

Interpersonal Conflicts Within The Criminal Justice System

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Interpersonal conflict can arise in any setting or environment between two or more individuals (De Raeva et al., 2008). Throughout this literature review, police, domestic violence, prisons, and courts are all discussed in regards to interpersonal conflicts. This type of conflict occurs in all these settings. Whether it be two individuals that police need to intervene with, a court getting involved in disputes, inmates fighting in prisons, or a couple getting involved with domestic violence. Law enforcement has been noted as one of the most stressful occupations to have worldwide (Anshel, 2000). Even with conflict between citizens and police, like in today's society, police still play an important role in our communities (Silver, 1965). The purpose of this review is to get a general understanding of conflicts that arise within the criminal justice system.

Interpersonal Conflicts

De Raeva et al. (2008) stated that interpersonal conflicts are a process that occurs between two or more independent parties, who experience negative emotional reactions to perceived disagreements. It is also a leading source of stress in occupational settings; therefore, giving a negative impact on job satisfaction and well-being of employees. In their study, they focused on conflicts between supervisors and co-workers. One problem that occurs is that companies stress and put pressure to produce more and to work faster. This may result in irritability, frustration, and anger in the workplace. Perceived disagreements about tasks, responsibilities unclear, ambiguities in role definitions, all set the stage for interpersonal conflicts between the persons involved. For example, a co-worker may become irritable because another employee has a better work condition, earn more money, or not have to work as hard. The onset

of conflicts depends on the nature of work, the context of the job, work relations, the conditions of the employment, and the employees' evaluation of their work. Promotions are an example of strong competition among employees in which conflict may arise. In the study conducted by De Raeva et al. (2008), they tentatively hypothesized that poor work relations, job content, low decision latitude, or high role ambiguity will constitute a higher risk of developing interpersonal conflicts. Therefore, a high demanding work environment will create a higher onset. Lastly, they hypothesized that overall poor job satisfaction or high effort-reward imbalance will increase the chances of developing interpersonal conflicts. They studied 45 different companies (both white-collar and blue-collar); these companies were followed by means of self-administered questionnaires, which they received at four-month intervals. Once a year, employees were given an extensive questionnaire consisting of items on work- and nonwork-related factors, health factors, and demographics (if they had changed). Twice a year, each employee received a short questionnaire that focused on health outcome measures. Overall, 26,987 received questionnaires; however, only 12,161 employees completed and returned the baseline questionnaires. This study showed that various factors within the workplace play a role in the onset of interpersonal conflicts, making their tentative hypotheses confirmed. Researchers stated that for future studies there could be a possible reciprocal relationship between interpersonal conflicts and work-related factors (De Raeva et al., 2008). The results of this study can serve as a starting point for understanding interpersonal conflicts and more will be examined and connected to the criminal justice system.

According to Bergmann and Volkema (1994), there are four primary stages of interpersonal conflicts: frustration/awareness, conceptualization, behavior, and outcome.

Bergamann and Volkema conducted a study for the purpose to examine interpersonal conflicts in the workplace. They also focused on identifying the issues regarding conflicts, the behavioral responses used during certain situations, and the consequences after conflicts arise. Within their proposed study, they had a five-page questionnaire to obtain information from professionals who currently or had been in a workplace conflict. The questionnaire included information from the other party to the conflict. This could be a supervisor, co-worker, or subordinate. It is also asked for the primary conflict issue, the effects of said conflict, and the responses to the conflict itself. Three hundred and thirteen professionals from a wide range of organizations were a part of the sample. The mean age was 34.7 years old and 57.8 percent of the sample were females. Out of the 313 professionals, 135 reported conflicts with co-workers, 127 with supervisors, and 51 with subordinates. The study found that the consequences of interpersonal conflict included emotive behavior (crying) and withdrawal such as asking for a transfer or resigning. These behaviors were affected by the legitimate power of other parties and the number of behaviors invested into the conflict. It was also concluded that the longer the conflict continued, the greater the chance of consequences and the greater likelihood of discussions with co-workers to alleviate these effects (Bergmann & Volkema, 1994). Other consequences of work-related conflicts may lead to health-related issues; De Raeva et al. (2009) elaborated more on the topic.

A leading source of interpersonal conflict in the workplace has often been identified to be stress. It has also been associated with health-related issues, such as poor sleep, burnout, depression, anxiety, and frustration (De Raeva et al., 2009). The purpose of the study conducted by De Raeva et al. (2009) was to view the relationship between interpersonal conflicts and health outcomes. They used 5,582 individuals with co-worker conflict and 5,530 with supervisor

conflict (45 different companies were followed). These conflicts were assessed between a baseline questionnaire and a one-year follow-up. Every four months, the outcomes were evaluated between one-year and two-year follow-ups. Their research showed that interpersonal conflicts at work are highly exceedingly prevalent and provided evidence for a statistically significant relationship between self-reported health outcomes and the onset of interpersonal conflicts at work. Both supervisor and co-worker conflict resulted in sizable effects on self-reported (mental and physical) health; however, its results differed depending on the outcome. A plausible reason for this could be the different time-dependent relationships between the conflicts and the different outcomes. The research also showed that the health effects were stronger at the one-year check-in compared to the baseline. Also, in most incidents, a settled conflict had little improvement on health. Overall, interpersonal conflicts are highly prevalent in the workforce area and they lead to risk factors for the onset of self-report health problems (De Raeva et al., 2009). More specific studies on interpersonal conflicts have been viewed within the criminal justice field.

Police

The human service industry's job effectiveness largely depends on the interaction with their patients, students, clients, or civilians. Such professions are challenged when conflicts arise between them and an individual(s). The more demanding and assertive an individual becomes, the more likely conflict will occur (Euwema, Kop, & Bakker, 2004). Police have both a stress- and conflict-prone occupation; therefore, Euwema et al. (2004) related conflict behavior to performance and burnout in that profession. Their study aimed to better the understanding of behavioral consequences due to burnout, but more specifically regarding conflicts between

civilians and police officers. They used both questionnaires and observations of conflict behavior by two Dutch police forces. Both departments are active in middle-sized cities located in The Netherlands. The research was restricted to police officers on patrol, who always work in pairs. Over 61 days of observation, 769 interactions were observed between police officers and citizens. This involved 110 officers in total and almost half of the interactions were coded as conflicts ($N = 342$). The mean age of the Dutch officers was 32.7 years old ($SD = 7.70$), 83% were males, and their average work experience was 13.9 years ($SD = 7.2$ years). Questionnaires were mailed to 471 officers; however, only 358 officers returned them (response rate was 76%) (Euwema et al., 2004).

As reported by Euwema et al. (2004), burnout can lead to less sensitive and less attentive behavior, causing a decreased tolerance towards clients. It also leads individuals to be passive, uncooperative, irritable, and withdrawn, which are not good qualities for a police officer to hold. Researches also found that officers who use physical or verbal force in interactions with civilians also scored high on burnout. When burnout is present, the interaction between professionals and civilians becomes less effective, creates a hostile environment, and less satisfying outcome for both parties. Euwema et al. (2004) also focused on dominant behavior. They found that dominance is experienced as fighting and is reciprocated with resilience. Dominance may also trigger power struggles, especially in civilian interactions. In situations with a professional and client (an obvious difference in formal status), the more powerful party tends to use their power and assert dominance. For example, police have to deal with conflicts when civilians violate regulations and laws, maintain order, and occasionally intervene in conflicts between civilians. These situations propose a challenging dilemma for the officer. They can (a) prevent escalation

as much as possible, which includes using aggression, or (b) achieve one's professional goals, maintaining or restoring order. Dominant behavior is often required by police; however, such demonstration of power can cause things to escalate. Offenders may feel intimidated or provoked by the power. For example, an officer shining their flashlight into an offender's face, leaning out of their car window, directly commanding young people, or approaching people with their hands on their weapon, can all be seen as highly dominant, provocative, or unpleasant for another individual. Relating this back to burnout, when a burned-out professional no longer wants to invest their energy into civil interactions, it leads them to be less tolerant with the client. A limitation to this study was that surveys offered limited measures of stress due to the fact that it is a sensitive topic and individuals may choose to give socially desirable answers (Euwema et al., 2004). Jacobs and Britt (1979) elaborated more on the use of violence by police officers.

Police were developed initially to protect the upper class from the poor (Jacobs, 1979; Jacobs & Britt, 1979). Prior to police being created, public order was maintained by the army or the yeomanry (rural property owners). Unfortunately, the yeomanry was prone to overreacting, and the use of the army was difficult because they were expensive to maintain. Police were then constructed in order to avoid these problems from occurring. They were designed to penetrate civil society, much different than the military could. They were intended to prevent crime and violence, and control class on the daily (Caparini, 2018; Jacobs, 1979; Jacobs & Britt, 1979; Silver, 1965). A sturdy police force benefits the elites (upper class) more than other classes. Modern police are reactive agencies with limited capabilities to prevent or detect illegal activity (Jacobs, 1979). In a study performed by Jacobs and Britt (1979), they measured economic inequality and the use of deadly force. When police deal with a violent altercation, they are more

likely to use deadly force. The amount of violence needed to involve the police was operationalized and based on violent crime rates and riots in each state. Riots begin in low-income areas and with a strong police force, can be contained to such low-income areas. It was important to take into account the percentage of African Americans in each state because they and other minorities have little influence and can easily be targeted by police violence. Their research predicted that states with larger populations and more violence would result in more killings by police. However, this was not the case. They concluded this may be because in smaller populated states, there might be more impoverished areas; therefore, resulting in a larger number of police-caused homicides (Jacobs & Britt, 1979). Even though it is a police officer's job to serve and protect citizens, sometimes they are unavailable when needed the most.

In Boston of 1919, fifteen hundred police officers went on strike; leaving only 150 men on duty to protect the entire city. Increased violations in low-income communities occurred, and large crowds began to riot and loot expensive stores downtown. Once order had been restored in Boston, over one million dollars in property damages had emerged. Boston is just one example of what occurs when a police force is weakened and outnumbered. Another example is Montreal's 1969 police strike, where thirty-eight hundred police officers walked out, leaving 200 Canadian state officers to maintain order. Quickly, violations spread to other districts and the number of bank robberies increased tremendously. Jewelry stores began to be looted and many stores had to close down to keep safe. Not just stores businesses were affected by the riots, two hundred taxi drivers used fired bombs to attack their company. The cases in history imply that class victimization no longer seems to relate once police become deactivated (Jacobs, 1979). Therefore, police play a key role in the social order of society and the security necessary for

daily life (Wozniak, 2018). Jacob's article stressed the importance of having a police presence and what can occur if we get "rid" of them. When police are on duty, their actions are closely watched and evaluated.

Throughout the job, police perform a number of duties from peacekeeper to mediator to law enforcer. There are no straight guidelines for an officer to follow in every single interaction; they are all unique and different and pose a challenge for the officer to complete. Over time, police inherit a set of morals and beliefs which guide their actions in those challenges. The appropriate response to any conflict is not mandated by law; however, it reflects the officer's decision-making skills. Currently, police respond to interpersonal violence one of three ways, each a different style of control. Officers may *arrest* both or one of the parties involved, *mediate* the situation, or *separate* the arguing parties. Each action represents a style of control, which can be explained by the encounter. Arrest is a style of control in which there is legal culpability and the offender deserves punishment. Mediating the situation intends to reestablish social harmony between the two or more parties. The last style focuses on the avoidance of the parties by separating the parties. This style restores order with the least involvement by an officer. Therefore, not every interaction with civilians requires an arrest at the end. There are many factors that influence the styles of control. Women have less status as men do, so they typically receive less law. Police are less likely to make an arrest if the complaint is a female on a male, compared to the complaint being brought by a male against another. It is also viewed that conflicts where weapons are involved, would result in a physical injury to either one or both of the parties. The seriousness of the conflict determines the probability of an arrest. Police officers are said to be supervisors when mediating a situation; therefore, when arrived at a scene, they are

not law officers, but instead mediators, and outcomes of arrest or separation are resulted from a failure to mediate. Factors of effectively mediating the conflict include the degree to which the citizens see the officer with legitimate authority (Smith, 1987). Rossi argued that African American citizens who lived in low-income neighborhoods hold a greater hostility towards police officers (as cited in Smith, 1987, p. 770). Thus, interactions involving African Americans and conflicts occurring in low-income neighborhoods will less likely be handled in a civil manner by police. Additionally, disputes that involve alcohol and high levels of intoxication will result in a less civil manner. Smith's (1987) study involved 900 patrol shifts that were observed and 186 interactions met the criterion, which was divided into two groups. Eighty-four encounters were categorized as the victim of violence was present when officers arrived. A hundred and two encounters, which was the main focus of the research, police had interactions with both parties. The study found that the type of neighborhood in which the incident occurred played an impact on how police handled interpersonal violence between citizens. As the poverty levels of the neighborhood decline, so does the probability that officers will mediate the situation. This may be due to the tension and social distance between the residents and officers. It was also shown that police are more likely in that situation to arrest the citizen to resolve the conflict. Both citizen and location of incident affect police behavior and may determine which action is necessary for an officer to take (Smith, 1987; Smith & Klein, 1984). Smith and Klein (1984) also focused on the same parameters for their study.

In Smith and Kleins's (1984) study, they used trained civilians, who rode along on 900 patrol shifts and observed 5,688 police-citizen interactions. Twenty-four police departments were studied, which operated in three Metropolitan areas: St. Louis, Missouri; Rochester, New York;

and Tampa-St. Petersburg, Florida. The final sample size was 333 cases of police-citizen conflicts. Their study examined the factors that influenced an officer's arrest in interpersonal conflicts. Police departments are inherently social control agencies, in which their activities are determined by requests from citizens. A significant amount of time and energy is being put into handling a wide variety of interpersonal disputes since most calls for police assistance are noncriminal. Therefore, decision-making for officers is crucial in these situations, and this process can be interrupted and influenced by the disputing parties, if an injury is involved, physical violence has occurred, prior knowledge of disputes, and the complainant's request. Thus, the research found that situational exigencies, neighborhood poverty, and legal consideration affect the officer's decision-making skills. As socioeconomic status increased, so did the likelihood that police would arrest the citizen, even when it was not the officer's intention. They also concluded that access to the law does not seem to be equal for all social classes. In several encounters in low-income neighborhoods, police left the scene after one of the parties agreed to leave the dispute, despite the complainant's request for an arrest. As an officer, an arrest is the last resort, and when the complainant's request for arrest is denied, it poses a systematic denial of legal protection. Coinciding with Smith (1987), this research found that on average, arrests were more common when the complainant was male. Research also compared that there were higher rates of arrest in low-income neighborhoods, compared to higher-income neighborhoods (Smith & Klein, 1984). Wozniak (2018) noted that it is important to have well-educated and highly trained officers to help better the outcome of decisions made by police. Bard (1975) elaborated more by stating that providing departments with adequate training will help officers intervene in interpersonal conflicts, and will ultimately be able to increase

effectiveness, job safety, and job satisfaction. Although this may be helpful, other factors such as personality differences may also be an influencer.

Abrahamsen and Strype (2010) focused their study on personality differences among police officers that may play a role in how they respond to interpersonal conflicts. Researchers used the Big Five taxonomy of personality and compared results to police preferences for handling high demanding conflict situations. Their main purpose was to determine whether a difference in personalities dictated which preferred outcome would be made by the officer. There were 322 patrol officers from various police stations in the police district of Hordaland in Norway that were sent a questionnaire. Only 179 officers completed and returned the questionnaire (56% response rate). Abrahamsen and Strype (2010) stressed that officers should keep their personalities and beliefs private, and still play the role as a police officer. Their research found that although not high, personality scores were related to differences in preferences for resolving conflicts. Sun and Payne (2004) study specifically looked more into the difference among police officers.

The main purpose of Sun and Payne's (2004) study was to research the behavioral difference among Black and White police officers. Specifically, they viewed relations between the race of the officer and the race of the citizen. Alex stated that Black officers who view themselves as officers before their race, tend to have to vigorously enforce the law against Black citizens to show their dominance to their White counterparts (as cited in Sun & Payne, 2004, p. 518). On the other hand, Black officers who see their race first, tend to show more sympathy towards Black citizens. Some Black officers believe that they are more effective in performing order-maintenance tasks than White officers because they have a better understanding of Black

citizens and are capable of handling culturally related interpersonal conflicts. Sun and Payne (2004) received information for their study from data collected by the POPN that had been conducted in Indianapolis, Indiana, and St. Petersburg, Florida. During the data collection period, officers had interactions with roughly 2,000 citizens that involved verbal disputes or physical conflicts. Physical conflicts included simple assaults, fights, aggravated assaults, or any other physical confrontation. Verbal disputes consisted of verbal disagreements between two or more parties. Domestic argument (31.6%), domestic fight (10.4%), aggravated assault (8.2%), and nondomestic argument (7.6%) were the most common conflicts. Researchers noted that limitations to this study included that the research was only conducted in two departments, rather than homogeneous communities; therefore, not making it clear whether officers in other communities would have the same results. One major finding in this study was that Black officers were more active in resolving conflicts than White officers. This means that they were more likely to engage in supportive actions in Black neighborhoods. Another key finding was that the citizen race did not influence a police officer's behavior, which was controversial to previous studies mentioned in their article. However, other situational factors such as a citizen's demeanor, their role, emotional state, and evidence strength did have an impact on police actions during a conflict settlement. Police often have to engage with conflicts regarding domestic violence.

Domestic Violence

Within the last decade, society has seen an increase in public awareness of the frequency of domestic violence and the effects it imposes on the family and the individual (Ridley & Feldman, 2003). Johnson (2006) argued that there are four major types of intimate partner

violence. These include situational couple violence, intimate terrorism, mutual violent control, and violent resistance. They are all control motives of a violent member of the couple, that can be identified through patterns of controlling behavior. Intimate terrorism in heterosexual relationships is almost always perpetrated by men, compared to violent resistance where it's exclusively among women. There is a large debate regarding the onset of intimate partner violence; one side of the argument states that it is predominantly males assaulting female partners. In order to make distinctions between the types of violence, surveys need to ask more on the use of a variety of other control tactics used in the relationship. Situational couple violence is where a partner can be violent, yet not controlling and be in a relationship with someone who is either nonviolent or also violent and noncontrolling. Violent resistance is a relationship where one individual is violent and noncontrolling, while the other partner is violent and controlling. Intimate terrorism is where a partner demonstrates both violent behaviors and is controlling, and be in a relationship with someone who is noncontrolling and either violent or nonviolent. Lastly, mutual violent control is a partner who is violent and controlling and is paired with another individual who is also violent and controlling (Johnson, 2006). Stark (2006) comments more on Johnson's conflict and control review.

The definition of domestic violence has been adapted from criminology and equates abuse with distinct episodes of force designed to injure a partner. Majority of disputes involve a minor assault such as pushes or shoves. However, the law requires courts and the police to be able to view abuse through those discrete acts; therefore, woman battering is down-graded to a second-class misdemeanor. Battered women try to change the *discrete* acts of violence by reporting it as "ongoing". This includes a pattern of isolation, intimidation, control, and assault;

most importantly, high levels of entrapment and fears. Thus, women battering regards a different form of abuse that extends over a period of time and portrays a toll that cannot be explained or seen by injury (Stark, 2006). Stark stated that Johnson (2006) reported that population surveys that assess the use of force in conflicts in a relationship and majority of the time only get reports on situational couple violence, whereas the criminal justice research more on intimate terrorism. Stark (2006) added that both women and men engage in situational violence equally; however, men mainly commit intimate terrorism. He also stressed that common couple violence diminishes over time and therefore, community-based programs should pose as a mediator, rather than criminal justice intervention. Stark also mentioned partner assault, whereas Johnson (2006) did not. In partner assaults, both or one of the partners use force to punish, hurt, exploit, subjugate, or control the other partner rather than resolving issues. Ridley and Feldman (2003) go more in-depth with the types of conflicts that occur in domestic violence cases.

As mentioned earlier, the increase of awareness of domestic violence has allowed areas of research, social policies, and practices to be given attention. Ridley and Feldman (2003) stated that factors of domestic conflict include: experience/witnessing parental violence, frequent alcohol use, low assertiveness, verbal aggression, marital conflict, low self-esteem, poor relationship satisfaction, and low socioeconomic status. The two researchers thought there was a need for an examination of conflict responses and communication in relationships that exhibit partner abuse. They found that domestic violence may be an attempt for an individual to process or resolve a prior conflict. The interpersonal conflict model consists of three central concepts. The first concept states that conflict is inevitable and normal to have in a close relationship. The second concept focuses on the conflict being neither inherently good nor bad, but instead has

destructive relational outcomes. Lastly, the third concept is that interpersonal conflict is a process, which has four components. Those components include: *conflicts of interest*, *conflict orientations*, *conflict responses*, and *conflict outcomes*. *Conflicts of interest* refer to one's opinions, goals, viewpoints, or interests to be incompatible with the other partner. *Conflict orientations* include one's evaluations or attitudes on conflict and the tolerance of accepting it. *Conflict responses* focus on behaviors that may escalate, maintain, or resolve the conflict(s). *Conflict outcomes* showcase whether or not the conflict was resolved, the nature of the resolution, and the evaluation of emotional closeness within the relationship. Ridley and Feldman (2003) focus on the two main components of the conflict model, which are conflict responses and conflict outcomes.

Within Ridley and Feldman's (2003) study, 153 female volunteers participated. Participants were recruited from a public health clinic (PHC) and paid \$15 upon completion of a questionnaire. To be able to participate, individuals needed to have been in a relationship with a man for at least six months within the last 12 months, and needed to be a serious relationship. The average age was 26.9 years old and 18-57 was the age range. They noted that it was a relatively young sample size. Seventy-seven percent of participants were currently in a relationship, while 23% had recently ended their relationship. Their study found that women who were frequently physically aggressive with their male partner, were in a relationship where conflict was due to high amounts of accusing, criticizing, blaming, name-calling, threatening, ridiculing, swearing, and verbal attacks on competence, character, or appearance. Mutual verbal aggression was found to be more emotionally and behaviorally escalating compared to other types of communication tactics. They also found that conflict-avoidance and withdrawal create a

dysfunction between the partners for a long-term course of the relationship. Reasons for this may be that the conflict never got resolved, unresolved conflicts boil and become emotionally draining, and the partners have become less tolerant of or more sensitive to disagreements/disputes. Three of the four violence groups found that one partner felt the issue had not been resolved, while the other one did. Generally speaking, the more one individual or both partners distance themselves in the relationship, have a lack of resolving, and little contribution to outcome, the more likely that (a) added grievances have been applied to the relationship, and (b) outcomes may trigger negative conflicts in the future. This research provided support on communication responses and outcomes in interpersonal conflicts (Ridley & Feldman, 2003). Many incidents of interpersonal conflicts in a relationship are often taken to court when it becomes serious enough.

Courts

Criminal courts are often used by many of the poor, uneducated residents of a neighborhood, as part of their arsenal for managing disputes. A dispute is a disagreement from which one individual or group feels that their rights have been infringed and now has been raised into the view of the public (Merry, 1979). A part of disputes is conflict, which according to Merry (1979) is where an aggrieved party chooses for a confrontation with the offending party or parties. In this jurisdiction, an individual can file an application for a complaint (in the clerk's office in a local district court) declaring some type of criminal behavior of the defendant. This could be assault, kidnapping, rape, or attempted murder. Disputes over trash, noise, or slovenly neighbors are disregarded; must be a serious crime. Property crimes include robbery, burglary, larceny, and assault; these crimes enrich the thief, not to express personal bitterness toward the

victim. Such victims are selected by vulnerability and wealth. The complaint must specify the charge, name, and address of the accused. After this, the accused receives a summons to appear for a hearing in order to determine if the complaint should be issued or not. The district courts have jurisdiction over minor felonies and misdemeanors, and conduct hearings that go before the supreme court (the higher criminal court). Prior to the court determining if the complaint will be issued, they hold a preliminary hearing to determine if the evidence is sufficient enough to go forth. From there, a trial begins if the accused is found “guilty” enough (Merry, 1979). Another dispute discussed in Merry’s (1979) article were conflicts revolving around personal rivalry, sexual jealousy, physical injury, or public insult. The majority of the time, these issues are between lovers, friends, and neighbors. For many cases, a mediator is used to diminish the conflict among the individuals. Although the goal is to have conflicts end in the court system, many prisons experience interpersonal conflicts.

Prisons

Within the prison system, conflicts among inmates and guards occur almost daily. In a review by Jacobs (1976), he focused on the issues of class and class conflict that have been imported from the streets, so that inmate society is highly fractionated. He hypothesized that primary groups in prison are formed from the same members of class, faction, or even a secondary group based on emotions, friendships, and cliques. Primary groups do not reinforce the values and norms of the inmate society wished upon by prisons. Background information on an inmate is key to understanding the inmate stratification systems and formal organizations. Gangs have attempted to operate within the prison walls, just like they did on the streets. As gangs rose in the Illinois prisons, regular outbursts of conflict reigned between the different

gangs. Jacobs (1976) viewed Illinois' Stateville Penitentiary, where he found that the racial lines are impenetrable. Members of different races being celled together was unheard of. Even under the minimum security Blacks, Latinos, and Caucasians represented three separate, but frequently conflicting societies within the prison. Another prison Jacobs (1976) researched on was the CTP-Central as Soledad, California. In the 1960s, the prison earned the label "Gladiator School", due to its never-ending race wars and personal violence. These statements demolished any illusions that this prison was an institution of rehabilitation. Even though two of the wings are under maximum security, that is where the race wars occurred. Jacobs also stated that racial awareness among whites is one consequence of continuous racial tension. This is because outside of prisons, whites rarely have to experience being treated on the basis of their skin color, but on the inside of prisons, they soon have to realize that racial identity can have the greatest impact for their inmate career. Prisons are a conflict-driven environment where large-scale gangs organize and compete for power, recruits, and control of illicit activities. Jacobs looked into a prison in California in 1973, where there were 146 stabbings and 20 deaths and the following two years there were 268 stabbings and 56 deaths. Most of the incidents were reported to be afflicted with one of four gangs. Jacobs (1976) found that political parties have also found their way into the prison system. Radical groups pose as a revolutionary force. Two radical political groups that are significant are the Young Lords Party and the Black Panther Party. Both parties created events that lead to the Attica riot and both had representatives brought to Attica for finding a peaceful protest. Lastly, Jacobs discussed that reforms should be designed, evaluated, and implemented in order to benefit all parties (Jacobs, 1967). Education programs are a part of the reform that can change the quality of life for inmates.

According to Aluza, Rodriguez, and Villa (2010), the quality of life for an inmate may be determined by the level of conflict within a prison. Prisons that consist of high conflicted inmates and guards can be noted as low-quality life and vice-versa. The level of conflict is related to the prison's management and administration. Also, prison guards barely have any conflict resolving skills and many times they can be the ones initiating the conflict. Aluza et al. (2010) research found that less conflicted inmates are more likely to participate in educational programs, which then makes them less likely to relapse in the first place. They stated that if provinces allocated higher amounts of resources into education programs, it would provide more opportunities for prisoners to consume their time in education rather than other things like conflict. However, this might not be the case for every prison. First, given the way governments redistribute taxes, there is a little chance for governments to increase/decrease educational expenditure. Second, the total money spent on educational programs should not be influenced by the number of prisoners relative to the aggregate population. Aluza et al. (2010) also found that inmates who are sentenced for a greater number of committed felonies, have spent more time in prison, and who are recidivists are more likely to engage in inappropriate behaviors. On the other hand, inmates who are married, older, or practice a sport while in prison are less likely to engage in inappropriate behavior. Prisons with high numbers of prisoners, percentages of rapists and thieves have a higher chance of having violent interactions. On the contrary, it was found that prisons with a high percentage of murders are less likely to engage in violent behaviors. This may be due to the fact that these inmates are located in high-security prisons (more monitored and less freedom). Overall, education programs can possibly change an inmate's morals, values, or psychological attitudes towards conflict and violent behaviors. It could also simply be the result of less idle time around the prison (Aluza et al., 2010). As far as conflict behaviors in

prisons, the significant aspect is that implementing or increasing educational programs in prisons reduces violent and conflictive behaviors.

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