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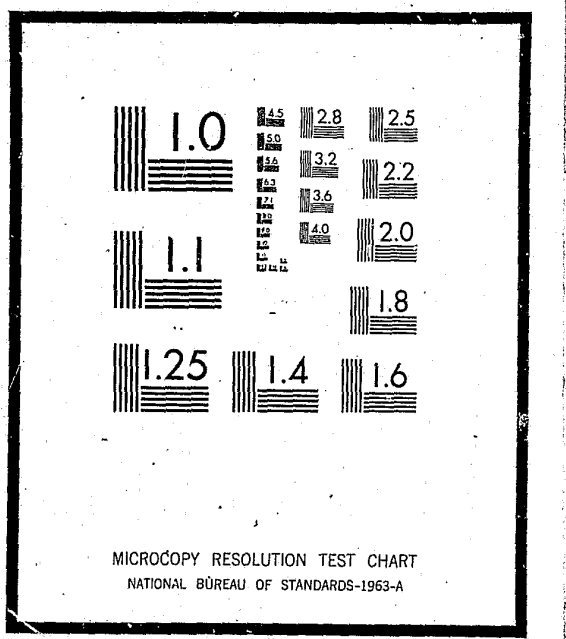
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Police
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EVALUATION

EVALUATION REPORT

on the

MODEL CITIES TEAM POLICING UNIT

of the

(MA)
HOLYOKE POLICE DEPARTMENT

April 1972

Project supported by the Holyoke, Massachusetts Model Cities Program

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

I. HIGHLIGHTS OF TEAM POLICE HISTORY

The first reported experiment using the group approach to policing called "team policing" was initiated in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1946. Samual G. Chapman reports on this approach in the recent edition of Municipal Police Administration.

> Team Policing called for the dissolution of tra-
> ditional individual beats, and the areas covered
> by them were organized into large districts. A
> team of from three to nine constables (the number
> of men depending on the time of day) was assigned
> to patrol each district. The sergeant in charge
> of each team was given great discretion in choosing
> the method of patrol as well as deciding where the
> available men were to be posted. It was a highly
> fluid, flexible patrol scheme whose success seemed
> linked to team spirit, the evaluation of data from
> police reports of the recent past, and the sergeant's
> imagination and ability to assess current needs for
> police service. On January 1, 1949, the team policing
> system was extended to cover the entire city.

An arrangement similar to that in Aberdeen was implemented in Salford, England, in 1950, and a number of other experiments involving modifications of this approach have been tried in England since these first efforts.

In 1965, Tucson, Arizona, was the first major city in the United States to adopt a form of team policing. Richmond, California, implemented a modified version of the Tucson plan in 1967. Both of these plans were drastically modified versions of the Aberdeen patrol plan.

The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, the report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, provided the

first major impetus to the implementation of the concept of team policing in United States police departments by recommending its own version of the idea. The recommendation involved placing three levels of police officers, agent officer and community service officer, in an area of an urban police jurisdiction under the command of one supervisor and charging the supervisor with the responsibility for providing police service in the area.

> The agent-officer-community service officer recommendation
> made in this chapter has not only the improvement of the
> quality of police personnel as its objective, but also a
> change in the way the police work in the field. The con-
> cept, which might be called "team policing," is that all
> police work, both patrol and criminal investigation, in a
> given number of city blocks should be under unified com-
> mand. A "field supervisor" would have under his command a
> team of agents, officers, and community service officers.
> The team would meet at the beginning of a tour of duty and
> receive a briefing on the current situation in the neighbor-
> hood--what crimes were unsolved, what suspects were wanted
> for questioning, what kinds of stolen goods to look out for,
> what situations were potentially troublesome and so forth.
> On this basis the members would be assigned to specific
> areas or duties. If conditions warranted it, agents might
> be assigned to patrol and wear uniforms or plainclothes
> officers might be assigned to investigation. Community
> service officers might be delegated to help either. In
> specific investigations or incidents, agents would be given
> authority over the actions of CSOs and officers. If the
> conditions in the area changed during the tour, if a major
> crime was committed or a major disorder erupted, the assign-
> ments could be promptly changed by the field supervisor.

The Syracuse, New York Police Department launched a team policing experiment in July of 1968. This project was primarily an attempt to operationalize the findings of management research that had never been previously utilized in the police field. This experiment followed closely the recommendations of the President's Commission. After receiving favorable reports on the success of the Syracuse project, a number of other

police departments began to explore the possibility of adopting such a program.

During a seminar entitled, "Inventing the Future in Police Organization" held at the National Institute on Police and Community Relations, Michigan State University in May of 1959, John Angell presented "An Alternative to the Classical Police Organizational Arrangements" in which he attempted to predict how police departments would be structured in 1980.* This paper predicted that small teams of officers would be assigned to provide police service in specific areas as others had suggested, but that the traditional team concept would be expanded in two significant ways:

1. There would be changes in the control mechanisms in traditional police departments with the abolition of the organizational hierarchy. In its place would be established a system of checks and balances for control purposes.

2. The informal, situational leader would be employed as an alternative to traditional, formally established, and relatively permanent managerial and supervisory arrangements.

These ideas were restated to the top commanders in the Dayton, Ohio Police Department in October, 1969, and Dayton immediately thereafter developed a proposal for LEAA discretionary funding of a team policing project.

A few months later, the Administrative Assistant to the Director of Police in Dayton assumed a position with the Governor's Committee in

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*A revised version of this paper has since been published in Criminology (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., August-November, 1971.)

Massachusetts, and based on the President's Commission Report and his work in Dayton he encouraged the development of team policing experiments by local police departments. The city of Holyoke, through its Model Cities Program and with the cooperation of the police department, developed a team policing proposal consistent with the Governor's Committee guidelines. The proposal was approved by both the Federal Model Cities Agency and the State Committee and was funded partially by the Governor's Committee but primarily by Model Cities.

II. IMPLEMENTATION OF TEAM POLICE IN HOLYOKE

In the fall of 1970, the consultants were hired by the Model Cities Program of the city of Holyoke to assist in the implementation of the team policing project. They were given the responsibility for (1) providing administrative advice and support to the staff of the project, (2) coordinating and providing training for the officers and staff involved in the project, and (3) evaluating the impact of the project.
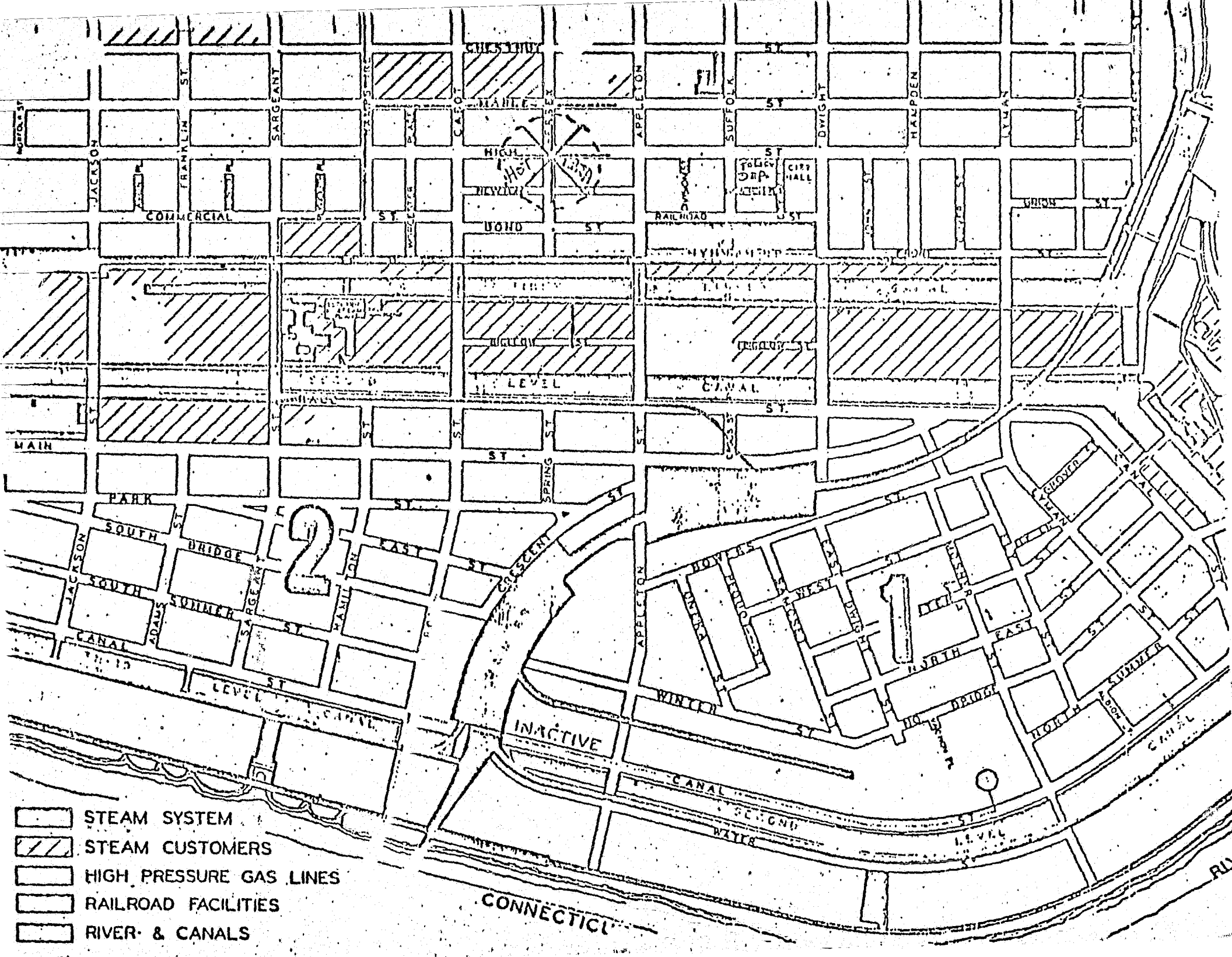
The experiment involved a number of characteristics that had not been utilized in previous efforts of this type. First, organizationally there was to be one team consisting of approximately 12 to 18 police officers that would be assigned to a specific community and given the total policing responsibility for that area. Second, the officers who were to be assigned to the team were to be provided with a number of additional resources and with considerable discretion in determining the manner in which the resources were to be utilized. And third, the experiment was to be carefully evaluated.
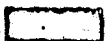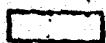
A. Description of Experimental Area

The city of Holyoke, although not a major population center, has many of the characteristics of larger urban areas. Once a thriving industrial town, Holyoke has been losing both industry and population. In 1960, the United States Census Bureau indicated that there were 54,540 residents of Holyoke. However, in 1970, the Census Bureau reported a population of only 50,112. As with many large cities, the complexion of the populous is also changing from middle and upper low income white to lower income non-white. Even so, the overall ratio of minorities is still relatively low when compared to most urban areas. In 1970, two of the most significant minorities, Spanish speaking and black citizens, accounted for only about eight percent of the population.

Most of the minority citizens in Holyoke are located in Wards I and II of the city. (See Chart I.) While these wards contain approximately twenty percent of the total population of the city, they have approximately sixty percent of the minority citizens in the entire city. As with most areas that have a high concentration of such persons, these two wards had the poorest living conditions, the lowest income families, and the worst police and community relationships in the city. As a result, the major portion of Ward I had been designated the Model Cities Neighborhood, and HUD had funded a number of projects for improving the area.

Both Ward I and Ward II are located in the same part of Holyoke and are separated from the rest of the city by a series of canals that were once used to transport materials to and from the local paper mills. This

STEAM SYSTEM

STEAM CUSTOMERS

HIGH PRESSURE GAS LINES

RAILROAD FACILITIES

RIVER & CANALS

CONNECTICUT

INACTIVE

CITY HALL

MAIN

PARK

COMMERCIAL

CHESTNUT ST

MAPLE

CANAL

BOND ST

RAILROAD

JACKSON ST
NORFOLK ST
FRANKLIN ST
SARGEANT
WILLOW ST
ESSEX
HIGH ST
APPLETON
SUFFOLK ST
DWIGHT
HAMPDEN
LYMAN
UNION ST

SOUTH
BRIDGE
SUMMER
ADAMS
SARGEANT
HAMILTON
EAST
SPRING ST
CRESCENT ST

LEVEL CANAL
CANAL
WATER
WINTER
NORTH
BRIDGE
SUMMER

1

2

separation provided a natural boundary that made the areas ideal for experimenting with the team policing model. The similarities between Ward I and Ward II also made the two areas ideal for a controlled experiment. Ward I was chosen for the experimental area where the Team Policing Unit would be implemented, and Ward II was designated the control area that would continue to get its police services in the normal manner from the Holyoke Police Department. The control area would, of course, provide comparison data for assessing the effect of the Team Policing Unit.

B. Philosophy of Team Approach

The police operation that was implemented in Ward I was to be relatively independent of control from the normal command hierarchy of the Holyoke Police Department. The team of officers was to be assigned to the area and given the responsibility of providing police service in the area. The precise goals they were to pursue and the methods that would be utilized were left to the team. In arriving at the definition of the goals and the procedures that the police would be using, the officers were required to work closely with members of the community and their organizations. The team structure and operations were to be very flexible, insofar as possible providing the kind of police service that the people of Ward I wanted. The team model was to have the following characteristics:

1. Police operations in Ward I were to be decentralized with the police officers working out of a local storefront rather than the central station.

2. The team was to be given the authority to make decisions concerning their goals, procedures, duty assignments, training needs, etc. Such authority was not given to regular patrol officers.

3. Traditional formal supervisory assignments were to be suspended in favor of situational, informal arrangements.

4. The team was to be evaluated by total results rather than individual procedures or activities.

5. The concept of autocratic supervision was to be dropped, and democratic methods of decision-making within the team area were implemented.

6. The community was to be involved in policy making through periodic meetings with the team.

7. Centrally located staff services and investigative support units could be called upon by the team and its members.

In implementing this type of program it is assumed that if the police are doing what the people want, then there will be less criticism of the police. Since the structure was designed to increase the professionalism of the police, it was anticipated that the police officers would reach a greater level of personal satisfaction in their jobs, thereby decreasing the amount of bickering, criticism, and strife within the operation. Since the team would consist of a maximum of 15-20 members, communications among the team members would be efficient, thereby improving their effectiveness. Increased public satisfaction with the police should result in an improvement in the effectiveness of the police officers, and the higher employee satisfaction should increase their effectiveness as police officers.

C. The Training Program

The training program for the team policing project was designed to achieve two goals: (1) to instill acceptance of the flexible, participatory approach to community policing in the team members, and (2) to provide team members with operational skills. The consultants assisted the team

members in preparing the specifics of a highly flexible training program. Recognition was given to the fact that the individual members of the team had different mental and skill strengths and deficiencies. A basic assumption underlying the training program was that much of the knowledge for correcting the deficiencies of individual members was already present in the group. The program gave team members a great number of opportunities to participate in educating themselves. The program also took into account the fact that some of the areas and information that the team members would need to operate was beyond any of the members; therefore, additional educational and training experiences taught by people from outside the group were built into the program.

The program ran continuously over the nine month period of the project. It consisted of two major approaches: (1) formal sessions and (2) site visitations.

The formal training sessions consisted of well over one hundred hours of classroom training and education. It involved courses related to operational techniques at Holyoke Community College and a variety of seminars and work sessions conducted by the consultants and the members of the team. Between October 1970 and June 1971, the consultants conducted short seminars related to Model Cities Policing and Team Policing Organization Theory and Management. In conjunction with these discussions, the officers in study teams were required to learn about budgeting, management, and supervision by working through actual problems. Their methods and recommendations were reviewed by other team members. The team officers actually went through

management problems, such as purchasing, organizing records, developing a communications system, preparing a procedural manual, and a variety of other experiences.

Other experts were brought in to teach and assist the team members. Among these were Dr. Henry Burns, Institute for the Study of Crime and Delinquency, Southern Illinois University, who led the team in exploring situational leadership techniques, and James Hahn and Carl Hewitt, Oakland, California Police Department. Hahn and Hewitt helped the team in an analysis of interpersonal situations which hold the potential for violence. They discussed the common behavioral patterns found in violent confrontations. They reviewed the action alternatives available to police officers in coping with domestic disputes and other street problems.

The site visitations were arranged by the consultants to provide the team members with opportunities to visit other cities with innovative programs that faced problems which were in some way related to problems being experienced by the Holyoke team. Each officer on the team was given the opportunity to observe police activities in at least one of the following cities: Convina, California; Dayton, Ohio; Los Angeles, California; Louisville, Kentucky; Minneapolis, Minnesota; New York, New York; Oakland, California; Richmond, California; Syracuse, New York; and Miami, Florida. Information garnered in these visits was conveyed to all members of the team through staff meetings and informal discussions.

Overall the primary emphasis of the program was on the participatory process rather than the specifics. The officers had to learn to assume

authority and participate in decision-making about their own jobs and the management of their own affairs.

III. SELF ORGANIZATION OF THE HOLYOKE TEAM

The initial indoctrination sessions for the team policing officers were conducted on an overtime basis on Saturdays and Sundays. These sessions were designed to provide the officers with enough time to prepare for implementing their operation in Ward I. The officers were told that they would be responsible for the success or failure of the project. They were encouraged to learn and use the informal system. They then proceeded to identify problems, establish priorities among the problems, and appoint three and four-member committees to study the problems and make recommendations back to the entire team. One committee worked on communications, another on equipment, a third on relationships with the rest of the police department, and a fourth on community relations. Several team members were on more than one committee so that liaison was maintained between closely related committees such as the communications committee and the equipment committee.

The team agreed to reduce the rank consciousness among members to as low a level as possible. While it was the consensus of the team that the project director, who was a captain, would overrule a decision at any time, everyone was to be involved in decision-making related to the management of the program, and a consensus was to rule unless the captain felt that the implementation of a group decision would severely damage the team, department, or a citizen. After a few initial discussions, the team decided to

follow formal procedures in conducting meetings. This facilitated orderly discussions and established a method of keeping track of decisions. A chairman could be challenged every six months and a new officer could be elected. In addition, a secretary was appointed to record the decisions that were made by the group. All of these decisions were in response of the team to problems that they either encountered directly or identified as potential difficulties.

After approximately two months of preparation and planning on the part of the team, the project was implemented on Sunday, December 13, 1970, in a storefront that the team members obtained and remodeled for their own purposes. By this time, the officers had completed a manual of procedures that they agreed to follow and had established a communications link with the community through a seventeen member Crime and Delinquency Task Force composed of neighborhood people and a nine member Community Relations Council made up of police officers and community residents. They agreed that by working together the residents and the policemen could anticipate potential law enforcement problems and either develop solutions or be prepared to cope with the problems should they become acute. In addition to the police officers who were team members, four community service officers who were paid by Model Cities were hired to work for and with the team. Monies from Model Cities also paid for para-professional and professional psychological and psychiatric services supportive of the team. However, as it turned out, the team members did not make extensive use of these latter services.

IV. THE TEAM OPERATION

On Sunday, December 13, 1970, the Holyoke Team Policing Unit began operations from their storefront headquarters which had previously been a drugstore at 57 Lyman Street. As previously mentioned, not only had the officers of the Team Policing Unit laid plans for the implementation of their operations; they had selected their community headquarters site and performed a major portion of the remodeling themselves. Of the initial twenty volunteers, fifteen selected themselves to be the members of the Team Policing Unit that assumed policing responsibilities in Ward I.

The citizens living in Ward I were made aware of the change by publicity arranged by the Model Cities Agency. A reception was held at an open house in the Unit Community Headquarters on the first day of operations. This reception offered refreshments to all visitors. The turnout was estimated at 300 people who came during the afternoon and evening. The credit for the heavy response was attributed to announcements and notices in two large Catholic churches, a Baptist church, local newspapers and the Model Cities Newsletter. Nearly all the team members were present and attempted to meet and talk to as many of the visitors as possible.

There seemed to be no preponderance of local opinion regarding the new approach to the policing of Ward I. There was apparently no feeling among the citizens that the innovation was an attempt at oppression. The people who came to the reception seemed to come out of curiosity rather than to welcome the team or to reject it. The attitude of the citizens was one of wait and see.

One week later on Sunday, December 20, 1970, shortly after 6:00 P.M., a resident reported to the officer on duty in the Unit Community Headquarters that a fire had started on the third floor of the building. The officer determined that none of the occupants of the apartment was in immediate danger, and then he used his portable police radio to notify the fire department. He learned that in the absence of their mother several children had been playing with matches and in attempting to light the traditional Christmas candles, they had started the fire. Two more members of the team arrived on the scene and began efforts to evacuate the residents of the area.

The officers encountered some difficulty in communicating the urgency of the situation to some residents since many of them were Puerto Rican immigrants and spoke only Spanish. In addition, a few of the residents spoke only French. The four community service officers, who had various language proficiencies, arrived on the scene and assisted. Although the fire consumed the entire building at 57 Lyman Street and part of the adjacent apartment building for a total of nearly half a block, no injuries from the fire were reported. However, the residences of an estimated thirty to fifty families were destroyed. Since no life was lost in what might have been a disastrous fire, many drew the conclusion that the team, most of whom were actively engaged on the scene, must have functioned well. The news media were quick to give credit to the Unit for the safe evacuation of the residents. It was also publicized that the team turned its attention to evacuating and rescuing its own files and equipment only after all

residents of the burning building had been safely evacuated.

This fire gave the team their first opportunity to seek assistance from a Ward I youth group that were previously considered "rebels." At the request of the police, several members of the Outcast Renegade Motorcycle Club helped in the evacuation and posted themselves on the roofs of nearby buildings to insure that the fire did not spread. In addition, although the Team Policing Unit did not take an active part in soliciting money, clothes, or other services and goods for the victims of the fire, much unsolicited assistance was brought to their headquarters, and many residents associated the police unit with this activity. Several members of the team took good advantage of the situation and, dressed as Santa Claus, they distributed the contributed toys to children who had been dislocated by the fire.

This unfortunate fire probably had a very positive effect on the attitudes of the people in Ward I as well as upon the police officers. The residents immediately emphathized with the team because they had become victims of the fire too. In addition, in the minds of the citizens, the police had assisted other victims after the fire by collecting and distributing clothing and toys. On the other hand, police officers felt for the first time in years that the residents of Ward I had fallen in behind the police and assisted them in their job. Even the rebels of the area had worked with the police officers for a change, and the officers interpreted this as support of their efforts.

Following the fire, the team relocated in a new headquarters a few

blocks from their original site. The officers set about immediately to reestablish themselves, even though there had been no interruption in their operations. The local headquarters placed them closer to their clientele. Non-residents as well as residents who needed assistance stopped at the community headquarters. The young people of the ward used the community headquarters as a stopping-in place. Several of the officers on the team encouraged this type of behavior. They made a practice of visiting the local school and talking to the classes. A number of projects involving area children were initiated by the team. These included a contest to design the emblem that was to be afixed to the team's new uniform (blazers); organizing baseball teams and purchasing equipment with funds from a coke machine that was located in the team headquarters (incidentally, many local children ran a charge on cokes); running a neighborhood dance; and designing a float for the St. Patrick's Day Parade.

The community headquarters was equipped with files, typewriters, desks, portable radios, and extension telephones. Calls were answered by a team secretary, who spoke Spanish, or a team member. When all team members were out on beats in the area, the team had communications arranged so that calls were automatically transferred to the main Holyoke Police Department communications desk. All requests for service or reports of incidents that were received by the team members were recorded and assigned a control number so that they could be easily filed and retrieved. The team took pride in the fact that they served the community

In every way. They encouraged their neighbors to drop in for a cup of coffee or a coke.

Team members did the follow-up on all investigations. However, this did not involve them in a large number of cases. The officers and subsequent newspaper reports reflect that the team members were basically concerned with assisting people in the area.

The internal operation of the team was handled in a fairly democratic fashion. Committee of the Whole (the entire team) meetings were held twice monthly, and the team attempted to confine policy making decisions to these meetings. Personnel work schedules and disciplinary problems were also handled in these sessions. New rules and procedures were discussed in these meetings. Community members were given a voice in the meetings, and those citizens who attended were given the opportunity to reflect on the items that were proposed and offer suggestions and advise. Although the project director could overrule any decision that was made by the group, the concept of "one man, one vote" prevailed.

Midway through the experiment, the expressions of enthusiasm and support from team members were practically unanimous. One officer was quoted as saying, "Now I'm 5,000 pounds lighter--mentally."

V. ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

This atmosphere of cooperation and good will seemed to prevail among most team members throughout the project, but the unit was often at the center of an administrative or political maelstrom during the first year of its existence. At one time or another in this period, the team was

involved in a controversy with the Mayor's Office, the Aldermanic Board, the Police Department, and the Model Cities Program.

The earliest disputes occurred when members of the top command of the police department began to charge that the team was not being tightly controlled in a "military" fashion, and the team reacted defensively to this suggestion. A definite polarization did occur between members of the team and the remainder of the department with some bitterness being expressed by both sides. Certain changes were made reinforcing the chain of command both within the team and in regard to its linkage with the department, but in truth, this situation was never resolved to anyone's satisfaction.

Further, the circumstances conditioning police employment in the city of Holyoke worked against the acceptance of the team concept by the department's general membership. The team's decision to discard the usual uniform, the fact that seniority was only partially governing insofar as team assignments were concerned, and the overall distribution of overtime all were irritants to "good" relationships.

Finally, the top command of the police department felt strongly that the project not only did not solve any problems, but that it was a constant source of new ones. They believed that the department was supposed to receive additional resources as a result of the project, but was actually deprived of existing resources.

While there is some merit to the department's case against the team, and it is true that some team members were not entirely blameless in their

actions vis-a-vis the rest of the department, the consultants generally feel that the department overreacted in its opposition to the team and was not sufficiently tolerant of what was after all an experimental project.

The Model Cities Program's relationship with the team also resulted in friction. The problem seemed to revolve around the question, "Who's in charge here?" The team viewed the reporting requirements established by Model Cities as onerous. Further, the team indicated that they felt that Model Cities did not produce what it had promised. Finally, personal relationships between some individuals in each organization deteriorated as time passed. This tended to exacerbate the situation. From the consultants' point of view, Model Cities demands were not unreasonable, and although they were not on hand during every meeting between Model Cities and team personnel, there did not seem to be any unfulfilled promises of importance. The personal frictions can be attributed to personality differences, variations in philosophical and administrative approaches, and the competition for credit between the organizations.

There was also some strain between the Model Cities Program and the police department. The team was at the heart of the disagreement. Whether or not Model Cities interfered in the operation of the police department by developing the team policing proposal or whether or not Model Cities failed to live up to its "promise" to supply additional resources to the police department are moot questions, and the answers

depend upon one's point of view. Model Cities rightfully feels that it was attempting to improve police service for its constituents, and it seems to have succeeded in that effort. The department sees additional resources being given to one element of its organization and finds it has very little to say about their distribution and use. It finds this difficult to accept.

One of the most explosive of the situations related to the team was its position in the Holyoke political milieu. The mayor was a major if not the principal sponsor of the team policing project. There was and is room for honest opposition to such a program. Further, associated issues such as the future expansion of the team, the development of the police department, and fiscal matters require public discussion and debate, specifically in the Aldermanic Board. The subject is, then, an appropriate if somewhat volatile political item. Add to this the fact that the team's first year was an election year, and it is easy to surmise the team's sensitive position during this period.

Last, but far from least, the consultants became more and more controversial as time passed. There were suggestions that they were anti-police, were seeking particular positions for themselves, etc. This obviously caused some serious problems and strained the working relationship.

Despite these difficulties, the team continued to operate maintaining community support and a relatively high level of morale. The team's ability to survive in such circumstances certainly suggests that the

team policing concept is a hardy, viable organizational form and deserves
serious consideration as an alternative to present approaches.

OVERVIEW OF EVALUATION METHODS

Evaluation of the Holyoke Team Policing Project began at the out-
set of team implementation in September 1970, when objectives for assess-
ment were established and an experimental design was created. Progress
continued throughout the funding period, with measurements on several
variables being taken at significant junctures, until the final assess-
ment stage late in 1971.

I. METHOD OF ASSESSMENT

Four instrumental subgoals were established to determine the effects
of team policing in the Holyoke project. These were:

1. To determine the effects of team policing on community
   attitudes toward the police.

2. To assess the effect of team policing on clientele
   satisfaction with police service.

3. To assess the effect of team policing on performance
   and attitudes of police officers.

4. To compare team policing and traditional policing on
   the basis of effectiveness of police service.

In order to enable relevant comparisons to be made, two city wards
were selected on the basis of similarity of area, population, degree of
industrialization, ethnicity, and socio-economic characteristics. In one
of these wards (Ward I) the experimental Team Policing Unit (TPU) was im-
plemented, while the other (Ward II) served as a control district and
was policed according to traditional Holyoke methods.

The team police project was evaluated with respect to several criteria. To insure that changes observed during the project are not typical of changes in the entire community, both the experimental and the control areas were subjected to identical testing and evaluation throughout the project.

The preliminary, base-line data were collected early in the project for each of the criteria utilized in the evaluation and from both the experimental and the control districts. Pretest and post-test data were utilized to measure change in each district and to compare the two districts.

Although this design governed the overall execution of the evaluation, methods of sampling and data collection varied with specific analyses. For this reason, each sub-topic within the evaluation will be discussed here as an individual research question.

II. COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

To assess the attitudes of the people living within the community, a random sample of households was drawn from each district for each phase of the evaluation. Two phases were used to determine community attitudes, the first upon the initiation of the team policing project, and the second at the end of the grant period.

Data were collected from the samples drawn through interviews. These interviews were structured and consisted of 10-20 questions requiring relatively specific answers. Comments not related directly to the questions but considered important by the interviewer were noted after the questions

were completed.

Indications of possible changes in public satisfaction with police service were deduced by evaluating change in the attitudes of those who requested or received police service. Police clientele satisfaction was measured by selecting certain service and/or complaint categories, which were selected on the basis of their representativeness of activities generally performed by the police.

Samples for the pre-project interview were drawn from persons who had received or requested police service in the two wards within the three months preceding the start of the project. For the post-project study, samples were drawn from those who received or requested police service during the three months preceding completion of the grant period.

Each person in the samples who could be located and would comply was interviewed. The interviews were of a structured, brief nature. Due to the diversity in this area, after covering specific questions common to all of the interviews, the questions became more open-ended, allowing each interviewee to indicate possible unique characteristics of the service he received.

The information received in these interviews was coded according to a prearranged scale. Information which did not "fit" this scale was left in raw form to provide insight into nonstandard or uncontemplated situations.

Satisfaction with police service was compared between the experimental and control districts in both the pre- and post-project phases. Changes

In "satisfaction" were measured in each district and were used to compare the two districts.

A third measure of community attitudes toward the quality of policing was obtained through the use of in-depth interviews conducted of groups of persons able to accurately reflect community sentiment from each area. The individual members of each of these groups were selected on the basis of their apparent ability to reflect community attitudes and to furnish additional information as desired. Each of these groups was interviewed at length by an interviewer.

These interviews were designed to discover qualitative information which might not otherwise be obtained (for example, integrity of police officers, their work habits, etc.). The attitudes expressed and the information revealed by each of the groups were recorded by the interviewer, and the results of the groups were compared.

III. POLICE ATTITUDES

Police officers working in each ward were tested and interviewed to obtain their attitude and personality changes, if any, during the project. All officers working in the experimental ward were utilized for this evaluation, and random samples of officers from the remainder of the department were used to represent the control ward. Testing and interviewing were carried on continuously throughout the entire project.

The data obtained from officers of each ward were compared on the basis of each of the pre- and post-evaluation levels. Change registered on each level was measured and used to compare the two wards.

IV. ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

The team policing project was evaluated by post facto review of several types of administrative data, including number of requests for service, officer workload, and amount of sick leave taken (a measure of morale). Original plans called for more detailed information, such as crime rates, response time, and complaints against officers, as well as an examination of these statistics prior to the initiation of the project. Due to a number of deficiencies in the police record system, however, neither the pre-project information nor the detailed statistics were available for analysis.

Analysis was made, nevertheless, of the data which could be obtained. Comparisons were made between the team and traditional mode policing on an information-available basis. Measure was taken, therefore, of team policing's efficacy according to the internal, organizational criteria which had been collected by the department.

V. PROFESSIONAL EVALUATION

Finally, while this evaluation of the Holyoke Model Cities Police Team emphasizes procedures which disclose public attitudes toward and opinions of police service, it includes an analysis of the professional quality of that service. An expert panel of five police executives was formed and convened in Holyoke for two days of conferences, field observations, and interviews. Of particular importance was the review of relations between the team and the remainder of the department and the analysis of the team's utilization of the specialized skills associated with the investigative

and traffic functions.

The panelists were required to exercise their expert judgment and to offer specific statements concerning the project's success or failure.

PART III

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

I. INTRODUCTION

The basic tenet of a democracy is that the power of government lies with its citizens. The philosophical beginnings of this concept can be found in the writings of Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, and John Locke. Locke's thinking, as interpreted by Thomas Jefferson, provided the basic justification for the Declaration of Independence and the American Revolution.

Astute police philosophers have recognized the importance of founding their powers, activities, and procedures on this concept of citizen control. The Peelian Reform of the British police in the early 1800's was based on several principles that referred specifically to the fact that police authority and power is dependent on public approval of the police, their goals, and their actions, as well as on the ability of the police to secure and maintain public support and cooperation. One of the most significant of the principles of British policing referred to the fact that police officers are only members of the public, citizens who are paid to give their full-time attention to community security and service duties in the public interest. However, the fact that policemen are paid to be professionals in the area of community security does not relieve any citizen from his responsibility in this area.

For the past twenty years, Professor Louis Radelet of the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University, has constantly charged that

police will only improve their effectiveness by becoming "...a part of, rather than apart from the community." Professor Al Reiss recently made the issue clearer and more readily understood by pointing out that "...the capacity of the police to solve crime is severely limited by citizens, partly owing to the fact that there is no feasible way to solve most crimes except by securing the cooperation of citizens to link a person to a crime."

Social changes caused by population increases, citizen enlightenment, and improved technology have served to push American police departments away from the basic condition for insuring police effectiveness--citizen involvement. The Holyoke Team Policing Project was designed to reverse this change by restructuring the police in Ward I in a way that citizens would have more access to and influence over their police. It was felt that such an arrangement would have a significant effect on the behavior of the police and the opinion of the citizens in Ward I toward their police officers. Therefore, one of the methods for determining the success of this effort involved assessing the community's opinion toward their police. In this part of the evaluation report there will be a review of the research and the findings related to the overall attitudes of the members of the communities in Ward I and Ward II toward their respective police.

II. THE ATTITUDE STUDY

The goal of assessing the impact of the Team Policing Unit on the attitudes of citizens was approached by developing a pre- and post-test

research design that compared an experimental area (Ward I) with a control area (Ward II). These two wards are similar with regard to area, population, ethnicity, and socio-economic characteristics. (See Table 1.) An attitude survey was administered to a random sample of 92 people in the experimental area (Ward I) and another random sample of 89 people in the control area (Ward II) during December 1970 at the outset of the experiment. This survey provided base line data reflecting the attitudes of citizens in both wards. Since both areas theoretically had not received any intervention, it was anticipated that the attitudes in both wards would be approximately the same.*

The Team Policing Unit was implemented in the experimental area (Ward I) in December 1970, and the control area (Ward II) continued to receive the same police service it had always received from the regular Holyoke Police Department. This arrangement was continued, and after approximately eight months of operation, the original attitude survey was readministered to another random sample of 101 citizens in the experimental team policing area (Ward I) and another random sample of 100 citizens in the control area (Ward II).

The hypothesis was that while the community attitudes in the pre-test in Ward I and Ward II and the post-test in Ward II would remain similar

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*It is important to acknowledge, however, that the experimental team was implemented in Ward I approximately a week before the attitude survey was conducted. The fire which burned the original team headquarters and adjoining apartments occurred before the attitude survey in Ward I could be completed. Since the newspaper publicity surrounding the implementation of the team project and the team's handling of the fire victims was very favorable, it is reasonable to assume that interviewees in Ward I would reflect favorable attitudes toward the police in the pre-test as well as in the post-test interviews.

TABLE I.

COMPARISON OF WARD I, WARD II, AND CITY OF HOLYOKE

(Source: Holyoke Model Cities Agency)

	Ward I		Ward II		Holyoke	
Population Total	4,720		4,375		50,112	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Black	420	9	225	5	1,127	2
Spanish	1,100	23	800	18	3,000	6
White	3,200	68	3,350	77	45,985	92
Male		40		40		NA
Female		60		60		NA

and constant, the post-test attitudes in Ward I would change in a positive direction. A change of attitudes in a positive direction was to be interpreted as an indication of the success of the experiment. A negative change of attitudes was to be interpreted as an indication that the project did not achieve its objective of improving police and community relations.

The instrument used in the data collection phase of the project was designed by the consultants. The Model Cities program contracted with Dr. Bruce Carroll, Director of Field Studies of Hampshire College to (1) select a random sample of approximately 100 people in Ward I and 100 people in Ward II for the pre-test and another set of interviewees for the post-test and (2) process the information from the questionnaires and provide the consultants with summaries that satisfy their needs.

The interviewers were selected by Model Cities, given an orientation to the questionnaire and problems related to it by the consultants, and supervised by Model Cities.

The sample of interviewees in each case was selected by using a table of random numbers to select the street, apartment number, and address. The interviewee was the first person above the age of 16 who answered the door at the selected location.

The question of whether the interviewees were representative of the people living in Wards I and II was reviewed after the interviews had been conducted and the data tabulated. The comparisons made indicate that interviewees were not as representative of the people in the two areas

being compared as one would expect from a random sample. However, it is felt that the information obtained is sufficiently accurate to provide a basis for tentative conclusions concerning the impact of the team policing project.

The interviews conducted in Wards I and II were designed to obtain information related to three general areas:

1. Citizen perceptions of the attitudes and behavior of their police.

2. Citizen perceptions of the willingness of the people in their wards to assist their police.

3. Citizen perceptions of the quality of their police.

The remainder of this section will review and evaluate the data obtained from the interviews and the changes in attitudes that occurred over the course of the experiment.

A. Citizen Perceptions of Police Attitudes and Behavior

In this area interviewees were asked their perceptions of (1) police attitudes toward the people in their ward, (2) police manners, (3) police willingness to assist people, (4) police reliance on the use of force, and (5) police willingness to do extra job-related work. The interviews were structured to solicit information that would indicate if the citizens in Ward I where the Team Policing Unit was operating felt that the team police officers had different attitudes and behavior toward their citizens and jobs than the officers who were providing the police services in Ward II. Tables 2 through 7 contain summaries of the data that were received from interviewees.

Attitudes of Police Toward the People. In an attempt to determine if the team policing project had an effect on the citizens' perceptions of the police officers' attitudes toward the people whom they served, interviewers asked the selected interviewees in each ward to state the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "The police in this ward like people." (See Table 2.) In both the pre-test and the post-test interviews, the response of the interviewees was relatively consistent: there was no significant change in the proportion of interviewees who agreed or those who disagreed with this statement. In both wards the majority of the interviewees agreed that their police like people. However, in both the pre- and post-tests there was a higher proportion of the citizens in the team policing area (Ward I) who believed the police in their area like people than there was in Ward II. This may be attributable to the previously mentioned fact that the pre-test interviews were conducted after the team had been implemented and after the fire that destroyed their initial headquarters. As explained in a previous part of this report, during and after the fire the mass media portrayed the team officers as performing in an exemplary fashion which may have effected community attitudes toward them. It is felt that this difference between the two wards may have occurred prior to the pre-test.

The lack of change in attitudes concerning the police feeling for their citizens over the eight month period indicates that the citizens have not detected any significant changes in the team police officers' affection for the people of the area. However, the data also do not

TABLE 2

THE POLICE IN OUR WARD LIKE PEOPLE*

| | Ward I | | | | Ward II | | | |
| | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | |
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	64	70	72	71	56	63	64	64
Neutral	22	24	28	28	27	30	31	31
Disagree	6	6	2	2	4	4	3	3
No Answer	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	2
Total	92	100	102	101	89	99	100	100

*Percentages on this and all following tables are rounded off; there-fore, in some instances the totals equal more or less than 100 percent. The numbers of the responses in each category are accurate.

indicate that the lack of traditional supervisory arrangement resulted in police officers acting out any dislike they might have for people in their area. The response to this statement does not provide data that would cause one to be concerned about the team police officers becoming more hostile towards their citizens than officers who are subjected to traditional supervision.

Perceptions of Citizens Concerning Police Manners. It is felt that when police officers are polite and respectful to their citizens, the citizens will return this politeness and respect. In order to obtain data concerning how people feel about the manners of their police, interviewers asked citizens the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "The police in my ward are polite." (See Table 3.)

The compiled data indicate that although there was a significantly higher proportion of the interviewees in the Ward I post-test sample who agreed with the statement than there was in Ward II, the difference was due to a drop in the proportion of persons in Ward II who agreed with this statement between the pre- and post-test rather than an increase in proportion of people in Ward I who agreed. The percentage of interviewees in Ward I who agreed with the statement was 79 percent in the pre-test and 81 percent in the post-test. However, in Ward II while 71 percent of the pre-test interviewees agreed with the statement, only 52 percent of the post-test interviewees agreed.

One possible explanation for this change is that the favorable mass media, particularly newspaper, publicity that the Team Policing Unit

TABLE 3

POLICE IN OUR WARD ARE POLITE

	Ward I				Ward II			
	Pre-Test		Post-Test		Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	73	79	82	81	63	71	52	52
Neutral	13	14	17	17	14	16	38	38
Disagree	5	5	3	3	7	8	2	2
No Answer	1	1	0	0	5	6	8	8
Total	92	100	102	101	89	101	100	100

received during the interceding eight months may have caused the citizens of Ward II to begin to have doubts about whether the policemen in their ward were really as good as they had originally thought them to be. The large increase in the "neutral" response category seems to support this speculation.

Again as in the case of the previous question, although there is only a slight increase in the proportion of interviewees who felt the police in Ward I to be polite, the team policing approach had not been accompanied by any negative change in attitudes of the citizens in regard to police manners. It is not possible to say anything about the actual behavior of the police based on the citizens' response to this question. We can only say that if the police became less polite or more polite, the change has not been detected by the majority of the citizens in Ward I.

Attitudes Toward Citizen Equality. If the police officers are to have the cooperation and support of the members of their community, they cannot give members of the community the impression that they feel themselves to be superior to most citizens. It is easy and indeed tempting for a police officer who has been trained to maintain an aloft, objective and impersonal position when dealing with people to convey such an impression. This is particularly true when the officer is working in an area such as Ward I or Ward II where a large number of the citizens speak Spanish as their basic language. The team policing structure was designed to help alleviate the type of police-community insulation that causes such attitudes to develop. In order to evaluate the success of the project in

this area, interviewees were asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "The police in my ward tend to 'look down' on most people." (See Table 4.)

The responses to this statement indicate that citizen attitudes in Ward II remained constant (pre- and post-test: 17 percent agreed, 45 and 46 percent disagreed). In the experimental team policing area (Ward I), the data revealed significant positive changes in the perceptions of interviewees about the attitudes of team police officers toward people. Nine percent fewer interviewees in Ward I agreed with this statement in the post-test than in the pre-test interviews, and 7 percent more interviewees disagreed with it in the post-test than in the pre-test interviews.

This change is significant because it reflects the fact that members of the community in Ward I have recognized a change in either the behavior or the attitudes of team police officers toward the citizens in their area. There are a number of specifics related to the way that the Team Police Unit operates that may have caused this change in citizens' attitudes, but it is most likely the result of the team police officers involving the people in Ward I in their operations. Community meetings that were held twice weekly indicated to the people in the area that the police needed their input and intelligence. More face-to-face contact between the officers and the people in Ward I gave the officers an opportunity to show that they do not feel themselves superior. The addition of CSO's who could bridge the communications gap between the officers and the people further helped the situation. The local community headquarters

TABLE 4

POLICE IN MY WARD TEND TO "LOOK DOWN" ON MOST PEOPLE

| | Ward I | | | | Ward II | | | |
| | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | |
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	14	15	6	6	15	17	17	17
Neutral	25	27	32	31	32	36	36	36
Disagree	52	56	63	63	41	46	45	45
No Answer	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Total	92	99	102	101	89	100	100	100

where people gathered and discussed problems with the police suggested
an equality that could not be established when officers are all working
out of the centralized police headquarters. And the team police officers
involvement with the children in Ward I suggested to the people in Ward I
that the police did not believe themselves to be superior to the people
of the area.

The data related to this question suggest that it is reasonable to
assume that a more cohesive and supportive relationship has been developed
between the team police officers and their citizens as a result of this
change in citizens' impressions of the officers' demeanor.

Attitudes About Police Concern with Helping People. There is no
question but that the police department is a service agency. Citizens
indicate by their constant requests that they expect their police to
assist them in handling problems. Police administrators throughout the
country are concerned about ensuring that citizens understand that their
officers want to help people as much or more than they want to see them
punished for misconduct. The team police project was structured to
(1) improve the ability of police officers to serve their citizens and
(2) communicate to citizens the officers' concern for helping people. In
order to obtain data that would indicate the effect of the team policing
project on establishing among citizens the feeling that police officers
are interested in helping them, interviewers asked interviewees the extent
they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "The police in my ward are
anxious to help people." (See Table 5.)

TABLE 5

POLICE IN MY WARD ARE ANXIOUS TO HELP PEOPLE

| | Ward I | | | | Ward II | | | |
| | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | |
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	57	62	68	67	55	61	40	40
Neutral	24	26	28	28	20	23	43	43
Disagree	11	12	5	5	14	16	15	15
No Answer	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2
Total	92	100	102	101	89	100	100	100

The responses to this statement suggest that the project was success-ful in this regard. While the proportion of interviewees who disagreed with this statement remained constant in the Ward II control area (pre-test - 16 percent disagree; post-test - 15 percent disagree), the pro-portion of interviewees in the Ward I experimental area who disagreed dropped by approximately one-half from 12 percent in the pre-test to 5 percent in the post-test interviews. In the eight month period between the pre- and post-test interviews, approximately 7 percent fewer people in Ward I felt the police in their ward were not anxious to help people, and approximately 5 percent more people became convinced that the team police officers in Ward I were anxious to help people.

Again as in other areas of the interview, it is interesting that the people in Ward II became more unsure of their police during the period between the pre- and post-tests. The pre-test interviews indicated that approximately 61 percent of the interviewees agreed that the police in their ward were anxious to help people, but only 40 percent of the post-test interviewees agreed with that conclusion. The most plausible ex-planation for this phenomenon has already been offered--the publicity given the team policing project may have effected the attitudes of the citizens in the other parts of town where the traditional policing ar-rangement was utilized.

At any rate, regardless of the specific combination of causal factors, the people in the team policing ward reflected a positive attitude change concerning their belief that the police were willing to help people.

Attitudes Toward the Police Use of Force. If the police are to cultivate the confidence and support of their public, citizens must be secure in their knowledge that police officers do not use more force than is necessary to carry out their responsibilities. Citizens who feel that police officers carry out their responsibilities legally and fairly are more likely to support and assist the police in maintaining the security of their community than those who do not trust the police. In an attempt to assess the impact of the team policing project on this aspect of citizen attitudes, interviewees in both wards were asked to agree or dis-agree with the statement, "Police in my ward do not use force any more than they have to." (See Table 6.)

Although approximately one-third more interviewees in Ward I than in Ward II agreed with that statement in both the pre-test and post-test interviews, the data is not sufficient for conclusions. The proportion of interviewees who disagreed with the statement is constant in Wards I and II during both the pre- and post-tests. It appears that the initial publicity before the pre-test may have caused a large proportion of the people in Ward I to take the position that the police in Ward I do not use excessive force, whereas many people in Ward II chose to remain in the "neither agree nor disagree" category.

However, the data from this interview item do not indicate in any way that the officers in the team policing operation became any more abusive as a result of the removal of formal supervision. While the data do not suggest a gradual, systematic change of citizen attitudes about the

TABLE 6

POLICE IN MY WARD DO NOT USE MORE FORCE THAN THEY HAVE TO

| | Ward I | | | | Ward II | | | |
| | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | |
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	57	62	62	61	43	48	44	44
Neutral	21	23	29	28	31	35	43	43
Disagree	14	15	11	11	15	17	12	12
No Answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	92	100	102	100	89	100	100	100

tendency of police officers to use more force, they also do not support the contention that supervisory personnel are necessary to ensure that police officers will not resort to excessively forceful tactics to achieve their goals. This could be construed to support the contention of the framers of the Holyoke Team Policing Project that the military hierarchy for supervision is not necessary.

Attitudes Toward Police Willingness to Work. Citizens are more likely to provide assistance for the police if they view police officers as being industrious fellows. Therefore, one of the statements to which interviewees were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement or disagreement was, "The police in my ward often do more work than is required of them." (See Table 7.)

The pre-test results indicated that the interviewees in both Wards I and II felt about the same way toward the amount of work the police in their wards were willing to do. However, the post-test interviews indicated that the proportion of interviewees in Ward I who felt that the team police officers often did more work than they had to do increased by 8 percent; and the proportion of interviewees in Ward II who felt that the police in their ward often did more work than they had to do decreased by 12 percent. This represents a significant change in the attitudes of people in both wards. Twenty-one percent more interviewees in the team policing ward agreed in the post-test interviews that their police often do extra work than there were interviewees in Ward II who would agree to the same statement about their police. Conversely, 19 percent of the

TABLE 7

POLICE IN MY WARD OFTEN DO MORE WORK THAN THEY HAVE TO DO

| | Ward I | | | | Ward II | | | |
| | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | |
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	24	26	34	34	22	25	13	13
Neutral	42	46	46	45	42	47	55	55
Disagree	25	27	20	19	25	28	29	29
No Answer	1	1	2	2	0	0	3	3
Total	92	100	102	100	89	100	100	100

interviewees in Ward I disagreed with the statement that their police often do more work than they have to do, compared with 29 percent of the persons interviewed in Ward II who disagreed with it.

Clearly, the data suggest that people in Ward I have more respect for the amount of effort that is made by the police in Ward I than do the people in Ward II. Although data explored elsewhere in this study indicate that there is reason to believe that the team police officers actually did put forth slightly more effort than the officers in the rest of the department, based on the data the amount of additional effort was probably not as great as the interviewees believed. One possible explanation for the favorable change in Ward I is that the decentralized team policing operation made the police more visible to their public, thereby enabling the people in Ward I to make an assessment that the citizens in Ward II could not make of their police.

The response to this statement lends support to the conclusion that the team policing project has caused a favorable change in attitudes among Holyoke citizens.

B. Do Citizens Assist the Police?

The questionnaire had only one statement designed to get citizen impressions about the amount of assistance they feel the police receive from the public living in their ward. The interviewees in each ward were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "The police in our ward get a lot of help from the people living in our ward." (See Table 8.)

TABLE 8

THE POLICE IN OUR WARD GET A LOT OF HELP FROM CITIZENS

| | Ward I | | | | Ward II | | | |
| | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | |
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	38	41	40	39	30	33	31	31
Neutral	28	30	39	38	36	40	49	49
Disagree	25	28	20	20	23	26	17	17
No Answer	1	1	3	3	0	0	3	3
Total	92	100	102	100	89	99	100	100

As with some of the previous data, as the experiment progressed the interviewees in Ward II appeared to become less certain about the quality of policing in their area, and the post-test interviews indicate they tended to withdraw and take a neutral position. The proportion of interviewees in Ward I who agreed that citizens in their ward help the police remained constant in the pre- and post-test interviews, but those who disagreed dropped by approximately 8 percent. While there does not appear to be sufficient evidence to conclude that there was an improvement in Ward I, there is also insufficient evidence to indicate a negative change in the situation.

Although the data do not provide any strong evidence to indicate that the team policing project has improved the community's willingness to assist the police, a larger proportion of people in Ward I than in Ward II feel that the people of the ward provide a lot of help for the police. There is nothing in the data which indicates that the team policing project had either a positive or negative impact on the cooperation of the community with the police.

C. Attitudes About the Quality of Police

Two questionnaire items directed at interviewees in Wards I and II were used as a gauge of their opinions about the quality of the police in their respective wards. The first statement was designed to determine public opinion about the honesty of officers in their area, and the second statement was designed to give an indication of how the police in the two respective wards compared with the police in other wards of the city.

Honesty of Police. Table 9 contains a compilation of the data obtained when interviewees were asked the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "The police in our ward are honest." Although the attitudes in the team policing ward were more favorable over-all than the attitudes in Ward II, both ward reflected a negative attitude change between the pre-test and the post-test interviews. While the consultants have no explanation for this negative change, the change is significant enough to cause us to suspect that sometime between the pre- and post-test interviews something occurred in Holyoke that shook the confidence of the people of the city in the integrity of the members of the police department.

Comparison of Quality of Police. The basic purpose of the team policing project was to improve the overall quality of policing in the experimental area of Ward I. While public attitudes may or may not be related to reality, it is important to determine the public's impression of the quality of the police who are serving them before attempting to continue or expand an experimental program such as team policing. Therefore, the interviewees in both wards were asked to agree or disagree with the statement, "The police in our ward are better than police in other wards." (See Table 10.)

The pre-test interviewee responses in both wards were fairly similar. In the team policing ward, 18 percent agreed, 62 percent were neutral, and 20 percent disagreed; and in the control ward, 13 percent agreed, 66 percent were neutral, and 19 percent disagreed. However, the attitudes

TABLE 9

THE POLICE IN OUR WARD ARE HONEST

| | Ward I | | | | Ward II | | | |
| | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | |
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	70	77	70	69	58	65	53	53
Neutral	18	20	29	28	25	28	40	40
Disagree	4	4	3	3	6	7	5	5
No Answer	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total	92	101	102	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 10

THE POLICE IN OUR WARD ARE BETTER THAN POLICE IN OTHER WARDS

| | Ward I | | | | Ward II | | | |
| | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | | Pre-Test | | Post-Test | |
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Agree	17	18	32	32	12	13	5	5
Neutral	57	62	61	61	59	66	74	74
Disagree	18	20	9	8	17	19	19	19
No Answer	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2
Total	92	100	102	101	89	99	100	100

changed significantly in both wards between the pre- and post-test interviews. Thirty-two percent of the interviewees who responded in the post-test interview in Ward I agreed that the police in their ward are better than police in other wards, and only 8 percent of the people in Ward I stated that they felt that their police are not better than the police in other wards. If the samples are representative of the total population in Ward I, this means that a total of 26 percent of the people in Ward I changed their attitudes toward the police in their ward during the period between the two interviews.

In Ward II the attitudes toward how their police compared with the police in other wards changed in a negative direction. Again the 7 percent negative change in attitude is probably due to the favorable press that the team policing project received throughout the project.

Whether or not these attitudes reflect improvements in the quality of the police in Ward I, they certainly do not reflect any apprehension on the part of the public to continue the project. The public believes that the Team Police Unit is doing a better job than the police in other wards of the city.

D. Conclusions

The data obtained from interviews in the team policing area (Ward I) and the control area (Ward II) indicate that the interviewees in the team policing area have attitudes and opinions about their police that are significantly more positive than the attitudes and opinions of interviewees

in Ward II toward the police in their area. The post-test interviews

conducted in the fall of 1971 showed more positive attitudes on the part

of Ward I citizens in the following areas:

1. More Ward I interviewees (71 percent) felt that team police officers like people than there were Ward II interviewees (64 percent) who felt that regular police officers like people.

2. More Ward I interviewees (81 percent) felt that team police officers are polite than there were Ward II interviewees (52 percent) who felt that the regular police in their area are polite.

3. More interviewees in Ward II (17 percent) agreed that their police "look down" on most people than there were interviewees in Ward I (6 percent) who agreed that team police officers "look down" on most people.

4. More Ward I interviewees (67 percent) agreed that the team police officers in their area are anxious to help people than there were Ward II interviewees (40 percent) who agreed that the police in their ward are anxious to help people.

5. More Ward I interviewees (61 percent) agreed that team police officers do not use excessive force than there were Ward II interviewees (44 percent) who agreed that the police in their ward do not use excessive force.

6. More Ward I interviewees (34 percent) agreed that the team police do more work than they have to do than there were Ward II interviewees (13 percent) who agreed that their police in Ward II do more work than they have to do.

7. More Ward I interviewees (39 percent) agreed that team police get a lot of help from citizens than there were interviewees in Ward II (31 percent) who agreed that citizens in Ward II give their police a lot of help.

8. More Ward I interviewees (69 percent) agreed that their team police are honest than there were Ward II interviewees (53 percent) who agreed that the police in Ward II are honest.

9. More Ward I interviewees (32 percent) agreed that the team police are better than the police in other wards than there were Ward II interviewees (5 percent) who agreed that the police in Ward II are better than the police in other wards.

A comparison of the pre-test and post-test data obtained from interviewees in Ward I indicate that the attitudes of citizens in Ward I toward their police either remained constant or changed in a positive direction over the period of the experiment. On the other hand, a comparison of the pre-test with the post-test interview data in Ward II indicates that the attitudes of the citizens in Ward II toward their police tended to remain the same or change in a negative direction. Although the research which was conducted was insufficient to identify precisely what aspects of the team policing project caused the positive attitude changed in Ward I, the data are sufficient to conclude that the project has had the predicted positive impact on citizen attitudes that was predicted at the outset of the project.

In addition, there are no data to suggest that the removal of formal supervision has resulted in the public perceiving any increase in police misconduct, decrease in the efforts of officers, or increase in police discourtesy. The data collected for this area of the evaluation do not provide support for the fears about how a deemphasis on the traditional chain of command and strict control by supervisors will damage police effectiveness.

Obviously, more precise research is needed, but the data evaluated in this section suggest that the team policing project has had the impact of community attitudes that was predicted.

III. CLIENTELE ATTITUDES

Citizen opinions and attitudes about their police are based on a

variety of sources. People listen to the accounts of friends, relatives, and neighbors who have actually dealt with the police; they hear rumors that float through the community; they read reports carried by newspapers and other written sources; and they receive radio and television accounts about police activity and the department. Seldom do they have an opportunity to receive first hand information about the police for themselves. Therefore, the information that most citizens receive has been filtered, condensed, and distorted during the communication process, and it may not accurately reflect reality. This often causes community opinions to be inaccurate.

It would seem that those in the best position to evaluate the police are the people who have requested police service. Therefore, in collecting data for the evaluation of the Holyoke Team Policing Project, a sample of people in Wards I and II who had requested police assistance were identified and interviewed. It was anticipated that by giving police clients an opportunity to express their attitudes about the way the police responded to their service requests useful data would be developed.

A. Design of the Clientele Attitude Study

The goal of the clientele attitude study was to compare the attitudes of police clients in Ward I with the attitudes of police clients in Ward II through the use of pre- and post- team police project interviews. However, due to difficulties encountered in selecting an adequate clientele sample for the pre-test interviews, these comparisons had to be dropped

and a simple comparison of the Ward I clientele attitudes with the Ward II clientele attitudes was accepted as an alternative.

The individuals selected had called the police for assistance in one of the following areas: (1) auto accidents, (2) burglaries, (3) breach of peace and disturbances, and (4) domestic disputes. Forty-six clients in Ward I and fifty-one clients in Ward II were selected and interviewed.

The interviews were conducted by locally selected interviewers, and they performed under the supervision of the Holyoke Model Cities Program. Dr. Bruce Carroll, Hampshire College, was responsible for the processing of the data and providing appropriate summaries.

B. Survey Findings

The interviews were designed to determine: (1) how the police responded to the clients' appeals; (2) how the clients' perceived the officers who handled their requests; and (3) the effect of the contact on the clients' attitudes.

Police Response. The public expects that when a citizen requests police service, a sufficient number of officers will respond quickly enough to handle the problem. Therefore, the interviewees were questioned about their impressions of the number of officers who responded to their requests for police service, as well as the amount of time that lapsed between the initial request for police and the first officer arrived on the scene.

Table 11 summarizes the responses to the query concerning how many

TABLE 11

NUMBER OF OFFICERS WHO RESPONDED

Number of officers responding	Ward I		Ward II	
	Number	Percent*	Number	Percent*
1	4	9	3	6
2	30	65	40	78
3	8	18	1	2
4	3	7	3	6
5 or more	0	0	2	4
None or no answer	1	2	2	4

*Rounded off to nearest percent.

officers initially responded to the request for police attention. In both Wards I and II, an average (mean) of 2.2 officers responded to each request. There does not appear to be any significant difference in the amount of manpower that responded to calls in Ward I than in Ward II.

The interviewees' opinions concerning the time lapse between their request for a police officer and the officer's actual arrival at the scene indicated that more of the Ward I than the Ward II clientele felt they received prompt response from the police in their area. (See Table 12.) Sixty percent of the Ward I clients who were interviewed indicated that they felt the team police officers arrived on the scene in less than six minutes; on the other hand, only 26 percent of the interviewees in Ward II said that the officers who answered their request contacted them in less than six minutes.

An attempt was made to compare the impressions about the response time with the time reported on police records. However, the dispatch records which are designed to contain such information were inconsistent and inadequate for such a comparison. Therefore, regardless of the actual response time, 34 percent more clients in Ward I than in Ward II felt that their police responded in less than six minutes.

Clientele Perceptions of Police. The clients who were interviewed were asked to respond to two questions that were designed to obtain information about how they perceived the officers who responded to their requests. The first question dealt with the officer's attitude and the second with how the officer treated the client.

Table 13 summarizes the clients' impressions of the officers' attitudes. In Ward I a higher proportion of the clients had positive impressions of the attitudes of officers who had assisted them. Thirty-five percent of the

TABLE 12

ESTIMATED RESPONSE TIME

Time lapse	Ward I		Ward II	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 6 minutes	25	60	13	26
7-11 minutes	7	17	12	24
Over 12 minutes	12	29	17	34
No Answer	2	5	9	18

TABLE 13

WHAT WAS OFFICER ATTITUDE?

Officer Attitude	Ward I		Ward II	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Anxious to do a good job	16	35	9	18
Concerned	22	48	31	61
Indifferent; bored	4	9	9	18
Sarcastic; hostile	0	0	2	4
No Answer	4	9	0	0
Total	46	101	51	101

clients in Ward I indicated that the officers with whom they dealt were anxious to do a good job; whereas only 18 percent of the clients in Ward II had the same impression. On the other hand, 22 percent of the clients in Ward II expressed negative impressions about the attitudes of the officers who assisted them compared with only 9 percent of the Ward I interviewees who had similar impressions.

However, even though the clients in Ward I expressed more positive attitudes than those in Ward II, when the total positive attitudes are lumped together in Ward I and compared with those in Ward II, 83 percent of the clients in Ward I and 79 percent of the clients in Ward II expressed positive attitudes about the police in their respective ward. This similarity should cause one to interpret the data cautiously.

Perhaps the fact that 22 percent of the clientele interviewed in Ward II compared to 9 percent of those in Ward I felt that officers behaved in a negative way was the most significant revelation of the data.

Table 14 contains the compiled responses that clients made to a question concerning how they felt the police treated them.

Twenty-four percent of the Ward I clients interviewed felt the police who contacted them were "exceptionally courteous" compared to 6 percent of the Ward II clients who felt the same way. Ninety-four percent of the clients in Ward I indicated that the officers they dealt with were either "courteous" or "extremely courteous."

In Ward II the summarized data suggest a slightly more negative impression of the officers' manners. However, the difference between the two wards is one of degree rather than significance. Although certainly it is apparent that the team operation has not resulted in poorer attitudes or more discourtesy on the part of the officers involved in it.

TABLE 14

TREATMENT THEY RECEIVED FROM POLICE

Treatment	Ward I		Ward II	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Exceptionally courteous	11	24	3	6
Courteous	32	70	41	80
Not courteous; not offensive	2	4	5	10
Discourteously	0	2	1	2
No Answer	1	2	1	2
Total	46	100	51	100

Effect of Contact on Client Attitudes. Clients interviewed were asked about their attitudes toward the officer who handled their case, the department before and after the case, and the quality of the service that was rendered by the officers who handled their individual cases. Table 15 contains the compiled data about attitudes toward the department; Table 16 summarizes pre- and post- attitudes toward the officers; and Table 17 reflects the clients' impressions of the overall quality of service rendered by the police in the specific case in which they were involved.

The data indicate that the clients in Ward I who were interviewed concerning their attitudes toward the department had a positive attitude change, while the Ward II clientele reported that their attitudes remained fairly constant between the initial request for police service and the termination of police activity on the case. In Ward I, 13 percent more of the clients interviewed reported favorable attitudes and 9 percent fewer clients reported unfavorable attitudes after the team police officers had disposed of their problem. On the other hand, in Ward II the percentage of clients reporting favorable attitudes toward the department remained approximately the same before and after the situation, and the proportion of clients who reported unfavorable attitudes toward the department increased 5 percent.

As one would suspect, the experience a client had with the officer who handled his request or problem influenced the client's impression of the department. Table 16 indicates that the contact with a police officer

TABLE 15

CLIENTELE ATTITUDES TOWARD DEPARTMENT

BEFORE AND AFTER POLICE HANDLING OF INCIDENT.

Clientele attitudes toward police department	Ward I				Ward II			
	Before		After		Before		After	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Favorable	23	50	29	63	26	51	25	50
Indifferent	12	26	29	22	13	25	13	25
Unfavorable	9	20	5	11	10	20	13	25
No Answer	2	4	2	4	2	4	0	0
Total	46	100	46	100	51	100	51	100

TABLE 16

CLIENT'S ATTITUDES TOWARD THE POLICE OFFICER
BEFORE AND AFTER INCIDENT

Clientele attitudes towards the police officer	Ward I				Ward II			
	Before		After		Before		After	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Favorable	23	50	36	79	17	33	29	57
Indifferent	19	42	7	15	30	59	13	26
Unfavorable	2	4	1	2	4	8	9	17
No Answer	2	4	2	4	0	0	0	0
Total	46	100	46	100	51	100	51	100

TABLE 17

CLIENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD OVERALL QUALITY OF SERVICE
RENDERED BY POLICE IN THIS INSTANCE

Overall Quality of service	Ward I		Ward II	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Excellent	13	28	8	16
Good	15	33	14	27
Not good-Not bad	13	28	16	31
Bad	3	6	8	16
Very bad	0	0	5	10
No Answer	2	4	0	0
Total	46	99	51	100

caused people to form more specific opinions about the officers. However, the Ward II clients changed from a neutral position to both more positive (24 percent) and more negative (9 percent) attitudes, whereas the Ward I clients reported a consistently positive (29 percent) change in their attitudes toward the officers who handled their requests.

Table 17 reflects a summary of the clients' responses to their impressions about the overall quality of the service they received from the police in the specific case being considered. A significantly higher proportion of the clients in Ward I (61 percent) than in Ward II (43 percent) reported that the service they received was good or excellent. Twenty-eight percent of the Ward I clients compared to 16 percent of those in Ward II told interviewers that they felt they received excellent service. Conversely, 26 percent of the Ward II clients compared to 6 percent of the Ward I clients said they received "bad" or "very bad" service from the officers who handled their problem.

Although the precise ingredients that caused the positive attitudes among Ward I clients cannot be identified, it is apparent that the efforts of the police in Ward I were interpreted by the clients as being better than those made by the Ward II police.

C. Conclusion

While it is difficult to attribute the differences in clientele attitudes in Ward I and Ward II precisely to the team police officers, there is no doubt that the clientele who received assistance from the team police

officers formed more positive opinions than the Ward II clients who were served by the regular police officers. The Ward I clients reported:

1. The manpower sent was approximately equal to that of Ward I.

2. Police response time was slightly faster in Ward I than in Ward II.

3. Police in Ward I were slightly more anxious to do a good job than the police in Ward II.

4. Police in Ward I were more courteous to clients than the police in Ward II.

5. Clientele attitudes toward the department and the police officer who handled their case changed in a more positive direction in Ward I than they did in Ward II.

6. Clientele in Ward I were more satisfied with the quality of service they received than the clientele in Ward II were with their service.

The team police appear to have had a more positive impact on the citizens who they served than the regular police had on their clientele.

IV. GROUP INTERVIEWS

A. Methodology

In an attempt to secure additional qualitative data relevant to the evaluation, the consultants conducted a brief series of group interviews with residents of Ward I and Ward II. Five interviews were held, two in Ward I, two in Ward II, and one with the aldermen elected to represent each ward.

The interviewees were not selected scientifically, but they were chosen because they had something to say about policing in their respective wards. The Ward I groups were active in the Model Cities program. Each

individual was either a member of the Community Relations Council, Crime and Delinquency Task Force, or the evaluation panel. One of the Ward II groups seemed to be heavily weighted with older citizens.

The sessions were held at times and in locations convenient to ward participants.

The consultants structured the group meetings as open forums. Only when the participants strayed from the subject or the pace of discussion slackened did the consultant interject himself into the forefront of the debate. Normally, he would simply introduce himself, indicate the purpose of the meeting, and ask a few specific questions. In almost every case, the participants were self-directing for the remainder of the session.

B. Two Levels of Discussion

The group interviews in Ward I and Ward II were as different as night and day insofar as their approach to evaluating the police was concerned. Without exception, Ward I participants were enthusiastic about the team and its performance. Every individual present gave an unqualified endorsement of the program. Even when they expressed some disappointment over the fact that there seemed to be an insufficient amount of foot patrol in the ward, they were apologetic for having brought the question up and were certain that steps would be taken by the team to correct the matter.

Ward II participants, however, were with only one exception highly critical of the police and the level of service which they were receiving.

Some blamed the poor police performance on inefficiency on the part of the police. Others suspected that the ward had been denuded of men to form Model Cities Team Policing Unit. Only a very small proportion of the discussants expressed any interest in having a Ward II team. What they wanted was more and better police service of the regular type. If team policing was the only way they could get such service, they were willing to accept it in that form. It should be noted that their knowledge of the team approach was extremely limited.

The meeting with the aldermen consisted of an endorsement of the team concept by the alderman from Ward I and a statement urging that Ward II become the "next" team policing area from Ward II's alderman. Further questioning along these lines revealed that while the Ward II alderman expressed a strong desire for the next police team, basically he seemed to be after the same thing that his constituents were asking for--more and better police protection and service in any form.

C. Conclusions

The most striking single point that came out of this process was that those citizens who have had some experience with the Holyoke Team Policing Unit are generally sold on the approach. The absence of negative comments, even after a degree of nit-picking by the consultant, suggests that the Team Policing Unit enjoys a relatively high level of public support in Ward I, certainly much higher than Ward II citizens are willing to give to the police who serve them.

POLICE ATTITUDES

The Holyoke Police Department's implementation of team policing involves two basic concepts, that of community orientation and that of democratic organizational structure. Of particular relevance to these concepts is the issue of police officer attitudes and "working personality." Community involvement entails interest in the people who live in the area policed and concern for their problems. It implies a close relationship between officer and civilian; and in an area inhabited by people of distinct ethnic and social groupings, it means dealing with people as people, without stereotyping and prejudice. Democratic organization, at the same time, implies the necessity of refraining both from giving and from expecting orders. It implies on the one hand the ability to participate as one co-equal member of a group and abide by the decision of the majority, and on the other hand the ability to assume and accept responsibility for individual decisions, without calling upon higher authority.

The success of a project such as this, therefore, is strongly related to the officers' professional and personal attitudes. A degree of receptivity to community relationships, diverse life styles, and ambiguous situations is necessary for a patrolman to adequately perform the functions of a Holyoke team policeman. Yet at the very same time, experience in accepting responsibility and working closely with people in a spirit of cooperation should affect attitudes toward the police role, the people policed, and the concept of authority.

Both to measure the impact of the team police experiment and to understand the background conditioning its success or failure, a battery of psychological instruments was administered to the team and control groups, both in the initial, pre-test period and at the expiration of the grant period. The results of these two administrations are given below.

I. TEST GROUPS

Two groups of men were tested in the initial examination stage of the attitudinal evaluation. Twenty-four men who volunteered or said they might volunteer for team membership were tested during the team's first three meetings in early October, 1970. From this group seven men dropped out or were de-selected and one was added, leaving fifteen men (one captain, two sergeants, and twelve patrolmen) in the team plus three reserves. Since one man added was not tested with the others, there remained a group of seventeen officers which was considered the experimental sample for purposes of this evaluation. Twenty patrolmen were selected by random number sequence from a roster of the remainder of the operational units of the department to constitute the control sample, and they were tested the first week of December, before the Model Cities Team began street operations. Both experimental and control samples were tested in groups and were given the same battery of questionnaires. An attempt was made to keep the testing environments identical. The controls, however, verbalized a greater reluctance to take the tests than the team, and they refused to identify their responses individually.

While analysis of the control group results showed the responses to be patterned and internally consistent (in some scales more so than the experimental group), nevertheless, it was necessary to guard against the possibility that the control group's obvious lack of enthusiasm for taking the tests may have influenced their scores in an undetermined fashion. Under such circumstances it appeared that the wisest course would be to interpret the control group's scores in the most conservative manner possible, and in the present situation this meant to take them at face value whenever a difference between control and experimental groups was indicated.

From the seventeen men comprising the pre-test team sample, two were dropped because they had relinquished team membership, and the three team alternates were dropped because they had not participated fully in the program. The one team member who joined after the pre-test had been completed was added, giving a total of thirteen officers in the TPU group used in calculations for the post-test. Twenty men were again selected by random number sequence from a roster of the remainder of the department to compose a control sample. One of these men did not appear, however (prior permission having been obtained from the Chief of Police), so the control group numbered nineteen. Both samples were administered batteries of instruments including the police role questionnaire and the authoritarianism scales used in the pre-test. The testing environment was identical for the two groups except for the fact that the controls were not asked to identify their responses individually.

II. POLICE ROLE ORIENTATION

Many factors can affect the way patrolmen carry out their duties. Departmental policies, specific orders, community conditions, and the details of each specific situation are all more or less reflected in the decisions an officer makes. One of the most important personal factors, one which distinguishes the operating styles of policemen who work together, is the individual patrolman's conception of the proper police role. This role definition, his understanding of what police work implies and entails, is his basic occupational orientation and his deepest rational force. It is his reason for acting as he does when he plays out the role of policeman. Since role orientation is so central to the issue of operational differences between police officers, this factor was included in the attitudinal evaluation of the Team Policing Project.

A. Pre-test Results

The TPU and control samples were administered a questionnaire designed to reveal police role definitions by measuring the officers' levels of "activity" (extent to which the men prefer to intervene, to take action, in discretionary situations) and "formalism" (degree to which they see the formal, legal sanctions of arrest, citation, referral to juvenile court, etc. as their sole tool for coping with official problems). The team scored significantly higher than the controls on the activity scale, as shown in Table I. For the sake of illustration, the team and control samples were also compared to norms established by officers from many departments throughout the country, and Table I demonstrates that again

TABLE I

POLICE ROLE ORIENTATION

Sample Summaries	Activity Scale	Formalism Scale
Team Policing Sample[1]		
Mean	115.6	81.1
Standard Deviation	7.1	11.0
Control Sample[2]		
Mean	109.1	89.5
Standard Deviation	10.2	7.8
"National" Sample[3]		
Mean	111.0	88.3
Standard Deviation	8.6	9.4
Comparisons		
Team vs. Control		
t	2.14	2.66
df	35	35
p	<.05	<.02
Team vs. National		
t	2.14	3.04
df	357	357
p	<.025	<.005
Control vs. National		
t	.99	.60
df	360	360
p	not significant	not significant

1. Total of seventeen officers selected as Team Policing Unit members or alternates. Tested October 9-11, 1970.
2. Random sample of twenty patrolmen drawn from operational units of Holyoke Police Department, December 2, 1970.
3. Amalgamated sample of 342 officers drawn from Oakland (California) Police Department and various police departments in New York metropolitan area 1970-1971.

the Model Cities officers scored significantly higher in activity and lower in formalism. The control sample and the national sample conformed quite closely to each other.

The Model Cities Team members, thus, preferred to involve themselves in a wider range of activities than the controls. They saw their role as concerned with matters such as juvenile misbehavior, domestic disputes and traffic control problems to a greater degree than the random sample representing the remainder of the department. On the other hand, the team members liked to use the arrest much less freely than the controls, preferring less formal methods of resolving issues. They felt, more than the controls, that the arrest is a drastic weapon for discretionary situations, to be used only when other means have failed.

The Team Policing Unit members, therefore, appeared to conform more to a "Social Agent" model of policing, as men who hold the department's service functions in as much esteem as its law enforcement activities. They tended (more so than the controls) to see themselves as something of troubleshooters, patching the holes which appear where the social fabric wears thin. The control group, on the other hand, appeared to be comparative "Crime Fighters," whose primary concern is to seek out perpetrators of the "big" crimes -- murders, rapes, etc. They tended (more than the team) to minimize the importance of non-criminal and quasi-criminal police functions, and they would have preferred not to have to perform them.

B. Post-test Results

Differences in group mean scores for the second administration were calculated to compare the control and experimental groups' performances on the activity and formalism scales. As Table II indicates, both experimental and control groups remained stable on the formalism scale, and the experimental group activity mean showed no change. The only change of statistical significance indicated by these tests, therefore, was an upward shift in the control sample's mean activity score. This means, en gros, that the team's conception of the proper police role remained fairly stable through the duration of the project, while the control group, representing the remainder of the department, adopted a more activist role orientation. In comparison to national results, the controls moved from a position of typal neutrality to one embracing a rather high intervention level, with no definite stand taken on the emphasis formal court processing should take as a mechanism of social control. The team, on the other hand, described themselves consistently as comparative "Social Agents," adhering to a belief in the same high intervention level, yet making a definite preference for informal, non-legalistic means of solving problems.

The detection of change in the control sample while no movement was observed in the experimental group poses a difficult problem in the interpretation of these results. Under conventional theory, the upward shift in the control group means would be assumed to represent the effect of all (uncontrolled) events occurring during the course of the project except membership in the Team Policing Unit. The true effect of team participation, therefore, would be to inhibit such an increase, or in other

TABLE II

POLICE ROLE ORIENTATION

Sample Summaries	Activity Scale		Formalism Scale	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
TPU Sample N	17	13	17	13
Mean	115.6	118.5	81.1	81.4
Standard Deviation	7.1	7.8	11.0	8.2
Control Sample N	20	19	20	19
Mean	109.1	116.0	89.5	91.4
Standard Deviation	10.2	7.6	7.8	8.2
Comparison				
TPU vs. Control				
t	2.14	.86	2.66	3.30
df	35	32	35	32
p	<.05	ns	<.02	<.005
Time 1 vs. Time 2				
Team				
t		1.02		.09
df		28		28
p		ns		ns
Control				
t		2.31		.71
df		37		37
p		<.05		ns

words, to produce a relative decrease in the activity component of police role orientation.

There are a number of reasons why this interpretation of the results may not be accurate, however. First, the non-team officers do not truly constitute an interaction-free control group, as required by theory. Though they may not have participated as team members, all officers of the department were exposed to the existence of the TPU, to the publicity given this unit, and to the importance of the project to the department and city administrations. In particular, department members were aware of the increased status which accured to team officers by virtue of their special training and operational autonomy, and it was commonly believed in the department that team members had received more material benefits in the form of educational and overtime pay than non-members.

In addition to the lack of insularity in experimental design, the directionality of the change in control group activity scores suggests a less rigorous interpretation of results may be in order. The TPU group activity means, both in the pre- and post-tests, were higher than the national average. The remainder of the department (as represented by control groups), on the other hand, scored initially at about the level of the national means, then increased its scores to near the level of the TPU. This fact suggests the possibility that the shift may have been directly due to the experiment, and that the general department members, aware of the attention, status, and rewards given to team members and perhaps slightly envious, may have altered their attitudes toward police activity in emulation of the team.

What may well have resulted, then, is an experiment in reverse. By giving publicity, attention, status, and reward to the TPU, the project may have created a situation where the controls became experimental subjects under the independent variable of "lack of positive reinforcement." Consequently, the utility of the control groups in evaluating attitudinal changes is grossly attenuated.

The program inputs of publicity, attention, status, etc. were carefully designed to insure the project's ability to survive the difficult initial stages. They may well have been essential to the initiation of a program where none had previously existed. Nevertheless, they do affect the quality of evaluation which can be made and thus present a negative impact. Careful consideration should be given to this impact in future designs for introducing or expanding the team police model.

If, on the other hand, no comparisons are to be made between the team and control samples, different and more sensitive procedures can be used for analyzing the team data. Thus, student's t-test for matched groups was used to measure the significance of each TPU officer's activity and formalism attitude change during the course of the project, as summarized in Table III. When each officer's post-test score is compared with his pre-test score (as opposed to comparing group mean scores, as in Table II), definite trends emerge on both scales. There is a distinct, though weak, upward shift in activity scores, as shown in the first column of Table III. The second column, likewise, indicates a much stronger increase in officers' formalism scores. Individual changes are depicted

TABLE III

POLICE ROLE ORIENTATION

INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDE CHANGE

N=12 TPU OFFICERS

	Activity	Formalism
Total Change	+50	+53
Mean Change	+ 4.1667	+ 4.4167
Variance of Change	49.9722	24.7430
Standard Deviation	7.0691	4.9742
t	1.9548	2.9449
df	11	11
P	<.10	<.02

graphically in Figure I, where each vector represents the distance between an officer's original and final police role scores.

Thus it appears that, while remaining in the same general range, team policemen tended to increase their commitment to the concept of police intervention in a wide variety of case types, and they tended to decrease their faith in non-formal processing. Relatively speaking, they tended to move away from the Social Agent type toward the Law Enforcer type of police role ideal. It must be emphasized, however, that in comparison to policemen tested in other departments throughout the country, the team members generally scored well within the Social Agent quadrant, both before and after they had been exposed to team policing.

III. AUTHORITARIANISM

Traditional forms of policing place much emphasis upon the use of authority. Officers are required to submit to the authority of their superiors in the organizational hierarchy, and they in turn exercise authority over civilians in the course of their work. Because of the crucial role of such powers to this occupation, it has been suggested, policemen may be particularly prone to over-rely on authority, to the extent of allowing it to become an organizing force in their life styles. Thus, they may become, in fact, authoritarians.

Without passing judgment on the merits of this claim, a standard battery of "authoritarianism tests" was administered to the officers in order to compare the volunteers' psychological make-up with that of the controls, as well as to statistically control for the men's authoritarian

tendencies and to measure change in the final evaluation.

A. Pre-test Results

Both experimental and control groups were given five scales measuring general authoritarianism, politico-economic conservatism, ethnocentrism, tolerance of ambiguity, and rigidity. In all scales, the TPU volunteers scored consistently and significantly lower than the control group, indicating a generally lower degree of authoritarianism. (See Table IV.*)

On the basis of these scales, then, it appears that the Model Cities Team was initially less apt to submit to or use authority than the control group, less concerned with power and "toughness." Team members were, for the most part, more liberal than those selected to represent the rest of the department. Further, they were less prejudiced toward outgroups; they were less likely to reject persons for racial, political or religious purposes. Since the TPU group scored significantly higher on the tolerance for ambiguity scale, they appeared to be more able to tolerate vagueness, less demanding of clear-cut guidelines, and more able to make decisions under conditions of uncertainty without distorting facts. Finally, the scores of the two groups on the rigidity-flexibility scale indicate that the team was certainly no more rigid, and most likely less so than the controls. That would mean, thus, that the volunteers were probably more able to adapt themselves to new circumstances and changing conditions, and that the controls were more apt to be set in their ways.

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*The published general population norms for these tests are twenty years old and appear out of date. No comparisons could be made, therefore, between the two test groups and average civilians.
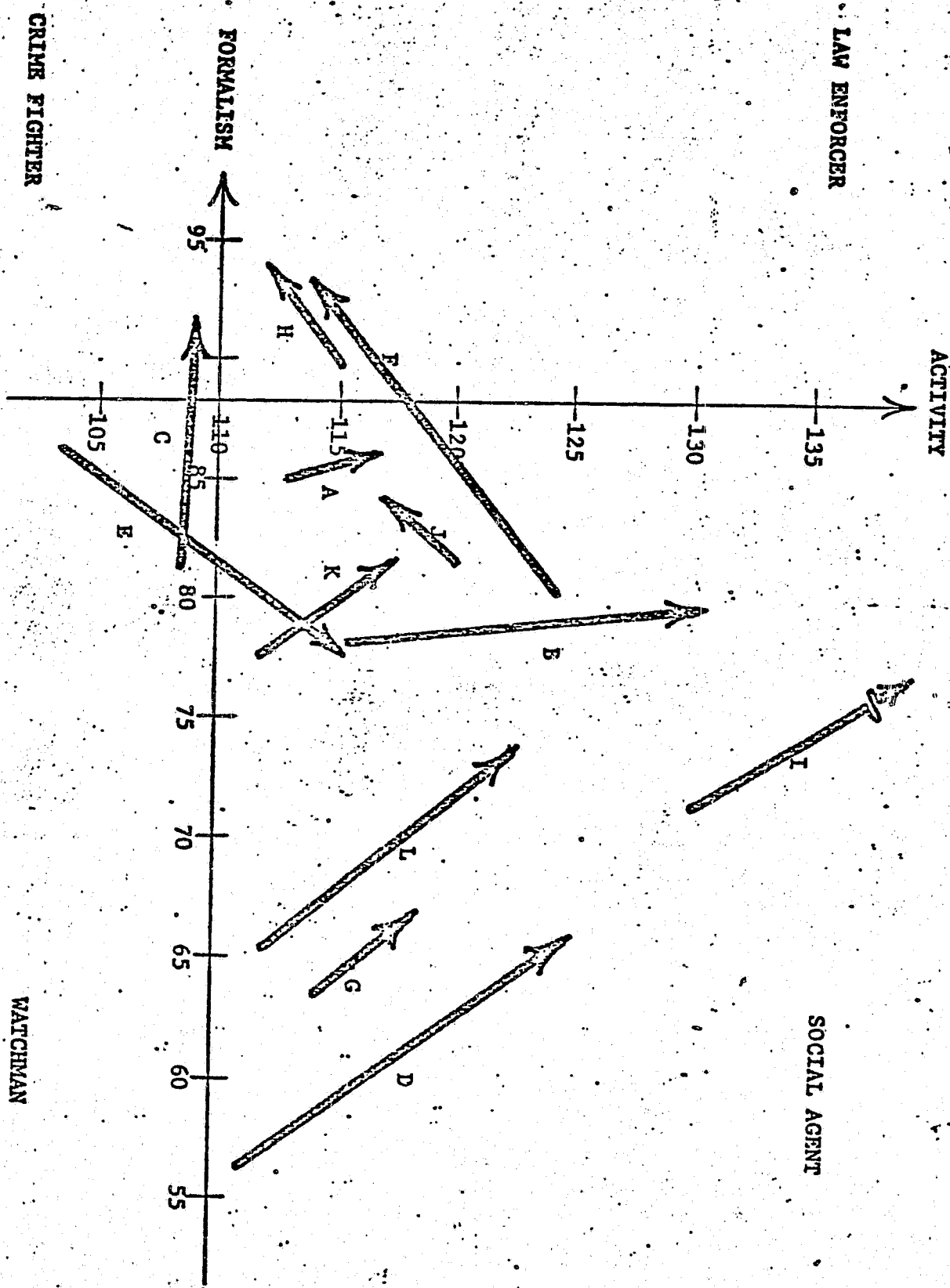

FIGURE 1

Axes: CRIME FIGHTER · LAW ENFORCER · FORMALISM · ACTIVITY · WATCHMAN · SOCIAL AGENT

Formalism scale: 95, 90, 85, 80, 75, 70, 65, 60, 55
Activity scale: 105, 110, 115, 120, 125, 130, 135

Points: H, F, C, A, J, K, E, B, I, L, G, D

TABLE IV

AUTHORITARIANISM

Sample Summaries	General Authoritarianism[1]	Conservatism[2]	Ethnocentrism[3]	Tolerance of Ambiguity[4]	Rigidity[5]
Team Sample[6]					
Mean	78.2	14.7	41.2	53.3	64.1
Standard Deviation	8.5	2.7	6.7	3.8	10.0
Control Sample[7]					
Mean	87.3	16.3	51.7	47.1	70.3
Standard Deviation	11.5	2.8	10.0	3.3	7.3
Comparison					
Team vs. Control					
t	2.64	1.77	3.58	5.21	2.14
df	35	35	35	35	35
p	<.02	<.10	<.001	<.00005	<.05

1. California F Scale form 45.
2. California PEC Scale form 45.
3. California E Scale suggested final form.
4. Budner Tolerance of Ambiguity Scale.
5. Gough-Sanford Rigidity Scale.
6. Total of seventeen officers selected as Team Policing Unit members or alternates. Tested October 9-11, 1970.
7. Random sample of twenty patrolmen drawn from operational units of Holyoke Police Department, December 2, 1970.

B. Post-test Results

The scores from the authoritarianism scales were analyzed in the same manner as those from the police role questionnaire. As Table V indicates, the TPU scored generally less authoritarian and more tolerant than the controls in the post-project administration as in the initial testing phase. Differences between the two groups were less marked in the second administration, however, and on the tolerance of ambiguity scale this difference became so small as to be statistically non-significant. Examination of group mean shifts shows no significant changes in either sample, except for a faint increase in the controls' general authoritarianism mean and a distinct upward movement in the control sample's tolerance of ambiguity scores, toward the level of the TPU scores.

For the same reasons as indicated for the police role scores, the meaningfulness of the control samples was questioned, and attention was shifted to individual changes among members of the Team Policing Unit. These are summarized in Table VI. As this display indicates, team members' scores shifted downward on both the ethnocentrism and tolerance of ambiguity scales, the latter quite significantly.

The team's decrease in ethnocentrism scores, while strong enough only to indicate a trend, suggests that TPU officers were slightly less prejudiced in attitude toward minority ethnic groups after participation in the project than before. As such, it suggests a degree of success in the accomplishment of one of the project's aims, that of community involvement. By working closer with Ward I residents, TPU officers seem

CONTINUED

1 OF 2

TABLE VI

AUTHORITARIANISM

INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDE CHANGE

N=11 TPU OFFICERS

	General Authoritarianism	Conservatism	Ethnocentrism	Tolerance of Ambiguity	Rigidity
Total Change	+7	+6	-28	-29	+8
Mean Change	+0.6363	+0.5454	-2.5454	-2.6363	+0.7272
Variance of Change	64.0480	4.2477	22.4297	12.4129	23.8339
Standard Deviation	8.0030	2.0610	4.7360	3.5232	4.8820
t	.2636	.8776	1.7826	2.4819	.4940
df	10	10	10	10	10
p	ns	ns	<.15	<.05	ns

IV-18

TABLE VI

AUTHORITARIANISM

INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDE CHANGE

N=11 TPU OFFICERS

	General Authoritarianism	Conservatism	Ethnocentrism	Tolerance of Ambiguity	Rigidity
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t	.2636	.8776	1.7826	2.4819	.4940
df	10	10	10	10	10
p	ns	ns	<.15	<.05	ns

IV-18

to have learned to be a bit more understanding of ethnic differences.

On the other hand, the decrease in team members' tolerance of ambiguity scores suggests a less successful conclusion. A decrease in tolerance of ambiguity implies less ability to deal with vaguely defined situations, less of a preference for conditions requiring self-reliant improvization, and a greater need for external definition. It would seem, then, that the attempt to build self-reliance skills through the decentralized team organizational structure and the concept of generalist-specialist was not actualized, and that, indeed, the opposite effect occurred. The data on officers' attitudes cannot, of course, yield any information as to the reasons for this failure, which is discussed in other sections of this report.

IV. INTELLIGENCE

To control for factors involving verbal skills which might account for the performance of the team, a general intelligence test was administered to the experimental and control samples in the pre-test phase only. As indicated in Table VII, both groups scored significantly higher than the general population. Further, the average intelligence quotient of the Model Cities Team was significantly higher than that of the controls. The mean I.Q. of the team was 117, with a range of 93 to 147, while the controls ranged from 78 to 136, with an average of 107. We may conclude, therefore, that Holyoke policemen are generally more intelligent than average citizens and that the men in the Model Cities Team, as a group, are more intelligent than the remainder of the department.

TABLE VII

INTELLIGENCE

	I.Q.[1]
Sample Summaries	
Team Sample[2]	
Mean	116.9
Standard Deviation	15.47
Control Sample[3]	
Mean	107.2
Standard Deviation	17.02
General Population[4]	
Mean	100.0
Standard Deviation	16.0
Comparison	
Team vs. Control	
t	1.748
df	35
p	<.05
Team vs. General	
t	4.351
df	136,000+
p	<.0005
Control vs. General	
t	1.856
df	136,000+
p	<.05

1. Lorge-Thorndyke Intelligence Scale.
2. Total of seventeen officers selected as Team Policing Unit members or alternates. Tested October 9-11, 1970.
3. Random sample of twenty patrolmen drawn from operational units of Holyoke Police Department, December 2, 1970.
4. Author's sample of over 136,000 testees selected from general population for standardization of instrument.

V. GENERAL MORALE

Individual, informal interviews were conducted with officers of the Team Policing Unit throughout the course of the project in order to gain some insight into general morale and the officers' preference (or lack thereof) for the team policing mode. The conclusions which follow are necessarily general, vague, and inexact. They are believed to represent, nevertheless, a fairly accurate generalized picture of TPU morale.

Most team members verbalized positive feelings toward the community involvement aspects of the TPU. They found close cooperation with community residents to be not only intrinsically rewarding but useful in facilitating the police task. As one officer put it, "Back in the old days when I'd walk down the street, people would get off their stoops and go inside until I had passed. It would be impossible to get any information out of them. Now they'll stay out and talk when I come up to them, and every now and then someone will volunteer a 'Hi!'" Another policeman, exaggerating the facts perhaps, but verbalizing his attitude, stated, "I used to be considered nothing but a pig by these people. Since we've had the TPU, when I go down the street it's like I'm the heavyweight champion of the world."

Other team members expressed their feelings in different ways, but their reactions were almost universally positive. In general, the more an officer appeared to be involved in community projects, the more enthusiastic he was about his contacts with residents.

Reaction to the team's organizational structure was similarly positive, although not quite so unequivocal. Most men indicated a

preference for working at their own pace, without constant supervision by a sergeant, and almost all stated their approval of the freedom to follow their cases beyond the preliminary investigation stage.

On the other hand, the men did decide (in a team meeting) that one man on each shift would be given authority to resolve disputes and to redirect team energies when needed. Some of the TPU members interpreted this as a failure of the situational leadership concept and hence a flaw in the democratic organizational structure. Others, however, felt that the incident merely reflected a need for some method of handling the problem and that any of a number of alternative arrangements might have worked.

Expressed attitudes toward the project in general were mostly positive. TPU officers were enthusiastic about participating in an experimental project, and they felt their work was more pleasant and easier than under traditional policing methods. They enjoyed the recognition they received from the community and the press. They organized special projects to promote interaction with Ward I residents (dances, sports programs and contests for neighborhood children and teenagers, etc.) and took pride in the response level and newspaper coverage these projects received. As noted elsewhere in this report, the team's recorded sick leave usage was much lower than that of the remainder of the department.

Although morale was generally high, there was a negative aspect to team operation. Most men felt that the extra work requirements of the team (i.e., training time, volunteered time) interfered with the amount

of off-duty time they could devote to part-time employment, and thus that their incomes were adversely affected. The two officers who relinquished team membership gave financial hardship as their reasons.* The remainder of the team expressed a definite reluctance to continue into the second year of the project without additional compensation.**

Aside from the two issues of money and dispute-settling authority, however, morale in the TPU appeared to be excellent, and the men appeared to prefer team operation to the traditional mode of policing.

V. CONCLUSIONS

The results of the preliminary examination are not inconsistent with what one might have predicted about men who would volunteer for this experimental police project. Any innovative program will be anxiety-producing and at times inconsistent. Adjustment to such conditions requires special personality characteristics, and it should be no surprise that those who volunteered were more flexible and more able to cope with ambiguity than most Holyoke policemen. Likewise, the program stressed group decision-making and decreased emphasis on traditional channels of authority; it would seem only natural that the officers who joined the team would be less geared to the machinery of power over people. In a similar manner, no secret was made of the fact that the team would operate in a difficult area of the city, dealing extensively

*Whether this was in fact the complete reason is open to question. Another officer who was reputedly in similar financial difficulties did not quit. Further, there were indications that clashes of personality and style may have been important contributing factors.

**The team was in fact continuing without additional compensation, however.

with minority groups, and that something other than purely mechanical law enforcement would be expected. Consequently, those who volunteered were less prejudiced and less concerned with law enforcement aspects of policing than the average Holyoke officer.

The results of the second administration, however, do not present such a clear-cut picture. First, the control sample appears to have been contaminated during the course of the project, thus eliminating the possibility of valid comparisons. Second, the recorded changes in TPU officers' scores do not all point to an unequivocal conclusion. All indices of change are very weak, barely reaching significance levels on only four of the seven instruments used. Within this framework of weak indicators, there is a positive shift in activity and a negative shift in ethnocentrism. These two trends would seem to indicate a degree of success for the community involvement component of the Team Policing Project's goals. On the other hand, the recorded (somewhat stronger, but still weak) increase in TPU formalism levels would tend to temper the possibility of complete, though mild, success. When taken in conjunction with a decrease in the men's tolerance of ambiguity scores, this change would seem to suggest a degree of failure in realization of the democratic organization subgoals of the project.*

Any judgment of the Holyoke Team Policing Project's success or failure in changing officers' attitudes must be taken in the context

*It should be noted in this context that changes in the remaining authoritarianism scales (i.e., general authoritarianism, conservatism, and rigidity), while not reaching significance levels, were nevertheless unanimously recorded in a direction (toward more authoritarian attitudes) which would confirm the conclusion of failure in the area of democratic organization.

of overall goals. From the standpoint of feasibility testing, the project appears to be an unequivocal success, as the TPU was established and operated for ten months without any great deterioration in the men's outlook on their jobs or orientation toward their clientele. Given the department's general condition and level of sophistication in the fall of 1970, this may be a very significant accomplishment. As such, it must not be taken lightly.

From the standpoint of testing the democratic team model in greater detail, however, the project was less successful. An unforseeable breakdown in experimental design contaminated the control sample and precluded the sort of comparisons which would have made the evaluation truly meaningful. The resulting experimental group scores show a non-representative sample of officers responding positively (i.e., in conformance with project goals) in the area of community involvement and negatively in the area of democratic organization. In as much as any detailed information can be gained about officers' attitude changes, therefore, the project appears to be only a tentative, partial success.

PART V

PROFESSIONAL EVALUATION

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the criticisms commonly accruing to community-oriented policing programs relates to the participant-officers supposedly becoming so enamored of the "public relations" aspects of the job that they neglect their other duties. While it is often admitted that such officers do develop rapport with their clientele, they do it, we are told, at the expense of the crime control function. This project does, in fact, call for a distinctly different style of policing. It urges the importance of order maintenance, but it in no way negates the requirement for preventing crime or detecting and apprehending offenders. Indeed, this program should enhance such efforts since the Model Cities area citizenry will hopefully increase their support of the police as a result of this effort.

Since existing statistics were inadequate for the objective measurement of the crime control effort in the experimental area (Ward I) and the control area (Ward II), another technique for judging the team's professional competence was devised.

II. METHODOLOGY

If an evaluation of the team's collective professional behavior was not possible, the consultants decided that a review of their individual activities by personal observation might be the next best available alternative. To give additional credence to the evaluation, the consultants brought together a group of police officials for the purpose of forming

the Professional Evaluation Panel. The panel consisted of:

James H. Crawford
Chief of Police
North St. Paul, Minnesota

Charles R. Gain
Chief of Police
Oakland, California

Robert M. Igleburger
Director of Police
Dayton, Ohio

Vincent G. Swinney
Undersheriff
Washoe County, Nevada

C. E. West
Chief of Police
Miamisburg, Ohio

The group arrived in Holyoke late in April of 1971, and was briefed concerning the problem. They were instructed to utilize their professional expertise in evaluating the observed officers' skills in patrol activities, traffic accident investigation, and preliminary case investigation. Since the major intent of the study was to evaluate the team members' performances versus those of the officers working traditional assignments in the Holyoke Police Department, the evaluators were asked to focus their comments on any differences noted between the two groups.

After the briefing, the panel members went into the field to observe officer performance. Each evaluator spent from one to two hours accompanying individual officers in the performance of their duties. While most activity involved either riding or walking with patrol officers or team members other tasks were observed. Each panel member had subjects

from the team and the regular department, so they could make individual comparisons.

The panel members were then asked to submit their findings to writing.

Finally, the panel met for a debriefing and their general impressions were offered to the consultants.

III. PANEL CONCLUSIONS

Twenty separate evaluation sessions were held, and while there was some overlap due to the fact that only a limited number of team officers are on duty at any one time, the panel members did offer the following comments:

1. Team members were far more interested in their patrol responsibilities than were the other officers. While neither group seemed particularly busy, team members, at least, seemed to attempt to deal with problem circumstances.

2. While neither group, with one team member as an exception, showed the skill to engage actively in the traffic area, the team members seemed better prepared to cope with the problem of accident investigation.

3. There was insufficient activity to make any statement as to officers' skill in the investigative area. Officers from the team seemed to have more knowledge of steps in the investigative process.

4. There was no question that the team officers had more to offer and were willing to do more as police officers. Against an absolute standard, some officers in each group left a great deal to be desired, but the team officers generally performed in a much more satisfactory manner.

It should, of course, be reiterated that not every officer was observed, and even where observations occurred, they were brief, so there is

a chance of bias insofar as the sample of those interviewed and observed is concerned.

Further, the team officers certainly had more to gain from the evaluation and had the advantage of recent formal training, and both of these factors doubtless favorably conditioned the team members' performance.

Nevertheless, over and above these advantages and in spite of sample limitations, the panel strongly felt that the team concept obviously contributed to the improvement of police service in Holyoke, and even though the team's "public relations" were important to them, there was nothing to suggest a deterioration of their performance in the area of crime control because of this stance. Indeed, the contrary seemed more likely.

ADMINISTRATIVE DATA

A further measure of the team policing project's impact was made through the use of administrative data collected by the Holyoke Police Department in the regular course of monitoring its own activities. The number and type of conclusions which can be drawn from this source are extremely limited by the gross deficiencies in the police department's record-keeping activities, which are described in a separate consultant's report. Nevertheless, those records which were available were examined, and the results are presented herein.

I. WORKLOAD STATISTICS

Because of the deficiencies mentioned above, very little can be said to evaluate the TPU's performance by internal, administrative criteria. The department has nothing but the barest, order-of-magnitude indices of its own operations. No before-after comparisons can be made in evaluation of the Ward I (TPU) workload because no pre-project data were collected, and the data collected in the first months of the project are unreliable. Only minimal, approximate experimental versus control area comparisons, and no response time, offense-type, nor any other statistics beyond gross record numbers can be calculated because the data were either not collected or incorrectly stored. Since no record was kept of the total department workload, only the vaguest sort of estimate can be attempted to measure the TPU's proportion of the work

performed by the Holyoke Police Department.

Because dispatcher complaint records were not stored in a manner facilitating statistical retrieval of the information contained therein, it was impossible to make a full-scale workload comparison between the experimental and control wards. Instead, three days were selected at random from each month of the project period, and all TPU and Ward II (patrol division) case reports for these days were drawn from the files to form a ten percent sample. The period preceding January 24, 1971 was omitted from consideration as inaccurate (no reports from Ward II and only two submitted by the total patrol division were found for the four days sampled in December and early January), and the remainder were analyzed as summarized in Table I. As shown, the TPU reported activity

TABLE I

OFFICERS' REPORTS FOUND FOR SELECTED DAYS

A. Sample Summaries
  1. TPU
     Mean   11.9 reports per day
     Standard Deviation   4.3

  2. Control Ward
     Mean   2.6 reports per day
     Standard Deviation   .98

B. Comparison
     t   6.64
     df   38
     p   <.0001

on about 4.6 times as many cases as did those patrol division officers

assigned to the control district. Record audit estimates indicate a general department-wide consistency between report turn-in and dispatcher card issuance during this same time period.

During the period December 7, 1970 through July 31, 1971, the dispatchers recorded 8,106 requests for service. Of these, 2,750 were assigned to the Team Policing Unit,* leaving 5,356 for the patrol division. During this same period, the detective bureau recorded 4,063 cases, including considerable overlap with the patrol division. The traffic and crime prevention bureaus did not record their workloads. Since even with an overlap, however, the detectives recorded only 4,063 cases, since the function of the traffic bureau is to investigate only hit-and-run and other serious accidents, and since the crime prevention bureau is supposed to conduct in-depth investigations on the most serious cases, it would be reasonable to assume that the total number of otherwise unrecorded complaints investigated by the detective, traffic, and crime prevention bureaus did not exceed the number of patrol division requests for services recorded at the dispatcher's station.

Thus during the eight-month project operational period, the TPU handled 2,750 cases for an average of 343.8 per month and 11.46 per day, while the total remainder of the department handled not more than 10,712 cases, or 1,339.3 per month and 44.64 per day. In other words, the TPU's activities accounted for not less than approximately one-fifth of the departmental workload.

*Number from TPU records, which appear internally consistent and in accord with indications from general departmental reports.

The Team Policing Unit is assigned 13 men, including its commander, a captain. Its average monthly caseload per man, therefore, is 26.44. The Holyoke Police Department personnel roster lists 101 non-TPU officers of rank captain and below who are assigned to patrol, traffic, detective, and crime prevention bureaus. These units' average monthly caseload, therefore, is no greater than 13.26 cases per man, approximately one-half that of the TPU.

II. SICK LEAVE USAGE

Records of each Holyoke police officer's exercise of sick leave were obtained from the chief's office, and a comparison was made between the TPU and the remainder of the department both as a measure of group morale and as a suggestive, partial index of job performance. The results, as shown in Table II, demonstrate that while there was much variation from man to man in both groups, the rate of usage by team members is significantly and unequivocably lower than that of the remainder of the department.

TABLE II

SICK LEAVE USAGE

January 1 to July 31, 1971

	Team Officers	Non-Team Officers
N	13	97
Total Days Used	17	414
Mean Days Used (per man)	1.3077	4.2680
Variance	7.4437	20.4436
Standard Deviation	2.7283	4.5214
t		2.2842
df		108
p		<.025

The implications of these rates are not as clear-cut as might appear at first glance. Since data for a previous similar period were not readily available, one cannot definitively infer a cause-effect relationship between team participation and reduced sick leave usage. In particular, since the officers who volunteered for team membership demonstrated themselves in other respects to be exceptional policemen, it is entirely possible that they may have been atypical with respect to sick leave usage.

III. CONCLUSION

Data collected by the Holyoke Police Department for normal administrative review are very sketchy and permit only the vaguest and most approximate conclusions to be drawn about the efficacy of the Team Policing Unit. From the data which are available, it appears that the TPU: (1) has a much more active assignment than the patrol division has in the control ward, (2) accounts for a large proportion of the total police department workload, and (3) has used much less of its sick leave allotment, suggesting better morale than in the remainder of the department.

PART VII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As is so often the case in the evaluation of social phenomenon, team policing cannot be adjudged either a success or a failure with the degree of precision desired. The bulk of the evidence certainly supports the concept as a viable approach to urban policing. Measures of community opinion indicate that the public served by the team are generally pleased with its performance. The officers assigned to the unit seem to be better motivated toward their jobs, and while it is still uncertain whether the internal mechanisms governing the operation of the team are functioning in the desired manner, the team seems to have survived the uncertainties and is maintaining an accepted level of administrative efficiency. A panel of police professionals found promise in the generalist approach to line operations espoused by this organizational form. There can be very little doubt that police service has markedly improved in Ward 1 since the inception of team policing.

On the other hand, there are one or two nagging problems that dissuade the consultants from offering a completely favorable report. Primary among these is our inability to compare the activity of the team versus the police activity carried out in the area prior to the introduction of the team and further, our inability to compare the workload statistics of team members and other police officers. As has been noted earlier in this report, this shortcoming is entirely due to a lack of useful departmental activity data. The situation has improved somewhat

since the beginning of this evaluation with the team starting to collect useful information, but although there have been several attempts to get a data collection program for the entire department off the ground, there is no reason for expressing satisfaction in this area. Until such information is available, the team's efforts will always be suspect. The argument will be that the reason for the improved service is the fact that additional resources were given to the area. "Give me that many men and that much equipment and I can do an even better job" is the cry. In the consultants' opinion, the team is more efficient and, more importantly, more effective than the remainder of the department because of its unique organizational form, but this cannot for the moment be proved even to our satisfaction.

The second major difficulty which definitely conditions the team's obvious successes is that of inter-organizational conflict. If the TPU, for the moment, can be viewed as an independent entity, its relations with the Model Cities program, and particularly with the rest of the police department, have at times been severely strained. This by no means is solely due to the unit's actions. Each group contributed to the problem, and there is some conflict inherent in social change. However, the inter-organizational chaos related to this project was so monumental that it needs further study. The consultants do not feel that the problem stems from the concept, but once again, proving it is another matter.

Without these two questions the consultants would offer the team

policing project as an important success, but due to many problems associated with them such an endorsement is not possible. Instead, the evidence suggests only a qualified success.

There is certainly sufficient favorable data to urge a continuation and even an expansion of the concept, but still on an experimental basis.

New teams can and should be established with an eye toward further examination of police and community relations and the internal operations of a team, but before moving into a new phase of the program, steps must be taken to drastically improve departmental activity reporting. Without this form of data the evaluation will be incomplete a year from now or ten years from now.

Second, the various organizations having an interest in the project must be brought together on a regular basis to discuss problems, and internal mechanisms must be established in the police department to guarantee smooth, accurate, and rapid communication between it and the team or teams.

Finally, the recommendation calls for the further experimentation with the concept. It is therefore necessary that a careful evaluation be built into the continuation of the project. It should be remembered that this project provides the city of Holyoke not only with the very important opportunity to improve its police service, but it also provides the opportunity to lead the nation in police organizational innovation. Both tasks are only partially complete until the experiment is completed.

New police methods didn't really work

By TOM SIEBERT

LAKEWOOD, Colo. (AP) — When Pierce Brooks took over the police department in this brand new city of 100,000 a little over a year ago it was already known for a unique combination of experimental programs that had come to be called the "Lakewood approach."

There was just one thing wrong, says Brooks. Most of the radical ideas weren't working.

Agents of the Lakewood Department of Public Safety were "generalists," functioning simultaneously as patrolmen and detectives. In a single shift they would cover everything from traffic accidents to felony investigations.

The 70 men also worked under a system of participatory management, with just two field advisors and Brooks over them.

And the agents had permanent assignments to one of four geographic areas in the 36-square-mile city, under a team policing concept.

All that has gone out the window.

"I'm not quarreling with the ideas," says Brooks, a policeman for 24 years and a former assistant to the Los Angeles police chief. "But there are too many problems

in organizing a department for a city this big to try unrealistic methods."

There's a full-fledged detective bureau now, the department's organizational table reflects a traditional military-style chain of command, and assignments are frequently rotated.

As a "generalist," each agent was expected to handle all except major cases from start to finish. But the result, Brooke said, was 15 different agents working on 15 burglaries, not a very effective method since most burglars are the same sort of people.

"It just does not work. One man can't patrol, talk to people, answer calls for assistance or crimes, and then do all the followup too."

Participatory management and team policing also proved unworkable, because the combination of set beats and a lack of middle management sometimes resulted in no one being available to answer calls for assistance.

"People would call in for their agent and he would be out on a case. They'd ask for someone in charge and the field advisors would be out too. Sometimes the director was the only guy here.

"We respond to almost any call. If a guy complains he didn't get the 40,000 miles guaranteed on his tires, we'll go out and talk to him. If

a lady brings an 11-by-12 rug home and finds it's a half-foot shorter, we respond. We want it that way."

Even with all the changes Brooks has made, however, the Lakewood department is still far more innovative than many of the nation's police forces.

The agents, and their field advisors, senior field advisors and agents-in-charge, continue to shun brass-buttoned blue serge uniforms. The dark blue blazers they wear have given them a unique community image from the start, acting as a bridge, where the uniform might seem to be only a badge of authority, says Brooks.

Every man hired has to have at least two years of college, and must work to complete his bachelor's degree in a reasonable time. Once a year a recruit class composed of just college graduates is launched.

In addition, written promotion tests have been discarded in favor of intensive screening by superiors and business management professors from a nearby graduate school.

"Poor selection and promotion procedures have given police departments a black eye," says Brooks.

He describes Lakewood's selection procedures, which have just whittled a group of more than 300 college grad-
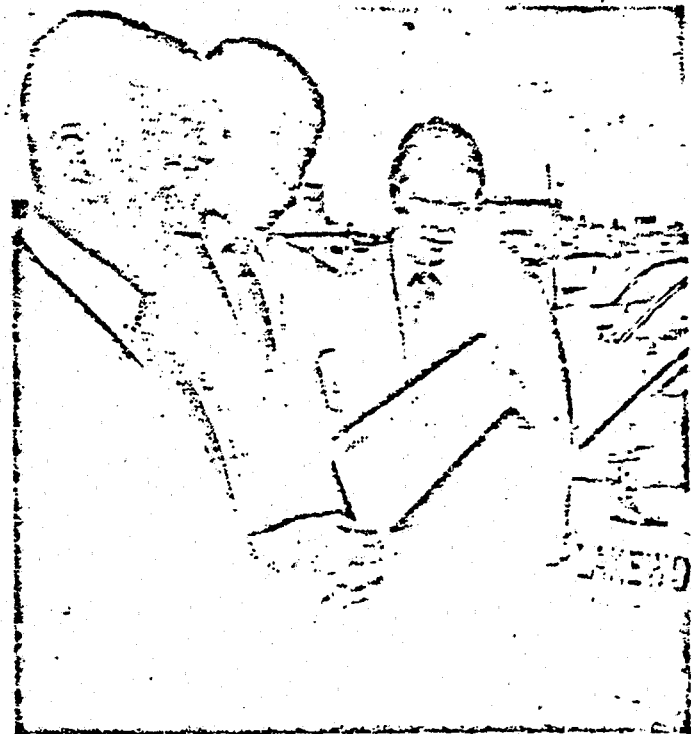
Pierce Brooks, left, director of the Lakewood, Colo., Department of Public Safety is shown with two of his blazer clad agents.

(AP Photo)

uate applicants down to a class of 18, as among the toughest in the country.

But the director, who has completed work on a masters degree in public administration since coming to Colorado, says he is convinced the standards shouldn't be compromised, despite the fact he is sometimes hiring in competition with the FBI and despite the low starting salary for degree holders without

police experience, $700 a month.

Brooks says he has no regrets about having thrown out other radical ideas the department started with.

"I like to say Lakewood is the way police departments should always have been. The word tradition is deceiving — I still want my agents to put burglars and holdup men in jail. That's what counts."

END