter a profession that does not attract him in other ways and that he would not have described as desirable.

We found that recognition of the unpleasant aspect of the police job often served to arouse a sympathy which softened some of the criticism of police operations and behavior. The police function as the point of confrontation between differing social values and goals was perceived in varying ways, depending upon the values and circumstances of the individual speaking, but most people seemed to have some understanding of the difficulties in the police position.

The paragraphs which follow describe the perceptions expressed by various groups in the community and discuss the character of each group's relationship with the police:

YOUNG PEOPLE

Teenagers

Teenagers, some of whom feel very resentful toward the police, often formulated a more naive, although strangely more abstract, rationale about the police than their elders. Their conception of the police as an ever-present object of distrust in their lives has pushed them to question whether police must exist at all and to imagine a society without police. The conclusion of some teenagers was that we must have police if chaos is not to prevail. While the possibility of chaos may not follow logically, such reasoning shows a fundamental grappling with the issue of the police role. On this abstract level, teenagers often proved very perceptive and fairly articulate about police.

Teenage resentment of the police stems in part from actual observation of, or second- or third-hand information about, police handling of specific incidents with teenagers. Teenagers perceive police as acting on the assumption that young people are probably doing something wrong. The descriptions of police behavior offered by the teenagers interviewed emphasized disrespectful language, rough handling, and paternalistic authoritarianism. Teenagers believe that police behavior is discriminatory with respect to color and ethnic group, but we encountered little difference in the attitudes of teenagers along color or ethnic lines.

Some of the perceptions expressed to us by adults with regard to relations between teenagers and the police tend to add credence to the perception of the teenagers. On occasion, the police were characterized by adults as being habitually impolite to teenagers, especially boys, although these adults often described as rude what some of the other adults interviewed characterized as simply authoritarian.

Teenagers are fearful of getting involved with the police. They expressed to us the assumption that in any ambiguous situation, the police would treat them with distrust and perhaps abuse. They believe

they would be treated as though guilty until proven innocent. They tend to view themselves as individuals who are not treated as human beings in their own right, and while that may be characteristic of youth culture in general, the issue becomes very real when it is actualized in specific situations involving police. Youth seem to say "the police do not understand us, and perhaps that situation cannot change."

The current relationship between the police and teenage youth, as perceived by the latter, presents a serious challenge. If it can be improved, the long-term benefits will be considerable in view of the fact that the teenage population of today will be the primary source of the Cambridge adult citizenry in the near future and that the relationships established today will, to some extent at least, be those which will persist into that near future. Equally important is the fact that if current perceptions should continue to prevail, relations could become steadily worse, resulting in strife of an even more serious nature by the time the present teenagers become adults.

"Hippies"

What passes as the "hippie" population requires a few comments. "Hippie" has become a generic term describing anyone who dresses in a certain fashion. How many of these people are "hippies" in the sense of being fairly transient, antisocial, non-wage earning, and own-culture-oriented, is very debatable. The Cambridge Common concerts, at which a great many odd-looking people gathered, were probably populated largely by youth who dressed in special costume for the event and who could be found in "straight" jobs on Monday morning. The number of hippies in the classic sense of the word seems to be relatively small in Cambridge. Madison Avenue has effectively sold a style of dress to many of today's youth.

Nonetheless, the general public and the police tend to perceive a hippie-like form of dress as indicative of an immoral or illegal deviance from the values of the rest of society. Reports of specific incidents from all kinds of Cambridge youth, including the teenagers, students,

young professionals, and young working people, indicate that police treatment of them is generally negative as a function of dress. Once again, rough handling or abusive language seemed to precede tempered questions and inquiries in situations which the young people felt were misjudged by the police.

The situation with respect to teenage "hippies" is somewhat different from that of teenagers in general as discussed previously. As we indicated, some of the adults interviewed tended to corroborate the teenagers' perceptions of their treatment by the police, although other adults expressed acceptance of the treatment of teenagers as a indication of paternal authoritarianism, which, while a bit rough sometimes, was not essentially a bad thing. There was considerably less sympathy toward teenagers who were also "hippies." Many of the persons over 25 who were interviewed expressed a negative attitude toward "hippies" in general and especially teenage "hippies." This negative attitude tended to be reflected in a frequent acceptance of the concept of handling "hippies" as antisocials, undesirables, and troublemakers.

Students and Studentlike Youth

One of the most difficult groups to assess in terms of mechanisms operative in their response to the police and in police response to them is a group of young people that we will characterize here as "students." The member of this group are generally between the ages of 18 and 25. They are not actually all students; the group includes full-time students, college dropouts, temporary college dropouts, perceptive but often confused youth who have not yet made the decision or found the discipline to pursue higher education, young graduate students, and the individual who finds an emotional or intellectual home in the university or educational atmosphere, but does not actually enter higher education. Thus, the group includes many kinds of people who for most purposes would be sorted out from one another and examined separately. We have grouped them here because of similarities both in the way they view the police and in the way they say the police view them.

Members of this group believe that the police do not like them.

For one thing, many of them look like "hippies." That type of appearance, they feel, prejudices a situation. In addition, this group believes that whether or not a "student" looks like a "hippie," he projects to the police the image of an over-privileged, irresponsible, unappreciative, and (when politics come into view) unpatriotic individual.

The group's reaction to the police does not improve matters. Interviewees expressed intense feelings about the police and offered equally intense intellectual arguments about the nature of the police and their role in society. Members of this group seemed to have reached the age of reasoning, but not of reasonableness in the sense of maturity. While they argued logically, they were often unable to understand or even perceive comprehensive realities. They view the police in the context of social goals and ideals that are very real and very important to them but have nothing in common with the day-to-day world as perceived by the police themselves, to whom their radical arguments sound like totally irresponsible rashness and conceit.

This difference in perceptions is important to the purposes of this study in that it points up the necessity for the police officer to be able to respond appropriately to behavior which conflicts with and threatens his system of values. The very natural tendency of the police to defend what they believe in results in behavior and language that is interpreted by the "student" group as provocation. It can be argued that the police are in many instances reflecting not so much their own views as the views of many, if not most, people in our society, who regard this young group as a threat to generally accepted norms and values and who expect the police to respond accordingly. However, failure to improve relationships between the police and the young should not find its justification in such "passing the buck" reasoning.

The difficulty of this situation is unfortunately compounded by the inevitability of police involvement with student demonstrations, infraction of the drug laws, and those situations involving disruptions of the social mores to which the police are often called. "Students," having read or heard the many theories about police personality,

capacity, and operations, are the least amenable to perceiving rationally the socially ambiguous position of the police. At the same time, the many myths surrounding youth and the student today make him seem not only disrespectful of, but also threatening to, normal societal values, and the occurrence of an ambiguous or crisis situation seems to confirm for the police their worst expectations.

Confrontations between the two groups thus tend to escalate from what is an already very bad base. Incidents in Cambridge and the responses of interviewees suggest that both groups have prejudged each other, and each is ready to do hard battle with the other on sight. Fortunately, crisis situations between the two groups often result in stalemate. This seems to happen primarily because the "student" group is sufficiently bright and sufficiently well-informed about the law to know how to limit police actions toward them. Improvement in relations between the groups demands a thoroughgoing and consistent change of approach.

Young Adults with Student Background

Young adults whose backgrounds are similar to those of the "student" group but whose ages fall between 25 and 30 have been separated out because of one characteristic. While they may feel themselves to be under 25 and are as active and involved in issues as their younger counterparts, they generally tend to respond in more tempered vein, both intellectually and emotionally. The group is generally more cognizant of the two-sidedness of police-citizen relationship. Its members are not as likely to argue a point to absurdity in face-to-face encounters with the police. Their reports of specific incidents showed a greater willingness to avoid unnecessary provocation and greater flexibility in finding ways to keep potentially inflammatory situations under control.

The conclusions of this group about police-citizen relationships, however, were much the same as those of the younger group. They questioned the apparent inability of police to treat the young with civility and respect, and they criticized the unwritten practice of

prejudging young people on the basis of appearance. However, while the younger group believes that police should be confronted by their inadequacies and would be more than willing to take on the task themselves, the older group recognizes the broad dimensions of the problem and their own limited access to social mechanisms for coping with it. Although there is some pessimism about the possibility of improving police/community relations, there would appear to be support in this group for a program addressed to resolving some of the differences in the way the police and the community perceive the role and the performance of police officers.

MINORITIES

Puerto Ricans

If one were to rank in order from poor to excellent the police treatment of various identifiable groups as described by group members, the comparatively recent Puerto Rican immigrant population would fall very near the bottom of the list. The Puerto Ricans face not only a color barrier, but also a cultural and language barrier. The already established and assimilated group of Puerto Ricans has maintained traditional communal ties and has attempted to act as an assimilative agent for the newer immigrants, but without much success. Thus while recent Portuguese immigrants, for example, have a settled community of former immigrants to help them in finding both jobs and housing, the new Puerto Rican arrival must face both the housing and job markets with little knowledge of how the system works and little opportunity, because of the language barrier, to find out.

The language barrier prevents Puerto Ricans from defending themselves in many situations and often places them at a disadvantage in police/community contacts. It was frequently reported that police make a practice of stopping cars driven by Puerto Ricans. One person reported an incident in which the police stopped a car, accused the driver of being drunk, and told him to park the car and walk home. The driver's attempt to communicate with the police was futile. The person reporting

the incident claimed that the driver was not drunk, but that the police seemed to have little interest in discovering this. The entire incident was perceived by the members of the Puerto Rican community who became involved not as a drunk driving incident but rather as another manifestation of the general attitude which they feel the police have toward Puerto Ricans. Important for this study is the fact that the police officer did not seem to be aware of the fact that his actions were perceived as anything other than stopping an automobile with a suspected drunk driver.

Other reported inequities included harassment of small or medium-sized groups standing on Cambridge streets and a police tendency in crisis situations involving both Puerto Ricans and non-Puerto Ricans to treat the Puerto Ricans as suspicious characters. One incident was cited in which a Puerto Rican was detained overnight at the police station without being reported on the docket. When an in-person inquiry was made at the station as to whether or not the individual had been picked up by the police, the sergeant on duty said that he had no record of any such person in the jail, refused to send anyone to look, and refused to allow the inquirer to look for himself. The person in question was not formally charged with any offense and was released the next day.

Puerto Ricans report that they have come to believe that their best way of coping with some of these problems is to obtain legal help and advice. They have been able to find lawyers who seem more than willing to help them in this manner. The situation appears ironic to the Puerto Ricans, who enter this country as American citizens supposedly having full rights under the law and who have lived under a system of similar law in Puerto Rico, but who upon entering Cambridge come to feel that there are different laws operative here for them. The Puerto Ricans are only now learning to recognize instances of subtle discrimination -- and even of actual legal infractions of their rights. As they expressed it themselves, "Sometimes we don't know what's right and what's wrong here. We can't tell when a police car pulls up whether we will be accused of doing something wrong or not. The laws seem to be different here," They feel that legal aid has been their only recourse and source of action.

Blacks

The black community would appear to rank a close second to the Puerto Ricans in the amount of difficulty they report with the police. They say they are treated in much the same fashion as the Puerto Ricans; however, they feel that they can predict the kind of treatment they will get and, consequently, feel better able to deal with it. Complaints from blacks involve harassment of interracial couples -- as though the police possessed the authority to act as moral guides in these matters -- the practice of stopping any black walking along streets in the "better" sections of town, and the general tendency to treat blacks as second-class citizens. One practice, cited by many people, implies differential treatment of juveniles according to race. If a white juvenile were to be discovered in some questionable act, the police would notify the parents before either proceeding with charges or taking him to the Police Station. It is contended that black youth are generally rushed to the station house and booked before the parents are called. Some feeling was indicated that this practice accounts for the disproportionate number of black youth who appear in court.

Younger blacks who maintain some kind of connection with a university or with people who prefer the university environment are believed to receive the same level of treatment as those white youth who give the appearance of being "hippies." Harassment of interracial couples was cited more frequently in housing projects and lower income areas than in the Harvard Square and surrounding university area. Discrimination on the basis of color is felt to be disappearing at the university level, although these blacks generally feel that they would probably receive different treatment when in a largely black area.

Portuguese

There is a community of recent Portuguese immigrants located in East Cambridge and around Cambridge Street in the Model Cities area, which has had its problems in assimilation. As we have noted, however, there is an established community of Portuguese who have maintained traditional ties and who act as assimilative agents for the newer

immigrants. Although Portuguese youth and teenagers have had some difficulty with the police because of loitering or such offense as bicycle theft, the larger Portuguese community seems to have set limits upon the activities of the youth. The church also maintains a strong hold over its Portuguese community.

OTHER COMMUNITY GROUPS

The youth and minority groups mentioned thus far represent the primary trouble spots in police/community relations in Cambridge so far as the occurrence of crisis situations is concerned. However, there are other groups whose opinions and responses are important in relation to how the police act and to how they perceive themselves as acting, even though these groups are rarely in situations demanding police action against them except for minor parking and traffic violations. One of these groups is made up of upper-income, well-educated people, often professionals. Another is the solid middle-class and long-term citizen population of Cambridge, consisting of people who earn modest incomes, mainly in white-collar or blue-collar jobs. Still another group consists of people 65 years old and older.

Upper-Income Adults

The members of the first group live in the "better" sections of the city. Their responses to certain questions during interviews were rather surprising. In view of the fact that these people are engaged in professions which involve service to the society or community at a fairly high and articulate level, one might have expected some intelligent comments about, for instance, the law and order issue, the subtleties of the police position within our society, the difficulties of providing adequate resolutions to conflict because of social mechanisms that operate against such resolutions, or perhaps some sense of historical wisdom about the many societal conflicts, of which police/community relations represent only one, which trouble us today. While there were some responses of this kind, they came primarily from persons who were professionally concerned with social issues or from university people

who were concerned about the police in connection with student protests. The great majority of people making up the long-term, solidly entrenched, educated upper class in Cambridge expressed satisfaction with, or ignorance about, the ways in which the police perform their present duties in Cambridge and elsewhere. Reports of specific incidents, which were rare, were not accompanied by questioning about the nature of police operations. Interviewees seemed to regard the whole business of law enforcement as having nothing to do with them. They had not personally experienced any trouble with the police and they did not seem to perceive any threat to themselves in the difficulties between police and other community groups. The typical comment on police behavior was something like "They are doing as good a job as possible," and there was little evidence that this group ever thought about how things might be done differently, or, perhaps, saw any need to have them handled differently.

Lower-Income Adults

The second group consists of lower-income, long-term residents of areas like East Cambridge, North Cambridge, the Model Cities area, and Riverside. While many of these people were worried about insufficient police protection and some wanted more foot patrolmen, the chief concern in this group was the problem of relations between the police and teenagers or young adults. They talked about two kinds of encounters between teenagers and police. One involves definite infractions of the criminal code such as bicycle theft and the like, and the other involves more ambiguous situations like loitering or "hanging out." There was often much discussion about how those juveniles who became involved in delinquent behavior such as bicycle theft could be handled more effectively. Some youth gain a certain hero status among their peers when they are at odds with the criminal justice system. A frequent comment from the adults was that the police "have no choice but to be tough with these youngsters," but there were varying definitions of what "getting tough" might mean, ranging from a sharp reprimand to physical action such as removing the youngster from the scene.

A typical example of the second kind of encounter between juveniles and the police occurs when the police tell a group of youngsters to "move along." The residents believe that improper handling of these situations often makes young people distrustful of the police. They then will not listen when actual delinquency is involved and the police try to talk to them in terms of the difference between right and wrong and the policeman's responsibility to maintain public order in relation to right and wrong. Rough handling of youth in situations not involving infractions of the criminal code was mentioned most often in connection with teenagers congregating or playing in the street. A number of people cited instances in which they said the police used rough treatment, including physical force, on groups of young people in the street or on the corner when the situation called for dispersal of the group at the very most.

Quite apart from the question of rough treatment, teenagers in the street or on the corner present a dilemma for the police. When the police break up groups it is often in response to a request from a neighbor, usually an elderly person. Parents know this but still feel that the youngsters should be allowed to gather in the street or on the corner -- one at least knows where they are. East Cambridge parents said their young people had no real alternative. The youngsters are unwilling to cross boundary lines in order to play at the Harrington School in the Model Cities area or at some other facility in the city, and there is nothing in their own neighborhoods. Many parents thought playground and school yards should be kept open for teenagers and older youth after normal closing hours. They could see no justification for keeping the young people out, especially if the majority of parents approved their presence. The alternative of letting them use out-of-the-way parking lots or the railroad yard was acceptable to no one.

Although the community may not agree on what teenagers should be allowed to do, all agree that they should be treated courteously by the police. The idea that the police are carrying out the wishes of older people when they "get tough" with teenagers seems to be untrue. The majority of interviewees in all groups expressed the feeling that people,

whether young, old, "hippies," or even drug addicts, should be treated as people and deserve basic respect.

The Elderly

The older--65 and over--group presents a quite different problem in terms of police/community relations. Their principal concern is their own personal protection and the police response to their requests for protection. They often felt that the police took too long to respond and a few complained that the police did not respond at all. Their assessment of the latter situations was that the police tend to think of older people as alarmists, complainers, or incompetents. It was felt that even when the police did respond, in many cases they seemed to dismiss the complaint for the same reasons. It is evident that the elderly feel very dependent on the police for their safety and well-being, and do not feel that the police respond adequately to this dependence. Almost all the interviewees expressed a desire to see a greater use of foot patrolmen, since they represent greater security to the older group.

COMPLEXITY OF THE "COMMUNITY"

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that the "community" is not a single, homogeneous group toward which the police can adopt a single, uniform approach. If there is any doubt on this point, examination of Appendix E, which quotes typical comments from community members, should dispel it. The diversity of the community is perhaps the central theme of this report and the most important consideration governing the recommendations presented later on.

IV. POLICE RESPONSES

INTRODUCTION

Our interviews in the Police Department covered approximately 30% of the total police force and represented all ranks, all working bureaus and special details, various training and educational backgrounds, different experience prior to joining the Department, and different lengths of service with the Department. We also observed police operations at headquarters and on the street.

Although we were afforded complete cooperation by the Department, many individual policemen were at first somewhat reluctant to participate in the study. In addition, considerable doubt was expressed as to the need for such a study and the ultimate value either to the individual or the Department as a whole, of training in police/community relations. As the study progressed, most of the reluctance to participate disappeared, perhaps because it became clear that our purpose was not to evaluate individuals. However, we saw no evidence of any change in opinions about the usefulness of the study or the value of the proposed training program. This in itself is a very significant consideration in planning the structure and conduct of a training program in community relations.

PROBLEMS PERCEIVED IN THE COMMUNITY

The most pervasive problem reported by the interviewees was the general unwillingness of persons in the community to become involved in situations which require serving as witnesses, filing complaints, or making some other form of personal commitment to the criminal justice system. Second to this was the feeling that the community is not, in general, fully aware of the wide variety of situations which a police officer can encounter in a day's work. The interviewees felt that most people view the work of the police only in the context of situations that they have personally witnessed or experienced; thus each person's perceptions are narrow, and they all differ depending on where the people live, what groups they belong to, and so forth. Thus, the police seemed to have a clear idea of the range of perceptions in the community with

regard to the police role. How much of this is guessing and how much reflects actual experience with conflicting community expectation, is hard to say.

Certain activities are believed by the police to be highly damaging to their image. The most frequently mentioned of these activities is the issuance of parking tickers. The police feel that the issuance of tickets brings them to the immediate attention of the public for what is viewed by the majority of people as a very minor offense at worst. The police feel that the public interprets this activity as a nuisance to the motorist when the officer could be devoting his efforts to more important activities, especially today when the crime rate is on the rise throughout the country.

Almost without exception the interviewees expressed a feeling of utter futility in trying to gather information in the black community. They feel that when the police try to investigate a problem in the black community the situation becomes one of "cops" versus blacks, and that no black, including the aggrieved individual, is going to provide information to the police on another black. In such situations, they feel that a black police officer is perceived by the community as a police officer first and as a black second. Some interviewees, however, did state that in other contexts they felt that they had a good working relationship in the black community. There is obviously a wide range of feeling about blacks among the police. This should not come as any surprise, since there is an equally wide range of feeling in the community and the police are members of the community. However, it does present a problem in police work in that this wide range of feeling may manifest itself in a correspondingly wide range of behavior when dealing with blacks. This is also true with other minority groups such as Puerto Ricans and with "hippies" and students.

ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICE WORK AND ITS PERFORMANCE

Sources of Job Satisfaction

The majority of the members of the Department who were interviewed stated or implied that they had gone into police work because it offered a high degree of job security. Some, in fact, had given up better-paying

jobs with what they felt was less security to join the Department. However, almost without exception, the interviewees have remained in law enforcement because they have come to enjoy the work and feel some sense of fulfillment in the job beyond the feeling of security. Some officers like helping people and contributing to the community; some enjoy the feeling of power.

Opinions on Police Image and Performance

Although the police seemed to be aware of the different expectations in the community regarding the police role, they did not seem similarly aware of the diversity in the image of the police among different community groups. Almost without exception the interviewees felt that, for the most part, the image of the police was not too bad in Cambridge. The ideal, of course, is to have congruence between the community's perception and the police perception of the police role and at the same time a generally "good" image of the police.

Many of the officers interviewed noted that there were some "winners"¹ in the Department, both from the standpoint of law enforcement and from the standpoint of ability to meet and deal with the community. However, all were quick to assure us that they were not included in this group of "winners." The important thing for our purposes, is not the determination of who are the "winners" in the Department, but the fact that there apparently are some--enough, in fact, that members of the Department mention it in a freeform interview. This fact alone would seem to justify the need for a training program in police/community relations.

However, it will not be easy to convince members of the Department of the need for such a program. The police who were interviewed generally evidenced a feeling that they were doing a good job of meeting the responsibilities of their positions. In fact, an air of satisfaction with the performance of the Department pervaded the headquarters. It is fairly certain that even the "winners" feel that they know their job and its requirements and are doing it well. A certain resentment toward

¹ "Winner" in police and street jargon is a pejorative word with about the same meaning that most people ascribe to "loser."

outsiders who come in and tell the members of the Department that they need additional training, especially in community relations, should be anticipated--and in fact was evident.

DIFFERENCES AMONG GROUPS WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT

Differences in opinions or in the extent of agreement among the police interviewed followed age lines more closely than any other characteristic measured with amount of education a close second. The older officers tended to exhibit a greater faith in the more traditional approaches to police work, with a great deal of reliance on "common sense" in meeting today's challenges. They were generally concerned over what they feel is a breakdown in police authority and in respect for the police, especially among the younger groups in the community. The younger police more often expressed a need for a change in approach, but they also were much more prone to express the attitude that they would meet force with force.

Within each age group there were some attitudinal differences according to educational level, and at times educational level correlated with attitudes more closely than did age. The attitudes of officers with either some college education or special courses in police science, police administration, etc., were more alike regardless of age than were the attitudes of officers with a high school diploma and no subsequent academic work of any sort. Also, the officers who had continued their studies or were currently doing so, regardless of the level or content, usually showed the most insight into what may be changing requirements in the police element of the criminal justice system. They were not certain exactly what these changes might entail but they did appear certain that the changes would have to be attuned to the social changes which the urban areas are experiencing.

Some of the interviewees in the younger and more educated groups felt that too many police officers cannot or will not see the need for change. There seemed to be a sense of frustration among these interviewees; they did recognize the need for change but they were not sure what form the change should take, and in any case they saw little likelihood of change given the lack of support for it among their colleagues.

THE NEED FOR A PROGRAM IN POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Older officers, and those who had been in the Department longest, seemed to feel that the prescription for successful police/community relations is simply common sense, coupled with the golden rule--treat others as you would like to be treated. The trouble with this is, first, that what seems like common sense to one man on the basis of his particular past experiences may not seem so to another whose experiences have been entirely different, and second, that a policeman's job may require him to treat a person in ways that nobody would like to be treated. To use an extreme instance, no one (with certain abnormal behavioral exceptions) would by preference choose to be arrested and detained in a cell. The fact is that certain situations demand such action on the part of the police officer, and the problem we face is how he can accomplish this with as little disruption in police/community relations as possible. We have sought to address this problem in our recommendations.

It is also very clear from the interviews that the police feel that the community expects police to perform many tasks which are incompatible and therefore impossible to perform. The more abrasive of these conflicts and incompatibilities are discussed in the next section of this report. The fact that the police do not perform as expected has in many cases led to resentment in the community which in turn makes the police feel defensive. This, coupled with a tendency, acknowledged by the police themselves, for the policeman to be suspicious, has created a sense of isolation from the community on the part of the police. They tend to form their own group alliances both on and off the job, forming still another community subgroup, if you will, which further complicates the police/community relations picture.

V. MAJOR AREAS OF CONFLICT

THE MANY ROLES OF THE POLICE

A recent staff report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence entitled Law and Order Reconsidered describes the duties of the police as follows:

Police responsibilities fall into three broad categories. First, they are called upon to "keep the peace." This peacekeeping duty is a broad and most important mandate which involves the protection of lives and rights ranging from handling street corner brawls to the settlement of violent family disputes. In a word, it means maintaining public safety.

Secondly, the police have a duty to provide services which range from bestowing menial courtesies to the protection of public and private property. This responsibility is the one that many police officers complain about the most but, nevertheless, are called upon to perform the most frequently. In fulfilling these obligations, a policeman "recovers stolen property, directs traffic, provides emergency medical aid, gets cats out of trees, checks on homes of families on vacation, and helps little old ladies who have locked themselves out of their apartments."

The third major police responsibility, which many policemen and a considerable segment of the public feel should be the exclusive police responsibility, is that of combating crime by enforcing the rule of law. Execution of this task involves what is called police operations and this ranges from preparing stakeouts to arresting suspects.

If the duties of the police could be described only in these general terms, there might not be the difficulty that exists today in obtaining

agreement between the police and the community on the role of the police officer. As we have seen, though, when it comes to specific cases there are some fairly wide differences of opinion between the community and the police in Cambridge on what the job of the police entails and how well the police are doing their job. It is true, of course, that some segments of the community feel that for the most part the police are "doing their job" and that police/community relations in Cambridge are satisfactory. Likewise, some members of the Department feel that the people in the community generally are law abiding persons who need only to be handled with "common sense." There are, however, enough differences of opinion to indicate that Cambridge has a problem in police/community relations.

Virtually no one contacted in the community was against the concept of law enforcement. However, there was a wide variety of opinion on the exercise of police discretion in law enforcement and the responsibility of the community with regard to law enforcement.

POLICE DISCRETION

The issue of police discretion emerged particularly when the discussion turned to the younger people and how the police should treat them. It also frequently arose in discussions with people in all community groups regarding minor offenses like parking violations, traffic violations, and public drunkenness. Here the problem is not one of disagreement among groups but of inconsistency in individuals. People want the law enforced, but the enforcement should always be against the people who typically commit these violations and they are not among these, even though during the course of the interview there was frequent mention of how they had been harrassed about parking or moving violations. Typical comments were, "I was only in the zone about 15 minutes overtime," "I was only going 10 miles an hour over the limit," and "I didn't actually stop at the sign, but I was careful about traffic."

The question here is not whether or not the police should have any discretion in law enforcement, but rather how the police can exercise the discretion they are acknowledged to possess in a manner which is acceptable to the people of the community. It is quite obvious that

no standard set of rules is possible with the degree of inconsistency in thinking about this discretion present in the community. Therefore, it seems equally obvious that a great deal of emphasis must be placed, within the Department, on the implications that the use of this discretion can have in police/community relations. The choice made by the police officer in a given situation may not be palatable to the individual involved; however, if the matter is handled properly by the officer, the individual may accept the choice without long-term resentment toward the officer or the Department.

COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY

Another inconsistency in attitude on the part of the community in relation to law enforcement is the simultaneous demand for strong law enforcement and refusal to become personally involved. As we have noted, this was the problem most frequently cited by the officers interviewed as a major obstacle to enforcing the law. Although the interviewees in the community did not always state outright their unwillingness to assist in law enforcement, their comments about the situations they had experienced or had heard of indicated their reluctance to become involved. Typical of this was a lady whose purse was stolen and who reported the theft over the phone but refused to come into the headquarters to file a complaint, saying "I don't want to go through all of that. I just want my purse back." Many such incidents were cited by both the police and the people in the community; the people want police action, are indignant when it is not forthcoming or is ineffective, but refuse to provide the necessary information and support that the police need in order to act.

RESPECT VERSUS FAMILIARITY

Both in the Department and in the community, the view was often expressed that there needed to be more respect for the police. However, many people in the community expressed the feeling that the police should be bigger "buddies" of the community members. Here, of course, we find the police in the dilemma of maintaining the fine balance between good rapport and respect. A number of the community interviewees actually complained that the police were unfriendly and unresponsive and then later

in the same interview expressed the opinion that familiarity breeds contempt. Some of the recommendations in the next section of our report are addressed to helping the police demonstrate to the community that they are interested in the human relations aspect of their work in ways that will promote respect rather than diminishing it.

POLICE "BRUTALITY" OR PROVOCATION

In one form or another the subject of "police brutality" was raised by almost every interviewee in the community with as wide a range of opinions as there were interviewees. Actual accusations of "police brutality" were common among certain groups--minority groups, teenagers, "hippies," and students. "Police brutality" seems to have become a catch phrase for any action by an officer that results in actual injury to a person. Even an insult to an individual's self-esteem may trigger the same accusation. The inconsistency here is the fact that certain segments of the community firmly believe in meeting force with force, while others feel that there is almost no excuse for using physical force. Again, certain of the approaches covered in the next section provide a vehicle for acquainting the community with the full range of actions that may be required of a police officer in the course of fulfilling his responsibilities.

Short of actual physical roughness, the police were often accused of using abusive and provocative language to young people and minority group members. In the case of students, as we have noted, the police are undoubtedly responding to student behavior which they regard as equally provocative. Nevertheless, if police behavior is seen as provocative, it will not improve relations with the community. This perceived provocation is a problem in any city, but the diversity in Cambridge's population mix exacerbates the situation here.

PRIORITIES IN THE POLICE ROLE

Opinions varied widely on how an officer's time should be distributed between actual crime prevention or law enforcement and the kinds of special services described in the quote at the beginning of this section. Opinions were generally related to the perceived needs of the individual being interviewed. However, the responses of an individual often showed inconsistencies; people would say that they thought the police should not

be wasting time "harrassing kids" or "ticketing cars" or "settling family fights" when there were crimes to be solved or property and life to be protected, and then at a later point in the interview would complain at the lack of police response to some request for special service. It is quite evident that the community generally does not appreciate the wide range of demands made on the police officer's time. Again, some of the approaches mentioned in the next section are aimed at creating a better understanding of these demands.

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS

It is unfortunate that with the police as with the community much of the emphasis in any discussion of police/community relations ends up centered on the minority groups and especially the blacks. It seems to us that if a program of police/community relations is to be effective, it must take account of the full breadth of the community. This does not mean that it should ignore the existence of a number of small communities within the total community--the intellectual community, the elderly community, the black community, and so on--but it does mean that these small communities must be considered as they operate in the total community. This is very important when one considers the impact on police/community relations. Changes can be instituted within the Department in response to the needs of one group, but they will cause more problems than they solve if they do not take into account the realities of other subgroups and of the community as a whole.

There can be no question about the complexity of the task of establishing in a city like Cambridge police/community relationships acceptable to both the police and the many parts of the community, particularly since little support can be expected from the community until the police have taken some major initiatives--and in the long-run community support is vital to the success of the effort. Our recommendations in the next two sections of this report are aimed at helping the police to take those initiatives. The main responsibility for the task will rest with the individual officer, since no matter what the Department does, the critical point for police/community relations will always be the point at which a policeman and a member of the community

come in contact. The proposed training program is designed to help officers assume this responsibility and is therefore the central element in these recommendations.

VI. SOME MECHANISMS FOR IMPROVING POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS

In addition to recommending the form and content of a training program in police/community relations, we were asked in this study to suggest other Department actions in support of improved police/community relations in Cambridge. We recommend that the Department establish a variety of formal and informal mechanisms for contact between the police and all segments of the community, with the purpose of (1) educating the community about police operations, (2) involving the community in the task of law enforcement, (3) informing the Department about needs and attitudes in the community and (4) providing for dialogue between police officers and community members aimed both at solving problems and at breaking down prejudices and stereotypes. We hope that the Department will continually explore new ways of expanding contact between the police and the community. As a beginning we recommend that it consider setting up the following:

- Experimental "storefront" police offices.
- An advisory committee to work with citizen groups.
- A program in the secondary schools, taught by police officers.
- A police cadet program.
- A citizen action program to assist law enforcement.
- A speakers bureau.
- A program for sponsorship of recreational and other activities.

Several cities around the country have recently established "storefront" police offices in community neighborhoods. These programs have not been in operation long enough to permit a thorough evaluation, but first reports indicate that the community reaction has been good. We suggest that one or two such offices be set up in Cambridge neighborhoods on an experimental basis. Each office would be manned by one or two officers. Neighborhood residents with problems which they wished to take to the police could do so through these offices, and the offices would also be used for the dissemination of information on police programs and activities to the neighborhood. In addition to serving as a focal point in the neighborhood for

police matters, the "storefront" office would partially answer the demand for greater police visibility in the community.

The proposed advisory committee would be a committee of police officers assigned to work with groups of citizens--formal organizations, neighborhood committees, or other community groups--on specific problems of mutual concern to the police and the community. If the work resulted in suggestions for action by the Department, the committee would submit these suggestions. The "storefront" offices could be very helpful to the advisory committee as a kind of lookout post for the identification of problems in police/community relations at the neighborhood level.

Special attention should be devoted to work with juveniles and young people. The advisory committee should devote part of its effort to working with these groups. In addition, we suggest that the Department arrange with the secondary schools in Cambridge to have police officers conduct classes and answer questions on the subject of law for juveniles. The Department would select a small number of police officers and give them special training in law for juveniles to prepare them to conduct this program. The purpose of the program would be to create a greater understanding between the police and teenagers, and to improve school discipline and create a greater respect for law and order.

Another way to improve relations between the police and young people may be to bring a larger number of young people onto the force. We recommend that a police cadet program be considered. Under this program young men between 18 and 21 would be recruited as cadets to work in the Department but without the full authority of a sworn officer. The cadets would be uniformed, but would carry no weapons. As cadets these men would learn the basic operations of the Department; upon reaching 21 they would enter the Academy and upon successful completion they would become fully-sworn officers. It is understood, of course, that this procedure would require change in the existing Civil Service standards. The cadets could provide relief from the headquarters office routine for sworn officers who could be used more efficiently in the work requiring a sworn officer. More important for purposes of our study, though, the program would serve to bring older officers into contact with young people and would gradually

increase the number of young officers, helping to close the generation gap that is now felt to exist.

As a first step in generating more citizen participation in law enforcement, we suggest the the Department institute a "citizen action program" to aid the police force in spotting crime. Participants would be issued a dashboard sticker listing emergency phone numbers, a wallet-sized card with the same information, a manual on how to report crime and what to look for, and a log book. In addition, license plate numbers of stolen cars would be published in the newspaper daily. In addition to helping the Department, the program would expose the participants to some of the problems of the police officer and promote a better understanding of police operations.

Quite apart from solving specific problems in law enforcement or in police/community relations, we believe that the Department should make every effort to educate the public about its work and acquaint people with the Police Chief and his staff. One step in this direction would be to establish a speakers bureau which would arrange speaking engagements for the Chief and other officers before various service clubs, church groups, fraternal organizations, and any other citizen groups. To stimulate interest, the bureau would prepare programs and send a list to program chairmen of the various groups.

Finally, we suggest that the Department consider sponsoring civic or recreational activities in the community, such as athletic programs or events, Explorer Scout activities, and so on. This would involve the police and the community together in activities completely unrelated to law enforcement and would help counteract the tendency toward a separate police "subculture."

VII. A TRAINING PROGRAM IN POLICE/COMMUNITY RELATIONS

One of the recommendations made in the Task Force Report: The Police of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice is that special units for community relations be set up in each police department. We feel that while such units can be useful, police/community relations must still be a central concern of every police officer. It seems evident from the contacts made during this study that the forces tending to polarize in the police and the community in Cambridge are stronger than any effort currently being made in either side to bring them together. Each tends to blame the other for problems in police/community relations. Thus we feel that any program of police/community relations which is to enjoy any degree of success must involve not only every officer but also the community. We believe that the training program in police/community relations should involve police officers in working closely with representatives of the community. If the community is not involved, the police will be deprived of their best source of information on community requirements, and the community will not be learning the requirements of the police.

THE FORM OF THE PROGRAM

We recommend a training program that will involved 15 hours of training to be conducted in five three-hour sessions. The training should be conducted by the Department itself. We have elected to design this program around problem solving situations. We strongly believe that a series of lectures would not meet the needs of the Department. The program we recommend is built around problems representing situations that any officer in the training program could recognize either from personal experience or from the accounts of other officers.

The proposed training program outline (Appendix A) has been organized around general problem areas. Within each area we have listed specific fictional situations involving the police and the community. These have been chosen on the basis of our interviews in the Department and in the community as typical police/community encounters. For purposes of the

training program each situation needs to be spelled out in what we have called a problem scenario; i.e., a description of the situation, the variables involved in the situation, a possible action, and various alternatives to the action. We have developed problem scenarios for several situations as examples and have included them in Appendix B. It should be clearly understood that the situations presented under each problem area are not all-inclusive, but illustrative.

Each problem session would be conducted as an open discussion, with the instructor presenting the situation and asking one member of the class to indicate the police/community relations implications of the situation and suggest a way of handling it, giving reasons for the approach he recommends. The class would then evaluate his solution and discuss the police/community relations implications of the alternative solutions described in the problem scenario. As the trainee is exposed to a variety of solutions and the rationale behind these solutions, he should be better able to evaluate his own reaction to situations which require contact with members of the community and to seek solutions which will allow him to do his job without evoking unnecessary hostility.

To institute this program we suggest that the first two or three 15-hour cycles be limited to participation by members of the Department only. The training sessions may well seem somewhat threatening to the trainees, particularly those who are the first to participate. It may be a good idea to let the Department get used to the idea of a training program before introducing the additional threat of community representation. We also suggest that each training group be selected very carefully to include members of the Department who feel receptive to training and believe in its benefits as well as members who are skeptical about it. Mixing the groups in this way should help to ensure interaction among participants and prevent the sessions from stagnating as a result of the natural resistance of those who do not see a need for the program.

The classes should not exceed ten trainees, since interaction is more difficult in larger groups. Although everyone in the Department should eventually participate in the program, ranks should not be mixed within a class. The absence of superior officers should facilitate frank and

open discussion, and criticism from an equal if likely to have more significance for a trainee than is criticism from a superior, which may seem like a form of disciplinary action.

The problem scenarios should be prepared by members of the Police Department to ensure relevance to the everyday work situation, although some outside assistance may be necessary at first in the refinement of the scenarios. Later, the trainees themselves will be asked to prepare scenarios, select an appropriate course of action, and explain the reasons for the selection, as a means of evaluating the success of the training program. Two such scenarios will constitute the equivalent of a test for successful completion of the course.

Once the program has operated through two or three cycles, members of the community should be brought in for each session to take part in all the discussions. The community representatives should be encouraged to participate fully and express without hesitation their agreement or disagreement with the proposed solutions. The same people will probably not be appropriate for all sessions; we would recommend trying to get people who have experienced situations similar to the ones being discussed or who, by virtue of their background have a high potential for experiencing such situations. For example, members of minority groups should be present for the session on minority groups, parents and juveniles for the session on juveniles, a reporter for the session on investigations, and a taxi driver, a merchant, or a landlord for the sessions on civil problems. The best way to find participants might be through the activities of the speakers bureau and the advisory committee suggested in Section VI.

THE CONTENT OF THE PROGRAM

In the proposed course outline (Appendix A) we suggest the following general topics for the five sessions:

- Session I - Group situations
- II - Individual situations
- III - Minorities
- IV - Youth
- V - Police Response
- VI - Critique and scenario preparation

The problem scenarios proposed for Session I involve a fight at a ball park, a disturbance in a public park, a loud party and a "hippie" gathering. These are all situations in which the police and the community in the form of groups confronting each other in an atmosphere which may become highly volatile and have strong repercussions in the community. Fights, general public disturbances, and loud parties will generally bring about public sanction for police action; however, the type of action is usually not specified in the sanction. The ambiguity of the situation lies in the fact that most of the citizens near the scene want the disturbance stopped, but fail to take into account the range of actions which the police may have to take to meet this demand. Thus they are pleased when the disturbance ends and do not think any more about it, while the people involved in the disturbance are bitterly resentful of the measures taken by the police, which they see as excessively harsh. One purpose of this session is to make the police officer aware of the different ways in which possible actions will be perceived by different groups in the community, so that he can choose the best alternative and can cope with the reactions of the citizens after the incident.

One of the situations chosen for this session involves a "hippie" gathering. We include this because of the feeling expressed by a large segment of the community and a number of police officers that "hippies" are potential trouble. The "hippies" themselves expressed the opinion that they were classified as undesirables and could not expect fair treatment from a large segment of the community or from the police. The police have the job of keeping "hippie" gatherings within bounds and yet not violating civil rights or acting in ways which suggest such violation. Focus in this area should be on how the police meet the demands of the "straight" world without at the same time intensifying the feeling of the "hippie" groups toward the police.

The Session II problem scenarios involve public drunkenness, a marital fight, a speeding motorist, and illegal parking. Situations like these, involving individuals, do not have the high visibility in the community that group situations have, but they may well have effects on police/community relations that are equally serious or more so. In these

situations a citizen encounters a policeman--or two or three policemen--in circumstances in which the public sanction of police action is even less clear than it is in group situations. The individual involved will have a reaction which he will transmit to friends. At the same time observers of the encounter will have reactions which they too will transmit. In both cases the event will be described and evaluated in terms of the way people perceived them, whether or not their perceptions agree with those of the police. Important from the standpoint of police/community relations is that the police officer be alert to this problem. During our interviews, for example, officers frequently said they could not understand why the reaction--of observers as well as participants--was so often hostile when the police were trying to do their job in dealing with drunks or other minor offenders, or intervening in arguments. Many people in the community, on the other hand, felt that the job of the police was to fight crime and wondered why they didn't do it instead of wasting time harrassing citizens.

The problem in Session III is that actions on the part of the police are usually viewed by the minority groups as having more to do with "blackness," "Puerto Ricanness," etc., than with the incident in question. The problem scenarios involve minority demonstrations, the arrest and questioning of people who do not speak fluent English, racially mixed groups, and street loitering. The object of the sessions is to help the police act on specific incidents where necessary and at the same time convey to the individuals involved the fact that they are dealing with these incidents because the incidents require police action and not because they involve members of minority groups.

Essentially the same problem exists with youth and student groups as with minority groups. Police action is commonly viewed as a reaction to young people or to students instead of to particular incidents requiring police intervention. As with the minority groups in particular, but actually with all community groups, the manner in which the police handle the incident may intensify anti-police feeling and promote the belief that police actions are primarily motivated by factors other than the incident involved. Emphasis in Session IV will be much the same as

that in the previous session; the problem scenarios involve juveniles congregating, rude behavior, youth and student centers, and student demonstrations.

The problem scenarios in Session V involve older citizens, the conduct of investigations, neighborhood organizations and the switchboard and front desk. These are all areas in which problems were brought out during the course of the study, but they do not have the high degree of potential abrasiveness that characterizes the problems dealt with in earlier sessions. They are concerned not with the way the police handle suspected offenders but with the way they respond to requests for assistance. The issues that came out in our interviews with regard to police response had to do with timeliness of response, courtesy to the requestor, and subsequent actions. Many requests, especially from the elderly, are for what could well be considered non-police type actions; however, the police are the first to be called and must respond. The conflict situation arises when the police have to perform these many extra services while still carrying their normal duties, and they may tend to treat, or give the impression of treating, requests for these services less seriously than the citizen feels the situation requires.

The critique during Session VI at the end of each cycle is intended to provide feedback into the program to ensure, in so far as possible, that the program is based on real-life situations and that the approach is providing the setting for maximum student involvement and participation in the training and the learning process. This raises the question of program evaluation and revision, which deserves further discussion.

PROGRAM EVALUATION AND REVISION

The ultimate test of the efficacy of the training program will of course be the street behavior of officers in handling situations with a high potential for conflict between the intentions of the officers and the perceptions of community members, and by the general response of the community over a period of time. We therefore recommend that a follow-on study be done after a year and again after two years to determine the extent, if any, of change in community opinions and attitudes and in the police themselves.

As a part of such evaluation, a system of records on complaints against police officers should be set up. The system should be so designed that the complaints can be classified at minimum by actions prompt- in the complaint; the situation involved; the sex, age, and race of the complainant; the neighborhood in which the complainant lives; and any civic affiliations. The information so gathered can then be compared over time to determine whether or not there is any reduction in given types of complaints and to provide clues for new areas of emphasis in the training if given types of complaints persist or increase.

The program should be regarded as a very flexible one, with input from both the police and the community. If either group feels, as the program progresses, that any given area or areas no longer need emphasis, while others need more attention, then changes should be made. If this provision is not made and followed up, the program can fail under the weight of its irrelevancy. Program operation must, however, remain in the jurisdiction of the Department. Guest partici- pants with specialized backgrounds and community participants can make valuable contributions, but the program must be a Police Department effort, the goal of which is to equip each member of the Department to contribute to the strengthening of police/community relations in Cambridge.

APPENDIX A
SUGGESTED TRAINING OUTLINE

SESSION I

A. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF THE COURSE

1. Genesis of the course
 - a. Public concern
 - b. Administrative concern
 - c. ADL study and findings
2. Purpose of course
 - a. Increased understanding of the term police/
community relations
 - b. Create an atmosphere which will promote better
police/community relations
3. Approach
 - a. Explain the problem-solving technique
 - b. Successful completion will be if trainee can
write a problem scenario

B. GROUP ACTIVITY

1. Fight at a ballpark.
2. Disturbance in a public park.
3. Loud party.
4. "Hippie" gatherings.

SESSION II: INDIVIDUAL ACTIVITY

1. Public Drunkenness.
2. Marital Fight.
3. Speeding Motorist.
4. Illegal Parking.

SESSION III: MINORITY GROUPS

1. Demonstrations.
2. Non-English speaking:
 - a. Arrests.
 - b. Questioning.

3. Racially mixed groups.
4. Street loitering.

SESSION IV: YOUTH AND STUDENT GROUPS

1. Juveniles congregating.
2. Rude Behavior.
3. Youth and student centers.
4. Student demonstrations.

SESSION V: POLICE RESPONSE

1. Older citizens.
2. Investigations.
3. Neighborhood organizations.
4. Switchboard and Front Desk.

SESSION VI: CRITIQUE AND SCENARIO PREPARATION

APPENDIX B
ILLUSTRATIVE PROBLEM SCENARIOS

1. PUBLIC DRUNKENNESS

A white man in his middle forties is very drunk and has a major problem standing up. He has the habit of doing this every week and is well known to the police. He has made a few attempts at crossing the street, and passers-by are both amused and scared that he might get run over.

A police officer walks up to him, grabs him by the arm, and starts pushing him firmly toward the patrol car. The man resists, drags his feet, shouts at the cop "arresting him when he ain't doin' nothin' wrong," while passers-by feel sorry for him and obviously are on his side.

What could the officer have done to avoid the resentment of the crowd or create a favorable impression?

- Talk to the drunk gently, display compassion rather than authority and force, and ignore the crowd.
- Ignore the drunk and walk by.
- Talk to the crowd about why he arrested the drunk--even disclose that this man gets like that regularly.
- Put the drunk in a cab and send him home.

What are the pros and cons of each alternative from the standpoint of the image of an officer's job created among the passers-by?

2. SPEEDING MOTORIST

A young man in his middle twenties, with two friends in his car, is driving up Brattle Street at 50 mph; he is arrested by an officer standing at a street corner. The officer signals the car to back up to him, and asks for the driver's identification. The driver attempts to explain his situation when really he has, and can find, no valid excuse for speeding. The officer does not listen, and writes a ticket. The driver gets more and more nervous, and is abruptly told to shut up. He is then handed the ticket and told to drive away.

How could the officer have handled this situation to avoid creating resentment on the part of the driver?

- There was no way to handle it differently.
- The officer could have added a few "pleases," given a couple of explanations as to why it is dangerous to speed up Brattle Street, and not told the driver to shut up.
- The officer could have ignored the speeding driver and not stopped him.
- The officer could have given a warning rather than a ticket.

What is the impact upon the driver's image of a police officer's job of these various alternatives?

3. JUVENILES CONGREGATING

A group of some ten teenagers, all Negroes, are playing in a park at sunset and are exchanging jokes in the free language of teenagers. An old spinster calls the police and asks that the gang be dispersed, as she is frightened, and bothered by the noise and language being used. The officers arrive and tell the teenagers to go home. "Go home kids; there have been complaints about your being a nuisance; let's move!"

Reacting as teenagers, the kids joke "the fuzz" and obey, although resentfully and slowly. The officers, annoyed by this attitude, push the kids to a wall and start searching them; a few passers-by stop to watch. One teenager who wasn't moving fast enough is pushed to the wall and hurts his hand, and all of his friends start insulting the officers. The officers call for another car, and take all the teenagers to the station.

How could that incident have been avoided by the officers?

- Tell the spinster that she calls too often for the same reason and that there is no reason why she should be afraid, and in essence not answer the call.
- Joke about the spinster with the kids, and ask them politely to go home, with an attitude amounting to saying, "we are on your side, but we are doing our job."

- Tell the kids to go home, politely, without mentioning the spinster, without giving any reason, but not reacting at the cracks about the fuzz.
- Handle the situation as described.

4. RUDE BEHAVIOR

Three teenagers pass in front of two officers standing at a street corner. It is 6:00 P.M. at a busy intersection like Harvard Square. While they pass, one teenager purposely bumps into one officer, and does not apologize. The officer turns around, grabs the teenager by the arm, and tells him to apologize. The teenager refuses, and the officer demands to see his identification. The teenager refuses, asking why he should show his identification when he didn't do anything. The officer repeats his demand, and the teenager starts insulting him, pushing him, and asking his friends for help. Passers-by, unaware of why the officer acts as he does, side with the teenager. The other officer calls a patrol car and they take the teenagers to the station.

How differently could this situation have been handled? It was provocation, but of a minor kind, and led to a negative image of officers abusing their authority in the minds of the teenagers and passers-by.

- The officer should have reprimanded the teenager.
- The officer should have ignored the teenager.
- The officer should have knocked the teenager back.
- The officer should have arrested the teenager immediately, without demanding an apology.
- The officer should have explained to the passers-by why he was arresting the teenager.
- The situation was well handled as it was.

5. LOUD PARTY

It is a little over midnight, on a Saturday night, and the police receive a call from a resident of an apartment building, complaining

about the loud party of his upstairs neighbor, because his wife is not well and is bothered by the noise. The upstairs neighbor had failed to inform him that he planned to give a party that night. When the police arrive, they tell the host to stop the party because the neighbor downstairs complains about the noise. They are told that the party will not stop--it is Saturday night and still early--and that they will not play the music lower. The officers then tell everybody to go home, and start pushing people out.

Could this situation have been handled differently, even though the host was obviously unwilling to cooperate (perhaps he doesn't like his neighbor)?

- The officers might have told the downstairs neighbor to be a little more patient, perhaps for another hour, and not follow up on the call.
- The officers might have first asked the host for his understanding and requested him to play the music lower, rather than telling him to stop the party.
- The officers might have brought the downstairs neighbor upstairs so that the two neighbors could have reached a "gentleman's agreement."

6. MARITAL FIGHT

The police are called in by a neighbor warning them of a fight next door between a husband and a wife, both somewhat intoxicated, although not really drunk. When they arrive, they find the wife bleeding and crying, and two frightened children about 8-10 years old watching helplessly. They fight their way into the apartment, as the husband wouldn't let them in, and arrest the husband in spite of his wife saying that everything is all right. A few neighbors, who have assembled outside of the apartment are split in their feelings about what is going on. The husband tries to run away and is knocked down by the officer closer to the door. By then, the officers drag him out, although by this time everyone is asking them to go and forget about the whole thing.

Could this have been handled differently?

- The officers could have left when the wife said that everything was all right, even though they knew that the husband would resume his beating after their departure.
- The officers could have brought both the husband and the wife to the station, and left the children with a neighbor until their parents had sobered up and calmed down.
- The officers could have not answered the call at all.
- The officers could have left the husband to run away.
- The situation could not have been handled differently.

APPENDIX C

GENERAL OUTLINE OF COMMUNITY INTERVIEW STRUCTURING

Street	Race (Black, White, Other)
Neighborhood Area	Sex
Affiliation, if any, and/or position in community	Age (Young, Teenage, Middle Aged, Older)

Experiences with police

Own

By other but observed

By others but related

Critical incidents

Type of interaction

What happened

Outcome

Assessment of Cambridge Police Department

Good points

Shortcomings

Recommendations

Salary

Training

Procedures

Role of the police

How do you perceive it

Relation of police to perceived role

Note: While all these questions were asked during the course of the interviews they were not necessarily asked in the order indicated. Every attempt was made to have the interview as unstructured as possible in order to create a permissive atmosphere in which the respondent would feel able to speak freely without fear of disapproval or reprisal.

APPENDIX D

GENERAL OUTLINE OF POLICE INTERVIEW STRUCTURE

Rank

Length of service

Education and training prior to entering Department

Experience prior to entering Department

Education and/or training since entering Department

Types of assignments since entering Department

Reasons for becoming police officer

Reasons for continuing as a police officer

Role and duties of police officer

Actions to be taken

Knowledge and skills needed

Guidance and regulations

Pressures and influences

Decisions to be made

Discretion and latitude in role implementation

Required background

Community Interactions

Type--informal, face-to-face, formal

Frequency of each type

Typical problems

Modus operandi in dealing with problems

Assessment of community response to, perception of, and relations
with police

Recommendations

Salary

Training

Procedures

Note: Like the community interviews, the police interviews were kept as unstructured as possible, although answers were sought to all of the above questions.

APPENDIX E
SOME TYPICAL COMMUNITY COMMENTS

"Somebody ought to pull their (the police) coat."

"There should be a community-police relations group."

(young black male speaking) "At present they (the police) are bad, if we are going to change things we should get on the police force--we got to show them!"

"Teenagers can't walk the streets--some police are too old, they lie, what can you say against two?"

"The young ones are mean...fresh."

"They should call your parents only if you're guilty--you should be heard within 2-3 hours of arrest."

"My father said we would all be dead if there were no cops." (son of a policeman.)

"Cops are sad news--they're dumb."

"They hate young kids."

"They should be made to tell the truth--who is going to believe me against two of them?"

"Police help old folks and pick on kids."

"Police protect the president...direct traffic...look out for things."

"They ought to get a new suit."

"Everyone should turn hippie and legalize drugs."

"They should understand young people."

"I bet you're a cop."

"They should not be visible."

"They should be more polite."

"Need more police, more black."

"Their dress could be better."

"Without police there would be no law and order; need more black policemen."

"They do no good."

"They are supposed to keep order, guard my children, although they don't do it."

"They should know the law."

"They should be less prejudiced."

"To protect the people on the street--I need protection."

"At times--in time of trouble--they are good to have around."

"More women police--handicapped by court."

"Should be more tolerant."

"Sometimes they chase kids."

"Without them there would be no law and order."

"Need more education--every two years a refresher course."

"Should know neighborhood."

"Citizens expected to guess their operations--they should explain how they work."

"Need more foot-patrolmen."

"To protect us from ourselves."

"They could stand more training."

"They should pay more attention to emergency calls."

"To keep those damn teenagers in line, keep law and order, just being around scares some people--need some black police too."

"Young cops sad news--they need to learn how to talk to people."

"Police being paid to stay away from club."

"To protect my kids from strangers."

"Police ought to sell their program once a year--their P.R. is poor."

"They should be better educated--dress better."

"People hate them but if they were not here it would be bad."

"Chasing by police in cars is bad, something should be done."

"They should be trained to respect people."

"They should speak Spanish and talk to the people--they are mean."

"They don't know how to use gun--say they aim at legs but shoot young boy in head."

APPENDIX E

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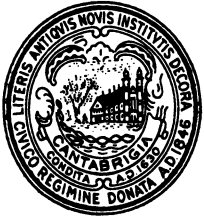
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James L. Sullivan
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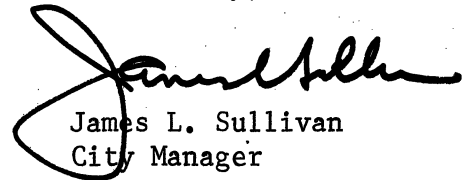
John H. Corcoran
Assistant City Manager

May 18, 1970

To the Honorable, the City Council:

I transmit herewith report from Arthur D. Little, Inc.,
entitled "A Program in Police/Community Relations for the City
of Cambridge".

Yours truly,



James L. Sullivan
City Manager

JLS:pv

COMMUNICATION
from the City Manager trans-
~~mitting one from~~

report from Arthur D. Little, Inc. entitled
"A Program in Police/Community Relations
for the City of Cambridge"

May 18, 1970

5/18/70 Placed on File
Report to the Chief
of Police - for
Recommendations