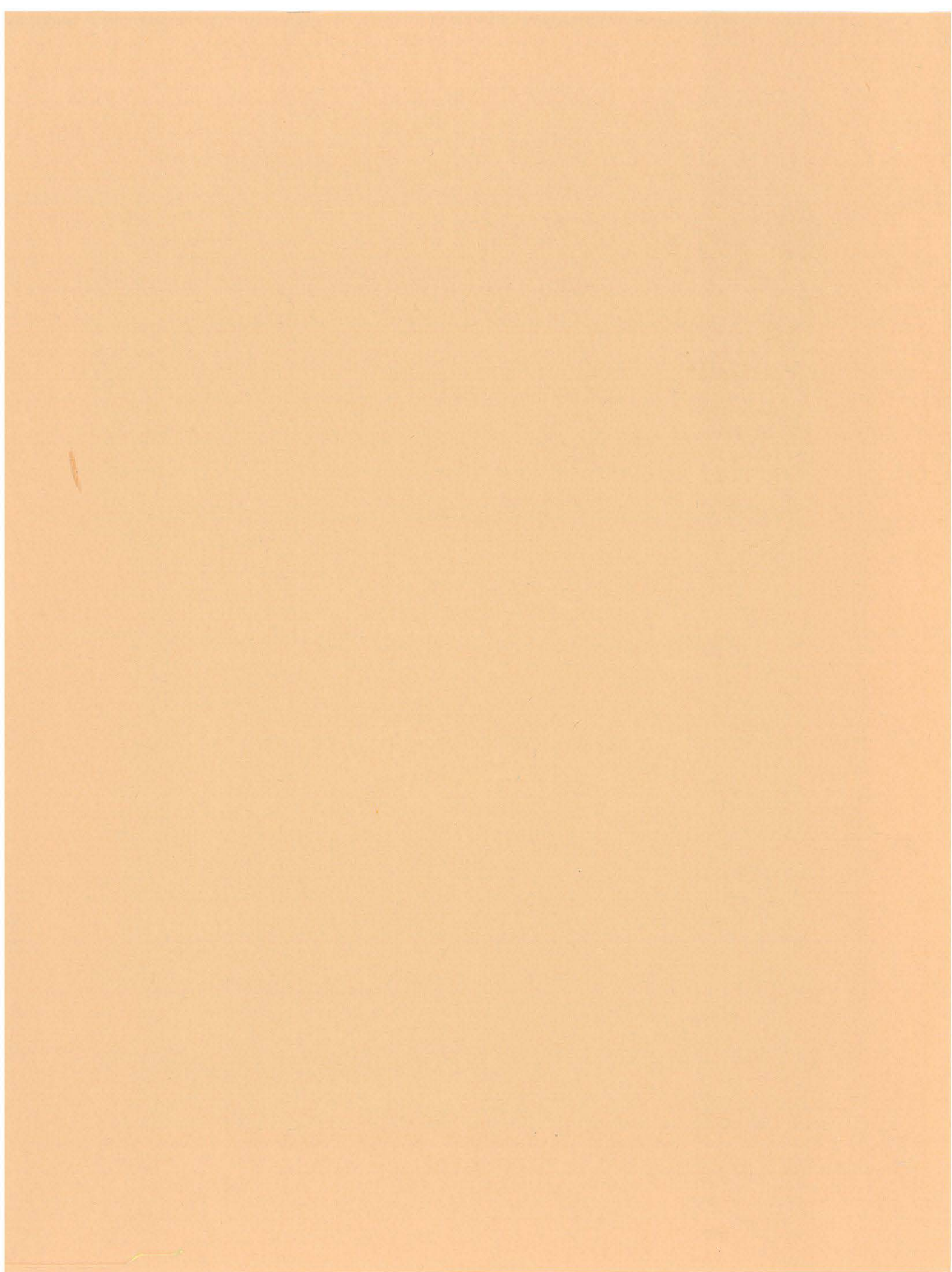


THE POLICE AND INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT

THIRD-PARTY INTERVENTION APPROACHES

Morton Bard
Joseph Zacker

PoliceFoundation



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FOREWORD

This report makes significant contributions of two kinds.

First, it increases our knowledge about policing. By using the experience of the line police officer, it adds to our understanding of interpersonal conflict of the kind which confronts police daily; it gives us insight into the ways in which various police officers respond to situations involving interpersonal conflict. This knowledge is immensely important to have. It is what policing is all about. It is the only way to know how well the community is being served. And it is the kind of knowledge that is essential if the capacity of the police to respond effectively to important community needs is to improve.

Second, the report helps us to understand some of the social service aspects of police work. In order to understand what the individual, experienced police officer does, an obviously important but commonly overlooked objective, police practice must be analyzed so that alternative police responses can be carefully identified and defined. The various responses must then be evaluated to determine which is the most effective way of serving the needs of the community. This is the way to build knowledge in a field where recorded, analyzed, and evaluated experience is lacking.

Careful readers of this report will be better informed about interpersonal conflict and about the various ways in which an individual police officer responds to such conflict, but they will be uncertain about the effectiveness of the various responses the police used. Presumably, future research will provide the thoughtful evaluation of effectiveness that this aspect of police work requires.

For police administrators, the message of this report is a simple but important one. It is that they should make an effort to identify the various ways in which their officers currently respond to important community problems, whether they be interpersonal conflict, shoplifting, burglary, or crimes of violence. The alternative responses need to be carefully researched, and an effort must be made to start determining which response is most effective. The obvious difficulty of the task should not obscure its significance, nor deter administrators from making the effort. Without knowledge about police effectiveness in serving community needs, government spending or changes in police organization, management, and training will have in the future--as they have had in the past--only a cosmetic effect upon policing.

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Many persons contributed to this innovative collaboration in building law enforcement knowledge. First, Chief Francis E. Virgulak of the Norwalk, Connecticut, Department of Police Services understood the significance of the project as soon as it was proposed, and he provided active and continuing support throughout. Chief Virgulak's commitment was most apparent in his assignment of one of his ablest staff members, Sergeant Frank Tegano, to function in the demanding role of project liaison. Captain Peter Gabrielson, Lieutenant Lee Smith, and Sergeants William Allen, Charles Dugan, and Thomas LaTulipe provided administrative and patrol support.

At the Police Foundation, President Patrick V. Murphy actively encouraged not only the present effort but also the original demonstration in family crisis intervention in New York City, Catherine Higgs Milton was enthusiastically involved in the project from its conception, and Susan Michaelson was extremely helpful and facilitative as project manager. Michael Carbine's editorial work, Peter Bloch's technical and statistical help, and Dean Richlin's administrative assistance were excellent.

Finally, the essence of this project was the capacity of police officers and psychological researchers to negotiate the uncharted waters of collaboration. We are most grateful to those who confronted this challenge and perhaps pointed the way for others. To them, above all, we are in debt.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The purpose of the Norwalk study was to identify and classify the third-party intervention approaches already used by police officers, and to determine whether such approaches could be taught systematically to police officers and then applied selectively in appropriate situations.

Because the largest number of disturbance calls in Norwalk occurred during the evening hours, the 4 p.m.-to-midnight platoon was selected for participation in the study. Squads A and B, each having ten officers, participated in the planning and field observation phases. The ten officers of Squad C were reserved as a control group for the field-testing phase.

SUMMARY OF PHASES

Beginning on June 20, 1973, the project was carried out in the following four phases:

Phase I: Planning and Development

During this initial phase, participants developed and initiated data collection and analysis instruments and methods, observation techniques, and training programs.

Phase II: Field Observation

During field observation, twenty participating officers provided data on 150 disturbance situations by completing dispute report forms. The forms were designed to elicit such information as: description of the situation, the participants, and the officers' own actions and responses. Project researchers then questioned the officers on each completed form. A research panel, composed of five officers and four researchers, analyzed the data and defined the approaches used by the officers in the interventions. As a result, seven approaches were categorized: authority, counseling, arbitration, director-mediation, negotiation, referee-mediation, and relayer-mediation. Three, authority, negotiation, and counseling, were selected for further study and field testing.

Phase III: Field Testing

During the first three months of field testing, ten officers from Squads A and B and ten officers from control Squad C applied the approaches under

a forced-choice condition for a period of one month each. Under a free-choice condition in the fourth month, the officers were free to select whichever of the three approaches seemed most appropriate to a situation. During this phase the officers handled a total of 344 calls.

Phase IV: Analysis of Data and Preparation of the Report

The last phase of the project involved further analysis of data collected during Phases II and III; development of more refined examples of intervention approaches; analysis of factors associated with the use of these approaches, based upon officer evaluation; and preparation of the final report.

SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS

In summary, the project produced the following findings:

- Police officers untrained in third-party approaches for intervening in disputes used a variety of approaches: authority, counseling, and five kinds of mediation: arbitration, director-mediation, negotiation, referee-mediation, and relayer-mediation.
- Repeated use of three selected intervention approaches (authority, negotiation, and counseling) generally led to improvement in an officer's ability to apply those approaches. Such use affected the officers' attitudes in the following ways:
 - (a) Repeated use of the authority approach resulted in officers viewing it less favorably, while such use of the negotiation approach resulted in officers viewing it more favorably.
 - (b) Repeated use of counseling resulted in a more favorable attitude toward the approach, although the officers were originally less proficient because counseling was the approach least familiar to them.
- After using the three approaches, a majority of officers viewed negotiation as the most important one for police recruits to learn. Although several officers selected counseling as the most important, none selected authority as the approach to teach recruits.
- Officer evaluation of use of the three approaches resulted in the compilation of specific factors officers found to be associated with the use of each approach, e.g., major advantages and disadvantages, and effect of disputants' race, sex, age, and economic condition.
- Physical assault among the parties was not involved in two-thirds of the disputes handled during the project.

- The occurrence of an assault was associated with the disputants' economic status, but not with race.
- In two-thirds of all disputes there was no evidence that any alcohol had been used by the disputants, and no relationship was found between the use of alcohol and physical assault.
- Focusing on the interpersonal aspects of police work, particularly through the use of the report form and the debriefing process, apparently enabled officers without formal training to improve their perceptions of interpersonal processes, increase their knowledge of human behavior and, appropriately, alter their own behavior.

CONCLUSION

The results of this project demonstrate that policing as a discipline contains a vast body of untapped knowledge about conflict management. Under proper conditions, police officers can discern and define various facets of this knowledge, which can then be refined and codified for application elsewhere. Furthermore, the study demonstrated that an effective linkage can be established between police practitioners and social scientists in an action research process. Such collaboration was achieved in Norwalk and, as such, enhanced the validity of the project's findings.

The goal of the Norwalk project was to develop a practical conflict management training program and manual for police departments. The current results of the project constitute only the first step in the knowledge-building process, however, and must be interpreted as such. The first step involved identifying, categorizing, teaching, and applying intervention approaches. The effectiveness of each approach, when applied in a wide range of situations by many different officers, was not formally evaluated, but the project did assess it informally. To develop a useful conflict management model, however, requires still another step. Nevertheless those involved in this project hope that it will offer a new perspective on the role of the police in conflict management, both current and potential.

I. BACKGROUND

Police officers are routinely called to intervene in interpersonal conflicts. The calls, usually termed "disturbances," include a wide range of situations and relationships. When husbands and wives, lovers, friends, acquaintances, or neighbors cannot resolve their arguments, they frequently call the police.

Traditionally, police officers have considered disturbances to be undesirable or "garbage" calls. These situations receive low departmental priority, training for them is minimal, and the goal of officers on the scene is to leave as soon as possible. Police service in disturbances earns few rewards from the department; those doing the job do not consider it "real" police work.

The potential danger of disturbances, however, is well documented. In 1974, more than one-fifth of the police officers killed in the nation and more than one-fourth of those assaulted were responding to disturbance calls. More officers were either killed or assaulted during interpersonal conflict situations than in robbery encounters.^{1/} Furthermore, disturbances account for a high percentage of citizen assaults and homicides. For example, in Detroit more than 50 percent of the homicides occurred in 1972 as the direct result of interpersonal conflicts, usually between persons known to each other.^{2/} In Kansas City, approximately half of the homicides and two-thirds of the aggravated assaults in 1970 and 1971 resulted from disturbances.^{3/}

Available evidence suggests that even apparently mundane issues often erupt into serious acts of violence. The presence or likelihood of violence notwithstanding, police must be prepared to respond to people in conflict.

¹Federal Bureau of Investigation, U.S. Department of Justice, Uniform Crime Reports, 1974 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974), pp. 224, 233.

²G. Marie Wilt and James D. Bannon, "Conflict-Motivated Homicides and Assaults in Detroit," Detroit Police Department study available from the Police Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1974, p. 20.

³Ronald K. Breedlove, John W. Kennish, Donald M. Sandker, and Robert K. Sawtell, "Domestic Violence and the Police," Kansas City Police Department study available from the Police Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 115a.

The urgency and destructive potential of these interpersonal conflicts require an immediate response and, in most cases, third-party authority based on competence and legality. Police officers make up the only existing service system that can respond within this framework. They have a highly organized mobile response capability, as well as both legal and symbolic power to act. These factors, when combined with the routine crisis aspect of police work, attest to the unique potential of the police as a primary resource for interpersonal conflict management.

Several police departments throughout the country, including Norwalk, Connecticut, have initiated crisis intervention programs which are in fact conflict management programs.⁴ Unlike most other efforts, which are training programs, the project in Norwalk was developed as a research program to build a new body of knowledge about the police role in conflict management. The police officer's vast but largely undefined experience as third-party intervener in interpersonal conflicts provided the basis for this project's development of more effective third-party intervention models.

From June 1973 through October 1974, social science researchers from the City University of New York joined with police officers from the Norwalk, Connecticut, Department of Police Services to study how the police, untrained in third-party intervention approaches, typically handle disturbance situations. During this Police Foundation-funded project, participating officers systematically observed and recorded their own behavior in conflict situations. The research panel then studied, defined, categorized and evaluated these behavior patterns, and examined the characteristics of the conflicts the officers handled.

All phases of the project benefited from the effective collaboration between police officers and social scientists. Participants in the project recognized from the beginning that combining the different experience and expertise of social scientists and police officers could develop a new understanding of third-party intervention issues. The linking of the practitioner and the researcher throughout the discovery process produced insights and results that could not have been achieved otherwise.

NORWALK, CONNECTICUT

Norwalk, Connecticut, was selected for the project because of its size, economic diversity, racial composition, and age distribution. The characteristics of both the city and its police department made Norwalk particularly suitable. Although the city has a population of only 79,113 (based on 1970

⁴The distinction between crisis intervention and interpersonal conflict management is discussed in Morton Bard, "Family Crisis Intervention: From Concept to Implementation," study published by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice, 1973.

census data), it appears to be representative of a large number of cities in the United States. More than 12 percent of the population are minority group members, and one-third is under 18 years of age. The city's median family income in 1969 was \$12,495, but its residents represent a great economic range.

The Norwalk Department of Police Services operates under the supervision of a chief of police and a three-member board of police commissioners. Patrol is organized around three platoons (midnight to 8 a.m., 8 a.m. to 4 p.m., and 4 p.m. to midnight), each with three squads. During 1972, the 147-officer department responded to 36,343 complaints, investigated 3,266 major crimes and 12,463 lesser crimes and violations, and provided 15,972 nonenforcement services such as first aid. The 4 p.m. to midnight shift alone recorded 2,298 disturbance calls. Also, Norwalk's policy of assigning officers to steady shifts enhanced collaborative possibilities. Furthermore, the openness and receptive climate of the Norwalk Department of Police Services were critical to the success of the project.

II. METHODOLOGY

The key aspect of the methodology used in the Norwalk project was the collaboration of police officers and social scientists. Through this collaboration, the research goals of identifying and classifying police officers' spontaneous third-party intervention approaches were achieved. Police officers and researchers shared in all decisions, from designing data collection forms and procedures to classifying third-party approaches. The first few months of the project were marked by some reserve and suspicion on the part of the officers, and some discomfort with the realities of police work on the part of those researchers who were unfamiliar with the nonacademic setting. However, persistence and constructive confrontations produced the active collaboration that was intended.

The formal mechanisms and chronological steps involved in developing the project, collecting the data, and analyzing the results are discussed in this section.

DATA COLLECTION

Dispute Report Form

The principal means of data collection, the Dispute Report Form, was used by the 20 officers in Squads A and B to collect information about 150 dispute cases during Phase II (see Appendix A). The form was designed to elicit such information as characteristics of both disputants and dispute, details of and reasons for officer actions during the intervention, and officer perceptions of the effects of intervention.

An officer filled out part of the form after each intervention. One of the three project research assistants who questioned the officer to gain additional information about the case completed the form. All this material constituted the data base the research panel used in analyzing and codifying the approaches.

The Dispute Report Form and the debriefing procedure had two additional functions: to establish effective collaboration between the participating officers and the social scientists, and to enhance the officers' focus on the interpersonal aspects of their work. Indeed, an important question in the project was if and how the repeated self-administration of the forms and the debriefing sessions that followed would influence the interpersonal and/or social perceptions and behaviors of the officers (despite the absence of

systematic training). Thus, an experiment was designed to measure the degree to which changes in the officers' perceptions and behavior were produced by the actual processes of the project. This experiment employed two tests of social intelligence and the videotape method.^{5/}

The most important finding of this ancillary experiment was that, in the process of observing and reporting interpersonal characteristics, the officers improved their ability to discriminate among kinds of behavior. It appears that when the police officers focused on the behavioral aspects of the functions they were performing, their social and interpersonal perceptions became more sensitive. Such perceptiveness is unquestionably essential to the third-party role in crisis intervention. If, therefore, this improved acuity was the result of the self-report and debriefing process, it can be reasoned that there is important educational potential in routine reporting procedures.

Telephone Interview Forms

Several attempts were made, through the use of different forms and methods, to record citizen reactions to each intervention. None was successful, and the citizen reaction survey was terminated.

The first attempt, using a Telephone Interview Form administered by the department's training sergeant, was not successful, and additional attempts by the project research assistants and a member of the research panel to use the form also failed. Therefore, because of the difficulty in contacting people and an apparent hesitance in responding openly on the part of those who were contacted, this procedure was stopped.

Participating police officers then suggested a second approach to obtaining citizen reactions. Officers were given questionnaires to leave with the disputants after each intervention. To minimize distrust, the questionnaire included an envelope addressed to City University of New York, rather than to the Norwalk Department of Police Services. No questionnaires were returned.

The third method involved a more sophisticated interview form, administered by a highly trained telephone interviewer (the project director). After many interviews, it appeared that when citizens were asked to evaluate and describe the content of a police intervention, their responses were characterized by a lack of sophistication about what police officers do (resulting in naive and generalized perceptions of what had occurred during the intervention), and caution generated by mistrust of the system, or the interviewer, or both.

⁵A more detailed description of the experimental design and its results can be found in the Additional Norwalk Appendix Materials, available upon request from the Police Foundation.

RECRUITMENT AND ORIENTATION OF PARTICIPATING OFFICERS

As noted, because the majority of disputes handled by police occur after 6 p.m., the three squads on patrol during the 4 p.m. to midnight shift were selected for participation in the project. Squads A and B were to be involved throughout the project, while Squad C was to function as a control group during Phase III. The use of the third squad as a control was to provide some indication of whether prior experience in the Phase II collaborative process would affect the police officers' ability to learn and apply third-party intervention approaches in Phase III.

As an introduction to the project, the chief of police wrote each member of Squads A and B a letter stressing both the department's collaborative interest in the project and the voluntary nature of participation in the effort. Then, at separate orientation sessions with each squad, project staff members introduced themselves, explained the undertaking in the context of and as a necessary extension of their prior work in police third-party intervention, and described project design details. The officers were assured that participation was voluntary, and that any officer's dissociation from the project would have no negative consequences from either the department or the project staff. Only one officer declined to participate.

Midway through Phase II, many officers resisted completing the self-report forms, and some dissatisfaction became evident. Another orientation session was held with each squad, but this time without the department supervisory personnel. Skepticism about the project and resentment about some supervisors' actions were aired. Through open discussion, participants clarified project goals and stressed the significance to all working police officers, not just police administrators, of the knowledge to be acquired. This session and additional sessions contributed to the total collaborative process and thus to successful data collection and analysis.

SELECTION OF THE RESEARCH PANEL

The research panel was formed both to identify and classify the intervention approaches reported during Phase II and to enhance the practitioner/researcher collaborative process. Squads A and B each selected two members, both articulate and respected by their peers, to join the four project staff members on this panel. In addition to the four elected officers, a fifth "runner-up" asked to be included and despite the imbalance of police officers to researchers, all agreed to this request.

CLASSIFICATION OF BEHAVIOR INTO APPROACHES

During Phase II, the research panel met regularly to examine the key elements in each of the 150 intervention cases reported. Identification, definition, and classification of these elements occurred in two stages: analysis and synthesis.

During the analysis stage, the research panel examined and defined the discrete elements involved in an officer's behavior during an intervention. Through open exchange and intense discussion, the nine research panel members isolated the elements of all 150 cases. For example, one case included the following elements: (1) interviewing the complainant; (2) advising the complainant of his or her legal standing; (3) contacting the other party through a second officer; and (4) using the prior relationship between the officer and the parties involved to direct a solution.

The second stage in the classification process involved synthesizing the key elements into one approach that described the major strategy of the officer's intervention. Each element in a dispute was weighted, and those elements judged central to the intervention were classified into an approach. Through this procedure, the research panel identified the seven major intervention approaches described elsewhere in this report.

In many instances, officers were found to have used a mixture of approaches in managing a single dispute; in such cases, the approach was classified in terms of the primary strategy.

FIELD TESTING (PHASE III)

To determine which of the seven approaches would be selected for field testing during Phase III, the research panel rank-ordered each approach according to apparent effectiveness, the frequency with which officers used it, and how it differed from other approaches. From this process, the three highest ranked approaches--authority, negotiation, and counseling--were selected for field testing.

Because the field testing phase (Phase III) required less information about the intervention itself and more about its effects than did the earlier phase (Phase II), the research panel developed a Third-Party Approach Debriefing Form for use during Phase III.

To determine what effect prior participation in the project would have on the learning and application of intervention approaches (without formal training), officers from Squad C were included for control purposes in Phase III. Because these officers had not been previously involved in the project, their performance could be compared with the performance of those officers from Squads A and B who would also participate in Phase III to determine the effects, if any, of prior participation on the field testing process.

To maximize the number of intervention cases possible during Phase III, those officers in Squads A and B who had handled the greatest number of disputes during Phase II were invited to participate in Phase III. Thus, ten

officers from Squads A and B and ten from Squad C comprised the 20 officers participating in Phase III.^{6/}

Field testing of the three selected approaches involved briefly teaching the approaches to the 20 officers, then having the officers apply the approaches under specified conditions. For each approach, a two-hour orientation session was held to define that approach, isolate its elements, and relate both definition and elements to actual cases. Role plays were also used to clarify the approach further.

Each approach was applied under two conditions: forced choice and free choice. During the forced-choice period, officers were asked to apply only a designated approach in every conflict situation encountered for one month, unless, in the officer's opinion, the safety of either the officer or disputants would be threatened. Authority, negotiation, and counseling were thus each applied for one month by every officer. To minimize possible effects of the learning process on the final approach to be tested, the officers were divided into two groups and applied the approaches in different orders. At the end of each month of forced-choice field testing, the officers engaged in a general review and evaluation of that month's approach.

The three-month forced-choice period was followed by a one-month free-choice period. During the latter period, the officers were free to apply any of the three approaches in a selective manner, based on the approach's suitability to each situation. At the end of the free-choice month there was a general evaluation and debriefing session.

⁶It is unknown how the nonrandom selection of Squads A and B officers affected comparability to Squad C officers.

III. PROJECT RESULTS

DEFINITIONS OF THIRD-PARTY APPROACHES IDENTIFIED AND CLASSIFIED BY THE RESEARCH PANEL DURING PHASE II

During Phase II of the Norwalk project, members of the research panel isolated and defined three broad categories of third-party intervention approaches to disputes: authority, mediation, and counseling. Within the mediation category, five separate kinds of approaches were further identified: arbitration, director-mediation, negotiation, referee-mediation, and relay-mediation. In all, seven kinds of intervention approaches were identified.

The degree of consensus among the members of the research panel in classifying intervention behavior was reasonably high and is discussed in Appendix C. Basically, the panel found that during Phase II, the 20 officers tended to use a variety of approaches in managing interpersonal conflicts, and that stylistic differences do occur among officers regarding whether their intervention focuses primarily on the use of their authority, the parties involved, or a combination of the two factors.

Table 1 describes the seven approaches, including mediation and its derivatives. Because authority, negotiation, and counseling were selected by the panel for close study, examples of their use can be found in Appendix D.

Authority

In using authority, the intervening officer arbitrarily imposes an end to the conflict through either implicit or explicit threat of arrest. The officer often pronounces a legal or authoritative judgment, informing the parties of their legal standing. For example, if, after hearing all sides of the dispute, the officer decides to end the conflict by making an arrest, the officer has used the authority approach (although many disputes terminated by arrest are not examples of the authority approach, e.g., where the arrest follows the attempted application of other approaches). This method involves decisively ordering the disputants, arbitrarily pronouncing a decision, or otherwise imposing a solution upon the situation.

Negotiation

As a mediation technique, the negotiation approach deals with the surface issue at hand, focusing upon only the content of the conflict itself. As with the counseling approach, the officer treats the disputants as if they are mature individuals with a problem. But negotiation focuses only on the

TABLE 1

THIRD-PARTY INTERVENTION APPROACHES

APPROACH	DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF APPROACH
AUTHORITY	The officer takes complete charge, defines the situation, and does not seek suggestions from anyone.
MEDIATION	
Arbitration	The officer gains some degree of consent to serve as an arbitrator, and suggests a solution which the parties may accept or reject.
Director-Mediation*	The officer actively establishes the framework for the discussion between the parties, who are encouraged to reach an agreement. The officer's presence is felt throughout.
Negotiation	The officer encourages the parties to reach an agreement by focusing on the issues at hand. The officer does <u>not</u> stress authority, but makes suggestions or offers advice, or insists that the parties focus on the issue.
Referee-Mediation	The officer permits the parties to negotiate a settlement, intervening only to set limits (e.g., "don't shout," "no fighting") on the nature of the interaction. Sanctions such as arrest are threatened only to set limits.
Relayer-Mediation	The officer assists one or both parties in communicating with the other. This may involve interpreting one party's feelings to the other, calling someone not at the scene and informing that person of the problem, relaying information between two parties who are physically separated, or taking the side of an inarticulate party.
COUNSELING	The officer penetrates the surface issues of the conflict, trying to assist the parties in understanding their basic situation and the consequences of certain behavior.

*If the parties reach a settlement readily, there may be no necessity for director-mediation.

immediate cause of the conflict, and suggestions center on a solution to that problem rather than on the deeper issue or symptoms of difficulties that may be involved. The officer acts as initiator of the problem-solving process, devising ways of solving the immediate problem, suggesting the solutions, and seeking agreement or compromise.

A technique often employed is the use of personal opinions or examples which refer to the content of the conflict. As in other forms of mediation, negotiation seeks agreement between the contending parties.

Counseling

Counseling as an approach involves treating all disputants as people who have an underlying problem of which they are unaware, thereby promoting a new and different way of viewing the problem. The officer recognizes, however, that, given the intensity or emotional context of the situation, objectivity may not be possible. The officer, therefore, attempts to elicit information that will awaken a dormant potential and help the disputants handle their situation with better judgment.

Officer intervention in this approach focuses on improving the relationship between the parties and/or improving the judgment of the persons involved. The officer's efforts to provide direction and offer suggestions are aimed toward helping the parties to resolve the issues, rather than imposing a conclusion to the dispute. The officer may give advice, attempt to enlighten the parties, remind them of their responsibilities, or provide insight into their situation.

Counseling focuses on more than the immediate problem itself; seeking the deeper issues that may be prompting the problem at hand. In a counseling situation, the disputants are often exhorted to use their own judgment in reviewing the situation and taking constructive steps to improve it.

Arbitration ^{7/}

In this approach, the officer proposes a solution to the disputants after judging that they are interested in hearing one. The parties are free to accept or reject the officer's proposal, since there is no explicit or implicit threat of arrest involved. For example, an officer may sense that the disputants are seeking a solution from him or her, although they may not have

⁷In its purest form, arbitration did not surface in Norwalk during Phase II. In this form the officer obtains a "contractual agreement" from the parties that they will abide by any decision the officer renders. In so doing, the officer can function as a "judge"--i.e., as an extension of the judicial system into the community. The parties are bound to comply because they have committed themselves to do so, rather than because they are bound by force of law.

explicitly stated it. (This is often the situation when an officer has prior knowledge of the parties and of their difficulties.)

Before rendering a decision, an officer may ask the parties to agree to abide by that decision. In the absence of an explicit agreement, the officer may nonetheless arbitrate when it appears that the parties will abide by the decision offered.

Director-Mediation

As in other cases of mediation, the officer using the director-mediation approach seeks agreement between the disputants. But in this case the officer is extremely active, structuring the environment, setting down rules, and actively establishing the framework within which the parties will interact during the intervention. Ultimately, all parties are seeking a mediated solution. This active role on the part of the officer distinguishes the director-mediation approach from other forms of mediation; the seeking of an acceptable conclusion by all parties distinguishes this approach from the authority approach.

Referee-Mediation

As in other mediation cases, the officer seeks agreement between the parties, but focuses on the rules of interaction rather than the issues. The officer allows the parties to work out their own settlement, and is primarily interested in how they achieve it.

Relayer-Mediation

While the officer again seeks agreement between the parties, the primary concern here is that each party become more aware of the other party's point of view. The officer attempts to enhance the disputants' abilities to communicate with each other, to which end the officer may act as an "interpreter," by clarifying each person's feelings toward the other. The officer may also act as a "bridge," by contacting a disputant not at the scene and informing that person of the other's viewpoint.

In other forms of this approach, the officer may act as a "telephone," by having each party speak to the other through the officer, or as advocate of an inarticulate party in an attempt to communicate that person's view to another.

NUMBER OF APPROACHES USED DURING PHASE II AND STYLISTIC DIFFERENCES AMONG OFFICERS WITHOUT SPECIAL CONFLICT TRAINING

Do Officers Without Special Conflict Training Rely on Only A Few Approaches?

The data collected were used to answer the following questions about officer flexibility: Do officers with only minimal training for a specific

function (in this case, conflict intervention) rigidly apply a limited number of approaches across all situations, or do they use a variety of approaches? During Phase II, 6 of the 20 participating officers had intervened in and had information about at least 10 cases. The distribution of the approaches used by the 6 officers in 100 cases is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that each officer used at least four and as many as seven approaches; thereby permitting the tentative conclusion that officers who do not have special conflict training spontaneously use a variety of approaches in managing interpersonal conflicts. This result suggests that police responses to conflicts are more complex than the simple alternatives that are usually stated by officers themselves, e.g., mediate, arrest, or refer.

Do Officers Differ in the "Focus" of Their Interventions in Interpersonal Conflict?

The project data also addressed another question: Do these officers differ in terms of whether their approaches focus on "authority" and its use during the intervention, or on the disputants and their needs and wishes, or both? The seven approaches were grouped as follows:

<u>EMPHASIS</u>	<u>APPROACH</u>
Approaches emphasizing authority	Authority
Approaches emphasizing the parties	Counseling
Approaches emphasizing both authority and the parties	Arbitration Director-mediation Negotiation Referee-mediation Relayer-mediation

Table 3 shows the intervention focus of the six officers who each handled at least ten cases in Phase II. The data presented indicate stylistic differences among the officers regarding the approaches each officer tended to favor. Officer B, for example, was more oriented to the use of authority, whereas Officer E was more likely to focus upon the parties themselves. Officers' styles appear to be determined by factors other than length of service.

RESULTS OF USING THIRD-PARTY INTERVENTION APPROACHES DURING THE PHASE III FORCED-CHOICE PERIOD

During the first three months of Phase III, the three intervention approaches, authority, negotiation, and counseling, were field tested. Each officer was instructed to apply a particular approach during each month. Unless safety was endangered or greater disorder threatened, the officer was to

TABLE 2

RANGE OF APPROACHES USED BY OFFICERS

OFFICER	APPROACH USED DURING DATA COLLECTION PHASE							TOTAL CASES
	Authority	Negotiation	Counseling	Arbitration	Director Mediation	Relayer-Mediation	Referee-Mediation	
A	4	2	0	0	1	3	0	10
B	11	1	1	1	3	1	2	20
C	6	5	1	0	6	1	2	21
D	1	5	2	0	5	4	1	18
E	2	3	8	0	0	1	0	14
F	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>17</u>
Percentage of total	28	18	14	3	20	10	7	100

NOTE: Figures represent both number of cases and percentages.

TABLE 3

OFFICER INTERVENTION FOCUSES IN PHASE II

OFFICER	YEARS OF SERVICE	PERCENTAGE OF CASES IN WHICH FOCUS WAS ON			NUMBER OF CASES	NUMBER OF APPROACHES
		Authority	Mediation (Authority and Parties)	Counseling (Parties)		
A	1	40	60	0	10	4
B	12	55	40	5	20	7
C	9	29	66	5	21	6
D	3	6	83	11	18	6
E	8	14	29	57	14	4
F	5	24	64	12	17	6

NOTE: Percentages are used not for statistical purposes, but to facilitate readers' comparisons among officers.

attempt using the designated approach. If and when the attempt was ineffective, the officer could switch to any approach that seemed appropriate.

To control for practice effects in applying the approaches, the officers were divided into two groups and their use of the approaches was staggered. This procedure equalized officer experience before the use of each approach. At the beginning of each month, the officers participated in a training/orientation session in which the approach to be used was presented and defined. Findings from the forced-choice period of Phase III follow.

Extent to Which Officers Applied the Approaches

Three data sources were used to determine how well participating officers applied the specific approaches during the forced-choice period of Phase III: (1) a questionnaire completed by the officers at the conclusion of each month; (2) a debriefer's rating of the extent to which the approach was applied in each case; and (3) the actual number of times the specified approach was applied when officers had been instructed to use it. These sources showed that most officers were able to apply the designated approach well on most occasions, but officers tended to do less well with the counseling approach, the one least familiar to them.

At the end of each month during the forced-choice period, participating officers ^{8/} completed a questionnaire to indicate their opinions of how well the approach had been applied. Analysis of these questionnaires revealed that most officers believed they had improved in their application of each of the three approaches (authority, negotiation, and counseling).

The debriefers' ratings produced the following results:

- Only one of the 14 officers failed to apply the authority approach at least "moderately well" (as defined by the debriefers) in 25 percent of the intervention cases reported during the "authority only" period.
- One officer failed to apply the negotiation approach at least moderately well during the "negotiation only" period.
- Three officers failed to apply counseling at least moderately well during the "counseling only" period.

Analysis of the number of cases handled during each of the three approach periods revealed the following data:

⁸Because of routine administrative transfer, 6 officers were reassigned during the experiment; therefore, only 14 officers participated throughout Phase III.

- The authority approach was used at least moderately well in 68 of the 98 disputes handled during the "authority only" period (69 percent).
- Negotiation was used at least moderately well in 54 of the 86 disputes handled during the "negotiation only" period (63 percent).
- Counseling was used at least moderately well in 29 of the 84 disputes handled during the "counseling only" period (34.5 percent).

In summary, most of the officers were judged able to apply the three approaches and, overall, the designated approach was applied at least moderately well in 151 of 268 cases (56.3 percent).

Differences Between Those Cases in Which Officers Applied the Designated Approach and Those in Which the Approach Was Not Applied

To determine whether characteristics of the individual or the setting influenced the use of an approach, researchers examined those cases handled by officers demonstrating evidence of having mastered an approach (those who had applied it at least moderately well in 25 percent of the cases handled during a forced-choice period). This procedure eliminated cases of officers who did not apply a given approach.

For each approach category, cases in which the approach was applied at least moderately well (as determined by item 13 of the Third-Party Approach Debriefing Form) were compared with cases in which it was not. Generally, the cases did not tend to vary, though significant differences among certain variables were found for some cases. The three approaches and the important variables follow.

- Authority: When one disputant was male and another female, officers were less likely to apply the authority approach completely than when both disputants were of the same sex. Third-party interveners more readily assume a role of power when the disputing parties are of supposedly equal "power" (sex).
- Negotiation: This approach was more likely to be applied completely when one party (typically the complainant) asked the police officer to mediate a compromise.
- Counseling: (a) When disputants were related to each other, counseling was much more likely to be

applied completely than when the disputants were not related. Officers found it easier to search for and find underlying issues when the parties' relationship was intimate.

(b) Counseling was most likely to be applied completely when the parties were parent and child.

(c) Unlike the other approaches, counseling was less likely to be applied completely when both parties were not at the scene of the dispute when officers arrived. This finding is apparently associated with whether the parties were related, because one or both disputants were more likely to be absent when they were not related. It was possible, at times, to apply the counseling approach even when only one party was present.

(d) Counseling was more often applied completely when the parties had an intimate rather than a distant relationship.

The Effect of Increased Use of an Approach On Officer Opinion of That Approach

During the debriefing sessions, officers were asked for their general view of the designated approach. Table 4 presents the data in terms of the number of cases the officers had handled when they presented their views. The data represent many opinions for each officer--e.g., an officer who handled six cases when authority was the designated approach indicated a general view about the authority approach once for each case, a total of six times. This procedure provided a crude measure of the change in officer impressions about the approaches through increased familiarity with or practice of them in a variety of situations.

As Table 4 shows, increased experience with the authority approach during the forced-choice period decreased officer satisfaction with that method. Officers who handled more than seven cases indicated that they viewed the authority approach less favorably than did the group that handled only three cases or fewer ($p < .10$). Officers viewed counseling with neutrality at the outset, but continued use of the approach was associated with more favorable impressions ($p < .001$). Officers demonstrated a slightly favorable reaction to the negotiation approach at the beginning of the period. Attitudes toward negotiation became more favorable when it was used repeatedly ($p < .05$).

In summary, the following trends occurred as use of the approaches increased. After repeated use, authority decreased in esteem while negotiation increased. The greatest increase, however, occurred for the counseling

TABLE 4

OFFICERS' GENERAL VIEWS OF APPROACHES
DURING EACH PERIOD, AS A FUNCTION OF NUMBER OF CASES

FORCED-CHOICE PERIOD	NUMBER OF CASES						COMPARISONS OF COLUMNS (a) + (c)*				
	(a) Less than 4			(b) 4 to 7		(c) More than 7			t	p	(2-tailed)
	Mean Rating	N	s.d.	Mean Rating		Mean Rating	N	s.d.			
Authority	2.19	21	0.928	2.00		1.75	20	0.702		1.69	< .10
Negotiation	2.22	41	0.962	2.29		2.70	10	0.483		2.167	< .05
Counseling	1.87	30	1.167	1.96		2.86	7	0.378		3.722	< .001

SOURCE: Data derived from responses to item #14a of Third-Party Approach Debriefing Form (see Appendix B). An a priori decision was made to compare "few" to "many" cases.

NOTE: Numbers are averages: In each case the range was 0-3 where:

- 0 = extremely/very unfavorable
- 1 = slightly unfavorable or neutral
- 2 = slightly favorable
- 3 = very/extremely favorable

approach. With increased use, counseling and negotiation were valued at a similarly high level.

When officers had gained experience with the approaches (i.e., seven cases), their general view of the counseling approach was more favorable than their view of the authority approach. Comparison of views about counseling and negotiation with more than seven cases revealed no difference between them.

The data were derived from the participating officers' general evaluations of the approaches, even for cases where the approaches could not be applied effectively or completely. Officers apparently discriminated between the general value of an approach and its suitability in a specific instance. Thus, an officer might recognize that counseling was a valuable approach even if it seemed inappropriate and inapplicable for the case at hand.

Officer Evaluations of the Advantages and Disadvantages of the Three Approaches and Factors Influencing Their Use

Another method used to determine how participating officers judged each approach during the forced-choice period was an evaluation session held immediately after each forced-choice month. For this purpose, a subgroup of police officers and project staff members developed an Approach Evaluation Form, completed anonymously by the 14 participating officers at the end of each month. ^{9/}

Table 5 presents a summary of the recorded evaluations, based on the officers' experiences. Other officers may readily use these experiences to guide their choice of third-party intervention approaches.

Effect of Prior Project Exposure on Officer Use of Intervention Approaches: Squads A and B Compared with Squad C (Control)

The Norwalk project required that participating police officers reveal their otherwise unobserved actions (and thus risk criticism) and learn new, often sophisticated action-concepts. Thus it was important to determine whether the amount of time officers had been exposed to the project made a difference in how much they used the intervention approaches during Phase III. To measure the effect of prior involvement, ten police officers from Squad C who had not been involved in the project's earlier phases participated in Phase III as a control group. This control allowed the project analysts to determine whether officers who had been exposed to the project from the outset would be more or less likely than the control group to apply the designated

⁹The Approach Evaluation Form and a detailed description of officer responses are included in the Additional Norwalk Appendix Materials, available on request from the Police Foundation.

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF OFFICER EVALUATIONS OF APPROACHES USED DURING PHASE III

QUESTION	AUTHORITY	NEGOTIATION	COUNSELING
1. What are the <u>major advantages</u> of this approach?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. can be used effectively when parties are intoxicated or not lucid b. takes a minimum amount of time to apply 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. promotes a positive image of the police b. parties tend to be satisfied with the results of the intervention, and "happy" 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. promotes a positive image of the police b. helps the parties involved c. involves the officer in the situation d. prevents repeat calls for intervention
2. In what situation was this approach <u>most</u> useful?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. when a law had obviously been broken b. when the officer's action was clearly supportable by law 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. when enforcement of the law was not the major factor of the dispute b. when both parties contributed to the conflict c. when both parties wanted an agreement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. when the parties were calm, lucid, open minded b. when the parties knew each other c. when there was clearly an underlying issue
3. What are the <u>major disadvantages</u> of this approach?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. solutions are temporary b. deals only with surface issues c. promotes an unfavorable image of the police 	<p>no major disadvantages reported</p>	<p>the additional time required to apply this approach</p>

TABLE 5 (CONTINUED)

QUESTION	AUTHORITY	NEGOTIATION	COUNSELING
1. In what situations was this approach <u>least</u> useful?	absence of consensus (most referred to a specific situation)	a. when one or both parties were adamant in their position b. when one or both parties were not lucid c. when it was an obvious case of right or wrong	a. when one or both parties were intoxicated or not lucid b. when a clear-cut violation of the law was evident c. when a physical assault had occurred
5. Did your use of the approach <u>improve</u> with practice?	most officers said yes	most said yes	most said yes
6. Did the <u>age</u> of the disputants affect the use of the approach?	most felt that age had no effect	most said that age was not a factor in using this approach	half said that age had no effect; some had difficulty in using the approach with persons older than they were; and some had difficulty in using it with juveniles
7. Did the <u>race</u> of the disputants affect the use of the approach?	the overwhelming majority of officers reported that race was not a factor in applying this approach	most said race had no effect	the majority said race had no effect
8. Did the <u>economic condition</u> of the disputants affect the use of this approach?	many officers saw no effect; some saw the well-to-do as being less receptive than the less well-to-do	no effect to most officers	half of the officers felt that this factor did not affect the use of the approach; among the other half, there was a variety of impressions

approaches during the forced-choice period of Phase III. Naturally, the results would have implications for other organizations attempting to apply these methods.

Before discussing the results of this comparison, a word of caution is merited. Participating officers from Squad C cannot be considered an ideal control group. Although they had not been involved during Phases I and II of the project, and although the social science staff never discussed the project with them, it is assumed that, in the normal course of interaction within the organization, some information about the project was communicated to them.

Discussions with members of Squad C during their first orientation session (at the start of Phase III) resulted in two conclusions: (1) Squad C had become indirectly involved with the project by virtue of informal exposure to it; and (2) participation (of and by itself) in the project had become important and desirable to members of Squad C, because many of them had felt excluded from participating in a program to which their peers in Squads A and B referred positively. Though neither effect was intended, neither could be avoided. The result was that the desire of Squad C members to participate was relatively high at the moment of initial participation. Further, as mentioned before, the loss of administrative transfer of some members of Squads A and B during Phase III decreased comparability of Squad C with the remaining officers from Squads A and B.

Given this cautionary note, Table 6 presents results of the comparisons between the participating members of Squads A and B and Squad C regarding how completely these officers applied the designated approaches.

As Table 6 shows, members of Squad C did not differ from members of Squads A and B in terms of the proportion of intervention cases they managed in which the designated approaches were applied at least moderately well. The results were consistent across each of the three approach categories, as well as when data for all categories were combined.

RESULTS OF USING THIRD-PARTY INTERVENTION APPROACHES DURING PHASE III-- FREE-CHOICE PERIOD

During the last month of Phase III (field testing), officers were free to select either the authority, negotiation, or counseling approach in the 76 interpersonal conflicts they encountered. Results from this period indicate that in the 76 cases, officers used the authority approach 34 times, the negotiation approach 26 times, and the counseling approach 16 times. The officers applied these approaches at least "moderately well" in 96 percent of the cases.^{10/}

¹⁰During debriefing, the officer was asked which approach he had used and to describe what he had done. The debriefer then judged how well the approach used matched the approach the officer intended to use.

TABLE 6

APPLICATION OF APPROACHES: COMPARISON OF SQUADS

SQUAD	APPROACH							
	Authority		Negotiation		Counseling		TOTAL	
	low	high	low	high	low	high	low	high
A & B	15	40	17	31	32	15	64	86
C	15	29	17	23	27	14	59	66
χ^2*	0.27		0.21		0.00		0.40	
ρ	n.s.		n.s.		n.s.		n.s.	

NOTE: The comparisons are made in terms of the degree to which an officer used the designated approach in a given case. "Low" refers to the number of cases in which an approach was used to a lesser degree (1-3 on Item 13 of the Third-Party Approach Debriefing Form), while "high" refers to the number of cases in which an approach was used to a greater degree (4-5 on Item 13).

* In the analysis of the use of third-party intervention approaches, each case was used as the unit of analysis, regardless of whether a particular officer was involved. For most variables regarding each case (e.g., data on age, sex, race), it is assumed that the same information would have been recorded regardless of which officer had intervened. On those variables that either required subjective judgments by the officer or were dependent upon officer "style" (e.g., Items 13, 14, 16-20 of the Third-Party Approach Debriefing Form), combining of the data derived by all officers obscures differences among officers. On such variables, the data were determined more by officers who handled the largest number of cases. Therefore, data regarding the "subjective judgment" variables were influenced more by some officers than by others.

The statistical standard used throughout the data analysis was that differences were ordinarily considered significant at the .05 level.

For each case, officers indicated why they had selected the approach. The three most commonly stated reasons follow:

Reasons for Choosing Authority (34 Cases):

- (a) There was a clear-cut case of right and wrong.
- (b) One or both parties were not lucid: intoxicated, disoriented, injured, non-English-speaking, etc.
- (c) One or both parties were uncooperative.

Reasons for Choosing Negotiation (26 Cases):

- (a) The parties were motivated to cooperate.
- (b) Although there was no clear-cut case of right and wrong, the officer did perceive a negotiable issue.
- (c) The officer was familiar with the parties or with their situation.

Reasons for Choosing Counseling (16 Cases):

- (a) The officer could perceive an underlying issue in the dispute.
- (b) The officer was familiar with the parties or with their situation.
- (c) The parties were motivated to seek an agreement.

To supplement these data, officers were also asked to complete an anonymous questionnaire at the end of the free-choice period.¹¹ The results indicated that 7 of the 12 officers completing the questionnaire felt the cases handled during the free-choice period were better resolved than those handled during the forced-choice period. The 5 remaining respondents felt that the results were "about the same."

Comparing case outcomes between the free-choice period and the time before project participation (the preprogram period), 8 of the 12 officers felt that the case results were better during the free-choice period, while 4 reported that the results were about the same.

¹¹The responses to the questionnaire are included in the Additional Norwalk Appendix Materials, available on request from the Police Foundation.

When asked to select which of the three approaches was most important for police recruits to learn, 8 of the 12 officers selected the negotiation approach, and 4 selected the counseling approach. None of the officers selected the authority approach. Responses to this question and others about the teaching of approaches suggested that the officers ranked negotiation first, counseling second, and authority third in terms of importance to the educational and training program for recruits.

When asked about the most effective methods to teach recruits these approaches, officers rank-ordered the methods as follows: (1) scenarios (simulations, role plays), (2) reviewing past cases, (3) on-the-job training with experienced officers, (4) filmed interventions, and (5) assigned reading.

Most officers felt that their participation in the field-testing phase (Phase III) of the project had improved their ability to manage interpersonal conflicts. While several felt that their ability had not improved, none of the officers felt that his ability to manage such situations had been impaired by project participation.

IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DISPUTES ENCOUNTERED DURING PHASE III

During Phase III of the Norwalk project, 344 interpersonal disputes were handled by participating police officers during the four-to-midnight shift. In addition to recording how the disputes were handled, the officers also noted such characteristics as the identity of the complainant; the race, age, sex, and economic condition of the disputants; the intimacy or proximity of the disputants' relationship; source of difficulty; location of the dispute; presence or absence of alcohol; and whether there was use of physical force. In reviewing the findings of these reports, it is essential to remember that a majority of the judgments reflect the subjective impressions of the police officers rather than "hard" data.

Specific findings for these characteristics follow.

THE COMPLAINANT

In 90 percent of the cases, the complainant was one of the parties to the dispute; in the remaining cases the police were summoned by neighbors, passersby, or onlookers.

It appears that an aggrieved party seeking relief is almost always the source of the request for intervention.

THE DISPUTANTS

Sex: In 56 percent of the cases, males and females were in conflict; both parties were male 32 percent of the time; and both female 12 percent of the time.

Age: Both disputants were under 23 years of age in 12 percent of the cases and over 65 in 4 percent.

Race: In the city of Norwalk, 87.6 percent of the population is white, 10.9 percent black, and 1.5 percent other (mostly Hispanic).^{12/} In the disputes studied, both parties were white in 55 percent of the cases, both black in 26 percent and both Hispanic in 4 percent. The parties were of two

¹²Based on 1970 Census Bureau data.

different races in 15 percent of the cases. Most disputes (85 percent) involved persons of the same race.

Economic Class: In a city of great economic range but tending toward the more affluent (median income \$12,495 in 1969), disputes requiring police intervention were distributed across socioeconomic classes. The officers judged at least one of the parties to be "wealthy" in 9 percent of the disputes. Neither was judged wealthy but at least one was seen as "average" in 64 percent of the cases, and both parties were judged to be poor in 27 percent of the cases.

Relationship of the Parties

Project data contribute further evidence of the relationship of conflict to intimacy, closeness, or proximity. Forty-five percent of all disputes involved people who were related to each other or living together. However, of the 55 percent who did not fit in this category, 10.5 percent were friends and 21 percent neighbors. Closeness of a relationship (proximity) can be said to be a factor in 76.5 percent of the total (the 3.5 percent landlord-tenant incidents might further inflate that figure). Strangers in conflict accounted for only 9 percent of the cases; tradesmen and customers, an additional 9 percent.

A closer look at the cases of those related or living together reveals that 20 percent of the incidents in that group involved a dispute between parents and their (usually adolescent) children. This 20 percent incidence confirms the frequent intensity of the generation gap found in two previous studies: 15 percent in the New York City Police Department Family Crisis project^{13/} and 16 percent in the New York City Housing Authority Police Study.^{14/}

Duration and Constancy of the Relationship

Because intimacy or proximity weighed so heavily in these conflicts, the project staff attempted to isolate possible precipitating factors. The staff found that conflicts requiring police intervention tended to be more likely in longer-term relationships (73 percent)--i.e., in those that existed for more than one year--than in shorter-term relationships (27 percent).

¹³Morton Bard, "Training Police as Specialists in Family Crisis Intervention," Report to National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, LEAA (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970).

¹⁴Morton Bard, Joseph Zacker, and Elliot Rutter, "Police Family Crisis Intervention and Conflict Management: An Action Research Analysis," Report to National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, LEAA (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

It was also of interest to determine whether there had been a recent change in the relationship in the longer-term relationships. In 63 percent of the cases the relationship had experienced no change. In 37 percent of the cases, change had occurred within three months before the incident.

THE DISPUTES

Source of Difficulty

In 41 percent of the cases, the officer and/or debriefer identified some immediate acute stress that appeared responsible for the conflict. In the rest of the cases (59 percent), the problem was long-term and chronic.

Location of the Dispute

Sixty-eight percent of the disputes occurred in a residence; 5 percent occurred in a tavern or restaurant; 15 percent occurred in other public facilities; and 12 percent occurred in other settings.

Role of Alcohol Use

In view of the common belief in the relationship of alcohol to aggression, the low incidence of disputes in bars and restaurants might be attributable to the tendency of proprietors to minimize police involvement in disputes. However, the data in this study are consistent with the findings of both the New York City Police Department and the New York Housing Authority studies, in which a low incidence of apparent alcohol use was found. In fact, the Norwalk officers judged that one or both parties were intoxicated in only 13 percent of all cases; in 66 percent the officers reported no evidence that either party had imbibed.

Assaultiveness

Similarly, conventional wisdom holds that the police are called because of assaultiveness in disputes. This theory was not substantiated in the previously mentioned two studies and was not confirmed in Norwalk. Assaultiveness occurred in one-third (33 percent) of the cases; in 67 percent of the cases there was no evidence of an assault. Further, there was no prior history of assault in 61.5 percent of the cases.

The Police and the Dispute

Even though the Norwalk Police Department operates one-officer patrol cars, it is consistent with department procedure that two or more police officers were present in 77 percent of the incidents. Clearly, disturbance incidents mobilize resources.

Interestingly, the officers had no prior knowledge of nor contact with the disputants in 52 percent of the cases. This finding is consistent with the observation that 41 percent of the cases were precipitated by an immediate and acute situation. When considering that aspect of the police role which involves interpersonal disputes, most officers tend to place exaggerated emphasis on the chronic cases--i.e., those that involve call-backs. However, this study strengthens the previous finding that in half the cases neither party was known to the officer.^{15/} In the previous studies the call-back period was only during the life of the project; in the present project, the call-back period was the officer's entire time in the department (ranging from 1 to 12 years).

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE OCCURRENCE OF AN ASSAULT

In the minds of the public, social scientists, and even the police, disputes in which police intervention is sought are usually marked by assault. It is also generally believed that when assault occurs, it is usually associated with the use of alcohol. There is now a considerable basis for questioning that belief, and this project provides further evidence confirming the lack of a statistical relationship between the incidence of assaultiveness and the use of alcohol. In fact, whereas the two previously cited studies in New York City were concerned with individuals who were often economically disadvantaged minority group members, the Norwalk project indicates that the finding is valid even for a much broader racial and socioeconomic population.

Basically, assaults during interpersonal conflicts are more likely to take place when

- The parties are related and the relationship is constant.
- One or both parties have a history of assaultive behavior.
- The relationship has existed for more than one year.
- The relationship has been intimate (relatives, cohabitants, very close friends).
- The stress has been intrapersonal (exists in one of the parties).
- The stress has been chronic.
- Both parties are poor.

¹⁵Bard, Zacker, and Rutter, "Police Family Crisis Intervention and Conflict Management."

1. Assault and nature of the relationship. Table 7 presents the data on these variables.

TABLE 7

ASSAULT AND NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP

ASSAULT	RELATIONSHIP			
	Parties Related and Relationship Stable	Parties Related and Relationship Unstable	Unrelated and Relationship Stable	Unrelated and Relationship Unstable
No	37	45	104	39
Yes	39	27	31	16

$$\chi^2 = 18.57, \quad df = 3, \quad p < .001$$

This relationship is highly significant. Closer analysis, comparing the related and stable column with all others, reveals that assaults are much more likely to occur when the parties are related and their relationship is a stable one, compared to all other categories combined ($\chi^2 = 13.07$ with Yates' Correction, $df = 1$, $p < .001$).

Assaults are significantly less common when parties having a stable, but not intimate, relationship are compared with all other categories combined ($\chi^2 = 10.17$ with Yates' Correction, $df = 1$, $p < .005$).

2. Assault and history of assaultiveness. The data in Table 8 show a marked trend: When the immediate conflict involved an assault it was likely that one or both parties had a history of assaultive behavior. By contrast, when the immediate conflict did not involve an assault, it was likely that neither party had such a history. This result is consistent with the findings of the earlier New York City Police Department Crisis Intervention Study.

3. Assault and alcohol use during conflict. Table 9 describes the extent to which the parties had used alcohol.

Data are presented in Table 10 in terms of assaultiveness and alcohol use (no alcohol for either party versus all other cases). There is no relationship between alcohol use and assaultiveness in the data ($\chi^2 = 0.68$ with Yates' Correction, $df = 1$, $p = n.s.$).

Table 11 presents the data used to determine if assaultiveness is more or less likely when some alcohol is used as against all other cases. Even this ordering of the data failed to yield significance.

TABLE 8

ASSAULT IN CURRENT CONFLICT AND HISTORY
OF ASSAULTIVENESS FOR EITHER PARTY

ASSAULT IN CURRENT CONFLICT	HISTORY OF ASSAULTIVENESS	
	Yes	No
No	50	155
Yes	69	35

$\chi^2 = 49.53$ with Yates' Correction, $df = 1$, $p < .0001$

TABLE 9

INCIDENCE AND FORM OF ALCOHOL USAGE*

EXTENT OF ALCOHOL USE BY BOTH PARTIES	PERCENTAGE OF ALL CASES
No alcohol use by either party	65.6
Some alcohol for one party, none for other	17.4
Some alcohol for both parties	4.4
No alcohol for one party, other intoxicated	7.6
Some alcohol for one party, other intoxicated	2.1
Both parties intoxicated	2.9
Total	100.0

*The incidence of alcohol use in these disputes is similar to data in the earlier study of family disputes (Morton Bard and Joseph Zacker, "Assaultiveness and Alcohol Use in Family Disputes as Perceived by Specially Trained Police," Criminology, 1974), that show that alcohol is usually not involved. Comparing the data in Table 8 in terms of whether there was an assault in the immediate dispute reveals no relationship ($\chi^2 = 3.13$, $df = 6$, $p = n.s.$).

TABLE 10

FREQUENCY OF ASSAULT RELATED TO USE OR NONUSE OF ALCOHOL

ASSAULT IN CURRENT CONFLICT	PERCENTAGE OF ALCOHOL USE	
	None for Either Party	At Least Some Alcohol Used
No	45	22
Yes	21	13

TABLE 11

FREQUENCY OF ASSAULT RELATED TO USE OF SOME ALCOHOL

ASSAULT IN CURRENT CONFLICT	PERCENTAGE OF ALCOHOL USE	
	Some for One or Both Disputants	All Other Cases
No	12.9	54.0
Yes	8.8	24.3

$\chi^2 = 1.93$ with Yates' Correction, $df = 1$, $p = n.s.$

4. Assault and length of the relationship. The data presented in Table 12 portray a significant relationship between incidence of assault and the length of the parties' relationship, with assault occurring in 22 percent of the cases where that relationship has been short-term (i.e., less than one year in duration), and in 37.4 percent of long-term relationships.

TABLE 12

ASSAULT IN CURRENT CONFLICT AND LENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP

ASSAULT	LENGTH OF RELATIONSHIP	
	Short-Term	Long-Term
No	69	154
Yes	20	92

$\chi^2 = 5.89$ with Yates' Correction, $df = 1$, $p < .05$

5. Closeness of the relationship. For each case, the debriefer made a judgment as to the parties' closeness. Relationships were characterized as either intimate or distant. People who had lived together (whether related or not) were considered intimates; "acquaintances" were considered to have a distant relationship; friends could be classified as either. The closeness-of-the-relationship variable was found to be highly related to the incidence of assault ($\chi^2 = 17.16$, $df = 1$, $p < .0001$). Assaults occurred in 21.5 percent of distant relationships and in 43.2 percent of intimate ones. This finding is consistent with data reporting that most murders occur between intimates.

6. Assault and source of stress. Debriefers determined for each case whether the source of stress leading to the conflict was primarily intrapersonal (the problem lies within one person), interpersonal (both parties contribute to the conflict), or situational (the stress results from powerful external pressures, such as illness or loss of employment). An assault occurred in 40.3 percent of cases where the source of stress was seen as intrapersonal, in 29.1 percent of interpersonal stress cases, and in 26.8 percent of situational cases. This relationship falls just short of significance ($\chi^2 = 5.27$, $df = 2$, $p < .08$). However, when intrapersonal cases are compared to all other cases combined, the relationship is significant ($\chi^2 = 4.64$ with Yates' Correction, $df = 1$, $p < .05$). Thus, incidence of assault

was higher in cases where the source of the stress was seen as coming from one person.

7. Assault and recency of the stress. There was a higher incidence of assault in cases where the stress was seen as being chronic in nature than when the stress was of recent origin ($\chi^2 = 12.03$ with Yates' Correction, $df = 1$, $p < .001$).

8. Assault and disputants' race. Project data could be grouped according to whether both disputants were of the same race. In 292 of the 344 cases, both disputants were of the same race. As Table 13 indicates, there was no statistically significant relationship between incidence of assault and race.

TABLE 13

ASSAULT IN CURRENT CONFLICT AND RACE OF THE DISPUTANTS

ASSAULT	BOTH DISPUTANTS MINORITY	BOTH DISPUTANTS CAUCASIAN
No	59	127
Yes	44	62

$\chi^2 = 2.42$ with Yates' Correction, $df = 1$, $p = n.s.$

9. Assault and disputants' socioeconomic status. Officers made judgments about disputants' social class based on a number of impressions (occupation, value of home, neighborhood, and so forth). Table 14 presents incidence of assault in terms of the officers' perceptions of the disputants' socioeconomic status.

The data indicate that assaults occurred in 28 percent of the cases where at least one disputant was wealthy, and in 29 percent of the cases where at least one disputant was average and neither was wealthy. However, assault occurred in 44 percent of the cases where both disputants were poor.

TABLE 14

INCIDENCE OF ASSAULT AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

ASSAULT IN CURRENT CONFLICT	AT LEAST ONE DISPUTANT WEALTHY	AT LEAST ONE DISPUTANT AVERAGE NEITHER WEALTHY	BOTH DISPUTANTS POOR
No	23	155	52
Yes	9	63	41

V. CONCLUSION

The Norwalk Third-Party Intervention Project accomplished two major goals: ^{16/}

- It successfully observed and analyzed police behavior in conflict intervention situations and classified the approaches officers used in such situations.
- It demonstrated that policing involves a vast body of knowledge, and that police officers can actively participate with social scientists in building that knowledge.

The project represents the first step in developing a body of knowledge for training other police officers in successful conflict intervention methods.

Third-party intervention in interpersonal disputes is perhaps the most common police function in maintaining order. Project participants hoped that identifying and classifying existing techniques would be a basis for improving police practice and for better understanding of the kinds of behavior that usually defy systematic study. Conflict theory and laboratory experimentation provide important insights about dispute behavior, but there is not much information available about this behavior in a natural setting. Indeed, inherent in the design of this project was the assumption that individuals thrust into third-party roles spontaneously develop methods that are more or less successful in managing such conflicts. One objective of the project, therefore, was to articulate those spontaneously evolved third-party approaches to conflict.

The results of the project suggest support for the proposition that the behavior of interveners can be identified and classified, and that

¹⁶While this project sought to classify specific police behavior through a collaborative process, a classification of problems of collaboration can be found in L.S. Cottrell and E.B. Shelton, "Problems of Collaboration between Social Scientists and the Practicing Professions," Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science 346, 1963, 126-137. The implications of collaboration are discussed in Morton Bard, "Implications of Collaboration between Law Enforcement and the Social Sciences," FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, July 1974.

classification is a necessary and early step in developing knowledge and in refining performance. In fact, the field testing method used in the project suggests that officers can learn and apply a broader range of third-party approaches than they might have employed spontaneously.

Increasing the range of behavioral options available to a police officer has a liberating effect. Indeed, in a discretionary system the hallmark of success for each officer may rest on the ability to select the appropriate approach for a given situation.

The project also provided insight into the nature of interpersonal disputes in a typical American city--conflicts about which the police were expected to "do something." Certainly the findings run counter to the stereotyped expectation that disputes in an evenly distributed population differ from those occurring among nonaffluent, inner-city minorities.

In addition, the project emphasized the problems of methodology inherent in obtaining "consumer" response to police intervention. For example, when responses are favorable it may mean only that (1) despite reassurances, citizens fear retaliation if they express their honestly critical impressions of police behavior, and/or (2) citizens find it difficult to discriminate between the subtleties of third-party intervention, particularly under the emotionally charged circumstances of such encounters.

One of the most encouraging aspects of this project was the collaborative effort between police officers and social scientists. Although they were initially guarded and suspicious, most of the police participants became excited by a process that made their previously routine activities stimulating and rewarding. A key to professionalization is a mechanism for building knowledge; the results of this project suggest that another step has been taken toward that end. The next logical steps would be (1) to transmit the knowledge (third-party intervention approaches) developed in this project and study its effect upon police performance in managing disputes, and (2) to determine whether the methods employed in this project can be refined and applied elsewhere both to third-party intervention and to other police practitioner functions.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

DISPUTE REPORT FORM

INCIDENT REPORT # _____ PARTY #1

DATE _____ NAME _____
TIME IN _____ ADDRESS _____
TIME OUT _____ PHONE _____

PARTY #2

PARTY #3

NAME _____ NAME _____
ADDRESS _____ Officer

COMPLAINANT (IF NOT ONE OF PARTIES)

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
PHONE _____

-
1. Identifying Data: Complete for each party and for complainant if complainant is not one of parties involved.
- | | Party #1 | Party #2 | Complainant |
|--|----------|----------|---|
| a) Sex: Male _____
Female _____ | | | Patrolmen _____
Supervisors _____ |
| b) Age (estimate) _____ | | | Bystanders _____ |
| c) Race: White _____
Black _____
Other _____ | | | a) Party #1's Side
Present _____
Absent _____ |
| d) Class: Wealthy _____
Average _____
Poor _____ | | | b) Party #2's Side
Present _____
Absent _____ |

1.	Party #1 Party #2 Complainant	2.	
e)	Did not know parties _____	c)	Complainant Present _____
	Knew by scuttlebutt _____		Absent _____
	Yes, prior contact _____		
f)	No alcohol _____		
	Some, but not intoxicated _____		
	Intoxicated _____		

3. Relationship of Parties #1 and #2

a) Related:	b) Not related:
_____ Married	_____ Friends
_____ Parent/child	_____ Neighbors
_____ Siblings	_____ Businessman/customer
_____ Living together	_____ Landlord/tenant
_____ Other (specify)	_____ Other (specify)

4. Location of Dispute

a) Outdoors _____	b) Residence _____
Indoors _____	Bar _____
	Restaurant _____
	Public facility _____
	Street _____
	Other (specify) _____

5. Nature of Conflict

When you arrived, was there any allegation or other indication of

	Party #1	Party #2
Threat _____		
Threat brandishing weapon _____		
Physical assault _____		
Physical assault with weapon _____		

6. When you arrived, Party #1 and Party #2 were:

_____ One or both absent	_____ Engaged in quiet discussion
_____ In a physical struggle	_____ Not talking to each other
_____ Arguing	_____ Other (specify)

7. Who was being more aggressive?

_____ Party #1	_____ Both
_____ Party #2	_____ Neither
_____ Someone else	

8. What was the main thing the conflict was about? (Very briefly)

9. On your arrival, what did the parties ask you to do?

	Party #1	Party #2
--	----------	----------

Force others to comply with own wishes	_____
Mediate a compromise	_____
Arrest the other party (ies)	_____
Nothing	_____
Leave	_____
Other (specify)	_____

10. When you arrived, to what extent did they cooperate with you?

Very cooperative	Slightly cooperative	Withdrawn indifferent	Slightly uncooperative	Very uncooperative
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Party #1	_____
Party #2	_____

APPENDIX B

THIRD-PARTY APPROACH DEBRIEFING FORM

INCIDENT REPORT # _____

PARTY #1

DATE _____

NAME _____

TIME IN _____

ADDRESS _____

TIME OUT _____

PHONE _____

PARTY #2

PARTY #3

NAME _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Investigating Officer

PHONE _____

NAME _____

Back-up Officer

COMPLAINANT

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PHONE _____

1. Identifying Data:

Party #1 Party #2 Complainant
if not #1 or #2

a) Sex: Male _____
Female _____

b) Age (estimate): _____

2. Number of people involved

Patrolmen _____

Supervisors _____

Bystanders _____

a) Party #1's side _____

1. Party #1 Party #2 Complainant 2.
- c) Cultural group: White _____ b) Party #2's side _____
 Black _____
 Other _____ c) Complainant's side _____
- d) Class: Wealthy _____
 Average _____
 Poor _____
- e) Did not know parties _____
 Knew by scuttlebutt _____
 Yes, prior contact _____
- f) No alcohol _____
 Some, but not intoxicated _____
 Intoxicated _____

3. Relationship of Parties #1 and #2

a) Related:

- _____ Married
 _____ Parent/child
 _____ Siblings
 _____ Living together
 _____ Other (specify)

b) Not related:

- _____ Friends
 _____ Neighbors
 _____ Businessman/customer
 _____ Landlord/tenant
 _____ Strangers
 _____ Other (specify)

4. Location of Dispute

a) _____ Outdoors
 _____ Indoors

b) _____ Residence
 _____ Bar
 _____ Restaurant
 _____ Public facility
 _____ Street
 _____ Other (specify)

5. When you arrived Parties #1 and #2 were:

_____ One or both absent	_____ Arguing
_____ Not talking to each other	_____ In a physical struggle
_____ Engaged in quiet discussion	_____ Other (specify)

6. What was the main thing the conflict was about? (Very briefly)

7. When you arrived, what did the parties ask you to do?

Party #1 Party #2

Force others to comply with own wishes _____

Mediate a compromise _____

Arrest the other party _____

Nothing _____

Leave _____

Other (specify) _____

8. Stability of the relationship between parties #1 and #2 (e.g., stable, long-term, distant, etc.)

9. Source of stress (interpersonal, intrapersonal, situational, chronic, acute, etc.)

15. What about this case affected success of designated approach? (If officer switched to another approach, why? What was other approach? What effect did it have?)

16. What did the parties (and the officer) think of the intervention?

Made things much worse	Made things worse	Made no difference	Made things better	Made things much better
---------------------------	----------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------	----------------------------

Officer _____

Party #1 _____

Party #2 _____

Complainant _____

17. Was the immediate issue settled?

_____ Yes _____ No

18. Were the parties only cooled off?

_____ Yes _____ No

19. Estimated likelihood of future conflict between the parties

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Extremely unlikely	Very unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	50-50	Somewhat likely	Very likely	Extremely likely

20. Was there an underlying issue in this dispute?

a) _____ Yes _____ No

b) If yes, how was it handled?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Only slightly	Yes, but no headway	Yes, and some headway	Yes, and much headway

21. Did either party learn anything from what the officer said or did?

a) _____ Yes _____ No

b) If yes, what? Which party?

APPENDIX C: DEGREE OF CONSENSUS AMONG RESEARCH PANEL
MEMBERS IN CLASSIFYING THIRD-PARTY APPROACHES

The usefulness of any classification system rests heavily on the extent to which independent observers agree in classifying a given event. In the present program, there was some effort to determine the extent to which research panel members agreed in identifying third-party intervention approaches in the interpersonal conflict cases police officers managed in the field. Of course, even if there were little intermember agreement the classification system of seven approaches might still be quite sound, because the panel members might simply be inconsistent judges.

The real purpose here is to determine how much consensus developed among panel members by virtue of their having worked together previously. It is important to note that, while the development of panel consensus was recognized as important from the inception of the program, the project's overriding goal was to isolate and identify approaches, rather than to attain maximum agreement among panelists.

Had time permitted, standard behavioral science methods for increasing rater reliability could have been employed more extensively.

Procedure: One of the panelists prepared synopses of 21 cases, some real and some fictitious. Each of the seven approaches was to be represented at least twice. When this task was completed, each of the remaining eight panelists independently assigned each case the approach that he or she thought fit best with what the officer was described as having done in that case. The resulting eight judgments were combined with the judgments of the panelist who had prepared the 21 cases.

For each case, the correct approach was designated simply as the approach most frequently selected by the nine panelists. The lowest modal frequency of agreement was three, and this occurred in 2 of the 21 cases (i.e., for these 2 cases the most commonly picked approach was chosen by three panelists). The highest modal frequency was nine, which occurred in 4 cases (i.e., all nine panelists independently selected the same approach for that case).

Results: Each panelist could have agreed with the modal approach in none of the 21 cases, or with the modal approach in all 21 cases. The mean rate of agreement for all nine panelists was 15.0 (out of a possible 21), with a range of 12 to 19. Expressed as a percentage, panelists agreed with the mode 72.5 percent of the time.

Of the nine panelists, the five police officers agreed with the mode 65.7 percent of the time, on the average. This was less often than the four researchers, who agreed with the mode 81.0 percent of the time ($\chi^2 = 3.90$ with Yates' Correction $df = 1$, $p < .05$). That the social science researchers, with a minimum of two years of graduate education, had a higher degree of consensus with the whole group than the officers did is not surprising. Police officers have little training or experience in dealing with the complex process of developing and practicing consensus about abstractions. What is clear is that both groups achieved a reasonable level of agreement on the complex data with which they worked.

APPENDIX D: ILLUSTRATIONS OF DISPUTE SITUATIONS INVOLVING THE
USE OF THE AUTHORITY, NEGOTIATION AND COUNSELING APPROACHES

THE AUTHORITY APPROACH

Case Number One

The police were summoned to the scene of a dispute between two men, one of whom was described by the radio dispatcher as having a weapon. The dispute occurred in the public area of a housing project, and several people had gathered at the scene before the police arrived. Upon arrival, investigating Officer A ordered the crowd to disperse under threat of arrest. Officer A then located one party, Mr. B, who was being berated by a woman not involved in the initial dispute. Mr. B said that a Mr. C had attacked him and had a weapon; he asked Officer A to go with him to Mr. C's apartment. The officer ordered Mr. B to remain in his own apartment while the officer went to visit Mr. C.

The officer searched Mr. C for a weapon as soon as he entered Mr. C's apartment. When he found no weapon he interviewed Mr. C. During the interview, a friend of Mr. C's arrived and was ordered to leave. Upon detecting inconsistencies between the stories of Mr. C and Mr. B, Officer A told Mr. C to stay in his apartment (with an assisting officer) while he went back to Mr. B.

Returning to Mr. B's apartment, the officer said that he had found no weapon and that the stories conflicted. Mr. B then admitted that he had started the dispute, as well as the assault, insisting, however, that Mr. C had a weapon. The officer told Mr. B that Mr. C did not want to press charges, and Mr. B said that he did not want to do so either. Officer A returned to Mr. C, informed him of Mr. B's decision, and left the scene.

Explanation. In this case, the officer imposed his authority throughout the intervention, even during the interviews. He ordered people to leave when he arrived at the scene; he ordered Mr. C's friend to leave the apartment; and he ordered Mr. B to remain in his apartment. At one point the officer used the relayer-mediation approach by transmitting information from Mr. C to Mr. B. Also, at another point he obtained Mr. B's "agreement" (see mediation approaches) not to press charges. However, these points of similarity to other approaches were relatively minor elements compared to the officer's consistent use of authority.

Case Number Two

A tenant called the police because the landlord had boarded up his apartment, in spite of the fact that he had paid his rent. When the officer arrived, he interviewed the complainant outside the house, asking questions to determine exactly what had happened. The tenant showed his rent receipts and a letter from the landlord's lawyer proving that he had the right to remain in his apartment.

The officer then entered the house to speak to the landlord. There was much confusion inside, because several members of the landlord's family were present and no one spoke much English. The officer attempted to communicate through one man who spoke some English, but the man was very excited. A woman then told the officer the name of the person who owned the house, and the officer told the excited man not to interfere. Then, communicating through the woman who had spoken up, the officer tried to obtain the landlord's story. The excited man continued to interfere, and was arrested when he refused to calm down.

After further confusion, the landlord, his wife, and the officer went to an interpreter, who explained the story to the officer. The officer telephoned the landlord's lawyer. The officer informed the landlord (with the lawyer's consent) that he had no right to nail the tenant's door shut, that he could go to court if he wanted to evict the tenant, and that they would all go back to remove the boards from the tenant's apartment. After the boards were removed, the officer ordered everyone to go into the house and left the scene.

Case Number Three

A woman called the police because her estranged husband had taken their infant child after accusing her of having an affair with another man. The officer arrived at the woman's house, asked her for her story, and drove her to find the husband. After finding the man, the officer obtained his story and told him that the wife had a right to the child, and that he could be arrested for taking the infant. The officer then left with the wife and child.

Explanation. This is a case of using authority because immediately after interviewing the parties the officer imposed a solution ("Your wife will leave with this child.").

Case Number Four

A man called the police because of a dispute with his neighbor over a parking space in front of her apartment. She claimed that the landlord had promised the space to her. The officer obtained the complainant's story and informed him that if his neighbor's story agreed with his, he had nothing to worry about. The officer went to the woman's house and obtained her story, which did agree with the complainant's. He informed the woman of a city parking statute. She argued and made threats to damage the man's car. The officer informed her that she would be arrested if she carried out her threats. He

restated the parking statute, made sure that she understood, and left. He then returned to the complainant to inform him of what had occurred.

Explanation. After hearing both sides, the officer said, in effect, "This is the law. You will be arrested if you damage that car." In that way, the officer directed the woman, thereby imposing a solution.

Case Number Five

Two men got into an argument over a motor vehicle accident. An officer arrived on the scene and asked them to remove their cars from the middle of the road and come to his patrol car. He asked each man for his view of what had happened and silently evaluated the situation. The officer determined that the second man was at fault, told him so, and gave his reasons. The officer stated that he would not arrest the man, but would warn him that he was at fault. Then the officer gave the man who had caused the accident an official state warning and explained the accident forms to each man. After making certain that they each knew what to do, he told them that they were free to leave.

Explanation. The officer determined the facts, announced his judgment ("You are at fault because . . ."). and took appropriate action (issuing state warning).

THE NEGOTIATION APPROACH

Case Number One

A dispute occurred involving a motel owner and one of his customers. The customer, Mr. A, had an outstanding bill of \$182. The owner, Mr. B, kept demanding, in public, payment of the bill. Mr. A became annoyed at what he considered harassment and threatened Mr. B, who called the police.

Officer C concerned himself solely with the issue of the unpaid bill. He determined that Mr. A, who was from out of town, was waiting for the clearance of a check so that he could pay the bill. He suggested that Mr. A leave something of value as security with Mr. B. He pointed out to Mr. A that this evidence of good faith would mean that Mr. B would no longer harass him in public for payment and embarrass him.

Mr. A agreed and left a set of rings as collateral with Mr. B, who was satisfied with this solution. The officer left.

Case Number Two

This dispute occurred between a brother and sister, Bill and Ethel. Ethel was having a big family party. During the party, Bill, who was drunk, urinated on the floor. Ethel became upset and took away his car keys. Bill then called the police.

By the time the officers arrived, Bill had disappeared. The officers finally found him in a local bar, and took him back to Ethel's house. After hearing both sides of the story, one officer suggested that Bill go home. Bill agreed to do so if he got the car keys back. The officer suggested to Ethel that she return the keys to Bill the next day if he agreed to go home immediately. Ethel agreed. The officer went back to Bill and told him that Ethel would return the keys on the following day. Bill agreed to this solution and the officers drove him home.

Case Number Three

A bartender called the police when a customer refused to pay for his drink and knocked over a table.

The officer arrived and asked the bartender's story. He then spoke to the customer, who loudly proclaimed that he wasn't bothering anyone, that the bartender had no right not to serve him, and that he intended to pay for all his drinks when he left. The bartender insisted that he also pay for property damage.

The officer told the bartender that there was no way to insist on payment for property damage and asked if he would be satisfied if the customer paid for his drinks and left. When the bartender agreed, the officer asked the customer to do this, reminding him that there were plenty of other places to drink where he might feel more comfortable. The man agreed. The officer waited while the bill was paid and escorted the customer out of the bar.

Case Number Four

A woman called the police because her neighbors were making too much noise.

The officer knew the woman to be oversensitive to noise, but he also noted that the upstairs tenants were playing their music very loudly. He went to the complainant's home to ask her what the problem was. He explained that people had a right to make noise in their own homes, that she should leave them alone, but that he would ask them to be a little quieter. He then went upstairs and informed the neighbors of the complaint. They complained about the woman downstairs. The officer sympathized but said they were being a bit too loud. He told them that the woman might be less bothersome if they did turn down the music. They agreed to do this, and the officer left.

THE COUNSELING APPROACH

Case Number One

A mother felt that her common-law husband was too intoxicated to take their young daughter out for the evening. She called the police and asked them to remove her husband from the apartment, which was in her name. The

officer, having had previous contact with the parties, greeted them and the child in a friendly manner. He pointed out to the parents the unfairness of subjecting their daughter to a scene with police intervention. He told the parents that it was their obligation to the child to assume parental responsibilities and to manage their disagreements in ways so that police intervention would be unnecessary. The officer said that if they were unable to do so, they should consider separation. He brought to their attention the troubled history of their relationship and the necessity of taking constructive steps, either to strengthen their relationship or to terminate it. As a short-term solution, the officer persuaded the father to leave for the evening.

Explanation. In this case, the officer focused consistently upon the familial relationship. He attempted to increase the parents' ability to recognize the impact of police intervention on their child, and reminded them that it was their responsibility to prevent such intervention. He exhorted them to use their judgment to review and take constructive steps regarding their relationship.

Case Number Two

The conflict involved a middle-aged man and his wife. They had been married only a short while and were planning to separate. The wife had apparently been drinking. This upset her husband and he threatened to cut her throat. The wife called the police.

When the officers arrived, the husband seemed surprised that his wife had called the police, but he politely invited them in. He called his wife, who explained her story to the police. The husband then told his side of the story.

The officer suggested that since they were going to separate shortly anyway, perhaps it would be best if they could end their time together peacefully. He said that since their arguments seemed to lead to violence, they should try to stay away from one another if they felt the situation was getting tense--perhaps one of them could leave the house for a while, or they could stay in separate rooms.

At the officers' suggestion, the couple agreed to sleep in separate rooms. By this time, they were talking calmly to each other. The officers left.

Case Number Three

A married couple argued over the husband's drinking. When the wife told the officer that her husband was drunk, the officer replied that he was not, and that the officer would not remove him from the house. The wife left, and the officer asked to hear what the husband had to say. The man said the real problem was their sex life. The man said that he was working so hard to make money that he couldn't satisfy his wife in other ways. The officer suggested that the best thing would be to talk to each other to try to save their relationship.

Case Number Four

A woman called the police after her husband had been drinking and had accused her of having another man.

The officer introduced himself and, leaving the assisting officer with the husband, asked the wife to calm down, sit down, and tell him what had happened. He then called the husband into the room and asked them both how long they had been married, if they had been happy during that time, and why they could not communicate with each other. Then he brought in their three-year-old son and reminded them how important he was and how bad it was to have him see the police in their home. The officer reminded them of how different it must have been when they first met, how in love they were then, and how they never argued. He asked if the husband thought he needed Alcoholics Anonymous, to which both replied that he did not really have a drinking problem. The officer then explained that their problems were not serious enough to be fighting over. The couple apologized to each other, and the officer left after giving the child a piece of candy.

Case Number Five

A married couple had an argument resulting in the wife's nose being broken by her husband.

The officer asked the wife for her story, if she wanted her husband arrested, if she loved her husband, and where he could find the husband. After locating the husband, the officer informed him that his wife was in pain, and asked him if he loved his wife and what had happened. He then brought the two together and asked them to talk and apologize to each other. He reminded them that their child would never forget incidents like the present one, and suggested that if one spouse began to argue the other should remember her or his responsibilities and leave. He said that if they both acted like children there would be no one to govern their child. Reminding them that they were lucky this time--the husband had had no charges brought against him; the wife had only a broken nose--the officer left.

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