

## Violence and Crime Deterrence in Los Angeles

On June 28, 1992, Willie L. Williams succeeded Daryl Gates as Chief of the Los Angeles Police Department. The news reports noted the transition and commented at some length on the Amnesty International report about the L.A. Police Department. This column explains why the transition from Mr. Gates to someone like Mr. Williams was necessary and, in so doing, provides a brief introduction to an inquiry Ken Gallant and I are conducting on civilian police forces and the deterrence of civil crime.

Our work explores the policy implications of the answers to three questions. The answers are drawn from a simple mathematical model of the criminal's decision problem. This basic model has been used since the late 1960's to explain the behavior of both criminals and terrorists. Details of the model are presented in "Risk Attitude, Punishment, and the Intifada" (available from the Martin Institute as Discussion Paper #2, see below).

### The three questions are as follows:

- 1) If a policy change reduces the harassment of innocent individuals, does this increase the deterrence of crime (and conversely, does increased harassment reduce deterrence)?
- 2) Does increasing the punishment of guilty individuals help deter crime if it has the side effect of increasing the punishment of those innocently caught up in the system?
- 3) Does increasing the likelihood of catching guilty individuals help deter crime if it has the side effect of increas-

ing the likelihood of innocent individuals being harassed?

The answer to the first question is an unconditional yes. The answer to the second question depends upon the decision maker's attitude toward risk. For individuals who are consistently averse to risk, increasing the levels of punishment accorded to both guilty and innocent individuals increases the deterrence of criminal activity. However, for individuals who are risk averse with respect to gains and risk preferring for losses, if the system is such that the innocent and the guilty are nearly equally likely to be punished, then increasing such indiscriminant punishment decreases the deterrence of criminal activity. Since studies show that approximately 80% of people are in the latter group (risk averse for gains - risk preferring for losses), the answer to the second question is negative. The answer to the third question is independent of risk attitude but depends on the relative sizes of the increases in the punishment probabilities. If the increase in the probability of punishing innocent individuals is similar to the increase in the probability of punishing guilty individuals, then deterrence increases. However, if a policy change disproportionately penalizes the innocent, then deterrence decreases.

The policy implications of these results are straight forward. The answer to the first question establishes that it is sound policy to avoid harassing the innocent. The answer to the second question shows that if the likelihood of harassing innocent individuals is close to the likelihood of

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**Amnesty International found that "At times [police behavior] has amounted to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment," and that "More often than not, officers and deputies have acted with impunity, receiving little or no disciplinary action even in serious cases."**

punishing guilty individuals, then increasing the severity of punishment of both will reduce deterrence of criminal behavior in the approximately 80% of the population that is risk averse/risk preferring. Clearly, it is a sound policy to avoid increasing the severity of punishment of the guilty if it is accompanied by an increase in the likelihood of harassing the innocent. Finally, the answer to the third question establishes that increases in the likelihoods of punishing guilty and innocent individuals, where the increased exposure of the innocent is relatively large, decreases deterrence. The answers to the second and third questions show that a policy of increasing the levels and likelihoods of punishment can lead the law enforcement establishment into an interesting trap.

It is in this trap that the Los Angeles Police Department found itself, and it is because of this trap that Mr. Gates had to be replaced by someone like Mr. Williams. The often played videotape of the Rodney King beating provided grounds for the belief that blacks are likely to be punished when innocent and that the punishment accorded to an innocent black is harsh. Whether this belief is valid is not the issue here. This belief, once held by sufficiently many risk averse/risk preferring individuals, induces an increase in criminal activity. Therefore,

the philosophy of "hard-nosed policing" espoused by Daryl Gates and practiced by the Los Angeles Police Department induces the very activities it was intended to deter.

Amnesty International found that "At times [police behavior] has amounted to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment," and that "More often than not, officers and deputies have acted with impunity, receiving little or no disciplinary action even in serious cases." The associated Press report of June 27 notes that "people who pose little or no threat to officers or deputies have been shot, beaten, shocked with electric stun guns and bitten by police dogs." Thus, on the findings of Amnesty International, the answers to the second and third questions are negative for Los Angeles.

It is interesting that Los Angeles has selected as Mr. Gates' successor an individual who espouses and practices a philosophy more in line with the answer to the first question. Mr. Williams plans to reduce the harassment of the innocent and concentrate on the apprehension of the guilty. Such a reduction in the harassment of the innocent should result in an increase in the deterrence of crime.

*Ray Dacey, Martin Institute Fellow*

## **Open House Scheduled**

In May the long-awaited remodel of the Martin Institute offices was finally completed. Besides a spacious reception/secretarial space, there is now a separate conference room seating 20-25 people, which can be used for seminars.

An Open House is scheduled for Wednesday, October 21 from 2:00 - 5:00 for anyone who is interesting in seeing the Martin Institute facilities. We hope that those of you in the Moscow area will drop in and get acquainted.

## **Institute Library Available**

Approximately 750 volumes from the Martin Institute library have been added to the University of Idaho Library collection. Although the books are interspersed among other books of the same subject, they are readily identifiable by a distinctive spine label. In addition, each volume has a special bookplate identifying its origin.

When the library's new computer system, IDA, is fully operational in the fall of 1992, entering the search words "Martin Institute" will produce a complete list of Institute books. Adding subject words will narrow the list. IDA will be available throughout Idaho and the world on the INTERNET, the research and education computer network. We welcome all those interested in the fields of peace studies, conflict resolution or related areas to take advantage of this resource.

*Ron Force, Dean of Library Services*



# News of the Fellows and Associates

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Last fall the Martin Institute appointed five Fellows and seven Associates to help carry on the work of the institute. These people, at this time mostly UI faculty members, have been busy on a wide range of research and service activities.

The institute provided **Ray Dacey** (Fellow, Business) a seed grant to begin work on the effect which international trade has on conflict between countries. This work is within the tradition of peace science where rational decision models are used, subject to various environmental assumptions, to infer the likely behavior of the participants. Ray also received some institute support for travel to professional meetings in the Netherlands and Belgium. Ray was invited to give a paper "Risk Attitude, Punishment, and the Intifada" at the World Peace Science Congress in The Hague, and also attended a conference on "Economics of International Security" in Brussels. An earlier draft of Ray's paper appeared as Martin Institute Discussion Paper #2.

**Ken Gallant** (Fellow, Law) received institute support to attend a conference in Eugene, Oregon, on Campus Mediation Programs, where he and Mary Beth Lagenaur presented a program on "A Training Model for Student-to-Student Mediation".

**Merle Lefkoff** (Fellow, Private Consultant) has recently been involved in mediation work in South Africa, Ireland, and eastern Europe. She also organized what she calls a "dialogue" which brought together some of the actual government officials involved in the water disputes which are an important part of the middle east peace talks. Merle visited the university for several days in July to talk about her work.

**Jay O'Laughlin** (Fellow, Forestry) received a small institute seed grant to support his research on conflict resolution in natural resource management. Jay was also helped to attend the conference "Seeking Common Ground: A Forum on Pacific Northwest Natural Resources" in Portland. Jay shared his insights on this topic at a Martin Institute Seminar last March, where he spoke on "Resolving Endangered Species Conflicts", and in Martin Institute Discussion Paper #3.

The institute helped support **Dan Zirker** (Fellow, Political Science) to do summer field research on land disputes in Brazil. Dan is building on his previous work in Brazil, looking at the relationship of land disputes to ideological polarization and violence in Northeast Brazil.

**Clif Anderson** (Associate, Ag Communications) is working to collect information on existing programs which promote the use of conflict resolution procedures in the schools, with the aim of helping the Martin Institute develop programs in this area. As part of this work, Clif attended a July conference and training institute conducted by the National Association for Mediation in Education in San Rafael, California.

**Ricardo Garcia** (Associate, Education) is continuing his work on intercultural education in the public schools.

**Nick Gier** (Associate, Philosophy) has received institute support for his research on the relation of world religions to peace. Nick is working on two books. One, "The Peace of the East", will focus on eastern religions. The second, intended as a textbook, will integrate additional material on western religions.

**Douglas Lind** (Associate, Philosophy) has secured approval to teach a new course, "Philosophy of War and Peace" next spring. This course will be jointly listed as an offering of the Martin Institute. Doug has found that much of the literature relevant to this course is currently out of print and thus inaccessible. The institute is helping support Doug's work to begin assembling these works into a packet of readings for the course, with the ultimate objective of publishing this as an anthology.

**Al Rouyer** (Associate, Political Science) helped bring in speakers and organize several public presentations last spring dealing with the ongoing peace talks in the middle east.

In July, **Gundars Rudzitis** (Associate, Geography) travelled to Latvia to explore possibilities for cooperative research. His interest focuses on issues of environmental policy and environmental conflict resolution, as well as on the nature of the peaceful revolution which has recently occurred in that country.

**Rick Spence** (Associate, History) received institute support for his research on violence and terrorism in the Russian emigre population. Rick is currently pursuing information on Pavel Gorgulov, a member of the Russian emigre community in France, who assassinated the French President in 1932. This work offers the potential to look at the nature of political emigre communities, and also at the nature and use of political violence and assassination. Over the summer, Rick travelled to the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, to use materials available from their archives.



*This fall, Hamilton is again teaching a course, this time a "Freshman Transition Seminar".*

## New Martin Institute Courses Offered

One of the goals of the institute is to reach out to students through formal courses. We're doing this in several new courses.

Last spring Joel Hamilton, the institute interim director was one of six faculty who team-taught a seminar course for international studies seniors. Hamilton's portion of the course addressed the causes and consequences of war and possible ways of achieving peace.

This fall, Hamilton is again teaching a course, this time a "Freshman Transition Seminar". This is one section of an experimental course intended to serve two purposes. First, it is intended to help freshman survive the transition to being university students by giving them help with study skills, time management, choice of a major, and dealing with the university

bureaucracy. Second, the seminar is intended to introduce students to an interdisciplinary subject area, in this case war, peace and the resolution of conflict. Many of the sessions in the course will be led by institute fellows and associates, presenting information on their areas of expertise.

Also this fall, Paul Miles of the Department of Communication is teaching a cross-listed course, a workshop in mediation skills, focusing especially on skills useful in mediating conflicts between peers.

Next semester the institute will again co-sponsor two courses. A course in the "Philosophy of War and Peace" will be taught by Martin Institute associate Doug Lind. The second course, cross-listed with political science, will be called "Irenology: the Study of Peace".

## Palestinian-Israeli Lecture Series Held

During the 1992 spring semester, the Martin Institute co-sponsored a lecture series on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in conjunction with the University Honors Program and the Associated Students of UI (ASUI). In addition, a grant was received from the National Council on US-Arab Relations to support the visit to campus and lecture by one of the participants, Dr. Ziad Abu Amr, a Palestinian political scientist on the faculty of Birzeit University in the West Bank and currently a visiting professor at Georgetown University. Speaking for the Israeli perspective was Ms. Leah Stiff, public affairs officer for the Israeli consulate in San Francisco. Professor Alwyn Rouyer of the UI political science department and an Associate of the Martin Institute wrote the grants to the National Council on US-Arab Relations and the UI Honors Program which supported the lecture series.

Dr. Amr's remarks focused on the peace talks between the Israelis and the Arabs from the point of view of the Palestinian delegation to the peace talks, to which he was an adviser. He said that the Palestinians were willing to accept a two-state solution to the dilemma. They wanted a state created from the occupied territories of Gaza and the West Bank, with East Jerusalem as its capitol. He was quite optimistic about the eventual outcome

of the talks, however he emphasized that the Palestinians had made many concessions and the next step was up to the Israelis. In particular, he believed that Israel should immediately give the Palestinians local autonomy and allow them to have elections for a legislative body which could negotiate the final status of the territories with Israel.

Ms. Stiff, in her remarks at a forum several weeks later took a very different perspective. She argued that Israel had just as much claim to the territories, which she referred to as Judea and Sammaria, as the Palestinians. Her position, in contrast to Dr. Amr's, was that Israel would never give in to a Palestinian state because it would endanger Israel's security. Israel might be willing to negotiate some sort of individual autonomy with the Palestinians, but this would never extend to self-government. Nor would Jerusalem ever be divided again to allow the Arab sectors to serve as a capitol for any form of Palestinian political entity.

Few people who attended both lectures came away with a feeling of optimism that a solution was anywhere in sight. Many wished that both speakers could have been on the same platform and debated their widely different points of view.

*Alwyn Rouyer, Martin Institute Associate*

*Few people who attended both lectures came away with a feeling of optimism that a solution was anywhere in sight.*



## Acknowledgement of donors

We would like, once again, to acknowledge and thank the many individuals who have made donations to the Martin Institute for Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution in the last year. Without their continuing support the many activities mentioned in issues of this newsletter would not be possible. Gifts acknowledged below are those received during the period July 1, 1991 to June 30, 1992.

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## Art Works Given to Martin Institute



*President Elisabeth Zinser joins Haden and Dorothy Kimbrell at the Martin Institute for the presentation of a wall hanging designed and woven by Mr. Kimbrell for the Institute. Behind Mrs. Kibrell is Liz Madison, Development Officer for the College of Letters and Science.*

Visitors to the Institute offices will see two new art works gracing our walls, thanks to the generosity of several donors.

One of these is a mixed media work entitled "Separation" which refers to the recent dissolution of the Soviet Union. This lovely painting/collage is the work of local artist Sally Machlis and was given to the Institute by Liz and Dwight Madison. Liz is the Development Officer for the College of Letters and Science here at UI and her husband is a National Park Service manager. Liz said when she saw the work at an auction this summer she "knew it belonged in the Martin Institute". We know all those who see it in our conference room will agree!

The second work is a woven wall-hanging by California artist Haden Kimbrell. Mr. Kimbrell and his wife Dorothy, close friends of Martin Institute founder Boyd Martin, traveled to Idaho from their home in



the Bay Area in July for the presentation of the hanging, and were honored at a reception at the Institute. Made entirely of Idaho wool, spun and hand woven by Mr. Kimbrell, the hanging symbolizes the necessary relationship between peace and justice, and the joy which the achievement of peace can bring to the peoples of the

world. The intentionally rough texture indicates the "roughness" or difficulty of achieving peace and justice. We are deeply grateful to the Kimbrells for their time and generosity and invite anyone interested to drop in and admire this unique and interesting work.



## Director's Corner

***There is no better way to understand our world and its people than to see as much of it as possible.***

As I write this, I have been back in the US for just over a week after nearly a month travelling in eastern Europe. I start from the premise that there is no better way to understand our world and its people than to see as much of it as possible. When my wife found out that she was to attend a meeting in Budapest, Hungary, we took that as an opportunity for ourselves and our 12 year old son to see what we could of eastern Europe. We flew to Helsinki, took an overnight ferry to St. Petersburg, and then travelled by train to Riga, Warsaw, Krakow, Budapest and Vienna. For much of the trip we were just tourists, trying to understand what we were seeing, although we did make some formal academic contacts in Latvia and Poland. I'll try to summarize my impressions of the trip.

First, most everyone seems to be happy with the demise of the Soviet empire, and the new freedoms which that implies. However, Latvia and the other Baltic states remain extremely concerned about the continued presence of Red Army troops.

Second, the economic uncertainty which remains is frightening. St Petersburg shows few signs of free market capitalism except for stalls selling tourist trinkets and Red Army uniforms. While the city's world-class museums and

palaces offer tremendous tourist potential, the tourist industry remains strangled by Intourist's preference for organized tour groups rather than individuals. We saw some poverty, and heard discussions of the impact of steep price rises on people with fixed incomes.

Latvia shows a lot more life. There's a lot of new construction and renovation in Riga, apparently fueled by Scandinavian money. However, agriculture is in a shambles, partly because of the severe drought that is decimating crops all through eastern Europe, and partly because of the disruption and efforts at privatizing the state farms. Prices are rising rapidly.

Poland and Hungary are a lot more advanced in their economic conversion. Poland was lucky because most of its farms were never collectivized, but there are lots of other conversion problems in both countries.

Eastern Europe has come a long way in the past year in its search for peace and human freedom, but there is a long, difficult, and frightening road ahead, and the final destination is by no means assured.

*Joel R Hamilton*



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## MISSION STATEMENT

The Martin Institute for Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution is a multi-disciplinary center at the University of Idaho, founded in the belief that war and violence are neither necessary nor inevitable. Its purposes are to encourage education and research to advance peace at all levels, and also to resolve local and regional conflicts with alternatives to confrontation and litigation. Institute scholars seek to understand the major causes of disputes and violence and to provide information, training and assistance for the resolution of conflicts. The institute brings together scholars, students and present and future leaders to develop the knowledge needed for the ongoing and new challenges of establishing peace as a basis for long-range social and economic progress.

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# Martin Institute "Discussion Paper Series"

From time to time the Martin Institute will make available copies of a series of "Discussion Papers", written by Fellows, Associates, and others working on Martin Institute projects. These papers, not yet published nor necessarily refereed, are intended to stimulate thought and discussion on the particular paper, and to generate comments for the author to incorporate into his work.

Discussion papers currently available

are listed below. Prices include tax and first class postage.

- #1. **Training Materials for Workshop on Child Custody Mediation**  
- by Victoria Hawley, Marie Meyer, Gregory Wilson \$8.00
- #2. **Risk Attitude, Punishment, and the Intifada** - by Ray Dacey \$2.50
- #3. **Resolving Endangered Species Conflicts** - by Jay O'Laughlin \$2.25

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