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JOHN JOSEPH BRODERICK

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LAW, ORDER AND THE POLICE:  
A STUDY OF FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE  
POLICE ATTITUDES

by

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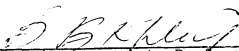
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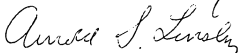
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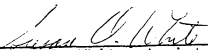
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I also wish to thank the officers of the department in which this study was undertaken for their patience and cooperation.

J. J. B.

## Abstract

The research was designed to investigate the effects of occupational socialization upon police officers' perceptions of democratic values. It was hypothesized that as officers became socialized into the occupation they would place significantly more stress upon the need for social order and significantly less stress upon individual liberties. It was also expected that the more highly socialized officers would also perceive more hate and hostility directed at them by the public.

The research was carried out in a small urban police department which employs 180 officers. Participant-observation was first used to describe the role-set of the patrolman and the setting of occupational socialization. A questionnaire, which included Likert-type scales to measure the pertinent values, was then administered to 109 members of the department. A similar questionnaire was administered to 60 firefighters who served as a quasi-control group. Length of service, rank, job commitment and advanced police training were used to represent socialization. The effects of social class, religion, ethnicity, formal education and age were also considered.

The findings did not conform to expectations. While there is some evidence that those at the front line of the organization are more strongly affected by the occupation, it appears that pre-induction values and personality variables are also of major importance.

A second conclusion was that police attitudes did not conform to one stereotype. Those officers who conformed most closely to the values expressed in the policeman's oath, also perceived the greatest amount of hate and hostility, rated the prestige of the occupation as low, had the lowest job commitment and were most likely to agree that the value of police work was not recognized by the public. Modal attitude types were constructed from the questionnaire results with the expectation that they would be useful in future research. These attitude types were also related to past suggestions for improving the quality of law enforcement in democracies.

## PREFACE

### STATEMENT OF THE QUESTION

Since the mid-1950s the police occupation has been the subject of intensive study. This study has been carried out by both independent social science researchers and various government sponsored commissions. Both groups emphasize one "core variable" as important to an understanding of law enforcement. They see the "processing" of the individual patrolman by the occupation as an important independent variable that largely accounts for his attitudes. The major independent variable of the present research is therefore occupational socialization.

This same literature also uncovers value conflicts which create tension between ideas of order, efficiency and public safety on one hand, and due process of law and individual rights on the other. The general emphasis of past research also concludes that police use their authority to emphasize either "law (constitutional due process) or "order" (keeping society safe) or both of these values. This emphasis has helped to define the major dependent variables of the present research. They are: emphasis which police attitudes place upon a) constitutional due process and b) public order.

Given these major variables, the research attempts to explain police attitudes by means of occupational socialization. It was designed to answer the following general question:

How does the police occupation socialize its members and what effect does this socialization have upon the policeman's conception of the rule of law and the maintenance of order?

The main research tools were participant-observation followed by questionnaire-interviewing of the majority of police officers in a small city employing 180 officers. For the purposes of this report the department studied will simply be called the "City Police Department" (CPD).

The findings were not all in the hypothesized direction and a model other than the one incorporated into the research design might have been more appropriate. Both the model tested here and competing explanations of the findings will be discussed further in this report.

Following completion of data collections in the summer of 1971 an article appeared which ran contrary to the mainstream of the literature.<sup>1</sup> In it, Milton Rokeach and others emphasized pre-induction values rather than occupational socialization as being the critical variables for explaining police attitudes and suggested a new direction for further research. The present design was constructed to test the occupational socialization hypothesis which was considered initially to be a particularly robust one. The results are

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1 Milton Rokeach, Martin G. Miller and John A. Snyder, "The Value Gap Between Police and Policed", Jour. of Social Issues, Vol. 27, #2, 1971, pp. 155-171.

more in line with the findings of Rokeach rather than with the larger body of past research. Because this latest contribution was not used in designing the present research it will be reviewed following the review of the rest of the literature and it will be related to both the present data and the literature when the findings are analyzed.

The major value of the research was originally seen as being its ability to summarize a body of literature that has been growing over the past few years and to carry this literature one step further by shedding light upon the processes that lead to justice and injustice in law enforcement.

I was aided in the research by being able to legitimately play the role of an "ex-cop." Five years prior to the start of this project I served for approximately eight months as a patrolman in a 40-man police department. Much of the experience gained in this department as a complete participant was used as a basis for a master's thesis.<sup>2</sup> During my period of employment the smaller department was faced with a recurring problem of youth disturbances which gained it some notoriety in the popular press and in police circles. The members of the City Department generally had vague recollections of this past problem and discussion of it frequently served as a means of establishing initial rapport.

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2 "The Police Subculture and Its Influence upon the Attitudes and Behavior of the Police Officer", unpublished master's thesis, Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of New Hampshire, Durham, 1966.



During the six months of participant-observation and one month of questionnaire-interviewing I was employed as a teacher in a college known to the members of the department. The combined role of ex-policeman and college teacher seems to have been successful because the officers felt that they would not be easily misinterpreted by an ex-cop, and at the same time they enjoyed giving instruction to a teacher.

Following completion of the questionnaire-interviewing I became friendly with several members of the department. Their reactions to the research, which I believe are frank ones, are contained in the final chapter of this report.

## PART I

## PAST RESEARCH AND THE PRESENT RESEARCH DESIGN

The general question being investigated was stated in the preface. The intent of this first section is to review the literature, summarize relevant sociological theory and describe both the research design and the setting of the research.

CHAPTER I  
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE I:  
THE POLICE OCCUPATION

Most recent studies of law enforcement fall into one of two general categories. Some are in the domain of that sociological specialty known as formal or complex organization. Others are concerned with the sociology of law. A few contain elements of both of these fields.

The research concerning formal organization usually consists of participant-observation and/or some form of structured interviewing. Most of these studies describe both the dynamics of the official manning chart of the organization and the informal aspects of police culture. The more important studies in this group are in the Chicago School tradition in that the researchers prefer the dirty hands approach to sociology. They ride with officers on patrol, spend hours in squad rooms and attempt to socialize with police.

The sociology of law studies are further removed from the day-to-day operations of police work. Contributors in this area have been concerned with pragmatic legal philosophy.

The emphasis has been on a problem stated some years ago by Samuel Johnson:

"The danger of unbounded liberty and the danger of bounding it have produced a problem in the science of government which

human understanding seems hitherto unable to solve." 1

These recent studies indicate that the problem is still unsolved. The major topics at the moment are such things as the history of the application of the Fourteenth Amendment and the implications of Supreme Court decisions since *Mapp v. Ohio*.

It should be noted that one piece of empirical research holds center stage in both of these areas. By frequent citation in the literature, Jerome Skolnick has been given credit for "putting it all together." Justice Without Trial is undoubtedly the most important piece of research currently at the frontier of knowledge concerning law enforcement in democracies.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the orthodox sociological contributions which fall into the two groups cited above, there are other references which cannot be overlooked. Some of these are reports of government commissions, beginning with the Wickersham Report of 1931<sup>3</sup> and proceeding through the 1967 report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice.<sup>4</sup> Other sources include the writings of various public figures such as Earl Warren, Ramsey Clark and J. Edgar

- 1 Samuel Johnson, as quoted in, George E. Berkley, The Democratic Policeman, Beacon Press, Boston, 1969, p. 1.
- 2 Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial, Law Enforcement in Democratic Society, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., N.Y., 1967.
- 3 Report on Police, U. S. National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, U.S. Government Printing Office, Wash., D.C., 1931. (A report of the Wickersham Commission.)
- 4 The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, U.S. Government Printing Office, Wash., D.C., 1967.

Hoover. Most of this work is in the domain of social policy. Some of it suggests solutions to problems and some of it seems to be part of the problem. These contributions - which are frequently quoted and mis-quoted - are part of the definition of the situation.<sup>5</sup>

Following a brief history of law enforcement, the remainder of this chapter reviews the studies of formal organization and the government reports. The following chapter deals with democratic values and the police.

5 In regard to quotes and mis-quotes probably the most important source of easily misinterpreted information is the Justice Department as represented by the F.B.I. For example, U.S. News and World Report, Aug. 3, 1964, p. 20: "Over all the cost of crime in the year is estimated CONSERVATIVELY by the F.B.I. at 27 billions." One year later the same source wished to again emphasize the growing cost of crime. U.S. News and World Report, Aug. 9, 1965, p. 67: "Costs to the nation of crime are multiplying. Estimates run AS HIGH AS 27 billion dollars during the past year." (Emphasis supplied in both citations.) How the conservative estimate became the higher estimate during a bear market for crime, and how the figure arrived at initially are not explained.

A second number that is popular in the literature is 40,000. There are at least six sources published since 1962 which note that there are 40,000 law enforcement agencies in the United States. Included in the six are The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, (op. cit., p.91). No one provides the original source of this figure. The earliest reference to it that I can find is in the Wickersham Report of 1931. It probably needs updating.

### The History of Law Enforcement in Democracies

The first formally organized police force in the West began in London in 1829 under the direction of Sir Robert Peel.<sup>6</sup> Its institution was immediately followed by controversy. Peel argued that the dramatic increase in crime required the establishment of a uniformed police force to insure public order. His critics felt that this was an infringement upon British liberty and that only the ultimate authority of Parliament and the rule of law were required to preserve social order.

The creation of the London Metropolitan Police Force was followed in a few years by the establishment of uniformed forces in New York and Boston. These early American police were poorly paid and recruited largely because of brawn and a desire for violence. Early departments consisted mainly of the poor who were hired to police other poor.<sup>7</sup>

From this inauspicious beginning American law enforcement grew to the point where there are now thousands of

6 Several good reviews of the history of law enforcement have already been written. In this section I am indebted to the following sources: Richard D. Knudten, Crime in a Complex Society, The Dorsey Press, Homewood, Ill., 1970, pp. 329-371. Donald R. Taft and Ralph W. England, Jr., Criminology, 4th edit., The MacMillan Co., N.Y., 1964, pp. 308-335. Bruce Smith, Police Systems in the United States, Harper and Row, N.Y., 1960, pp. 1-97.

7 Taft, p. 320.

separate law enforcement agencies at all levels of government. Federal, state, county, municipal, and township governments employ their own law enforcement agencies. Authorities on police administration find that this crazy-quilt pattern of overlapping jurisdictions is one of the major disadvantages of present police management.<sup>8</sup> For example, within fifteen miles of Boston Common there are forty police departments plus state, county and Metropolitan District police sharing duties.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to this lack of central administration, other problems that have grown up over the years include the development of haphazard training programs, the reliance upon paramilitary organization, and the addition of many duties that are not directly related to law enforcement. In almost all of these areas American law enforcement differs markedly from the situation in Western European countries. For example, England requires thirteen weeks of training at one of its national academies. French law states that six months of training must be completed before assignment to a post. The state in which the present study was carried out requires

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8 James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior,  
Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass.,  
1968, p. 286.

9 Smith, p. 307.

only six weeks of training during regular working hours within the first year on the job.<sup>10</sup>

Another divergence between American and European police systems is the emphasis which most American departments place upon military rank, insignia and other paramilitary customs. Since the beginning, Europeans have taken pains to design uniforms which hide the gun and nightstick from public view, while American departments prefer to display the tools of their trade.<sup>11</sup>

The histories of law enforcement also cite the addition of non-crime duties as part of the contemporary problem. A Kansas City study in 1966 found that 32 percent of police time was spent on non-criminal matters.<sup>12</sup> Smith found that only one-half of police personnel are assigned to uniformed patrol.<sup>13</sup>

All of these historical factors have an effect on attempts to apply modern techniques of administration to law enforcement organizations. Most present police departments

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10 According to this state law, an officer may be given his badge and gun and sent out on patrol with no instruction. The legal requirement is simply that the six weeks of training be completed within a year. In contrast, the same state requires one thousand hours of instruction in a licensed academy before a young woman may take up the trade of a beautician.

11 George E. Berkley, The Democratic Policeman, Beacon Press, Boston, Mass., 1969, p. 42.

12 Robert W. Winslow, Crime in a Free Society, Dickinson Pub. Co., Belmont, Cal., 1969, p. 265.

13 Smith, p. 116.



grew out of systems of watchmen who were hired to keep the street clear and to supervise a number of minor ordinances.<sup>14</sup> Because police departments developed from these small operations most police administrators lack experience in large organizations and they tend to rely upon stop-gap measures in problem solving.<sup>15</sup>

Any consideration of the present condition of law enforcement must not overlook the effects of this history. The unplanned historical development of law enforcement in America is one of the factors contributing to present problems.

#### The Formal Organization of Law Enforcement

The present generation of sociological studies of the police occupation began in 1953 with Westley's frequently reprinted article about violence and the police.<sup>16</sup> For several years it was the only major sociological contribution in the field. In the late 1960s several other studies of police organization were published, and seventeen years after the appearance of his initial article Westley finally

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<sup>14</sup> Wilson, p. 142.

<sup>15</sup> Smith, p. 208.

<sup>16</sup> William A. Westley, "Violence and the Police", Amer. Jour. of Soc., Vol. 49, pp. 34-41, Aug. 1953.

published the larger research from which the article was drawn.<sup>17</sup>

In reviewing the literature in 1953, Westley noted that he could find only two studies that dealt with the police at all extensively.<sup>18</sup> One was an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation that was completed in 1950 and the other was Whyte's Street Corner Society.<sup>19</sup>

A rather extensive selective bibliography tends to bear Westley out. Bordua lists 86 entries and only nine of these pre-date Westley.<sup>20</sup> Six of the nine were published abroad, two are histories of law enforcement and only one is in the domain of American social science research.<sup>21</sup>

This section will summarize the major contributions which are concerned with the formal organization of law enforcement. The literature is organized according to the

17 William A. Westley, Violence and the Police, a Sociological Study of Law, Custom and Morality, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1970.

18 ibid., p.6.

19 Nathan Goldman, Police Selection of Juvenile Offenders, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Univ. of Chicago, 1950, and William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1943.

20 David J. Bordua, The Police: Six Sociological Essays, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., N. Y., 1967.

21 This American contribution which was also cited by Westley, is, August Vollmer, The Police and Modern Society, Univ. of Cal. Press, Berkeley, 1936.

topics with which it deals, beginning with the police role and continuing to topics which are more nearly on the institutional level. Discussion of each topic is followed by a specific statement of what appears to be the general consensus in the field at this time.

A word of caution is necessary here. Of all the authors cited in the following pages, only one - Niederhoffer - has applied tests of statistical significance to operationalized hypotheses.<sup>22</sup> For this reason, none of the summarizing statements which follow should be considered to have been demonstrated statistically.

### The Police Role

Most studies key on the role of the patrolman. Skolnick has pointed out that the policeman's "working personality" is most highly developed in his constabulary role of the man on the beat and that every officer of rank must serve an apprenticeship as a patrolman.<sup>23</sup> Not only is the role of patrolman a common antecedent for all later roles, but because the department is a front-line organization it is this lowest ranking role that has contact with the world outside the organization.

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22 Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield, The Police in Urban Society, Doubleday and Co., Inc., Garden City, N. J., 1967.

23 Skolnick, p. 43.

Wilson notes that,

"...the lowest ranking police officer - the patrolman - has the greatest discretion and thus his behavior is of the greatest concern to the police administrator."<sup>24</sup>

He adds that police work is unlike any other occupation because in maintaining order, sub-professionals, (i.e., patrolmen) exercise wide discretion in matters of utmost importance to clients.<sup>25</sup>

In police organizations the role of the patrolman is a critical one because all members of the organization are initially incumbents of this role and because of the great amount of discretion associated with it.

#### Discretion

It is commonplace to note that all laws cannot be enforced with equal vigor. Police must be selective in deciding what acts should suitably be followed by formal police action. Smith calls this "the policeman's art" and notes that there are no set rules or general guides which will serve a policeman in making these decisions.<sup>26</sup> Wilson notes that unlike the process in most formal organizations,

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24 Wilson, p. 8.

25 ibid., p. 30.

26 Smith, p. 19.

discretion in police departments is not increased as one moved up the chain of command, but rather, "...discretion increases as one moved DOWN the hierarchy."<sup>27</sup>

Reiss and Bordua liken the discretionary power of a policeman to that of an attorney.

"...it is useful to see the police not as discretionless ministerial officers but as somewhat analogous to the practicing attorney, whose roles of advocate, counselor, and officer of the court are not totally dissimilar (though better legitimated) to the roles played by the policeman."<sup>28</sup>

This analogy does not seem overdrawn when one considers that unlike attorneys, police exercise their discretion while possessing a monopoly upon legitimate coercive power, and unlike attorneys they are not as easily controlled by higher authority such as the courts.

In this regard, Bittner points out that while courts influence police practices by decisions concerning admissibility of evidence, there is a "momentous difference between influence and control."<sup>29</sup> The judge is not the policeman's administrative superior and there is nothing -

27 Wilson, p. 7.

28 Albert J. Reiss, Jr. and David J. Bordua, "Environment and Organization: A Perspective on the Police", in, The Police, David J. Bordua, Editor, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., N. Y., 1967, p. 30.

29 Egon Bittner, The Functions of the Police in Modern Society, National Institute of Mental Health, Chevy Chase, Md., 1970, p. 26.

short of permanent court injunctions - to prevent the police from doing as they please while forwarding cases to the courts "on a take-it-or-leave-it basis." Bittner adds that the only real controls rest with the police in their desire to use the power of the courts to punish and in their desire to avoid scandal.<sup>30</sup>

Westley had previously pointed out that police must have the confidence to make quick decisions and that once the decisions are made it is difficult for officers to admit they were wrong.<sup>31</sup>

The literature had gone beyond the point of noting that the police have wide discretion and is more concerned with describing how police actually use that discretion in practice.

Police have wide discretion in enforcing the law and control of this discretion rests largely with the law enforcement organization rather than with a higher authority such as the courts.

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30 Egon Bittner, The Functions of the Police in Modern Society, National Institute of Mental Health, Chevy Chase, Md., 1970, p. 27.

31 Westley, Violence and the Police, p. 81.

## Socialization

Niederhoffer, a former police officer himself, discusses how this police discretion is used in practice.

"The patrolman on post is constantly confronted with situations in which he has the choice of acting with consideration of human relations, or, according to practical police techniques. In the majority of cases the average member of the force favors the resort to power. The role of the enforcer is still dominant."<sup>32</sup>

The question that is raised here is, how does the officer come to use his discretion as an enforcer, rather than in a humanitarian manner? Skolnick has identified five features of the occupation which he sees as important variables in forming police attitude and behavior. All five of them at least indirectly involve socialization into the occupation.<sup>33</sup>

"Five features of the policeman's occupational environment weaken the conception of the rule of law as a primary objective of police conduct. One is the social psychology of police

32 Niederhoffer, p. 181. Here, as elsewhere, Niederhoffer is referring to the New York City Police Department.

33 Socialization is here understood to mean, "The process of interaction through which the individual learns the habits, skills, beliefs, and standards of judgement required for effective participation in social groups." This definition is found in, George A. Lundberg, Clarence C. Schrag and Otto N. Larsen, Sociology third edition, Harper and Row, N. Y., 1963, p. 171.

work, that is, the relation between occupational environment, working personality, and the rule of law. Second is the policeman's stake in maintaining his position of authority, especially his interest in bolstering accepted patterns of enforcement. Third is police socialization, especially as it influences the policeman's administrative bias. A related factor is the pressure put upon individual policemen to 'produce' - to be efficient rather than legal when the two norms are in conflict. Finally, there is the policeman's opportunity to behave inconsistently with the rule of law as a result of the low visibility of much of his conduct."<sup>34</sup>

Other authors who, like Skolnick, have used participant-observation to study law enforcement talk at least indirectly about these five factors. All of them note that the process of socialization takes place both formally and informally and that the informal socialization is at least equal in importance to the formal training.

Preiss and Ehrlich, who studied a mid-Western state police department, observed that,

"There are some indications that supervisors considered a debunking of recruit school as a regular part of their work, and some appeared to do it with considerable relish."<sup>35</sup>

Skolnick notes that, "the policeman's culture is that of the

<sup>34</sup> Skolnick, p. 231.

<sup>35</sup> Jack J. Preiss and Howard J. Ehrlich, An Examination of Role Theory, The Case of the State Police, Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Neb., 1966, p. 17.



masculine workingman. It is of the docks, the barracks, the ballfield..."<sup>36</sup> And Niederhoffer's experience is that the occupational system is geared to manufacture the "take charge guy."

"It is the police system, not the personality of the candidate, that is the powerful determinant of behavior and ideology."<sup>37</sup>

Another former police officer has commented upon how this ideology and behavior develops.

"There is an intangible something also that's not on the formal agenda. You begin to learn that this is a fraternity into which you are not automatically accepted by your fellows. You have to earn your way in; you have to establish that you're 'all right'."<sup>38</sup>

With regard to socialization, the general thrust of the literature can be summed up in the following statement:

Socialization into the occupation is an important variable that largely accounts for the manner in which police use their discretion.

36 Skolnick, p. 82.

37 Niederhoffer, p. 151.

38 A former Denver Police Officer, as told to Mort Stern, "What Makes a Policeman Go Wrong?" The Jour. of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, Vol. 53, #1, March, 1962, p. 98.

### The Police Subculture

Having determined - that according to the present literature at least - socialization is a critical variable, it now remains to examine the focal concerns that are transmitted by this socialization process. I do not believe that "subculture" is too strong a word to use in describing the police occupation. Subculture is here defined as, "the distinctive social prescriptions and style of life characterizing a specific group that is more or less set apart from the larger society of which it is a constituent member."<sup>39</sup>

That police are "set apart" was first noted by Westley. In a preface, written almost twenty years after his original research, he reports that he found it paradoxical that policemen who were "decent, humble, urban men, usually with wives and children and small homes" could at the same time lead their lives as policemen "in antagonistic relationships with the community."<sup>40</sup>

Skolnick calls upon the sociology of the military to explain this feature of the police occupation. He notes that Janowitz has demonstrated that the military is more than

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<sup>39</sup> Lundberg, p. 767.

<sup>40</sup> Westley, Violence and the Police, p. x.

an occupation because it has a "style of life" that goes beyond the normal occupational claims made upon the practitioner. Janowitz believes that any profession that can make a life or death task part of the daily routine develops special claims upon individuals. Among such occupations he includes medicine, the ministry, and police.<sup>41</sup>

In commenting upon this police life style, Westley mentions the importance of secrecy and explains this by the need of the police to maintain self-respect in the face of the threats posed by the nature of the occupation.<sup>42</sup>

"Secrecy and silence are among the first rules impressed on the rookie. 'Keep your mouth shut, never squeal on a fellow officer, don't be a stool pigeon' is what the rookie has dinned into his ears. It is one of the first things he learns."<sup>43</sup>

In the course of his research Westley investigated the above statement by posing a hypothetical problem to fifteen officers. He asked what their action would be if they discovered that their patrol partner had robbed a drunk during arrest. Eleven of the fifteen officers said that they would go so far as to perjure themselves rather than testify

41 Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier, A Social and Political Portrait, The Free Press, Glencoe, 1964, p. 175, as quoted in Skolnick, p. 43.

42 Westley, Violence and the Police, p. xv.

43 ibid., p. 111-112.

against a fellow officer.<sup>44</sup> In another instance he asked twelve officers how they would act if they were issued a departmental order not to enforce the law in such areas as vice and gambling. Eleven of the twelve respondents expressed a willingness to conform to the departmental rule even in face of the law.<sup>45</sup>

Wilson concurs with these findings. He believes that one reason for the tendency of patrolmen to form cliques is to protect themselves against arbitrary authority and outside influence.<sup>46</sup>

Wilson contends that some of these elements of the police culture are brought into the occupation as a result of the working class backgrounds of the men. In addition to the tendency to form cliques he counts a preoccupation with maintaining self-respect, proving one's masculinity, "not taking any crap", and not being taken in.<sup>47</sup> In making this last point, Wilson refers his reader to the focal concerns used by Walter Miller in explaining lower class gang delinquency.<sup>48</sup>

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44 ibid., p. 112.

45 ibid., p. 142.

46 ibid., p. 73.

47 ibid., p. 34.

48 Walter Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency", Jour. of Social Issues, 14 (1958), pp. 5-19. The focal concerns listed by

Regarding the police subculture, all of the above mentioned authors seem to agree with the following statement:

The police occupation has elements of a subculture. Some of the elements of this subculture are brought to the occupation in the backgrounds of the officers and others are learned by policemen as they learn their trade.

An attempt will now be made to explain what past researchers see as major elements of this subculture. In addition to the features already mentioned, the literature focuses upon tension between police customs and law, police concern for their occupational prestige, authoritarianism, cynicism, anomie, and resentment.

#### Police Custom and Law

The major purpose of Westley's original work was to investigate the relationship between custom, law, and morality.

"Our thesis is that the customs of the police as an occupational group give rise to a

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Miller are trouble, toughness, smartness, luck, fate and autonomy. A perusal of the statements by officers contained in Appendix B gives indication that some of these focal concerns exist among these officers also.

distortion of statutory law, so that the law in force, as it affects the people of the community, can be said to arise in part from the customs of the police.<sup>49</sup>

Westley attempted to demonstrate this relationship between police customs and law. Seventy-three policemen were asked when they considered the use of violence to be legitimate. Thirty-seven percent said that it was legitimate to use violence to coerce respect.<sup>50</sup>

Skolnick carried the relationship between police customs and legality further. He found that the rationalization used by the police to justify illegality is similar to the rationalization used by criminals, that is, both police and criminals distinguish between legality and morality.<sup>51</sup> The police emphasize factual guilt, as opposed to legal guilt, and see trial postponements and other defense tactics as unfair and unethical.

"For him (the policeman) due process of law is, therefore, not merely a set of constitutional guarantees for the defendant, but also a SET OF WORKING CONDITIONS which, under increasingly liberal opinions by the courts, are likewise becoming increasingly arduous."<sup>52</sup>

49 Westley, p. 10.

50 ibid., p. 122.

51 Skolnick, p. 145.

52 ibid., p. 202.

The police code of ethics often defines due process of law as a hindrance in proving factual guilt and in procuring the respect due to members of the occupation.

#### Occupational Prestige

Three scholars have asked the police how they rate the prestige of their occupation. Two others have examined North-Hatt Scale results to determine how the general public rates the occupation.

Of Skolnick's 282 police respondents 70 percent ranked the prestige of police work as only fair to poor while less than 2 percent ranked it as excellent and 29 percent ranked it as good.<sup>53</sup>

McNamara asked 171 police recruits if they agreed with the following statement: "The respect that citizens have for a patrolman and his position has been steadily increasing over the years." Seventy-two percent disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.<sup>54</sup>

Westley asked 85 policemen how they thought the public felt about the police. Seventy-three percent thought that the public was against the police and only 12 percent

<sup>53</sup> ibid., p. 50.

<sup>54</sup> John H. McNamara, "Uncertainties in Police Work, The Relevance of Police Recruits' Backgrounds and Training", in, David J. Bordua, Editor, The Police; Six Sociological Essays, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., N. Y., 1967, p. 198.

thought that the public liked the police.<sup>55</sup> Seventy percent of his sample were definitely opposed to their sons becoming police officers and wanted them to do something "more successful."<sup>56</sup>

Regarding the attitude of the public toward the prestige of the police, two authors cite the same application of the North-Hatt Scale of occupational prestige and then give the same data different interpretations. Between 1947 and 1963 the occupational prestige of the police on the North-Hatt Scale of 99 occupations increased from fifty-fifth to forty-seventh place.<sup>57</sup>

McNamara notes that,

"This improvement in rank is exceeded only by the improvement in rank of the occupation of nuclear physicists. The latter improvement being largely a function of an increasing awareness of the occupational title."<sup>58</sup>

On the other hand, Niederhoffer cites the same data and adds that, "In sixteen years the occupational prestige ladder had not changed much."<sup>59</sup>

55 Westley, p. 93.

56 ibid., p. 146.

57 McNamara and Niederhoffer both cite the same source; R. W. Hodge, P. M. Seigel and P. H. Rossi, "Occupational Prestige in the United States: 1925-63", Amer. Jour. of Soc., Vol. 70, No. 3, 1964, p. 291.

58 McNamara, p. 167.

59 Niederhoffer, p. 21.



Given the findings of these five researchers, it may be concluded that the general public ranks police work as a middle range occupation, but that the police consider that they are held in low regard by the public.

Police generally feel that the prestige of their occupation is ranked low by the public.

### Authoritarianism

Variations of Adorno's F-Scale have been administered to samples of police officers.<sup>60</sup> Niederhoffer administered a shortened form of the scale to 166 police recruits in New York City. He found that the recruits had a mean score of 4.15 compared to a score of 4.19 for the working class sample used in The Authoritarian Personality. From this he concluded that police recruits were no higher in authoritarianism than the working class in general and that there did not appear to be any self-selection of police work by authoritarian personalities.<sup>61</sup> Niederhoffer did not administer the scale to a sample of experienced police officers, but he does contend that

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60 T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D. J. Levinson and R. N. Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality, Harper, N. Y., 1950.

61 Niederhoffer, p. 150. The fact that Niederhoffer used a shorter version of the scale and compared his results with scale scores derived seventeen years before makes the conclusion somewhat tenuous.

authoritarianism is part of the police system. Given the finding that recruits are not more authoritarian than a sample of the working class, and given his own observation that authoritarianism is part of the system, he reached the following conclusion:

"It seems to me that the above data and conclusions support the notion that police authoritarianism does not come into the force along with the recruits, but rather is inculcated in the men through strenuous socialization. ...It is the police system, not the personality of the candidate, that is the more powerful determinant of behavior and ideology."<sup>62</sup>

Bayley and Mendelsohn cite Niederhoffer's findings to show that authoritarianism was not high among recruits. They also administered a shortened version of the F-Scale to 99 Denver officers and reached conclusions different than those suggested by Niederhoffer.<sup>63</sup>

In this case the five item scale developed by Srole was used.<sup>64</sup> The Denver officers scored lower than samples of the general population and the authors concluded that,

"The evidence therefore suggests that Denver officers are less authoritarian

62 ibid., p. 151.

63. David H. Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police, The Free Press,

64. Leo Srole, "Social Integration and Certain Corollaries: An Exploratory Study", Amer. Soc. Rev., Dec. 1956, pp. 709-716.

than Dominant populations. We have no evidence to indicate that police officers are peculiarly authoritarian."<sup>65</sup>

Skolnick, writing prior to Bayley and Mendelsohn, avoided the issue of authoritarianism and seems to have some doubts about the reliability of measuring the concept,

"Whether or not the policeman is an 'authoritarian personality' is a related issue, beyond the scope of this discussion partly because of the many questions raised about the concept."<sup>66</sup>

Despite Niederhoffer's assumption about authoritarianism and police experience, the conclusion of the literature on this point is obvious.

There are no data which indicate that the police are more authoritarian than the general population.

### Cynicism

In 1953 Westley began the discussion of police cynicism.

"The policeman is a cynic. Faced with the duty of keeping the people in line, and believing that most people are out to break the law and do him in if possible, he always looks for the selfish motive."<sup>67</sup>

65 Bayley and Mendelsohn, p. 18. "Dominant populations" refers to a non-random sample of white, middle-class residents of Denver.

66 Skolnick, p. 61.

67 Westley, p. 147.

It remained for Niederhoffer to investigate this assertion more fully. He began by agreeing with Westley,

"Cynicism is an ideological plank deeply entrenched in the ethos of the police world, and it serves equally well for attack or defense."<sup>68</sup>

He then noted that in his experience cynicism frequently became a permanent pattern of response, particularly in cases where young officers entered with a strong sense of idealism and inevitably encountered situations where failure and frustration overwhelmed them.<sup>69</sup> He illustrated this by commenting upon the desire which New York City officers have of getting "out of the bag and into the bureau," meaning that they are "fed up" with the basic job of uniformed patrol and desire to remove the uniform for the less visible role of detective.

"Their service motivation has become extinguished; they want to remove the uniform that publicly identifies them as policemen."<sup>70</sup>

As a test of these assertions, Niederhoffer devised a set of hypotheses which were intended to investigate the possible growth or decline of cynicism over the police career. He administered a 20-item questionnaire to 220 policemen. Thirty-four of these were newly appointed officers with no experience, 60 were probationary patrolmen with two or three

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68 Niederhoffer, p. 6.

69 ibid., p. 44.

70 ibid., p. 73.

months of service, and the remainder were veteran patrolmen, detectives and superior officers.

His first hypothesis was that:

"Cynicism will increase with length of service and reach its maximum at some point between five and ten years of service. Thereafter it will tend to level off."<sup>71</sup>

The hypothesized curvilinear relationship between cynicism and length of service was not statistically significant. However, the findings were in the predicted direction and Niederhoffer concluded that, "Generally speaking, the first hypothesis seems well supported by the data."<sup>72</sup>

Another hypothesis investigated cynicism in later years. It stated that:

"When members of the force have completed seventeen or eighteen years of service and they approach the time of retirement, they will exhibit less cynicism."<sup>73</sup>

Again, the findings were not significant but were in the predicted direction.

Of the eleven hypotheses tested by Niederhoffer, three were statistically significant. These were, that patrolmen with college education who were not promoted would be more cynical than other patrolmen (P less than .01), that foot patrolmen, because they have lower status, would be more cynical

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71 ibid., p. 231.

72 ibid., p. 233.

73 ibid., p. 240.

than other patrolmen (P less than .05), and that Jewish patrolmen would be more cynical than their non-Jewish colleagues (P less than .05).<sup>74</sup>

Niederhoffer is the only researcher to test for the existence of cynicism. His findings are tenuous, and he has not demonstrated that the relationship between cynicism and length of service does not exist in other occupations. While it cannot be concluded that cynicism is peculiar to the police, it is safe to agree with Westley and Niederhoffer.

Cynicism is part of the police subculture.

#### Anomie

A concept which is sometimes closely allied to cynicism is anomie. Niederhoffer defined this as, "loss of faith in people, of enthusiasm for the high ideals of police work, and of pride and integrity." He feels that this is part of the occupation but does not substantiate the claim.<sup>75</sup>

Bayley and Mendelsohn administered an anomie scale to their Denver police sample and found that, "Denver policemen consistently scored lower on the anomie scale than the Dominant general public."<sup>76</sup>

Available data indicate that police are not more anomic than the middle-class of the general public.

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74 In the last case there were only 10 Jewish policemen.

75 Niederhoffer, p. 91.

76 Bayley and Mendelsohn, pp. 15-16.

### Ressentiment

The concept of resentment was introduced to American sociology by Robert Merton. It has its origins in the work of Nietzsche and it was taken up and developed by Max Scheler.<sup>77</sup> Merton feels that no English word fully reproduces the complex of elements implied by the word so he retains the French spelling.

The sentiment of resentment has three interlocking elements:

"First, diffuse feelings of hate, envy and hostility; second, a sense of being powerless to express these feelings actively against the person or social stratum evoking them; and third, a continual reexperiencing of this impotent hostility."<sup>78</sup>

The point of departure for this research will be Merton's use of the term because his definition is closer to the operational level. However, Scheler's description of the term seems to make resentment an especially useful concept for understanding certain social roles. Scheler sees the attitude arising from what is translated as "specific positions" within the social structure. Coser, in his preface to the English translation, believes that Scheler is referring to what would now be called social roles.

"Scheler developed the notion that certain social roles, or as he expressed it certain recurrent

77 Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, The Free Press, N. Y., 1968, (enlarged edition), pp. 210-11.

78 ibid., p. 210. It should be emphasized that resentment consists of "diffuse feelings", that is, there is no implication that the resenting subject is fully aware of this hate,

situations in which individuals find themselves, predisposes toward the emergence of resentment.-79

Nowhere does Scheler provide a precise definition of the term, but the general thrust of his discussion indicates that persons who display the attitude find the existing institutional structure at odds with their needs, yet they have too much invested in the structure to strike out in a rebellious manner. At times, Scheler seems to be talking about what modern sociologists would call relative deprivation or reaction formation, but neither of these terms precisely describes his meaning. It seems safer therefore to suggest that Scheler produced an important "sensitizing concept" and to derive the operational definition from Merton's more precise use of the term.

The only person to relate resentment to the police occupation is Niederhoffer. He considers anomie, cynicism and resentment to be part of the police culture. While he tests statistically for the presence or cynicism, he simply posits the existence of resentment and does not test for it.

Other authors do not speak directly of resentment as used by Merton but their findings do suggest its presence. McNamara notes that many officers equate being courteous with being deferential.

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envy and hostility. For this reason, the concept is difficult to operationalize and to my knowledge no one has yet attempted to do so.

79 Max Scheler, *Ressentiment*, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961, (translated from the 1915 edition by William Holdheim, edited by Lewis A. Coser), p.25.



"Being courteous to someone who has just indicated that the officer is both illegitimate and doomed by a deity to perdition seems somewhat inappropriate to officers, who frequently interpret such abuse as reflecting a criminal orientation on the part of the citizen."<sup>80</sup>

Berkeley quotes a former French police official who seems to be talking indirectly about resentment when he states that "a man who is despised must possess a rare virtue in order not to become despicable"<sup>81</sup>

As part of the present research an attempt will be made to operationalize this concept and to measure its presence in a group of police respondents.

The literature suggests that resentment might be part of the police subculture.

Having reviewed some of the elements which are seen as being part of the police subculture, an attempt will now be made to review the relationships between police organization and the larger social system. Among other topics, the literature focuses upon attitudes of the police toward courts, police-public relations, professionalization, education for police and problems of police administration.

#### Police and the Courts

Normally the police are in positions of authority when interacting with citizens, but when they appear in court

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80 McNamara, p. 176.

81 Berkeley, p. 160.

the role situation is reversed. Reiss notes that this status reversal, plus the lower prestige of police when dealing with men of the bar, leads to a situation where the police feel themselves balked by the courts and, "perhaps even more fundamentally, feel themselves dishonored."<sup>82</sup>

Skolnick points out that while the prosecutor is technically the spokesman for the police he serves a "quasi-magisterial function" by conveying legal concepts to policemen.<sup>83</sup>

Both the judge and the prosecutor serve as boards of review for the policeman's past behavior.

As a participant-observer, Westley reports on the courtroom behavior of police. Fundamentally, court appearance for police officers is an unpleasant task because they are frequently frustrated and "made to play the fool." In courts, the correctness of the officer's decisions is questioned and this is in an area of greatest importance to him.<sup>84</sup> According to Westley, the police response to the situation is rationalization.

"The policeman, needing the security of past judgments for future judgments, tends to rationalize away the decisions of the court.

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82 Reiss, p. 328. Reiss also believes that the relationship of police to courts is one of the reasons for the often noted solidarity of police systems.

83 Skolnick, p. 233.

84 Westley, p. 91.

This is easy to do by saying, 'The man was guilty all right, but we just didn't have enough evidence to make it stick,' or, 'The fix was on'.<sup>85</sup>

Another element of normal court procedure that affects police attitude is plea bargaining. Police realize that the majority of cases they bring before the courts will be disposed of according to practical expediency rather than according to the formal legal process that they learned about in training.<sup>86</sup> For police, plea bargaining does not result in outcomes which indicate that their efforts have been appreciated and that morality has been upheld.<sup>87</sup>

In this regard, Reiss quotes an unnamed police administrator,

"Police get conditioned to the idea that we are the only people with our finger in the criminal dike in this country. They feel that everyone else 'lets him go.' Police differ from the D.A. The D.A. is satisfied with the conviction, finding him guilty, but the police want him punished."<sup>88</sup>

Reiss also points out a more serious result of the police-court relationship. Dissatisfaction with court decisions results in police developing a tendency to settle matters outside the courts and to take it upon themselves to see that "justice is done."<sup>89</sup>

85 ibid., p. 82.

86. Bittner, p. 23.

87 Reiss, p. 37.

88 ibid., p. 37.

89 ibid., p.33.

The police often see the courts as obstacles to the goals of justice and as threatening to their own conceptions of their professional competence.

#### Police-Public Relations

It has previously been noted that police generally believe that the public holds the prestige of police work in low regard. But, the matter of routine police-public relations goes beyond the simple question of prestige. Wilson contends that the police generally underrate the cooperation that they receive from the public, and he justifies this belief by noting that national opinion polls show that the vast majority of citizens have favorable attitudes toward the police.<sup>90</sup>

Niederhoffer notes that in both England and the United States police believe that the press also demonstrates hostility toward them. He cites instances in both countries where police produced press clippings which depict policemen in an unfavorable light.

What little research has been done on the press coverage of law enforcement does not bear out this belief. In a content analysis of all police news appearing in the New York Times and the New York Daily News during a six month

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90 Wilson, p. 56.

period in 1958 Benjamin Stalzer discovered that the press was rather sympathetic to the police.<sup>91</sup>

The police perception seems to be somewhat removed from reality. Preiss and Ehrlich have tried to explain this discrepancy. While police frequently perform services that resemble those provided by the professions of law, medicine and nursing, there are two main differences between law enforcement and these professions. First, because of his relatively short preparation the policeman has lower status than these professionals, and secondly, unlike the true professionals, whose services are voluntarily sought by the client, the police officer is usually the initiator of his contacts with others.<sup>92</sup>

According to Bittner, this sense of being out of favor with a large segment of the population has led police to adopt a petulant stance in the face of what they define as public disapproval.<sup>93</sup>

Police believe that a large segment of the public holds them in low regard and refuses to recognize the importance of the services which their occupation provides.

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91 Benjamin Stalzer, "Press Portrayal of the New York City Police Department with a Content Analysis of the New York Daily News and the New York Times of April 1, 1958 to October 1, 1958". (Unpublished Master's dissertation, Bernard M. Baruch School of Business and Public Administration, CCNY, 1961, as reported by Niederhoffer, p. 116).

92 Preiss and Ehrlich, p. 7.

93 Bittner, p. 8.

### Professionalization

In recent years career police administrators have taken to defining their calling as a profession. This serves two purposes. First, it increases the status of the occupation, and secondly, it allows these administrators the right of "self-policing" that is claimed by other professions. According to Niederhoffer, the label of "professional" has great appeal to the "thinking policeman."<sup>94</sup>

However, the researchers who have considered the question of professionalizing the police have expressed doubts about plans for upgrading the occupation. Smith considers the claim that all police can be raised to full professional status to be a "thin pretense." He simply suggests that larger proportions of police personnel receive higher levels of training.<sup>95</sup> Bittner observes that as long as police are treated as soldier-bureaucrats they will not develop professional acumen nor value its possession.<sup>96</sup> He also notes that no one really knows how to set the development of a profession into motion and that professionalization should therefore be spoken of in only the most tentative terms.<sup>97</sup>

While these and other researchers suggest an upgrading of educational standards for police they do not seem impressed

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<sup>94</sup> Niederhoffer, p. 19.

<sup>95</sup> Smith, p. 319.

<sup>96</sup> Bittner, p. 61

<sup>97</sup> ibid., p. 71.

with the labelling of law enforcement as a profession at all its levels.

The efforts of police to upgrade their occupation to a profession and enjoy the resulting increases in status and self-accountability are not totally supported by researchers who have considered the question of professionalization.

### Education for Police

In recent years both police administrators and various government reports of law enforcement (which will be reviewed subsequently) have placed great emphasis on college education and improved in-service training for police officers. The social science researchers reviewed here, while agreeing with this stress upon education, point out certain inherent disadvantages.

Most notable among these is the envy and hostility shown by old-timers who lack either the formal education or the motivation to begin new courses of instruction.<sup>98</sup> Another disadvantage is the danger that policemen will be recipients of watered-down wisdom because instructors consider that police are not desirous of learning.<sup>99</sup>

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98 Bittner, p. 69, and  
Niederhoffer, p. 31.

99 Niederhoffer, p. 235.

In his study of cynicism Niederhoffer found that patrolmen with two or more years of college education had cynicism scores that were significantly higher than those of the general population of police. He concluded that, "...in certain cases, education multiplies frustration and cynicism instead of the reverse."<sup>100</sup>

The literature recommends higher levels of education for police but also notes that there are disadvantages which must be considered.

#### Problems of Police Administration

The authors reviewed here are generally pessimistic when considering the power of police administrators to raise the levels of efficiency in their organizations. Research has uncovered a variety of factors which hinder the most reform-minded police administrator in his attempts to upgrade performance.

In many departments lower ranking officers are protected by civil service regulations while the highest ranking administrator enjoys less security. The administrator is thereby placed in the uncomfortable position of having to placate not only the public and its special interest groups but also the members of his command.<sup>101</sup> The administrator

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100 Niederhoffer, p. 104.

101 Smith, p. 7.



is "caught in the middle." If he identifies with his men he runs the risk of enraging segments of the public. If he attempts to soothe the community he runs the risk of losing the support of his own men. It is Wilson's experience that most chiefs tend to develop two views, one public and one private.<sup>102</sup>

Elsewhere, Wilson reports that when police administrators do take an active role in improving the performance of their organizations the results are not always as anticipated. He studied the rapid changes that took place in the Chicago Police Department under O. W. Wilson between 1960 and 1965. One of his conclusions was that,

"It is nevertheless striking that after four or five years of sweeping changes - including substantial pay raises, rapid promotions, and new equipment and buildings - so few men felt that morale was good or even that it had improved very much."<sup>103</sup>

While it has not been demonstrated that high police morale is either a necessary or sufficient condition for high standards of performance, it is clear that morale is not simply a function of competent police administration. In effect, morale is dependent upon forces outside the organization and largely outside the control of police administrators.<sup>104</sup>

A last factor which limits the power of police administrators is the military model which is used in most

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102 Smith, p. 7.

103 Wilson, The Police, p. 148.

104 ibid., p. 156.

police organizations. Bittner contends that under this model the administrator is limited in the rewards he can give to his subordinates and in the commands he sends down the line. Unlike the true military commander, the police administrator does not actually have the potential to lead his men into battle. The commands that he gives are almost always of the most general type.<sup>105</sup>

The literature indicates that under present methods of organization police administrators do not have sufficient power to initiate sweeping organizational changes.

#### The Police Subculture and Personality Predispositions

As was stated in the preface, one piece of empirical research appeared after the data for the present study were collected, and the present research design was not predicated upon it. In a study of the value gap between police and the policed, Milton Rokeach and others found that personality factors and social background were more important in accounting for police values than occupational socialization.<sup>106</sup>

They examined four hypotheses:

- (A) Police have value systems that are distinctly different than other groups in American society.

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105 Bittner, p. 59.

106 Milton Rokeach, Martin G. Miller and John A. Snyder, "The Value Gap Between Police and Policed", Jour. of Social Issues, Vol. 27, #2, 1971, pp. 155-171.

- (B) Police value systems should be highly similar to value systems of those who come from comparable backgrounds.
- (C) Police values are also a function of personality predispositions.
- (D) Police values are a function of occupational socialization.

The authors used a sample of male, midwestern policemen ( $N = 153$ ) and compared their sample to NORC area probability samples of both black and white adults. The Rokeach Value Survey which provides rank-ordered data on 18 terminal and 18 instrumental values was administered to all three groups.<sup>107</sup>

The data supported hypotheses (B) and (C) above. That is, both social background and personality seemed to best explain the variance between the police responses and those of the NORC sample.

With regard to occupational socialization the authors compared the responses of officers by age group (30 and under, 31-39, 40 and over) and found that, "not a single one of the (thirty-six) values was significantly different for the three groups."<sup>108</sup> A comparison using length of service as the independent variable obtained the same result.

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107 The Rokeach Value Survey attempts to measure a hierarchy of values by asking the respondent to rank-order a list of values "as guiding principles in your daily life." Terminal values include such things as a comfortable life, equality and self-respect. Instrumental values include honesty, cheerfulness and imaginativeness.

108 Rokeach, p. 164.

The general conclusion of the study was as follows:

"These data ... therefore suggest that the particular police value patterns described here are probably not a function of occupational socialization (hypothesis D), but of recruitment - primarily from certain social strata, and secondarily, of personality factors operating within these strata."<sup>109</sup>

The authors also comment on the practical implications of the research. They believe that if greater congruence between value patterns of police and the policed is desired, attention should be paid to recruitment of police officers of different social backgrounds and ethnic groups.<sup>110</sup>

This research is important for two reasons. First, it is one of the few studies that empirically tests hypotheses, and secondly, its findings run somewhat contrary to the remainder of the literature. Rokeach notes the importance of "personality predispositions" while the literature stresses socialization.<sup>111</sup>

109 ibid., p. 166.

110 ibid., p. 170.

111 At least two of these latter studies are not completely at odds with the Rokeach findings. It is Skolnick's view that socialization affects the "working personality" of the police officer, and his writing cannot be construed to indicate that this socialization would necessarily affect perceptions of the types of values measured by the Rokeach scales. Also, Westley held that policemen were often in "antagonistic relationships with the community" while continuing to live decent, humble urban lives when not engaging in occupational activity. Here again there is no basic disagreement between the earlier conclusion and Rokeach's findings.

**Government Studies of Law Enforcement**

The first large scale federally sponsored study of law enforcement in the United States was published in 1931 and is commonly known as the Wickersham Report.<sup>112</sup> The most recent findings of a government commission were published in 1967 under the title Challenge of Crime in a Free Society.<sup>113</sup> Both of these reports were aimed at identifying and remedying the various shortcomings of the criminal justice system. This section will compare the conclusions of 1931 with those of 1967.

The Wickersham Report identified what it called six "underlying causes of police failure." These six causes were:

1. Political interference and resulting short terms of service of police chiefs.
2. Lack of competent, efficient and honest patrolmen and subordinate officers.
3. Lack of efficient communication systems.
4. Political influence of criminals.
5. Rapid growth of cities and large influx of foreigners.

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112 U. S. National Commission of Law Observance and Enforcement, Report on Police, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

113 op. cit.

6. Too many duties upon police as a result of the transition from rural to urban police work.<sup>114</sup>

The solutions suggested by the Wickersham Commission are simply straightforward recommendations that the factors be rooted out.

Interestingly, the 1967 report of the President's Commission stresses three of these factors, speaks about one indirectly, and virtually ignores the remaining two.

By 1967 it was noted that communications had improved but that more research was needed to develop more sophisticated equipment and to make existing equipment available to smaller departments.

Rapid urban growth was again seen as a major factor. In this regard the commission suggested the formation of police-community relations units which were in fact intended to be police-minority group relations units.

Again it was noted that too many duties have been given to the police, and the 1967 report recommended organizational changes to reduce the burden of routine tasks upon highly trained officers.

The factor that got indirect attention concerned the lack of competent, efficient and honest patrolmen. The 1967 report chose to speak in terms that would be more acceptable

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114 In a later chapter, these factors will be related to the community in which the present study took place.

to policemen and police administrators. For example, it stated that, "Generally law enforcement personnel have met their difficult responsibilities with commendable zeal, determination, and devotion to duty."<sup>115</sup> It then went on to make specific recommendations aimed at improving the competence, honesty, and efficiency of policemen. A section headed "Controlling Police Misconduct" ends with the recommendation that each department establish effective internal investigation units. In regard to the controversial issue of civilian review boards the Commission recommends that such boards not be established where they do not already exist.<sup>116</sup> This recommendation, however, is made in the body of the report and is not set out in bold-faced type as are thirty-five other recommendations.

The two factors mentioned in 1931 that are not featured in the 1967 report concern political interference and resulting short terms for police chiefs, and political influence of criminals. Possibly the decline in influence of big city "political machines" accounts for the decline in emphasis upon "politics" as being a factor.<sup>117</sup>

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115 Challenge of Crime in a Free Society, p. 107.

116 ibid., p. 103.

117 In this regard, virtually all commentators on law enforcement administration preface their remarks with the observation that police efficiency has increased in recent years. It might be rewarding to use content analysis on the literature about police reform to determine if the assumed

Unlike the Wickersham Report, the 1967 Commission chose to accent specific recommendations for improvement rather than underlying factors. The thirty-five recommendations fall into fifteen general subject areas. These areas, and the number of recommendations in each, are as follows:

1. Improved general education and in-service training. (7)
2. Improved community and minority group relations. (6)
3. Increased planning and research staffs. (4)
4. Lateral entry to the various grade levels. (3)
5. Recruitment of better educated applicants. (3)
6. Improved salaries and promotion based on merit. (3)
7. State legislation to clarify police power. (1)
8. Establishment of state commissions to aid police. (1)
9. Regular legal advice available to police. (1)
10. Establishment of internal investigation units. (1)
11. Improved patrol tactics. (1)
12. A clearly stated firearms policy. (1)
13. Improved record keeping. (1)
14. Greater availability of laboratory and other technical facilities. (1)

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improvement results from the implementation of specific proposals made by study groups such as the Wickersham Commission or from accidents of history, such as changes in urban politics, the greater sophistication of citizens and such factors as the Depression and World War II in raising the quality of police recruits.



## 15. Better inter-departmental communication. (1)

From this review, it is clear that the Commission wished to attack the problems of law enforcement on four general fronts. First, it suggests an up-grading and modernization of police administration; secondly it recommends improved general education and in-service training, especially for lower level personnel; thirdly it suggests that better qualified applicants be attracted to law enforcement at all levels; and lastly it wants improved police-community relations.

At the end of this report these suggestions will be related to both the present data and the past sociological literature in the hope that more specific suggestions can be made as to the relative effort that should be expended on each of these fronts.

CHAPTER II  
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE II:  
DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND THE POLICE

"No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any way harmed, nor shall we go upon him or send upon him save by the law of the land." -The Magna Carta

"...insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." -Preamble to the Constitution of the United States.

The first statement about emphasizes individual rights, or what has come to be called "due process of law." The second statement mentions "the general welfare" as being valuable in a democracy. It is a truism to note that the Constitution of the United States and the Magna Carta value both individual liberty and the general welfare. But, it is just as true that there is frequently tension in democracies between these two values.

In attempting to explain police authority and the rights of the individual, Sidney Asch, a Justice of the New York State Supreme Court, began his exposition by stating that,

"The central issue of our times appears to be the increasing conflict between the assertion of authority and the maintenance of individual freedom."<sup>1</sup>

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1 Sidney H. Asch, Police Authority and the Rights of the Individual, Arco Pub. Co., N.Y., 1967, p. 1.

This central issue is more a dilemma than a problem and the area where it is most visible is in the interaction between police and citizens.<sup>2</sup>

As will be noted below, in commenting upon this dilemma some scholars and jurists stress individual liberty, others stress the common good, and still others note that both of these values are important in democracies.

The facile, but least satisfying answer, is to stress the importance of both, and in effect to deny that the dilemma exists.

Several years ago the Attorneys General of the United States were questioned as to their positions on such issues as the increase of police power in regard to wiretapping, search and seizure, and detention without arrest. Their responses varied considerably. The response of one attorney general was unique. Rather than answer the specific questions directly he chose to make a general statement. His reply is quoted here in its entirety because it so well represents the formal position taken by policemen's oaths and text books in law enforcement.

"Please be advised that it is the position of this office in the great debate on law enforcement in America concerning whether or not we must place emphasis on protection of society as opposed to protection of constitutional rights of individuals, that both must be protected with equal vigor.

"We must constantly, as law enforcement agencies, assure that the accused's rights are not violated

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2 *ibid.*

regardless of the crime. At the same time we in law enforcement must, with increased devotion and ability, assure that the citizens of the nation are protected by finding new means of obtaining evidence and presenting the evidence in court.

"Prosecutors, officers and other agencies must improve their education and efficiency to protect society. The judges likewise will need to upgrade the form of sentences commensurate with the crime."<sup>3</sup>

It would be difficult for one who subscribes to a set of democratic values to disagree with the contents of the above statement. To conclude that this statement is a sufficient response to the problem mentioned by Asch is to beg the question. An attempt will be made in the following paragraphs to cite only the most eminent legal scholars and to use the citations as exemplary of the two sides of the issue.

In essence, the issue is the conflict in a democracy between the right of the community to domestic tranquility and the right of the individual to due process of law.

In the history of this problem some scholars have chosen to emphasize the importance of the common good, or what Justice Clark called the "Bill of Duties."

"Our democracy is based on what we call our Bill of Rights, but many of us have forgotten, I am afraid these days, that hand-in-hand

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<sup>3</sup> Frank L. Farrar, as quoted in Law Enforcement in the United States, Mid-west Debate Bureau, Normal, Ill., 1965, p. 216. At the time of the statement Mr. Farrar was Attorney General of North Dakota.

with our Bill of Rights there is a comparable bill, a 'Bill of Duties'."<sup>4</sup>

Clark was addressing a convocation of police chiefs and this may have colored his remarks. He concluded that, "Liberty will cease unless sanction is given to the duties that go along with glorious freedoms."

Inbau made the same point when he said,

"Individual rights and liberties cannot exist in a vacuum. Alongside them we must have a stable society, a safe society; otherwise, there will be no medium in which to exercise such rights and liberties."<sup>5</sup>

Judge Learned Hand noted that while protection against police oppression is a major interest, the effective prosecution of crime "at times seems to be forgotten."<sup>6</sup>

All of the scholars cited above - Clark, Inbau and Hand - agree that both values are important in a democracy, but they all prefer to point to the values of "the common good" or "social order" as the one that needed the emphasis at the times they were speaking.

Others emphasize individual rights or "due process

- 4 Justice Tom C. Clark, "We Seek Not Efficient Tyranny, But Effective Freedom", an address before the International Association of Chiefs of Police, as found in The Police Yearbook, 1965, International Association of Chiefs of Police, Washington, D. C., 1965, p. 13.
- 5 Fred E. Inbau, "Public Safety v. Individual Liberties", The Police Chief, Vol. 29, Jan., 1962, p. 33.
- 6 Learned Hand, quoted in American Criminal Law Quarterly, Vol. 1, #19, May, 1963.

of law." Most notable among these is Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

"We have to choose, and for my part, I think it less evil that some criminals should escape than that the government should play an ignoble part."<sup>7</sup>

Contemporary justices are in the same tradition.

"A civilized system of law is as much concerned with the means employed to bring people to justice as it is with the ends themselves. A first principle of jurisprudence is that the ends do not justify the means."<sup>8</sup>

Holmes and Douglas were stressing procedural due process of law. Goldberg makes the same point with a slightly different emphasis.

"We have learned the lesson of history that no system of criminal justice can or should survive if it comes to depend for its continued effectiveness on the citizens' abdication through unawareness of their constitutional rights. ...If the exercise of constitutional rights will thwart the effectiveness of a system of law enforcement, then there is something very wrong with that system."<sup>9</sup>

These authorities are in general agreement that both values - individual rights and the common good - are important in a democracy. But, the divergence of views rather than the agreement is the important issue. On the one hand we have Clark, Inbau and Hand emphasizing the general welfare. On

7 Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, quoted in Handbook of Law Enforcement Powers, J. Weston Walch, Editor & Publisher, Portland, Me., 1965, p. 9.

8 William O. Douglas, We The Judges, Doubleday & Co., N.Y., 1956, p. 354.

9 Arthur J. Goldberg, in Escobedo v. Illinois, 378 U. S. 478 (1964).

the other, we have Holmes, Douglas and Goldberg stressing the scrupulous preservation of individual rights. The shadings of emphasis might be small but they are of great practical importance. For example, the recent Supreme Court decisions that most directly affect law enforcement, Escobedo, Miranda, and Gideon, were all five to four decisions.

The above statements review only the positions of jurists and legal scholars. Behavioral scientists have also explored the subject and have attempted to relate these values to the police.

Skolnick found that in democracies the procedures of criminal law stress protection of individual rights within a system of social order.

"This dichotomy (of stress upon individual liberties within a system of social order) suggests that the common juxtaposition of law and order is an oversimplification. Law is not merely an instrument of order, but may frequently be its adversary."<sup>10</sup>

According to Skolnick, the requirements of "order" placed upon the police go beyond simple bureaucratic record keeping. The police are expected to have a high ratio of arrests to reported crime and to keep visible crime to a minimum. To reach these goals they are frequently organized on a military model which emphasizes a military conception of order. This military conception, plus the demands for high clearance rates and a clean beat lead to what police

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10 Skolnick, p. 7.

administrators call "aggressive patrol."<sup>11</sup>

On a more specific level, several authors have related this distinction to the constabulary role of the patrolman. Wilson suggests that, "the patrolman's role is defined more by maintaining order than enforcing the law."<sup>12</sup> Opposition between the "law officer" and "peace officer" enforcement styles is mentioned by Banton,<sup>13</sup> and Bittner, in his study of police practices on skid row, contrasts "law enforcement" and "keeping the peace."<sup>14</sup> Wenninger and Clark attempt to relate the distinction to Parsonian theory.<sup>15</sup> They build a case to show that the police occupation is concerned with two of the four functional imperatives, value maintenance (which Wilson likens to maintaining order) and goal attainment (which is similar to law enforcement).

In summary - with or without the Parsonian flourishes - there are two ideal types which sometimes are in opposition to each other. One is the value of law, which finds expression in statements about due process and legal

- 11 Albert J. Reiss and David J. Bordua, "Environment and Organization: A Perspective on the Police", in The Police, David J. Bordua, Editor, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., N.Y., 1967, p. 29.
- 12 James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1968, p. 16.
- 13 Michael Banton, The Policeman and the Community, Tavistock, London, 1964, p. 6.
- 14 Egon Bittner, "The Police on Skid Row: A Study of Peace-Keeping", Amer. Soc. Rev., Vol. 32, Oct., 1967, pp. 699-715.
- 15 Eugene P. Wenninger and John P. Clark, "A Theoretical Orientation for Police Studies", in Malcolm W. Klein, Juvenile Gangs in Context, Prentice-Hall Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1967, pp. 161-172.



restraint. The other is order, which is exemplified by the doctrine of aggressive patrol, punishing the guilty, and keeping a clean beat.

These last two chapters have divided the literature into three parts - the sociological researchs, the recommendations made by government commissions, and opinions concerning democratic values have been reviewed.

This literature suggests that there are a number of independent variables which might account for police attitudes and it stresses occupational socialization as being the most important of these. Socialization will therefore be the major independent variable of this research, but religion social class, ethnicity, age and education will also be considered.

This same literature notes that value conflicts which create tension between ideas of social order on one hand and due process of law on the other are part of the police occupation. These values, which will here be called "law" and "order" have not been studied empirically. Because they seem to be more important for law enforcement in a democracy than the peripheral issues of cynicism, authoritarianism and anomie, they will be the major dependent variables of this research.

The literature also suggests that resentment might also be important in law enforcement, and largely because this concept has not been explored empirically an attempt will be made to do so here.

Given this state of past research, the question stated in the preface will be explored according to the research design which follows.

CHAPTER III  
RELEVANT SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY  
AND THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The major question of this research, as stated in the Preface, has two parts. First, it asks how the police occupation socializes its members, and secondly, it asks for an explanation of the effects of this socialization upon certain police attitudes. The first part of the question requires an answer that is largely descriptive while the second part calls for inferential statements.

This research has two theoretical groundings which roughly coincide with the two parts of the question. Role-Set theory is used as a guide in describing the socializing agency and in analyzing the field notes. Differential Association provides the conceptualization necessary to explore the second part of the question, and it is more closely related to the analysis of the questionnaire results. The relationships between the theoretical overviews and the two parts of the question are not perfect ones, and both conceptualizations have bearing on both parts of the question.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the proposed application of Role-Set theory and Differential Association, and to outline the research design.

### Role-Set Theory

The two most notable contributions to Role-Set theory have been made by Merton<sup>1</sup> and Gross.<sup>2</sup>

According to Merton a theory of the middle range is provided by the concept role-set.

"...by role-set I mean that complement of role-relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular social position."<sup>3</sup>

The concept can be honed a bit finer by adding the observations of Gross who defines role as,

"A set of evaluative standards applied to an incumbent of a particular social position."<sup>4</sup>

The imaginary circle that Gross uses to represent a role is then sliced up like a pie into various "role sectors."

"A role sector is defined as a set of expectations applied to the relationships of a focal position to a single counter position."<sup>5</sup>

Without using the wealth of neologisms created by Gross it can be assumed that the "role sectors" of the focal position - in this case, that of the patrolman - vary from each other in significant ways. For example, the patrolman's

1 Robert K. Merton, "The Role-Set: Problems in Sociological Theory", The British Journal of Soc., Vol. 8, June, 1957, pp. 106-120.

2 Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason and Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis, John Wiley & Sons, N.Y., 1958.

3 Merton, p. 110.

4 Gross, p. 60.

5 ibid., p. 62.

demeanor vis-a-vis his patrolman-partner varies from that displayed when he interacts with a superior officer, a suspected offender or a citizen requesting information.<sup>6</sup>

The application of Role-Set theory to the study of formal organizations has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are three-fold. First, the role-set model provides a better description of the organization than does the more formal "manning chart" of hierarchical positions. Secondly, it provides a static snapshot view of the organization while at the same time emphasizing the dynamics of the paths of interaction between the various roles in the model. Lastly, role-set models are useful analytic tools in working with ethnographic field notes because all the actions recorded in the notes can be assumed to relate to one or more of the paths of interaction represented in the model. When field notes are used only as a source of anecdotal material there is a danger that the researcher will unconsciously "salt" his data or choose excerpts which are atypical.

Role-set theory also has disadvantages.

"The concept of role has frequently been little more than an ambiguous device for describing ordered behavior in a group."<sup>7</sup>

The objective of sociological theory is to both describe and

6 For further indication of how Role-Set theory is applied in the present research the reader is referred to Figure I on page 100.

7 Preiss and Ehrlich, p. 1.

and predict. Role-Set theory has been useful in describing various social settings, but its record of meaningful predictions has been disappointing. For this reason, Role-Set theory has been used here only for descriptive purposes, and Differential Association has provided the conceptualization used in testing of hypotheses.

#### Differential Association

Since its first formulation by Edwin Sutherland in 1939 the theory of Differential Association has occupied a center-stage position in the field of deviance and control.<sup>8</sup> The theory will not be applied here in its usual manner. The term "differential association" was meant to imply association with the general culture on one hand and a criminal subculture on the other. However, in the eighth of his nine propositions Sutherland states that the process of learning criminal behavior involves all of the mechanisms that are involved in any other learning. In this case then, the application of the theory is concerned with the differential association which police officers have with the larger culture and the occupational subculture.

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8 The theory first appears in the third edition of Principles of Criminology in that year. The most recent formulation of the theory can be found in the seventh edition of the same work (J.B. Lippincott Co., N.Y., 1966, pp. 77-100). The most extensive explanation of how the theory developed is contained in, Albert K. Cohen, Alfred Lindsmith, and Karl Schussler, The Sutherland Papers, Indiana Univ. Press, 1956.

While the theory has nine propositions it can be summarized by reference to just one of these which states the principle of differential association.

"A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law."<sup>9</sup>

With regard to the police, the application of the theory is concerned with testing the general hypothesis that police attitudes change as the typical officer increases his length of service and has more associations with the police milieu. Should attitude change be better attributed to the simple process of aging, to ethnicity, religion, or social class, or to any other factor which does not represent socialization into the occupation, then the expected findings would not obtain. In this case, police attitudes would best be explained by some model of socialization other than the differential association model, or by independent variables which are not necessarily related to socialization.

Sutherland himself has also related his theory to police behavior.

"A policeman or a prison guard has his most frequent, intimate and prestigious associations with others in the same occupation and with members of the police machine; and when he participates in criminal behavior it is most frequently in graft, which he learns from these associates."<sup>10</sup>

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9 Sutherland, sixth edition, p. 81.

10 As quoted in, Cohen, The Sutherland Papers, p. 25.

The concern here is not with police graft, but with whether or not contact with what Sutherland calls "the police machine" has a significant effect upon police attitudes toward democratic values.

#### The Research Design

The major independent variable is occupational socialization, and the literature reviewed previously in Chapter I is most germane to the conceptualization of this variable. The major dependent variables are police attitudes toward due process of law and the common good, and the material reviewed in Chapter II under the heading "Democratic Values and the Police" serves best to introduce these values.

Additional independent variables are also considered. These are variables which do not directly represent socialization, but which might account for the attitudes being examined.

One additional dependent variable is also considered. Ressentiment has been hypothesized as being part of the police subculture, but unlike cynicism, anomie and authoritarianism, it has never been empirically investigated. This research attempts to operationalize this concept and to measure its existence in a group of police respondents.

In addition to the variables which fall into the categories noted above, data were collected concerning issues such as education for police, police-public relations and other topics which the literature indicates are important



for an understanding of law enforcement in democracies.

### Operational Definitions of the Variables

The definitions of some of the variables are obvious. Others present problems and the manner in which they were arrived at is explained in detail.

Independent variables:

There are nine independent variables. Four of these represent occupation. socialization.

1. Length of Service was represented by the number of years of full-time police experience.

2. Police Training. Questionnaire items were used to divide respondents into four classes: A) No training above the recruit level; B) Some additional training; C) Additional training plus active participation in a degree program in law enforcement; D) Completion of Associate of Arts degree requirements in a law enforcement program. A few officers in the City Department have the baccalaureate degree but none of these were in law enforcement.

3. Occupational Commitment. Several questionnaire items were combined into a summated rating scale to measure this variable. The scale assumes that officers who have a sense of accomplishment in their work, would again choose law enforcement as a career, have not thought of leaving the job, and, report an increase in enthusiasm over the years, have a higher sense of occupational commitment.

The difficulty with these items was that they would also be measuring factors other than commitment. Other items concerning group solidarity and future plans were also considered. However, given the results obtained with a pre-test of the questionnaire and limitations upon its length, these items were finally chosen because it was thought that they would best indicate the degree to which officers saw themselves committed to law enforcement as a permanent career.

4. Rank. The questions used were intended to classify respondents into one of three groups: A) Patrolmen; B) Patrolmen with preferred assignments; C) Superior officers. Superior officers could be further divided into sergeants, lieutenants and captains, but there are so few officers in these higher ranks that it was not expected that these classes would be sufficiently populated.

The additional five independent variables are not considered to represent occupational socialization.

5. Age.

6. Formal Education. The officers were asked to note the highest level of school they had completed.

7. Ethnicity. Respondents were asked if they considered themselves to be members of ethnic groups. A further breakdown was made by asking if the officers were members of ethnic social clubs.

8. Social Class. This variable was measured by asking the respondent to name both the last job he held before becoming a policeman and the last full-time occupation

of his father. It was expected that the respondents would be homogeneous regarding social class but that they could be classified according to: A) Blue-collar origins; B) Blue-collar origins but upwardly mobile (on the basis of their last employment prior to entering police work); C) White-collar origins. The pre-test indicated that respondents gave specific, easily classifiable answers regarding occupations, but that very few of them held white-collar jobs before entering police work. In the few cases where occupational titles were not sufficiently clear (e.g. salesman, engineer) no attempt was made to classify the respondents on this variable.

9. Religion. Respondents were asked to check one of the following categories: A) Protestant; B) Catholic; C) Jewish; D) Other; E) None. Again, the pre-test indicated extreme homogeneity.

#### Dependent Variables:

No existing scales could be found which adequately measured attitudes toward the two values represented by the terms "individual liberties" and "collective responsibility." To my knowledge, no attempt has ever been made to operationalize Merton's concept of "ressentiment" and three questionnaire items were designed to do this.

Both the conceptualization and operationalization of the first two of these dependent variables presented problems. These values have previously been reviewed by citing statements of jurists and social scientists. Some of these

authorities stress the value called "law." This can be conceptualized in the following statement:

Individual liberty and the common good are best protected by assuring that the government does not violate the rights of citizens.

Individuals who strongly agree with this statement are considered to hold the value labelled law in high regard. Holmes, Douglas and Goldberg emphasized this value in the statements quoted earlier.

Other authorities stress the value labelled order and conceptualized by the following statement:

Individual liberty and the common good are best protected by assuring that the government maintains a stable and safe society.

That is, individuals who strongly agree with this statement are considered to hold the value of order in high regard. Clark, Inbau and Hand emphasized this value in the statements quoted earlier.

On the operational level, Likert-type summated rating scales were constructed to measure the degree of positive affect toward each of these values. The scales were constructed in the following manner.

A total of 88 items were drawn from the writing of jurists, lawyers, policemen and political commentators. Half of these items represented favorable attitudes toward due process of law and individual liberty and were potential items for what was to be called the Law Scale. The remainder of the items represented favorable attitudes toward social

order and from this pool items for the Order Scale were drawn.

Initially half of the items in each group were re-worded so that there were equal numbers of positive and negative items for each scale. The re-wording was necessary because it was difficult to find negative statements about either individual liberty or social order. The items were then combined so that the scales could be administered at the same time.

This pool of potential scale items was then given to six persons familiar with research methods in the social sciences for their criticism. The major criticism was that there seemed to be "right answers" hidden in the scales. This resulted from the contrived negative items, some of which were so extreme that they were outside the range of affect normally found in police populations. The items were again re-worded so that all of them again represented positive attitudes toward the values in question.

One of the tenets of scale construction is to "select items that are believed to cover the entire range of the affective scale of interest."<sup>11</sup> In the present case, the lack of true negative items in published sources and the contrived quality of the scales when positive items were

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11 Allen L. Edwards, Techniques of Attitude Scale Construction, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. N.Y., 1957, p. 13.

stated negatively are probably accounted for by the fact that the affective scales do not run from strong negative emphasis to strong positive emphasis, but from a theoretical zero-point of no emphasis to strong positive emphasis. That is, respondents are not likely to admit - on a questionnaire at least - that they are opposed to individual liberty or the common good. Conceptualizing the attitudes from zero to high positive, rather than from high negative to high positive, is therefore a better representation of the entire range of affect.

However, this conceptualization presents an additional problem.

"The advantage of having both kinds of statements (i.e., positive and negative) represented in the final scale is to minimize possible response sets of subjects that might be generated if only favorable or unfavorable items are used."<sup>12</sup>

In regard to the scales in question, the six critics who saw both positive and negative items tended to look for "right answers," that is, for the proper response sets. However, a group of students who were used in selecting the final items saw only positive items and did not report that the scales suggested response sets to them. There are probably two reasons for this. First, the combined scales tend to mask the response sets that would be obvious if each scale was to

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12 ibid., p. 155.

stand alone. Secondly, the scales consisting only of positive items were closer to real statements of values as reflected in the published sources.

The 88 potential items were then administered to the above-mentioned group of 38 college students as part of an exercise in scale construction in a research methods course. They were asked if they agreed or disagreed with each item, and a seven point scale from very strongly disagree to very strongly agree was used. The middle point on the scale represented a neutral position.

The next step was to choose items for the final scales from the 88 pool items. Items were scored from one to seven and a total score on each set of items was determined for each respondent. On the basis of total scores the respondents were then divided into quartiles. The first and fourth quartiles were then used. Responses for each item were tabulated into two columns - for the first and fourth quartiles of respondents - and seven rows, from very strongly disagree to very strongly agree. A line was then drawn horizontally so as to minimize the total number of subjects in the low group above the line and the number of subjects in the high group below the line.<sup>13</sup> Yule's Q was then computed for the resulting 2X2 tables for each of the 88 items.

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13 This method of item analysis is suggested by both Edwards (op. cit.), and Bernard S. Phillips (Social Research, Strategy and Tactics, The Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1971). Both state that they are indebted to Likert for the original suggestion.

Items which provided the highest measures of association were then incorporated into scales which were administered to a pre-test sample of 20 police officers.

The results obtained on the police pre-test were similar to those achieved with the initial group of students. But, on the basis of a discussion of the scales with the 20 officers a few items were dropped because they appeared to some of the officers to be ambiguous.

The final seven-item scales were administered to a group of 48 students, to the 109 police officers of the CPD who constitute the main sample of the research, and to 60 City Fire Department members.<sup>14</sup>

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14 In The Authoritarian Personality (Harper & Row, N.Y., 1950) Theodore W. Adorno and others suggest a different method of item analysis for summated rating scales. Adorno computes a statistic called Discretionary Power (DP) which is simply the mean of the high scoring quartile minus the mean of the low quartile. Items with the higher DP are incorporated into the scale. The disadvantage of this technique is that items which have a wide range of responses plus unwanted overlap between groups can still generate a relatively high DP. The disadvantage of the method suggested by Edwards, and used here, is that items which have responses clustered at one end of the scale might still generate a relatively high measure of association (in the present case Yule's Q).

The disadvantages of both methods can be overcome by cross-tabulating items according to DP and Q and choosing items which are in the high cell for both statistics.

This was not done with the present scales until after the administration of the questionnaire, but, three of the fourteen items were very close to being rejected by this technique. In the case of longer scales the combined method of item analysis should increase the power of the final scale slightly.



The final dependent variable is resentment. Pages 34 to 36 contain the conceptualization of this term which was taken directly from Merton. The operational definition of the concept presents a difficult problem. Police were considered to show resentment if they agreed with all three of the following statements:

1. A large number of people have attitudes of hate and hostility toward the police.
2. The patrolman frequently encounters the hostility of these people in his work.
3. Recent court decisions protect those who hate the police from proper law enforcement.

This operational definition is limited in two ways. First, it does not consider envy, which Merton sees as part of resentment, because it was assumed that police understanding of this term would be ambiguous. Secondly, it uses court behavior to represent the second element in Merton's definition. That is, the sense of powerlessness alluded to in the concept is measured by what police see as protection given those who hate them by the courts. While this operational definition is obviously unsatisfactory for use outside of a law enforcement context, it is used here because it serves to discriminate between those officers who consider that they frequently encounter hate and hostility that goes unpunished, and those who do not perceive such encounters. When the questions were finally administered to the police sample, 51 percent answered affirmatively to all three items.

### The Working Hypotheses

With three dependent variables (Law Scale scores, Order Scale scores, and the presence or absence of resentment) and nine independent variables, there are 27 zero-order associations that serve as tests of hypotheses. These fall into three categories. The predicted direction of the findings is based upon the literature and the emphasis which it gives to socialization. These categories of hypotheses and the number in each category are as follows:

#### 1. Regarding the Law Scale.

- A. As socialization into the occupation increases Law Scale scores will decrease. (4)
- B. Independent variables which do not represent occupational socialization will have little or no relationship to Law Scale scores. (5)

#### 2. Regarding the Order Scale.

- A. As socialization into the occupation increases Order Scale scores will increase. (4)
- B. Independent variables which do not represent occupational socialization will have little or no relationship to Order Scale scores. (5)

#### 3. Regarding resentment.

- A. As occupational socialization increases resentment will also increase. (4)
- B. Independent variables which do not represent occupational socialization will have little or no relationship to resentment. (5)

As part of the research plan these hypotheses were investigated by means of a self-administered questionnaire. This questionnaire was pre-tested by administration to the 20 officers mentioned earlier. It is contained in Appendix A. The responses of the 109 officers who constitute the N of the study are summarized in Appendix B.

### The Stages of Data Collection

Ideally, research which investigates the long term effects of socialization should be carried out by means of a longitudinal study. In the present instance such a research design was impractical. The following three stages were used:

1. Participant-observation.

The City Police Department was visited approximately six times a month from January through May of 1971. The visits varied in length from two to fourteen hours with six hours being the norm. 518 pages of double-spaced field notes were gathered. Observations were made on all three shifts and in all specialized bureaus except the dog pound.

After permission to observe the department was obtained from the Chief, introductions to the various bureaus were made by a Captain who was in charge of training and research. The initial visit to each bureau took the form of an interview. I used these opportunities to make clear my role of an ex-cop-college teacher and to explain that I was interested in "the effects that normal police experiences have upon the attitudes of policemen."

Upon mentioning the studies of law enforcement that I had completed (one in a town and the other at a state police troop) the conversation turned to comparisons of salary scales and fringe benefits in various police departments. During these initial interviews the majority of officers were only mildly concerned with the purpose of the research. Three officers gave polite but terse answers to questions and did not volunteer any more information than was asked. Their responses were similar to those they might give to a newspaper reporter whom they did not know or in presenting testimony in court.

What suspicion was observed came later in the research. Several officers were of the opinion that "sociology is a lot of crap" and as they came to know me they occasionally expressed this sentiment in a non-offensive manner. Some officers were also suspicious when I asked them to complete the questionnaire, and this will be considered in the following section.

Junker has created a continuum of participant-observation styles which extends from complete observation through observer-as-participant and participant-as-observer to the opposite extreme of complete observer.<sup>15</sup> My previous complete participation as a patrolman was useful for gaining a command of the "shop talk" of the occupation. Following

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15 Buford H. Junker, Field Work: An Introduction to the Social Sciences, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1960.

the initial interviews in each bureau my role was that of a complete observer, and as the observation progressed the role moved along the continuum to that of observer-as-participant. I was expected to look up items in the log, help the rookies who were assigned to duty in the station and pass information from one shift to the next.

The intent of this first stage was to gather data which could be used to describe the role-set of the officers, to establish the rapport necessary for administration of the questionnaire, and to add to the data available for construction of the questionnaire. During May of 1971 the pre-test of the questionnaire was completed and I moved into the second stage.

## 2. Questionnaire administration.

The goal of this stage was to obtain a minimum of approximately one hundred completed questionnaires from members of the City Department. Within a ten day period the questionnaire was administered first to officers enrolled in courses in law enforcement, then to members of the uniformed patrol division at roll calls before shifts and to detectives and other specialists who worked in the various bureaus. It was necessary to return to each roll call and each bureau in two or three days in order to contact officers who were on days off during the first administration. This attempt, to obtain the maximum number of questionnaires in the shortest time period, resulted in completion of 109 useable questionnaires. Three officers chose to complete the

questionnaire in private and to mail them. These were not used. A comparison of the 109 respondents and the remainder of the sample frame is contained in Appendix B.

Three officers refused to complete the questionnaire. One of these refusals, by an officer I had not met before, was unexplained. A second officer refused apparently because he knew that compliance would please his shift commander and he had a reputation of non-cooperation with the commander. A third officer, whom I had come to know well, deliberately procrastinated in making himself available. I suspect that in this case the officer felt that his lack of education might embarrass him.

Immediately after the police questionnaires were collected a similar but shorter questionnaire was administered to a sample of City firefighters.<sup>16</sup> Permission of the Fire Chief was easily obtained and the cooperation of the firefighters was good. Administration of the questionnaire was a simple matter because each of the three fire stations visited had a lounge area where the men could gather, and, unlike the police, the firefighters had long periods of time available to cooperate. I made six visits to three stations over a four day period. At each visit a different shift was working. There are no preferred shifts because night and day duty is rotated, and I could find only one factor which might bias the sample. Ambulance crews were not available, and because these crews consist of younger men

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16 I am indebted to Prof. Robert I. Watson  
for recommending the use of a respondent

the sample has a slight bias in favor of older firefighters.<sup>17</sup>

Sixty firefighters were contacted. There were no refusals. Of the 60 respondents 58 completed all items. The questionnaire administered to the firefighters is contained in Appendix C and a summary of responses constitutes Appendix D.

### 3. Follow-up interviewing.

Upon completion of the analysis of the questionnaire data I returned to the CPD and discussed the findings with six informants who had proved to be particularly incisive and articulate during the observation period. The six included three detectives, two superior officers and one young patrolman. The value of these interviews was less than expected. The men continued to be cooperative and frank but for the most part they simply used discussion of the questionnaire results to reaffirm the points they had made to me earlier. Their impressions of the findings are contained in the last two chapters of this report.

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group other than police officers and to Laurence French for suggesting the use of firefighters.

17 The City Government Report lists 204 firefighters. Unlike the list for police, date of appointment is not listed so this could not be used to compare the sample to the remainder of the sample frame.

CHAPTER IV  
THE CITY AND ITS POLICE DEPARTMENT

The City is a typical New England manufacturing center. It is on the fringe of a large metropolitan area and has nine bedroom communities of its own. Together, The City and the nine communities constitute a regional planning area. The City has grown by 22.3 percent between 1960 and 1970. Most of this growth is visible in housing developments which attract blue-collar workers who have moved from the inner neighborhoods of the larger metropolitan area.

In physical appearance The City looks like many other economically depressed mill towns. Its downtown area is marked by several vacant stores and a large number of store fronts which have not been modernized in many years.<sup>1</sup>

Table I compares The City with six similar communities. The seven cities have three characteristics in common. They are all New England manufacturing towns which deal in low value added products, they are all between 80,000 and 100,000 in population, and they are all outside normal commuting distance to larger urban areas such as Boston and

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1 Shortly before the research began The City was used as the setting for a movie of the Prohibition era. The movie company reported that The City was an ideal setting because the only changes that were required were to remove air conditioning units from factory windows and to import vintage automobiles.



Providence. The information contained in Table I is drawn from Uniform Crime reports for 1970 and 1965 and census reports for 1970.

TABLE I: A COMPARISON OF SEVEN NEW ENGLAND MANUFACTURING COMMUNITIES BY POPULATION, CRIME INDEX, AND NUMBER OF POLICE.

City	Population	Total Crime Index*	Index Change 1965-70	No. of Police per 1,000
A	96,898	4,570	+2,713	2.7
B	94,239	2,620	+1,523	2.1
C	90,294	4,288	+1,834	2.1
D	87,966	3,350	+2,184	2.4
E	87,754	1,290	+ 653	1.8
F	83,695	2,361	+ 798	2.2
The City	89,040	2,115	+1,583	2.0
Mean	89,984	2,942	+1,613	2.2

\*Total Crime Index represents the number of Type I offenses per 100,000 inhabitants per year. The Total Crime Index for the United States in 1970 was 2,740.

Table I contains information that the members of the CPD would probably find surprising. By Total Crime Index, The City ranks sixth on the list. CPD members generally believe that the crime rate in their area is higher than in similar areas. They usually note the large volume in auto theft and burglary, but in both categories The City ranks sixth.

In regard to the number of police officers, the CPD claims that it is undermanned. The argument used by superior officers is that The City has more firefighters than policemen and that this is very unusual. I have asked if a better

rule of thumb might be to compare The City to similar communities and have been told that, "We have that information but we don't use it."<sup>2</sup> While a convincing case might be built to show that the CPD needs more manpower, it does seem to be within the norms for comparable departments in the area.

Other factors which assist in interpreting Table I are as follows: The City has a non-white population of 2,525 or 2.83 percent, and in percentage it ranks second highest in the group of seven cities. A cursory examination of the downtown area would probably lead an observer to estimate that the percent of non-white citizens is much higher than this. This observation might be accounted for by the fact that the Black neighborhood abuts the main street.

Unemployment in July of 1971 was 9.7 percent as compared to the state average of 8.0 percent for the same month. Again, The City ranked second highest of the seven communities.

#### History of the CPD

Since 1932 The City has had three fire chiefs and seven police chiefs. The highest level political appointment

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2 The recommendation of the F.B.I. is that there be 2.4 police officers per one thousand population, with this standard varying according to population, geography and types of enforcement problems. Generally larger cities require higher rates.

in The City is that of the police chief who does not have tenure or civil service protection in this position.

Newspaper accounts indicate that the history of the CPD has not been marked by scandal or charges of brutality, but major upheaval generally follow changes in municipal government after elections. Of the seven chiefs only two retired at this rank and the remaining five were either demoted by a new mayor following an election or resigned after public disagreement with an incumbent mayor. These newspaper accounts frequently identified the chiefs by both home ward and political party affiliation.

CPD officers frequently complain about "political favoritism" and their complaints are not unfounded. During the course of the research one ranking officer admitted privately that his promotion was based on political considerations and a patrolman stated that his appointment to the department was the result of political influence.

The expedients used by mayors to control the police department are fairly simple. Because the chief does not have civil service protection in that rank, but does have such protection in the next highest rank he has held in the department, the mayor can dispose of a chief by asking the Civil Service Commission not to extend the chief's leave of absence from his last tenured position. On the last occasion that this tactic was used by a mayor, members of the CPD who were loyal to the chief circulated a petition opposing the action and the mayor reconsidered his move.

A second option available to the mayor is appointment of officers to the grade of detective and to other preferred assignments within the department. Shortly before the research began, an acting chief was faced with "sick outs" by several officers who complained of politically motivated unfair assignments to traffic duty and special work details.

Shortly after the research ended a new mayor took office. His first official act was to demote the chief to the rank of lieutenant and to promote a captain to chief. The new chief announced that he would reduce the number of preferred assignments in the department and increase the patrol division. As he began his reorganization he had working under him one former chief, one former acting chief, and two factions of officers who had supported these former leaders in the past. The new chief is also without tenure in his position.

The implications of this history for the research are obvious. First, the political alignment within the department is something that rookies must learn, and secondly, the planned use of rank and preferred assignment as major variables is questionable.

#### The Organization of the CPD

The formal manning chart of the department is not followed in practice. According to the chart, the CPD has two major divisions, Uniformed Patrol and the Bureau of Criminal Investigation (BCI). The commander of these units, as well as the commander of the Training and Research Office

report directly to the Chief and all other units are subdivisions of either Uniformed Patrol or the BCI. In fact, the senior members of these sub-units have sufficient autonomy to ignore the chain-of-command.

There are twelve units in the CPD. Most officers consider assignment to any unit other than Uniformed Patrol to be preferred.

#### The Chief's Office

The Chief is assisted by a civilian secretary, one sergeant and one patrolman. Many officers consider that the secretary is sufficient and that the two officers would be serving in Uniformed Patrol were it not for department "politics."

#### Patrol

During the research period the Uniformed Patrol Division was nominally commanded by a captain who later became chief. He was seldom around the station and spent much time working for a state-wide police association. Others assigned to Patrol include two captains, who command the day and evening shifts, five lieutenants two of whom share the duties of commanding the early morning shift, eight sergeants, and approximately 109 patrolmen, depending upon temporary assignment to other duties.

A chronic problem in Patrol is a lack of officers to man the cruisers. The normal complement of cruisers during busy periods is eight. There are seldom eight cars on the street and occasionally the city is patrolled by only two cruisers.

The CPD continues to use two-man cars on all shifts and officers do not take kindly to the suggestion that one-man cars be used. They suggest instead that some of the "politicians" be put back in uniform and out on the street.

The CPD occupies a new stationhouse and its modern design is a factor in the relationships between Uniformed Patrol and the special bureaus. The command area for Uniformed Patrol is located on the first floor and includes the radio carrel for the dispatcher, the phone room, a cubicle for the shift commander, the squad room for roll calls before shifts, and the booking area which looks out toward the cells. Most of these areas can be viewed from a second floor mezzanine which is bordered on one side by a waist-high railing and on the other by the doors to the specialized bureaus. The incumbents of these specialized jobs are called "cliff dwellers" by members of the Uniformed Patrol and they call their own work area "the pit." On occasions when it is very busy in the pit the Cliff Dwellers will amble out of their offices and lean over the rail to watch the uniformed officers scurry about.

During a normal tour of duty five patrolmen and two superior officers work in the control area. Two of the patrolmen are younger, more efficient officers who serve as radio dispatchers. The dispatch area is so designed that much of the foot traffic in the station passes directly past it and it is too small for two officers to sit comfortably at the radios. Dispatchers say that the area often looks like

an Italian firedrill, of a Lithuanian firedrill, depending upon ethnicity, and report that they often go home with headaches and cannot sleep. No one admits to liking the job of dispatching but some of the men do enjoy the authority which goes with the position. Most of the minute-to-minute decisions are made by the dispatcher, not the shift commander, and the dispatcher assigns his peers to complaints and coffee breaks as he sees fit.

The three remaining patrolmen on inside duty are usually older men nearing retirement. They are responsible for answering the phones, booking prisoners, and greeting visitors to the station. The field notes indicate that one of them is usually on a break.

Relations between the younger dispatchers and the older phone men are generally good but some of the phone men are considered to be incompetent. One dispatcher observed that, "a monkey could do the job."

The remainder of the uniformed officers are assigned to two-man patrol cars with the exception of the two K-9 officers who work alone and one foot patrolman who has a walking best during the summer months. The officers do not like foot patrol and they fear that city counselors will want men assigned to their wards, thereby reducing the control which the department presently has over assignment of patrolmen.

The CPD cruisers are marked with large letters which indicate which of the six patrol sectors they are assigned to.

Because there is no reason to assign the same car to the same sector for each tour of duty the cars are often in areas different from those marked on their sides. Children yell to passing officers that they are off their routes. No one could tell me why the cars were so marked. One officer guessed that, "It's that way because that's the way they do it on Adam-12."

Each car is equipped with a shot gun which is mounted in a prominent position next to the driver and a first aid kit. The kits do not contain the plastic airways used in mouth-to-mouth resuscitation nor do they contain bandages large enough to treat massive bleeding. The absence of these items is often noted by policemen.

The major concerns of the patrolmen are to reduce the number of specialists in the offices upstairs, increase the number of patrol vehicles, and keep the interference by superior officers to a minimum.

Friction between the Uniformed Patrol and the other branches of the CPD is most noticeable on the day shift. Uniformed patrolmen work from 8 AM to 6 PM and are given an hour and a half lunch to make up for the longer shift. Officers assigned to the special bureaus work from 8 AM to 5 PM. Because they do not have to stand roll call they often arrive late, leave early, and avail themselves of the longer lunch hour despite the fact that they are not entitled to it.

#### Bureau of Criminal Investigation

The BCI is commanded by a captain and is headquartered in a large room on the second floor. The captain is



assisted by two lieutenants, five sergeants, and fourteen detective-patrolmen who normally work in two-man teams.

Since the BCI is removed from the noise and activity of the dispatch area it serves as a setting for coffee drinking and socializing. Members of the uniformed division do not usually feel free to come to the BCI for coffee breaks, but the other plainclothed officers spend time there. This room is equipped with a radio transmitter so that the BCI can communicate with its cars without going through the dispatcher downstairs. The uniformed commander is not allowed to give orders to patrolmen-detectives without notifying the BCI commander, and the normal procedure is for the BCI to monitor the patrol radio and provide assistance when they see fit.

#### Narcotics

The lieutenant who commands the Narcotics Division is assisted by seven detective-patrolmen. This unit has a separate office and is considered to be an elite unit by the rest of the department. It is evident that the more ambitious and energetic officers have been assigned to this bureau and it is generally believed that narcotics detectives put in much unpaid overtime. They constitute the only specialized unit which is not criticized by the uniformed patrolmen for providing soft jobs. Despite the recognized claim to elite status the social distance between narcotics officers and uniformed patrol is not as great as it is between the BCI and the Patrol Division.

### Records and Identification

This unit consists of two sergeants, two patrolmen and two civilian secretaries. All four men assigned here enjoy the work. Others officers look upon R&I as a racket, but a dull one that they would not prefer.

The Chief reported that one of his problems was "not having enough places to hide people" and it appeared that R&I was one such place. Like the Narcotics Bureau, Records and Identification claims elite status but this claim is not recognized by the remainder of the department.

### Juvenile Bureau

In the area of juvenile complaints one sergeant is assisted by two young patrolmen. These men are aware that their office is understaffed but they are rather philosophical about their job, saying that since the courts will usually let the kids off with a warning anyway the job really does not make much difference. The officers feel that if more personnel are added to the department priority should be given to the patrol and narcotics divisions.

The District Court judge, whom I interviewed prior to the research, has had an active role in improving court record keeping, adding trained probation officers, and planning for a reverse half-way house for juvenile offenders. The judge has a social work orientation while the juvenile officers of the CPD, by the very nature of their assignment and lack of staff, have a paperwork orientation. All parties agree that treatment facilities for juveniles are grossly inadequate. The

relationship between the Juvenile Bureau of the CPD and the court is not antagonistic, nor is it particularly good.

#### Community Relations

One lieutenant and one patrolman are responsible for community relations. In fact the lieutenant spends most of his time assigning extra duty to the men on an equitable basis and he explains this as his major job. He does occasionally deal in community relations. During the research period a committee of the local NAACP visited the station and the lieutenant met with them. The patrolman in this bureau is the only person outside of the Uniformed Patrol Division to wear a uniform. He is responsible for collecting parking fines and doing the related paper work. Like the other specialized units, the Community Relations Office closes at five o'clock.

#### Safety

Two patrolmen, nominally under the command of the Community Relations Office but in fact working autonomously, give lectures on safety at the local grade schools, investigate traffic hazards and make surveys at busy intersections. The men do not have the status of detectives, but they consider their assignment to be preferred to patrol duty. One of the officers described his job as, "watching that nobody steals the lines off the crosswalks."

#### Training and Research

The CPD has one of the seven regional police academies in the state and the Captain who heads this bureau is

assisted by one lieutenant and one patrolman. This bureau is housed in a second floor office which opens onto the department's one classroom. The walls of the office and the classroom are decorated with large replicas of the Bill of Rights, training bulletins, and news clippings about the awards won by the CPD pistol team.

Both of the ranking officers in this office are very well read in law enforcement and police administration. Both are at ease in using the terminology of sociology and in discussions with them the usual locker-room atmosphere of the Patrol Division is replaced by discussion of changing mores, the availability of federal funds and social problems. For example, the officers tell me that they appreciate the writing of Paul Tappan and do not believe that A. C. Germann is really biased as some might think. Germann's frequent use of the word "neanderthal" in referring to police administrators does not seem to bother them.

Both the captain and the lieutenant are very friendly toward the younger officers, but unlike those of similar rank in the Uniformed Patrol Division, they are normally called "Sir" by patrolmen.

Because training courses are held only on an irregular basis the officers assigned to Training and Research spend a good deal of time conducting tours of the station by grade school classes. The captain who heads this bureau is also the CPD's regular contact with the State Crime Commission and he has a good grasp of the procedures by which federal

funds are obtained.

#### The Range

The basement of the station contains a pistol range, a storage room and a locker room that is seldom used. Three patrolmen are responsible for maintaining the range. Two of the three are engaged in an avocation and enjoy the assignment.

#### Prosecutors

The CPD has one lieutenant and one sergeant who serve as full-time police prosecutors in the District Court. Like the superior officers in the Training and Research Office they are more cosmopolitan and professional than many of the uniformed officers.

They report their major problems to be the backlog of court cases and the difficulty which many patrolmen have in testifying in court. During the research many officers talked of court appearance as a harrowing experience.

#### Maintenance

One officer, who has a remarkable variety of handyman skills, is in charge of lost bicycles, faulty equipment, and the informal harassment of the leasing company which is responsible for repair of the cruisers.

#### The Dog Pound

Three officers manage the municipal dog pound. Many officers use this assignment as an example of political favoritism.

The history and organization of the CPD has been dealt

with at some length because a knowledge of these topics is useful for understanding the findings which follows.

Near the end of the observation period nine rookies were added to the department. For them, a major part of the socialization process was learning to "work the system" described in these last pages.

PART II  
THE FINDINGS

In this section the role-set of the patrolmen will first be described. The hypotheses stated in Chapter III will then be tested and modal types of police attitudes concerning democratic values will be constructed.

CHAPTER V  
THE ROLE-SET OF THE PATROLMAN

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a sociological description of the setting of police socialization. Role-Set theory provides a frame of reference and the chapter relies heavily upon the ethnographic field notes.

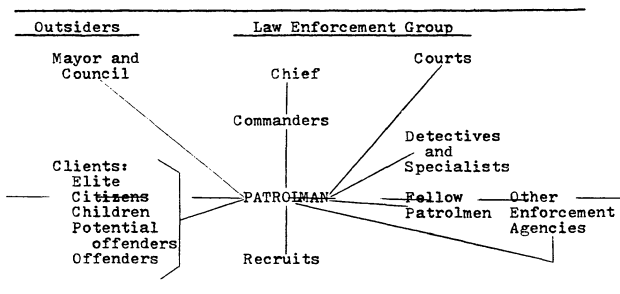
The chapter has three parts: the role-set of the patrolman is charted, the field notes are used to exemplify the various relations of the focal role to the other roles of the set, and finally conclusions are drawn.

A Description of the Patrolman's Role-Set

Figure I was drawn after analysis of the 518 pages of field notes. All the recorded interactions between patrolmen and other role incumbents fall along one of the charted paths of interaction. The patrolman may interact with those whom he identifies as members of the law enforcement group or with outsiders. There is also general agreement concerning the statuses of role players and the broken horizontal line in Figure I divides roles into those which have higher, lower, or the same status as the patrolman role.



FIGURE I: THE ROLE-SET OF THE PATROLMAN



On many occasions patrolmen interact simultaneously with incumbents of more than one role - with an offender, a complaining citizen and a fellow officer, for example. However, the field notes do not contain any incidents in which audience segregation presented a problem.

In the following section the various paths of interaction will be exemplified by excerpts from the field notes.

#### The Dynamics of the Patrolman's Role-Set

The first four appendices of this work pertain to the questionnaire phase of the research. The last appendix includes an excerpt from the twentieth protocol. It will be referred to several times in this chapter. These pages are unusual only because more than the usual number of role players were observed in a short period of time. This ex-

cerpt from Protocol #20 and the shorter quotations from the field notes which appear in this chapter are reproduced as they appear in the notes except for changes in name and the addition of parenthetical explanations where the notes are not clear. All quotations were chosen because they are exemplary of the types of interaction being illustrated.

As Figure I indicates, incumbents of the focal role of patrolman interact with persons whom the patrolman identified as incumbents of fourteen counter roles. Interaction between the patrolman role and the fourteen counter roles is as follows:

#### Chief

During the initial interview, the Chief made three comments which illustrate his relationships with both patrolmen and the city government. In commenting on the men under him he said, "We are proud of the men here, almost all do a good job. But sometimes some of them act like little boys." The Chief's method of dealing with the day-to-day problems within the department is to rely upon his shift commanders, but by his own admission, the results are not always satisfactory. He said, "I've got one of the three shift commanders who just can't handle the job. He is a good man, but he just can't command." The Chief feels that he should be free of routine matters so that he can concentrate upon "the problems" presented by politicians. He gave an example of such a problem. Shortly before the interview he had received a telephoned reprimand from the Mayor for not providing sufficient

police escort at the funeral of a long retired alderman. The Chief's comments, as well as the previously reviewed history of the CPD, indicate that police chiefs in the City are frequently confronted with the unpredictable exercise of power by elected officials.

On the other hand, the Chief's power over the men is almost entirely predictable. This power is normally exercised through "roll calls" which are short bulletins read before the start of each shift. They contain such admonitions as, "You will always wear your hat while riding in a cruiser," and "Cruiser men will see that there is no ball playing in the grassed area of the Public Common."

The daily options available to the Chief and his choice of these options are almost entirely predictable to the men and they are thereby able to limit his power.

The notes indicate that patrolmen see the Chief as a source of two types of rewards. Unwanted responsibility can be passed along the chain of command and thereby avoided. A magic number at the CPD is 46, the telephone extension of the Chief's office. A veteran officer gave the following advice to a rookie during the latter's first day of service, "If you are not sure what to do the answer is always 46. Remember that 46. That's what he gets paid for."

Secondly, the men see the Chief as the source of preferred assignments. Unfortunately, there are not enough preferred assignments to go around. Many of those who remain in uniform feel they have been passed over because of

political patronage. Those who hold such assignments see this as virtue rewarded.

The history of the CPD, the comments of the present chief, and the many statements made by patrolmen regarding politics within the department bear out the conclusions of past literature. That is, under present methods of organization police administrators do not have sufficient power to initiate sweeping organizational changes.

### Commanders

Appendix E contains an example of the kinds of routine instruction given by commanders. Immediately after the hold-up of the A&P the sergeant instructed the cruiser officers not to enter the store until help arrived. They were doing this anyway.

The following excerpt is also typical of routine command decisions:

At 8:20 we drove back to the station.  
(The patrolman responsible for prisoners immediately approached the Captain).

"Annie looks bad. I think we ought to do something.

"Annie always looks bad." (Annie is a middle-aged alcoholic with a long history of arrests.)

"No, I think she is dying."  
The Captain showed some interest.

"She's not dying right now, is she?"

"No, but she is worse than before."

"OK, call the matron."

In this case the patrolman could easily predict what the Captain's decision would be, and he controlled the decision by exercising his option of bringing the matter to the Captain's attention.

Several weeks later the same Captain had a different kind of command decision. It was a warm spring evening shortly before dusk.

A voice came over the radio from one of the CPD cars. "There's a nice looking rainbow over the south side of the city. Take a look at it."

The officer did not identify his car and nobody answered. ...The Captain said that if he knew who made the comment he would suspend him. The other officers knew who it was by the voice. The Captain was very serious about suspending the officer for making small talk over the radio. He said, "Things like that can't go on around here."

The officers knew that such a minor violation of proper radio procedure would not be punished. For the remainder of the evening they joked about it. Several times the dispatcher pretended to transmit obscene messages over the radio to further annoy the Captain.

As in the case of the Chief, the decisions of commanders are largely predictable. Some will tolerate more of what the men see as perquisites of the job, such as bringing pizza into the station or taking extended coffee breaks, but the men know who will tolerate what and they act accordingly.

There is little evidence of social distance between uniformed patrolmen and their uniformed commanders. Relations between commanders and patrolmen are routinized and predictable. Like the chief, commanders have few unpredictable options available to them, and in this case the routinized interaction is usually satisfactory to all participants.

Fellow Patrolmen

Several examples of interaction are contained in Appendix E. Among these are the period of story telling before the hold-up interrupted and the jokes at the end of the shift.

Much of the time around the station is spent in locker room type bull sessions. At these times, as well as during crisis situations the men display a good deal of peer loyalty. There was only one incident in which there was an appeal to higher loyalty. The following exchange occurred in the station late on a Saturday evening:

A young patrolman came into the room and sat in the chair in front of the phone desk. He was swinging keys to a cruiser and as he entered he said, "I don't know nothing. Nothing. I had to go to the accident and I wasn't anywhere near where it happened."

He was the partner of the officer who failed to report the accident. He clearly did not want to get involved in the trouble his partner had gotten into.

Holt (a city councillor who is a police buff and visits the department regularly) gave the officer some friendly advice. "Look, don't cover up for him. If he wants to fool around that's his business. He was stupid anyway. Don't stick your neck out. If the Chief finds out there will be hell to pay. You weren't there. You don't know anything about it. Right?"

The young officer nodded agreement, but not very enthusiastically. It looked like he was caught in the middle. He did not want to get himself into further trouble.

In fact he knew all about it. His partner had witnessed a traffic accident in which a friend was at fault. He told the four young people whose car was damaged that no accident

report was necessary and sent them on their way. Now they had come to the station to complain. The young officer was now in a position where backing up his partner might prove dangerous if the Chief found out. His solution was to take the position that he knew nothing.

In response to a questionnaire item, 103 of the 109 respondents said that solidarity or esprit-de-corps is more important than in most jobs.

Occasionally the officers would criticize each other in my presence for being "stupid" or "lazy", but when the criticism was of a serious nature, as in a case where an officer failed to assist a fellow officer, names were discreetly omitted.

### Recruits

The following interaction took place in the station at the end of the day shift. The rookies involved had just completed their first day of patrol.

The shift change was quick and busy. There were not any calls during it but the place got crowded for a few minutes. Three of the rookies who had worked the day shift were standing around.

They did not have uniforms yet and were wearing the uniform gun belts under sport coats. They were talking about guns. One of them did not know what all the snaps on the belt were for. Another said that because he did not have a uniform people on the street probably thought he was a detective. The heavy belt under the coat looked awkward. Anyone could see that they were rookies.

Some of the other men who were going on the 6-1 shift stopped and introduced themselves to the rookies and shook hands. Polite, friendly, business-like exchange of greetings. No joking as is usual between

shifts. Only one of the older men ignored the rookies.

Several days after the above incident I watched one of the rookies make his first arrest.

We got a call that kids were breaking into the old school building. The cruiser pulled up to the rear of the vacant school and it was obvious that a plywood panel had been pulled off one of the basement windows. The car stopped and one of the rookies got out first. Just as he did two kids came through the window and ran. The Rookie ran after one and his partner chased the other one in the car.

The kid ran around the corner and hid under a porch. We saw him hide. The Rookie stopped running and just walked over and said to come out. The kid came out with no trouble. He was about fourteen and he had an old band uniform over his arm.

Back in the station after the two boys had been booked, the Rookie talked to me about his first arrest. He had been thinking about it. He said that stealing public property, the old band uniforms, made it a felony. He was impressed.

The Lieutenant heard him telling me his adventure and came over to explain. He said that technically it was a felony, but the parents had been called and they were cooperative. He said, "We'll go to juvenile court tomorrow and (one of the prosecutors) will take care of it."

The Rookie was confused. He thought that a felony should be treated as a felony.

During this first week of duty the nine rookies spent time picking up advice from anyone who would give it. They also watched for cues, how to wear the gun belt so it would not sag in the back, how to keep a phone call brief, when it was permissible to drink coffee in the public part of the station, which of the newspaper and radio reporters should be treated with familiarity.



At this point in their occupational lives, the formal academy training was several weeks away and older patrolmen would be the primary culture bearers during the period in which these rookies came to identify themselves as police officers.

For the most part, the uniformed cruiser men and the older officers who answered the phones rather than the superior officers or the detectives were responsible for the initiation of the rookies.

#### Detectives and Specialists

The relationships between patrolmen and officers with preferred assignments vary considerably from the relationships which patrolmen have among themselves. All officers in the CPD served their time in uniformed patrol. But, it seems that once a man has been transferred out of the uniformed division and becomes a "cliff dweller" his orientation changes. The specialists and detectives need not be concerned with the trivia of patrol, keeping their hats on in patrol cars, timing their coffee breaks according to the expectations of a particular commander, or answering the calls of the radio dispatcher.

There are two conversation areas in the station. One is in the dispatch area and the other is in the Bureau of Criminal Investigation on the second floor. Narcotics officers, juvenile officers and other plainclothes personnel will wander in and out of the BCI and engage in time-killing conversations. Uniformed men do not seem at ease in the BCI and will enter it only on business. The two groups even use

separate restaurants when going for coffee.

Appendix E contains two incidents in which patrolmen and detectives interact among themselves. While the Photographer was being booked the four detectives discussed the case among themselves. The uniformed men stood on the other side of the booking desk and carried on separate conversations. When Berry, the cruiserman, wanted to know the charge he read the booking sheet instead of asking the detectives. When he wanted more details he asked me instead of approaching one of the detectives. Had he asked the detectives he would have gotten an answer, but since he had no real need to know the details the answer probably would have been brief.

Later, when the Photographer was being bailed, the prosecutors, the bailbondsman and the juvenile officer carried on their own conversation in the hall. At this time one of the prosecutors was being critical of the ability of patrolmen to testify in court. The patrolmen who were present were only marginally involved in the conversation.

There are several incidents in the notes in which patrolmen showed deference to plainclothes officers. One of these occurred in the Chief's office.

The room was occupied by a young detective who was acting as the chief's aide today, the civilian secretary, and another man in a lumber jacket, evidently an off-duty officer.

The Captain (who is in charge of training and research) introduced me to these people. He then turned to the man in the lumber jacket who had a manila folder in his hand. He took the folder and showed me its contents. It contained 30 or 40 certificates "suitable for framing" that indicated that the future recipients had

completed a course at the academy on the operation of the breathalyzer. The man with the folder was a patrolman whom the Captain said was "Our Artist". He had written in the names on the certificates in a fancy scroll. The writing was not so hot but the Captain was lavish in his praise and somewhat condescending.

"Our Artist" was there to see the Chief and deliver his handiwork. Because he had done this on his own time, he expected to get a day off in return. The Chief was busy so the Captain said that he would deliver the folder to the Chief and see that the Artist got at least two days off. The Artist was willing to settle for one and he backed out of the office saying, "OK, OK, but just one anyway. I think it is worth one."

The Captain said, "Oh, at least two, don't worry, I'll take care of it."

The Artist appeared to be in his early forties and he acted like a factory worker paying an unaccustomed visit to the executive suite. He stood near the door. He did not speak much and was glad to be out of the office without bothering the Chief.

During this exchange the Artist called the Captain "Sir."

The notes indicate that patrolmen use this title when addressing ranking officers who work in the specialized divisions. I have not heard it used in addressing uniformed commanders except on the radio.

The dress and demeanor of the two branches also vary. Specialists wear suits or sport coats and almost all of them take pains in keeping their shoes shined and in projecting a natty appearance. The patrolmen frequently come to work with baseball jackets over their uniforms.

The conversations held in the two discussion centers also differ. The questionnaire data indicate that 72 percent of the respondents with preferred assignments are enrolled in

college courses in law enforcement. Only 39 percent of uniformed patrolmen are so enrolled. The specialists spend time discussing these courses, and topics such as "O. W. Wilson's book" and "Mapp v. Ohio" are not uncommon among them. Such conversations would be out of place in the dispatch area. Here, a blue-collar ethos prevails and discussions are about past events in the department rather than about the issues of the day.

The social distance which exists between the "cliff dwellers" and the uniformed patrolmen has implications for suggestions about lateral entry into law enforcement made in the literature and these will be discussed in a later chapter.

#### Courts

The final item on the questionnaire asked the officers if they had anything else to say about law enforcement. A perusal of their replies contained in Appendix B indicates a great deal of unsolicited criticism of the courts.

The criticism is of two types. The more articulate officers discuss topics such as wire-tapping, search and seizure rules and Supreme Court decisions. The officers who stress "common sense" tend to discuss specific cases in which they have been involved. Both groups believe that courts hinder law enforcement.

The following incident, related by a ranking officer of many years experience, is typical, although somewhat more dramatic than the personal involvement stories about court

cases. The story was told during one of the coffee breaks in the early morning hours.

2:45 AM. He was recollecting about the old days and another knifing that he had investigated. Many years ago he was out in a one-man car and he got a call about a disturbance in a bar. When he walked into the bar, "you could hear a pin drop. Nobody was moving." Everybody seemed frightened but nobody did anything. The bartender motioned to a corner booth where a man was sitting alone. He had a large knife. The officer took the knife and then the bartender explained that the man's wife was a waitress there and the man had come in and threatened her with a knife.

The officer booked the man for causing a disturbance but the charge was dismissed the next day in court because the judge said there had not been any noise and could not have been a disturbance.

The point of the story was that four days later the man stabbed his wife to death.

"Stabbed her 24 times. She looked like a window screen."

The officer said that the old chief called him into the office and told him not to say anything to the newspapers about the incident in the bar. He said that this was to protect the judge who had made a mistake in releasing the man.

The theme of this story is repeated several times in the protocols. It has three parts. The officer makes a decision at the time of arrest, the court reverses the decision, but later events prove the officer was right. Sometimes the story does not have a "happy ending" and the reversal stands. Usually the officer can still make the story come out right.

Tony (a State Trooper who frequently comes to the station on business and is well liked for his story telling ability) told about a case that another trooper had in court.

The trooper made the arrest for drunk driving on the state highway and the breathalyzer read .22. He went to court and had a good case. Tony was in the courtroom.

He was concerned because the man who had been arrested had political connections. The trooper presented the case and when he finished the Judge said, "Officer you did a good job, but..."

Tony said, "As soon as I heard the 'but' I knew it was a bag job. He said that the guy did not prove right of way. Imagine that, the car was right on the state highway and he did not prove right of way. The Judge was looking for an excuse of course."

Tony feels that there is quite a bit of this going on. I asked him if it made him lose interest in building a case when he knew it would be fixed and he said that it did not bother him much. Even though it was not right it was part of the system.

Both the observations and the questionnaire data bear out the several researchers who have studied police-court relations. That is, police often see the courts as obstacles to the goals of justice and as threatening to their own conceptions of their professional competence.

#### Other Enforcement Agencies

What little observation data are available indicate that the relationships between the CPD and the smaller departments in the surrounding towns are good. CPD officers do not approve of "non-professional" behavior such as the woman dispatcher who did not get the correct message during the hold-up (Appendix E). They also have little patience with auxiliary police officers in the surrounding towns who work without pay, and with police buffs who flash badges and make claims to membership in the brotherhood.

During the observation period there were visits to the CPD by representatives of larger enforcement agencies. On separate occasions two F.B.I. agents and a sergeant from

a much larger metropolitan police department came to the station to pick up prisoners. These individuals were treated with professional courtesy but their dealings were with commanding officers and detectives rather than with patrolmen.

I often asked officers for their opinions about lateral entry, suggesting that they might better themselves by changing departments over their careers much in the manner of school administrators. Most of the officers were mildly negative towards this idea, feeling that promotion should be given to the senior men within the ranks. A few of the younger officers were in favor of it. In reply to a questionnaire item concerning their expectations for five years hence only two officers expressed an interest in moving into federal law enforcement.

#### Mayor and Council

With the exception of the one city councilor who visits the department regularly the patrolmen have little contact with elected officials. In reply to a number of questionnaire items officers complained of politics in the department. The previously reviewed history of the CPD tends to bear them out. But regardless of the truth in their claim, it still serves those who have not been given preferred assignments as an excuse for their continued presence in the uniformed division.

Interestingly, the 1931 Wickersham Report, which was reviewed earlier, cited political interference and resulting

short terms of service of police chiefs as one of the six underlying causes of police failure. The situation still obtains in the CPD and patrolmen are quick to criticize this feature of their department.

#### Other Public Agencies

As front line operatives, patrolmen frequently interact with representatives of hospitals, schools and welfare agencies. Often the patrolman's definition of these situations varies from those of hospital administrators, school teachers and social workers. The patrolman finds himself at the point where two bureaucracies collide, and given his lower status vis-a-vis these professionals and para-professionals the results are often frustrating.

The following story was related by an officer who has been with the CPD for one year. He had spent the morning taking a patient to a state hospital, a normal 40-minute round trip.

12:40. The 11:30 to 1:00 lunch break is coming to an end and eight men are around the desk area waiting to go back on duty. Some are drinking cokes. White is among them. He tells of his morning trip to the state hospital.

"They got more nuts running around that place than they have patients. At first they did not want to take the guy in. I don't know why. I had the pink paper signed by the doctor and I was waving that around. First they decided they would take the pink paper and not the patient. I was not going to have any of that. I would have been left with the nut and no paper. Then another nurse came over. I tried to give her the paper and I said that I would leave the guy there.

She says, 'No, no. I don't want that. You can't give me that.' You'd think it had germs on it or something. Finally the guy just sat



down in the corridor there. I tried to give them the paper again, but they wouldn't take it so I left the guy there and came back."

The other officers began discussing the various troubles they have had bringing patients to be committed to the hospital. Usually the hospital personnel want to make sure that the commitment papers have been signed by a doctor and that they are valid. The usual chain of anecdotes began with each man taking his turn until they were interrupted by business.

One man said that he once took a patient to the hospital and they would not take him because the doctor did not put an "M.D." after his name.

He said, "So I added the M.D. - what the hell difference did it make?"

Old Mac said that the attendants are sometimes ex-patients and that they do not have much commonsense.

While the officers were still telling stories the phone rang and Old Mac answered it. The hospital was calling and the message was to either bring back the paper or come get the patient. The woman at the hospital wanted to talk to the man in charge. The Captain who was commanding the shift was sitting there but he said that he did not want to talk.

He said to Mac, "Send it up to the Chief's Office."

Then he turned to me and said, "We are always having trouble with that damned hospital. They wouldn't take the paper when our car was there and now they want us to send a car all the way back there. The Chief's Office can handle it."

Old Mac interrupted. He said that the Chief's Office had transferred the call back downstairs and the woman at the hospital was getting upset. He finally hung up and explained, "She says that she is going to tell the doctor when he comes in and he will get mad."

White answered. "So let the doctor get mad. She got herself in trouble by not taking the pink paper when I was there and now she wants us to bail her out by driving all the way back there. The hell with that." . . .

(Five minutes later) Another phone call came from the hospital. This time the Captain said he would take it in his office. In a minute he was back. He said that he refused to send a car back with the paper and they told him to hold the line so that someone else could talk to him. He then got a dial tone so he hung up.

The phone rang again just as he finished his explanation and this time the Captain took the call in the phone room. He continued to refuse to send a car and said that he would mail the paper.

This did not satisfy the hospital and they said they would call again. The Captain told Mac that if there was another call he should just send it up to the Chief's Office.

Incidents similar to the above were recorded when officers visited the large central high school. They were amazed at the campus atmosphere of the school and at the inability of school administrators to locate students.

In regard to the local office of the State Welfare Department, the Bureau of Criminal Investigation has cultivated two clerks who serve to keep bureaucratic routine to a minimum.

In the instances on the questionnaire where the officers say that the job is more complicated than they expected they are probably referring to both the recent court-imposed restrictions on investigation and the frequently irrational relationships they have with public agencies.

### Elite

The term elite refers to individuals whose social, economic or political positions make it possible for them to partly control the behavior of persons responsible for establishing police policy.

"Those who occupy coordinating positions acquire power and prestige. They do so because their actions partly control the behavior of the individuals who look

to them for direction. Within this simple control there is simple power."<sup>1</sup>

The protocols contain only three instances in which patrolmen interacted with persons who could claim elite status. In two of these instances the norm of "not taking any crap" was given higher priority than the desire to avoid antagonizing prestigious individuals. In both cases young relatives of politically prominent citizens were stopped for motor vehicle violations. Both of the arresting officers later explained to me that they had been willing to let the young people off with warnings, but that verbal abuse was added to the original offense and they therefore had no choice but to make arrests. Elite status seems to be almost a handicap if one uses this status to treat policemen in a condescending manner.

In the third instance, a local businessman came to the station to obtain information about an accident in which his brother was involved. He was polite, and the shift commander allowed him to read the reverse side of an accident investigation form which contains information that is not normally released. A young patrolman, who did not see the commander give tacit approval by leaving the room, stated that the form could not be turned over, but he did not insist on the point. He also left the room. The caller again reversed the form.

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<sup>1</sup> W. Lloyd Warner, Social Class in America, Harper & Row, N.Y., 1960, p. 8.

What few data were gathered concerning patrolman-elite interaction indicate that the police desire to be treated with respect might outweigh the desire to avoid offending politically powerful persons.

### Citizens

This group includes adults who can make no claim to preferential treatment and are not identified by patrolmen as offenders, potential offenders or members of the law enforcement group.

One of the surprising findings in reviewing the protocols was the large number of times that citizens' requests for service were not met. Appendix E contains seven such incidents; the young man with the laundry bag and the stolen car, the hemorrhaging woman who needed an ambulance and had to settle for a cruiser, the two visitors to the station who had to wait for minor service because the hold-up was in progress, the caller who complained about fireworks and was told that no car was available to send, the householder whose burglar alarm went off, and the woman who had doubtful possession of the used car. In none of these cases could officers be charged with neglect of duty, but in each case the citizen could have legitimately demanded better treatment.

A review of the remainder of the protocols indicates that earnest but less than adequate service is a regular occurrence. With the exception of the early morning shift when little service is demanded each protocol contains

incidents of the type mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

This same review of the protocols uncovered another series of events which might compound the problem. Citizens regularly make claims upon police time and resources without any justifiable reason. For example, in The City it is a practice in the poorer neighborhoods for citizens to request police transportation to the hospital for scheduled appointments. Officers strenuously object to what one of them called "a taxi service for the damned slums."

Additional illegitimate demands upon police time include the filing of needless accident reports, and callers who dial the police to obtain the time, the ball scores, a cure for poison ivy, or, in one case, the daily policy number. On the vast majority of these occasions officers showed no brusque or hostile behavior.

In attempting to analyze this discovery I recall statements by a Lieutenant on the early morning shift. During many long conversations he repeatedly got back to the point that the public is grossly misinformed about the extent of police powers. As examples, he cited the demands that citizens make upon officers to initiate arrests for misdemeanors which the officers did not witness, the requests for

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2 A more rigorous analysis of these events is impossible because note-taking was geared more to recording interaction between officers than it was to recording police-citizen relations and in many cases the requests for service were not followed to conclusion.

police adjudication of civil matters, and the myth that police have uncanny means of solving crimes.

In response to a questionnaire item only 28 percent of the 109 respondents agreed that most people recognize the value of police work. Forty-eight percent stated that the average citizen either usually or almost always failed to understand the problems of the police.

In reply to the question, "In your contact with average citizens, what sort of behavior have you found most annoying?", the five most popular responses and the number of times that each occurred were: 1) disrespect for police (22); 2) verbal abuse (11); 3) public apathy (8); 4) public is too demanding (6); 5) attempts to use political influence (4).

The possibility exists that what might be construed as cynicism or apathy on the part of policemen is simply a reaction formation that develops when normally sanguine functionaries find themselves unable to meet the routine demands made upon them. Based upon both analysis of the field notes and responses to certain questionnaire items, it may be tentatively concluded that through no fault of their own patrolmen are frequently unable to satisfactorily meet the needs of ordinary citizens.

### Children

Without exception the notes indicate that the officers enjoyed their dealings with pre-adolescents. Several of the men have developed a line of joking banter which they use to

amuse children who visit the station. On occasions when children were accused of horseplay or pranks the officers were more sympathetic to the children than they were to the complainants. It seems that children constitute the only group that both holds policemen in high regard and does not find police authority threatening.

#### Potential Offenders

Potential offenders are those persons who by their behavior, appearance or reputation give rise to suspicion and cause the patrolman to take more than normal measures toward crime prevention. Time, place and circumstance are of special importance here. For example, during the observation period there was a disturbance in a public park. That the park was near a low rent housing project and not in the country club area was not surprising to the police. A 19 year old black male resident of the housing project would qualify as a potential offender at that time.

On occasion one might become a potential offender simply because of the time of day. The following incident took place at 4:35 AM.

A kid came into the station. Nobody noticed. I said, "Hey" and the man at the phones opened his eyes.

He looked at the kid and said, "Ya?"

The kid explained that the Street Sergeant had stopped him and that he did not have his license with him. The Sergeant said that he should go home for his license and bring it to the station. He asked how long he had to bring the license and the officer said 24 hours.

I read the morning paper until five o'clock. The phone man went back to sleep.

The Sergeant later told me that he had stopped the boy because he was out alone at this time of night. He said he would not have required the search for the license except that the boy called him a pig.

Relations between police and potential offenders are not always antagonistic.

We went back to the station. Two Spanish speaking youths were there talking to the officers. They had probably been there before because they were at ease and were talking in a friendly manner. They had a buddy who was in a cell and somebody asked if they had come to bail him out.

"How much is bail?"

"Ten bucks."

They laughed at this and spoke to each other in Spanish. They were not going to spend ten bucks just to get their buddy out.

One of them said, "We will be character witnesses and you will let him go, right?"

This was supposed to be a joke and all of the officers laughed at it. There were a few more attempts at jokes along this line.

The youths had no reason to be in the station but did not have anything else to do so they came in to pass the time and see if they could find out what was going on. The two had been arrested before.

Sometimes ordinary citizens can fall into the potential offender category. While I was riding with a captain who was supervising patrol several stops were made along the perimeter road of a drive-in movie that was showing x-rated movies. Cars were parked there with the occupants sneaking looks at the movie. The captain would insist that the cars



move on. The only reason for these stops was that the captain was annoyed by the showing of the films and could do nothing about it.

In regard to people whom police define as potential offenders, the field notes yield few data. The fact that potential offenders exist is however substantiated. Further investigation of how police come to label potential offenders might provide insight into what is now called "the new deviance" or labeling theory. An understanding of how rookies learn to distinguish between citizens and potential offenders would also be useful for understanding occupational socialization. In all of the cases listed here, there was no cause for the police to take official action, yet in each case the police did not identify the individuals as ordinary citizens.

#### Offenders

The one area where patrolmen can interact with offenders without fear of interference by outsiders is the cell block of the police station.

The following events took place on a Saturday evening in February. By eight o'clock eight prisoners had already been booked and the ninth was being processed.

The booking officer was Smith. The men who made the arrest were emptying the pockets of a Negro, about 30 or 35 years of age, wearing a flashy warm-up jacket and a pork-pie hat. He was drunk and had his hands cuffed behind him. Smith was standing at the counter facing the drunk. The Captain and I were standing behind Smith and the Lieutenant was off to one side typing and not taking part.

One of the patrolmen started to remove the cuffs. He said, "We'll book him for drunk and malicious damage. He broke up his girl friend's stereo. Really did a good job, didn't you?"

The other officer finished emptying the drunk's pockets and he put the contents on the counter.

Smith was going through the material on the counter. The drunk looked at the Captain and said "Hey ya!" He did not recognize the Captain, he just noticed who was in charge.

Smith said, "What do you mean, 'Hey ya', that's the boss, the head man."

The drunk said, "Hey ya Chief!"

"That's right, make him feel good." The conversation was fairly jocular to this point. Smith came to the wallet on the counter. It was stuffed with papers but he could not find any money.

"What's the matter, haven't you got any money? Where do you keep the beans, buddy?" He finally found sixty dollars tucked in a corner and counted it out.

"Sixty bucks, right? Right? Answer me! you want to count it yourself, go ahead." He threw the money on the counter and became upset. The drunk may have indicated that he wanted to count the money but I did not hear him. At this point one of the arresting officers was finishing his search of the prisoner.

"Put your hands on the counter." The prisoner complied.

Smith said, "I said count the money. Now you count it." The man had his hands on the counter and could not do it. Smith became very angry.

"You think I'm going to steal your beans. Who needs to steal money off the likes of you?"

The officers were working at cross purposes, one saying put your hands on the counter and the other saying count the money. They were not doing it intentionally but the drunk was confused.

The Captain interrupted and said, "That's OK, they are done now. You can count the money if you want to." The man gestured that he did not care.

This made Smith even angrier and he continued his tirade about being suspected of thievery by a drunk. In my opinion the prisoner was cooperative.

The booking process was completed and Smith left to take the form to the dispatcher. The Captain and one of the arresting officers looked

at me. Both had the same expression, meaning "So he is a hot head, what can you do?" I shrugged, meaning to indicate, "That's life."

The two officers took their prisoner to the cells and the Lieutenant went back to the dispatch area.

The Captain started to explain. "Sometimes the men get upset. It's uncalled for. It's not professional but sometimes things build up..."

As we started to walk back to the dispatch area one of the prisoners in the cell block was yelling, "Officer, officer."

Smith got the key to the cells and he, the Captain and I walked out there.

The boy who was yelling was sitting on the floor near the cell door with his knees pulled up and his arms around his middle.

He said, "I need attention. I need help. My gut is tied in knots. I'm kicking and my gut is killing me." He kept saying that his gut was killing him as the Captain questioned him.

"You don't look so bad to me. Just what's the trouble?" The Captain was trying to show some compassion. I think he would have done this even if I were not there.

"I'm kicking can't you see. My gut is tied in knots."

"Well what did you do to yourself?"

"I've been on barbs since November. I need something."

"You want to go to the hospital?"

"Yes, I really need it."

The Captain turned to me and was about to explain when Smith interrupted. He did not have any sympathy for the boy and thought that the Captain was wasting his time.

He said to the boy, "You got yourself screwed up. Not us. Now you want somebody to hold your hand."

The Captain ignored the comment and began to explain. He was standing next to the cell with the boy at his feet but was talking as though the boy was not there.

"Now you see the problem I've got here. If he were really sick we would want to help him, but I would have to call in a car. Now you see how it is. There are only eight cars out and if I send someone from in here the phones might go unanswered. We are short of help." When the boy realized that he was not going to be taken to the hospital he began yelling profanities at the officers.

The Captain ignored him and asked what I thought. The boy was clearly uncomfortable but he may have been acting to get to the hospital. There was no one in the station who could judge.

The boy said, "I've been here since two o'clock and I'm kicking. I could die. You fuckers don't care. You don't come around. My gut is in knots and you fucking cops don't do anything but stand around."

This made Smith mad. He yelled back at the boy. "One minute you call us names and the next minute you want us to come out here and hold your hand." He repeated the same thing to the Captain, indicating that it was a waste of time to stand here and talk about it.

Smith said to the boy, "Bull shit. Stay there and rot." He walked away and started a conversation with the young man in the first cell near the door whom he called McGee. He spoke quietly to McGee, calling him by his first name.

The Captain stood over the boy and continued to muse over what he should do.

"Did you ever get like this before?"

"Yes, but I had something for it then. I need something now. I told you I've been on barbs since October.

"Isn't there someone you can call? Where are your parents?"

The boy groaned. He was annoyed that he was not making any progress with the Captain now that Smith had left. He did not know what to say next. He finally settled on, "Aw, fuck you."

The Captain ignored it. "Do your parents know that you take drugs?"

"No, not hard stuff. Only marijuana."

Smith and McGee could overhear the conversation and Smith commented, "He thinks marijuana is nothing and now he is all screwed up. What the hell does he expect."

I walked down to where Smith and McGee were talking. There was a young Portugese in the middle cell and he had gotten into the conversation a few times. He did not care about the drug case, but he was trying to get the Captain to let him use the phone.

McGee was trying to explain to Smith. "It's not always that they climb the walls. He is really sick. He could die. It's like when you are hungry, your stomach gets in knots, right?"

Smith said, "Right."

"Well it's like that. Only he hurts all over. He really needs help."

Smith interrupted. The conversation had been friendly up to now and Smith had allowed McGee to call him by his first name. Now he was tired of the lecture and he started to get on McGee.

"You're the expert?"

"Well I know a little about it."

"You could help him?"

"Well I'd take him to the hospital. They would help him."

"You are the expert. But you're in there and we are out here. That makes a difference, doesn't it? Not much we can do about that, is there?"

The action culminated when the Captain, over the objections of Smith, allowed all three prisoners to make phone calls.

In the above series of events both the arresting officer and the Captain conceded that Smith was a hot head. His behavior is not necessarily typical of CPD officers. Brown and the other detectives did not harass the man under arrest for lewd and lascivious behavior (Appendix E), but other patrolmen present increased his discomfort by asking him unnecessary questions and joking about his plight in his presence.

A review of the many bookings and visits to the cell area indicates that there are two predominant attitudes toward offenders. First the attitude expressed by Smith of verbal harassment and disapproval and secondly the attitude of professional detachment displayed by Brown and several of the others.

Officers define offenders as either "criminal offenders" or "moral offenders." Many of those with prior arrests

cooperated with the officers and were treated routinely at bookings. In some instances the interaction was marked by joking and officers displayed no sense of moral outrage. Even Smith did not treat McGee as a particularly serious offender and spoke with him on a first name basis. The young man with the drug problem did not receive the same treatment.

Some officers such as Brown expand the "criminal offender" category and, with some evidence of cognitive dissonance, include even the Photographer in it. Others, such as Smith, expand the "moral offender" category. The man booked for drunkenness was placed in this category and treated with disdain simply because he did not answer the officer's questions soon enough.

The important question is of course how rookies come to define offenders. Will Hunter, the rookie mentioned in Appendix E, learn to treat future photographers with professional detachment or will he learn to consider that even routine drunk arrests should be followed by verbal abuse? During his first week of service Hunter was placed in the hands of the older uniformed men for training. The Smiths of the department rather than the Browns were the primary culture bearers.

#### A Summary of the Role-Set Findings

The relationship of the Chief to the patrolmen is largely bureaucratized. Experienced patrolmen can almost always predict the Chief's actions. They see the Chief's office as useful for two purposes. First, unwanted

responsibility can be passed along the chain of command, and secondly, the Chief can reward the men with preferred assignments. In the day-to-day operation of the department the men realize that the Chief must do what is politically expedient and they know which of the many rules and regulations can be violated without official notice being taken.

The position of the uniformed commanders is similar to that of the Chief. Their behavior is predictable and the decisions they make are routinized. Experienced officers know what a particular commander will say or do in a given situation. Once a rookie learns which commander will tolerate what behavior he may be at ease. There is very little social distance between uniformed commanders and the men under them.

The peer relations between patrolmen are marked by a high degree of solidarity. One of the perquisites of the job is the frequent opportunity for bull sessions and most of the men enjoy this feature of the work. On occasions when fellow officers engage in blatant violations of department regulations the informal norms of the patrolman group are, "keep your mouth shut" and "don't stick your neck out." In the past, there has been some division within the ranks between those officers who enroll in federally supported law enforcement training programs and those who do not. (Appendix B contains a wide range of opinions about education for police.) This division is lessening as more men enroll in courses.

During the last part of the research nine rookies were observed during their first week of police service.

They were given many "tips" by the patrolmen and were treated in a friendly manner by all but a few of the older officers. However they did not participate in the bull sessions.

Several members of the department have slightly less than one year's experience, but they seem to be fully acculturated into the group. The socialization process from recruit to patrolman seems to be a relatively short one. During the first week of duty the culture bearers were the older uniformed patrolmen rather than the detectives, specialists or senior officers within the department.

The CPD is divided into two branches, Uniformed Patrol and the Bureau of Criminal Investigation. All detectives have served in the uniformed branch, but the social distance between the two groups is great. Even the physical arrangement of the station emphasizes this feature of the department. The fact that social distance exists despite the common origins of police careers is a factor to be considered when suggesting changes in police organization and administration.

As is well known from the literature, police have negative attitudes toward the courts. Both the participant-observation data and the questionnaire results bear this out. Police objection to the courts is of two types. On the more general level, officers object to court decisions which they see as limiting their power, and in regard to local courts they object to the lower status while testifying and to the



fact that their judgments are questioned and sometimes reversed.

CPD officers have good relations with full-time police employees of other departments, but they have little patience with police buffs and people who make illegitimate claims to police status by flashing badges and doing auxiliary police work. The officers recognize that some police agencies provide more prestige and better pay than their own, but they do not aspire to move from the CPD to these other agencies.

In regard to city government, the officers are critical of political interference. The history of the CPD and events during the observation period tend to justify this criticism.

Relationships between patrolmen and representatives of other government agencies are bureaucratized and predictable. Officers predict confusion. The police definitions of many situations vary considerably from those of social workers and school and hospital administrators. The police solution is to keep dealings with those agencies to a minimum.

In regard to the elite in the community, CPD officers do recognize that some citizens are more powerful politically than others, but the norm of "not taking any crap" is higher on the police hierarchy than the norm of "not making waves."

Analysis of the field notes indicates that police-citizen relations pose unexpected problems. Through no fault of their own, patrolmen are often unable to provide adequate service. The problem is compounded by the large

number of unreasonable demands upon police service. Possibly the frustration resulting from this limitation accounts for much of the brusque and hostile behavior reported in the literature.

The relations between patrolmen and small children, in the CPD at least, is universally good.

In regard to offenders and potential offenders, officers distinguish between criminal offenders and moral offenders. Detectives and officers with a professional orientation tend to expand the criminal offender category, while older men who continue in uniformed patrol expand the moral offender category and are quick to show personal disapproval for those under arrest. During the present study it was this second group which was charged with the informal training of the rookies.

It appears that the role-set of the patrolman is a fairly uncomplicated one and that the socialization process is relatively brief.

This chapter has described the setting of this socialization. The following chapter will examine the questionnaire results, search for attitudinal differences between officers, and statistically investigate the hypotheses stated earlier.

CHAPTER VI  
TESTING OF THE OCCUPATIONAL  
SOCIALIZATION MODEL

The socialization model being tested is a differential association model.<sup>1</sup> It is hypothesized that as exposure to the police subculture increases the officers will come to identify with the police group and will begin to express attitudes which more closely approximate those of the older and more extensively socialized members of the group. The research was designed to investigate the effects of long-term socialization while holding constant the influence exerted by age, religion, ethnicity, social class and education.

The differential association model is not the only model of occupational socialization that could be hypothesized. Should it be determined that socialization into the occupation is relatively simple, then an "instant socialization" model might be more appropriate. Anticipatory socialization might also be a factor. Self-selection from among the pool of potential aspirants to the occupation might also be important.

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1 Scale construction, the design of the questionnaire and the operational definitions of the variables have been discussed in Chapter III.

The remainder of this chapter has three parts. The responses of the three groups are first compared, the nine independent variables and the police responses are analyzed in detail, and finally the findings are summarized.

#### Police, Firefighter and Student Responses to the Attitude Scales

Tables II and III describe the responses of the three groups to the Law and Order Scales by item.

Regarding the Law Scale (Table II), higher scores represent greater emphasis upon individual rights and due process of law. It is obvious that police generally give responses that are much lower on the scale than those of the students and only slightly lower than those of firefighters. The modal response for students is in agreement with five of the seven items while the police modal response is in the disagree column for all seven items. The mean agreement for the police across the seven items was only 5.8 percent lower than that of the firefighters and 27.3 percent lower than the same mean of the students.

The face validity of the items on Table II is also interesting. For example, approximately two-thirds of the police respondents are not willing to agree that the right of free speech should include the right to make speeches in favor of communism. The same proportion are unwilling to concede that "there is always the danger that police power will be used to oppress the under-privileged."

TABLE II: A COMPARISON OF THE RESPONSES OF THREE GROUPS TO LAW SCALE ITEMS BY PERCENT.

(Agreement with an item represents a positive attitude toward individual rights. The modal response of each group is marked with asterisks. The N of each group is: Police 109, Firefighters 58, Students 48.)

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. The right of free speech should include the right to make speeches in favor of communism.	Students	*90%*	0	10
	Firemen	40	0	*60*
	Police	33	4	*63*
2. When police use illegal questioning, the innocent are sometimes convicted.	Students	*65*	27	8
	Firemen	*50*	9	41
	Police	42	9	*49*
3. Social order must sometimes be reduced to assure that individual rights are protected.	Students	*67*	10	23
	Firemen	*53*	9	38
	Police	42	11	*47*
4. The rise in crime is due largely to the failure to protect the rights of the poor.	Students	29	13	*58*
	Firemen	14	5	*81*
	Police	14	3	*83*
5. There is always the danger that police power will be used to oppress the underprivileged.	Students	*67*	8	25
	Firemen	38	5	*57*
	Police	32	6	*62*
6. Our modern system of justice has too little concern for the individual.	Students	33	8	*59*
	Firemen	29	7	*64*
	Police	21	2	*77*
7. Lack of impartial treatment by the police is one reason why people distrust law enforcement.	Students	*65*	10	25
	Firemen	*43*	14	*43*
	Police	41	6	*53*

TABLE III: A COMPARISON OF THE RESPONSES OF THREE GROUPS TO ORDER SCALE ITEMS BY PERCENT.

(Agreement with an item represents a positive attitude toward the need for social order. The modal response of each group is marked with asterisks. The N of each group is: Police 109, Firefighters 58, Students 48.)

		Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. It is sometimes more important to apprehend criminals than to follow all the rules laid down by courts.	Firemen	*79*	0	21
	Police	*73*	6	21
	Students	*56*	6	38
2. The central task of the police is to maintain order and to thereby reduce the opportunity for crime.	Police	*92*	1	7
	Firemen	*88*	7	5
	Students	*85*	0	15
3. The emphasis of recent Supreme Court decisions is on individual rights and the public be damned.	Firemen	*69*	6	25
	Police	*68*	9	23
	Students	29	25	*46*
4. Public opinion is swinging too far in favor of individual rights.	Police	*78*	2	20
	Firemen	*66*	10	24
	Students	25	8	*67*
5. Civil liberties must sometimes be limited to protect the nation.	Firemen	*90*	2	8
	Police	*89*	3	8
	Students	42	8	*50*
6. When courts put limits on law enforcement crime increases.	Police	*89*	2	9
	Firemen	*88*	2	10
	Students	37	19	*44*
7. Our society is becoming too permissive.	Police	*91*	2	7
	Firemen	*76*	7	17
	Students	23	8	*69*

The conclusions that Table II suggests are twofold. First, these police respondents, like those reported by Skolnick, Niederhoffer and others, do not hold individual rights in high regard, and secondly, there is a marked similarity between the responses of police and firefighters.

Table III presents a similar summary regarding the Order Scale. In this case police demonstrate a strong positive attitude toward the need for social order. The mean agreement across the seven items for police was 3.5 percent higher than the same mean for firefighters and 40.5 percent higher than that of students.

An overview of both tables gives the expected results. Police hold social order in higher regard and due process of law in lower regard. But, in both cases the difference between police and firefighters is small.

The third dependent variable is resentment. Fifty four police officers, 50 percent of the sample, displayed it. Thirty-one firefighters, 50 percent of the sample, also answered affirmatively to all three items used to measure resentment. They understood hate and hostility to be part of the police occupation despite the fact that they have not been socialized into the occupation themselves.

In summary, the descriptive material presented above indicates that the police and fire samples are similar to each other regarding the dependent variables of this study and considerably different from the students in regard to their responses to the two attitude scales.

It remains now to investigate the relationships between the nine independent variables defined earlier and the police attitudes. In the tables which follow gamma is used as a measure of association and chi square is reported in those instances where the distribution suggests the possibility of significance at the .05 level.

#### The Independent Variables and Police Responses

The first five independent variables do not represent occupational socialization and any significant relationships between them and the dependent variables would be contrary to the differential association model.

#### Religion

A problem here is the extreme homogeneity of the respondents. 77.1 percent of the police sample report themselves to be Catholics. (76.6 percent of the firefighters are also Catholic. Appendices B and D contain the frequency distributions for both groups.) Only the Catholic and Protestant cells are sufficiently populated to be amenable to analysis.<sup>2</sup>

Table IV indicates no association between religion and Law Scale scores. But for one case the Gamma would be exactly .0.

There is almost no association between religion and resentment.

Before dismissing religion as an unimportant variable

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2 Because there are only two categories of religion the data are treated as ordinal for statistical purposes and Gamma is used as a measure of association.



TABLE IV: RELIGION AND LAW SCALE SCORES

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Law Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Catholic	29	27	28	84
Protestant	4	9	4	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>101</b>

Gamma = .0

Table V indicates that Protestants are slightly less likely to emphasize social order, but this association is low.

TABLE V: RELIGION AND ORDER SCALE SCORES

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Order Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Catholic	29	28	27	84
Protestant	4	6	7	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>101</b>

Gamma = -.17

Table VI relates religion to the presence or absence of resentment.

TABLE VI: RELIGION AND RESENTIMENT

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Resentment</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Absent</u>	
Catholic	44	39	83
Protestant	11	6	17
<b>Total</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100</b>

Gamma = .09

one word of caution is advisable. In his study of cynicism among police officers, Niederhoffer hypothesized that Jewish patrolmen would be more cynical than their Gentile colleagues. Using a sample of 10 Jewish officers he found this to be the case. Part of his explanation of this finding was that Jews are probably less likely to aspire to careers in law enforcement and the Jewish policemen are atypical of their religious group. Given the small number of Protestants in the CPD sample, it might similarly be argued that these respondents are atypical of their religious group.

The present data indicate that religion is of little value in accounting for the variance in law scores, order scores and the presence or absence of resentment.

#### Social Class Origin

Again, homogeneity is a problem. Only 15 officers reported that their fathers were engaged in white-collar occupations as their last (or present) full-time employment. All 15 occupations were low level clerical or civil service positions which do not normally require high levels of formal training.<sup>3</sup>

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3 Father's occupation could be broken down into more than the white-collar/blue-collar dichotomy used here, but this is considered unrealistic because the other index items normally used to measure SES (residence, education and income) would be similar for these 15 low level white-collar occupations and the blue-collar occupations reported by the remainder of the officers.

Table VII indicates that there is no association between social class origin and the Order Scale scores, and Table VIII indicates that the relationship between class origin and Law Scale scores would be exactly .0 except for one case.

TABLE VII: SOCIAL CLASS ORIGIN AND ORDER SCALE SCORES

<u>Class origin</u>	<u>Order Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
White-collar	4	7	4	15
Blue-collar	29	26	29	84
Total	33	33	33	99

Gamma = .0

TABLE VIII: SOCIAL CLASS ORIGIN AND LAW SCALE SCORES

<u>Class origin</u>	<u>Law Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
White-collar	4	7	4	15
Blue-collar	29	27	28	84
Total	33	34	32	99

Gamma = .0

Cross-tabulation to further refine the effects of SES will be attempted. Father's occupation does not provide interesting leads, but it is reasonable to investigate later contacts which the officers might have had outside the blue

collar community prior to entering police work. Several officers held white-collar jobs before becoming policemen, and many of these attended college. It could be hypothesized that either of these experiences, or the interaction between them, will have a liberalizing influence upon attitudes. Because neither variable is concerned with class origins the possible interactive effect of formal education and white-collar contact will be considered when the data regarding formal education are analyzed.

Table IX relates social class origin to resentment. The association between these two variables is low, but approaches the moderate range. This finding will also be explored more fully when education is considered.

TABLE IX: SOCIAL CLASS ORIGINS  
AND RESENTIMENT

<u>Class Origin</u>	<u>Resentiment</u>		
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Absent</u>	<u>Total</u>
White-collar	9	6	15
Blue-collar	38	46	84
Total	47	52	99

Gamma =  $-.29$

While officers of white-collar origins are slightly more likely to display resentment they do not differ from their blue-collar colleagues regarding either law scale scores or order scale scores.

### Ethnicity

Twenty-five officers claimed membership in ethnic groups. Eight of these considered themselves to be Irish-American, eight claimed Italo-American identity and the remaining nine were distributed among other ethnic groups.<sup>4</sup> The eight Irish-American respondents were similar to the remainder of the sample on both Law Scale and Order Scale responses. Italo-Americans were higher on the Order Scale than the remainder of the sample (Gamma = .27), and much lower on the Law Scale (Gamma = .66).<sup>5</sup>

In regard to resentment 50 percent of the entire sample were found to display it, while four of the eight Irish-Americans and six of the eight Italo-Americans displayed it.

Cells are not sufficiently populated to draw conclusions regarding ethnicity, but the only group that varies from the remainder of the sample are Italo-Americans who are more likely to emphasize order and de-emphasize law.

### Formal Education

Of the 109 police respondents three were college graduates and one had only an eighth grade education. A

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- 4 Item I.8 in Appendix B provides a complete breakdown of this variable.
- 5 In computing these Gammas each ethnic group was compared independently to the remainder of the sample. Because there are only two categories in each comparison the data may be treated as ordinal and Gamma is an appropriate measure of association.

three-fold classification was used regarding formal education. Officers were classified according to whether they had: a) attended college; b) graduated from high school; c) had less than a high school education.

The resulting tables indicate a weak positive association between formal education and law scores, and a weak negative association between formal education and order scores.

TABLE X: FORMAL EDUCATION AND  
LAW SCALE SCORES

<u>Formal Education</u>	<u>Law Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Attended college	17	16	12	45
H.S. grad.	15	17	17	49
Less than H.S. grad.	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	37	36	36	109

Gamma = .11

TABLE XI: FORMAL EDUCATION AND  
ORDER SCALE SCORES

<u>Formal Education</u>	<u>Order Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Attended college	15	14	16	45
H.S. grad.	15	17	17	49
Less than H.S. grad.	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>
Total	36	37	36	109

Gamma = -.14

Table XII indicates a weak negative association between education and resentment.

TABLE XII: FORMAL EDUCATION AND RESENTIMENT

<u>Formal</u> <u>Education</u>	<u>Resentment</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Absent</u>	
Attended college	21	23	44
H.S. grad.	24	25	49
Less than H.S. grad.	9	6	15
Total	54	54	108

Gamma = -.10

The conclusion to this point is:

Formal education has some liberalizing influence, but this influence is weak.

Cross-tabulation on other variables might increase these associations. As stated earlier, it may be hypothesized that both college attendance and contact with a white-collar occupation prior to entering law enforcement have a combined liberalizing effect.

Because first order cross-tabulations would provide cell frequencies that are too small for analysis, a comparison of mean scores of the various sub-groups was used.

TABLE XIII: THE INTERACTIVE EFFECT OF EDUCATION AND WHITE-COLLAR CONTACT UPON SCALE SCORES AND RESENTMENT

Sub-group	N	X Law Score	X Order Score	% Resentment
White-collar contact + college	10	24.1	37.1	30%
White-collar contact no college	12	24.8	37.7	58
Blue-collar contact + college	28	23.5	34.3*	50
Blue-collar contact no college	39	21.8	39.6*	46

\* A one-tailed t-test with 65 df indicates that the difference between these means is significant at the .05 level. ( $t = 3.05$ )

A comparison of the means contained in Table XIII indicates that the scores of those officers with white-collar contact changes very slightly with college attendance.

However, for officers who have had no contact with white-collar occupations these changes are marked. Law scores increase, but not significantly. In regard to the mean Order Scale scores of the two blue-collar groups, an ex post facto test of the hypothesis that "college attendance will decrease the Order Scale scores of officers with blue-collar backgrounds" results in the rejection of the null hypothesis.

The table indicates little change in resentment except for those officers who have both white-collar backgrounds and have attended college. In this case resentment decreases with college experience, but the N involved is only 10.



The earlier conclusion that formal education has only a weak liberalizing influence may now be refined.

For officers who have had only blue-collar occupational contact increased formal education is accompanied by increases in law scores and significant reductions in order scores.

### Age

It was initially hypothesized that age would have little relationship with the dependent variables and that it would co-vary with length of service. Table XIV indicates that there is virtually no association between age and Order Scale scores. Table XV indicates a weak negative association between age and Law Scale scores.

TABLE XIV: AGE AND ORDER SCALE SCORES

		<u>Order Scores</u>			
		<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Age</u>	60-65	1 (33%)	2 (67)	0	3 (100%)
	50-59	3 (25)	6 (50)	3 (25)	12 (100)
	40-49	8 (30)	8 (30)	11 (40)	27 (100)
	30-39	16 (42)	12 (32)	10 (26)	38 (100)
	21-29	8 (28)	9 (31)	12 (41)	29 (100)
	Total	36 (33)	37 (34)	36 (33)	109 (100)

Gamma = .04

TABLE XV: AGE AND LAW SCALE SCORES

<u>Age</u>	<u>Law Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
60-65	0 (0%)	0	3 (100)	3 (100%)
50-59	3 (25)	5 (42)	4 (33)	12 (100)
40-49	10 (37)	9 (33)	8 (30)	27 (100)
30-39	13 (34)	13 (34)	12 (32)	38 (100)
21-29	11 (38)	9 (31)	9 (31)	29 (100)
<u>Total</u>	<u>37 (34)</u>	<u>36 (33)</u>	<u>36 (33)</u>	<u>109 (100)</u>

Gamma = -.11

Percentages were added to these two tables to indicate what was more apparent on a scattergram, that is, a slight curvilinearity between the ages of 30 and 39 on the Order Scale scores (Table XIV). This curvilinearity was more pronounced when length of service was used as the independent variable, and it will be considered again when that variable is dealt with.

Another means of investigating this unexpected relationship between age and the attitude scales is to examine the fire department data. In these cases there was no curvilinearity and the associations were higher. Among the 58 Fire Department respondents age was more strongly associated with order scores (Gamma = .22, as compared with .04 for the police sample), and the negative association with law scores was also stronger ( -.19, as compared to -.11 for the police

sample.) This leads to the suspicion that the explanation of the curvilinear relation is to be found within the police milieu.

TABLE XVI: AGE AND ATTITUDE SCALE SCORES AMONG FIREFIGHTERS.

<u>Age</u>	<u>Order Scores</u>				<u>Law Scores</u>			
	High	Medium	Low	Total	High	Medium	Low	Total
60-65	1	0	1	2	2	0	0	2
50-59	8	2	4	14	2	6	6	14
40-49	6	7	7	20	9	9	2	20
30-39	5	5	4	14	5	6	3	14
21-29	2	1	5	8	4	3	1	8
<b>Total</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>58</b>
	Gamma = .22				Gamma = .19			

The relationship between age and resentment is also low, and again there is a slight curvilinearity. Table XVII indicates that the strength of association according to Gamma is only .07.

TABLE XVII: AGE AND RESENTIMENT

<u>Age</u>	<u>Resentment</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Absent</u>	
60-65	3 (100%)	0	3 (100%)
50-59	5 (42)	7 (58)	12 (100)
40-49	13 (48)	14 (52)	27 (100)
30-39	20 (54)	17 (46)	37 (100)
21-29	13 (45)	16 (55)	29 (100)
<b>Total</b>	<b>54 (50)</b>	<b>54 (50)</b>	<b>108 (100)</b>
	Gamma = .07		

Considered by itself, age is an uninteresting variable except for the curvilinearity which is present in the police data and absent in the Fire Department data. As noted earlier, this curvilinearity will be considered again when the data regarding length of service is analyzed.

The ages of the police respondents have very little association with the three dependent variables.

The following four variables represent socialization into the occupation. According to the differential association model they should be strongly and significantly associated with the dependent variables.

#### Rank

It is difficult to use all CPD ranks as meaningful for this research because of the strong suspicion that favorable assignments are often the results of political favoritism. However, one type of rank is relatively free from the influence of political patronage and fealty. For a patrolman to be promoted to the rank of sergeant he must score sufficiently high on a civil service examination. For him to be promoted to the rank of detective or to other preferred assignments he must simply please his superior officers. It is therefore reasonable to compare those officers who have been promoted through the civil service system to those who are overdue for such a promotion. Because the men most recently promoted to sergeant received this promotion shortly before completing ten years of service, ranking officers are compared with

patrolmen who have completed ten years or more of service and have not received a promotion.

Table XVIII indicates that ranking officers tend to have slightly more favorable attitudes toward law ( $\text{Gamma} = .16$ ). Table XIX shows that the ranking officers score lower on the Order Scale than those who are overdue for promotion ( $\text{Gamma} = -.19$ ).

TABLE XVIII: PROMOTION AND LAW SCALE SCORES

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Law Scores</u>			
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Total</u>
Ranking officers	9	6	7	22
Non-promoted patrolmen	7	11	9	27
Total	16	17	16	49

$\text{Gamma} = .16$

TABLE XIX: PROMOTION AND ORDER SCALE SCORES

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Order Scores</u>			
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Total</u>
Ranking officers	6	6	10	22
Non-promoted patrolmen	8	11	8	27
Total	14	17	18	49

$\text{Gamma} = -.19$

$\chi^2 = 1.15, 2 \text{ df}, P > .05, P > .10$

Table XX indicates that those officers who have failed to receive promotions within the normal time are more likely to display resentment. While this association is moderately high,  $\chi^2$  indicates no significance at the .05 level.

TABLE XX: PROMOTION AND RESENTMENT

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Resentment</u>		
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Absent</u>	<u>Total</u>
Ranking officers	7	15	22
Non-promoted patrolmen	15	12	27
Total	22	27	49

$$\text{Gamma} = .46$$

$$\chi^2 = 2.79, 1 \text{ df}, P > .05, P < .10.$$

Unfortunately, because of political patronage, rank is a tainted variable in the CPD. Conclusions concerning it are of questionable validity for the study. The only safe conclusion seems to be the relationship between failure to receive promotion and resentment.

Officers who are overdue for promotion display more resentment than do their colleagues who have been promoted to the rank of sergeant or above.

#### Occupational Commitment

Several questionnaire items were combined into a summated rating scale to measure job commitment. The scale

assumes that officers who have a sense of accomplishment in their work a) would again choose law enforcement as a career; b) have not thought of leaving the job; and c) report an increase in enthusiasm over the years, have a higher sense of commitment.

One point was given for each answer that indicated commitment with possible scores from 4, for high commitment, to 0 possible. Seven officers did not answer all the items necessary for the scale, and the remaining 102 officers were divided into those who showed high and low commitment. Coincidentally, none of the officers fell on the median.

The association between occupational commitment and Law Scale scores was only  $-.04$  according to Gamma. However, associations between job commitment and the other two dependent variables were surprising.

Table XXI indicates a moderate negative association between job commitment and Order Scale scores, that is, officers who are most committed to the occupation are less likely to emphasize the value of social order.

TABLE XXI: JOB COMMITMENT AND ORDER SCALE SCORES

		<u>Order Scores</u>			
		<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Job commitment:</u>	High	12	20	20	52
	Low	21	17	12	50
	Total	33	37	32	102

$$\text{Gamma} = .33$$

$$\chi^2 = 4.62, 2 \text{ df}, P > .05, P < .10$$

Table XXII indicates that officers with the higher commitment are significantly less likely to show resentment.

TABLE XXII: JOB COMMITMENT AND RESENTIMENT

<u>Job commitment:</u>	<u>Resentment</u>		
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Absent</u>	<u>Total</u>
High	21	31	52
Low	29	19	48
Total	50	50	100

$$\text{Gamma} = -.39$$

$$\chi^2 = 4.0, 1 \text{ df}, P < .05, P > .01$$

The findings regarding job commitment are in an unexpected direction. No attempt will be made to account for them here, but they will be taken up again in the following chapter when the scale scores will be used to construct modal types of police attitudes.

Officers who have lower job commitment place greater emphasis upon the need for social order and they demonstrate a significantly greater amount of resentment.

#### Additional Police Training

Within the past year at the CPD there has been a growing interest in in-service college training in law enforcement and related subjects. This interest was initiated by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration which meets the cost of tuition, and the City Government which grants officers a 3 percent pay increment upon completion of ten



college credits. The increments increase as the officers progress through the Associate of Arts, Bachelor of Arts, and Master's level. At the time of the administration of the questionnaire two officers were completing the requirements for the Associate of Arts degree but none had passed beyond this level.

An important question here is, what effect does in-service college education in law enforcement and related subjects have upon the attitudes of policemen?

A recently published article on the subject of college education for police indicates that the topic is still debatable.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, it is difficult to gather information about police training beyond the recruit level from CPD officers. Some of the men include brief "schools" on such subjects as operation of the breathalyzer and radar equipment as "advanced training." Some exaggerate their training in the hope that the CPD will credit them with any courses they may have taken toward the 3 percent pay increment.

From the information obtained by questionnaire, it could be determined that 42 officers were not currently

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6 Robert J. Jagiello, "College Education for Patrolmen - Necessity or Irrelevance?", Jour. of Crim. Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol.62, #1, March, 1971, pp. 114-121. Jagiello spends most of his fourteen pages attempting to refute those who say such education is irrelevant. Nowhere in this article, or in any other article in the same journal, is there any indication that the question has been studied empirically since the advent of LEAA supported programs throughout the nation.

enrolled in college courses and had not completed such courses in the past. From the remainder of the sample, 25 men met the following three requirements: 1) they were enrolled in a college program leading to the Associate of Arts in Law Enforcement degree; 2) they were actively taking courses at the time of the questionnaire; 3) they had already completed some credits toward the degree.

The college trained group is significantly more likely to emphasize law and slightly more likely to de-emphasize order. The group also shows significantly less resentment.

TABLE XXIII: COLLEGE TRAINING AND LAW SCALE SCORES

		<u>Law Scores</u>			
		<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Training:</u>	College	11	10	4	25
	Non-college	13	10	19	42
	Total	24	20	23	67

$$\text{Gamma} = .39$$

$$\chi^2 = 33.96, 2 \text{ df}, P < .05$$

TABLE XXIV: COLLEGE TRAINING AND ORDER SCALE SCORES

		<u>Order Scores</u>			
		<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Training:</u>	College	8	7	10	25
	Non-college	16	14	12	42
	Total	24	21	22	67

$$\text{Gamma} = -.17$$

$$\chi^2 = 2.16, 2 \text{ df}, P > .05$$

TABLE XXV: COLLEGE TRAINING AND RESENTIMENT

	<u>Resentiment</u>		
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Absent</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Training:</u>			
College	8	16	24
Non-college	24	17	41
Total	32	33	65

$$\text{Gamma} = -.48$$

$$\chi^2 = 16.5, 1 \text{ df}, P < .05$$

The conclusion that these college programs have strong liberalizing influences is tentative.<sup>7</sup> It might be that these college-trained officers have simply learned what they see as "right answers" according to academicians and are better prepared to give these answers on a questionnaire.

The self-selection process is also important here, Enrollment in the education programs was strongly encouraged by the CPD but it was voluntary. When asked about the value of education for police, the officers differed considerably in their replies, which vary from "they should have come years ago" to "it's a farce." As noted earlier, the current police literature is also split on the subject.

The findings concerning this variable will be considered in a later chapter where they will be related to the literature and the remainder of the questionnaire data.

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<sup>7</sup> As part of the observation phase of the research I attended lectures in five courses at two area colleges where CPD officers are enrolled. Instruction was at a generally low level and in two of the five courses class time was given over to the simple reading of text books.

Officers who have been exposed to advanced training at the college level are significantly more likely to emphasize law, and slightly more likely to de-emphasize order. They also show significantly less resentment.

#### Length of Service

Should relationships between variables be curvilinear Gamma is inappropriate as a measure of association and Chi Square is difficult to interpret. Scattergrams indicated that the relationships between length of service and Order Scale scores, and between length of service and resentment are clearly curvilinear. For this reason, percentage distributions are used in place of Gamma.

As was noted earlier when age was considered, the curvilinear relationship was not present in the Fire Department data. The remainder of the questionnaire data were used to attempt an interpretation of the unexpected relationships. The curve roughly follows the career stages of CPD officers and the data were analyzed accordingly.

In regard to order scores, Table XXVI indicates that officers with between six and ten years of service contribute disproportionately to the "high" column. An examination of the questionnaires of these men indicated that most of them were senior patrolmen assigned to two-man cars in the Uniformed Branch. These cruisermen are the front line operatives of the CPD and have been in this position since joining the department. As they approach ten years of service they can

look forward to promotion or to preferred assignments in the station. Failing this, they will eventually be taken off patrol duty, which is seen as a "young man's job" and placed in charge of answering the phones and caring for prisoners.

When these senior cruisermen (i.e., patrolmen with more than five years service who are assigned to patrol duty) are compared to the remainder of the sample the curvilinearity is even more pronounced.

TABLE XXVI: LENGTH OF SERVICE AND ORDER SCALE SCORES

<u>Length of Service:</u>	<u>Order Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
21-34	3 (27%)	5 (45)	3 (27)	11 (100%)
11-20	9 (32)	8 (29)	11 (39)	28 (100)
6-10	14 (48)	10 (35)	5 (17)	29 (100)
1-5	10 (30)	12 (35)	12 (35)	34 (100)
Recruits	0	2 (29)	5 (71)	7 (100)
<u>Total</u>	<u>36 (33)</u>	<u>37 (34)</u>	<u>36 (33)</u>	<u>109 (100)</u>

TABLE XXVII: A COMPARISON OF SENIOR CRUISERMEN AND OTHERS BY ORDER SCALE SCORES

<u>Assignment:</u>	<u>Order Scale</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Veterans	16 (33%)	18 (38)	14 (29)	48 (100%)
Senior Cruisermen	10 (50)	5 (25)	5 (25)	20 (100)
Junior Cruisermen	10 (24)	14 (34)	17 (42)	41 (100)
<u>Total</u>	<u>36 (33)</u>	<u>37 (34)</u>	<u>36 (33)</u>	<u>109 (100)</u>

$$\chi^2 = 4.83, 4 \text{ df}, P > .05$$

With regard to Law Scale scores, there is almost no association between length of service and scale scores (Table XXVIII). But, when senior cruisermen are compared to the remainder of the sample (Table XXIX) it appears that they hold the value measured by the Law Scale in lower regard, but again, not to a statistically significant degree.

TABLE XXVIII: LENGTH OF SERVICE AND LAW SCALE SCORES

<u>Length of Service</u>	<u>Law Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
21-34	4 (36%)	3 (28)	4 (36)	11 (100%)
11-20	9 (32)	9 (32)	10 (36)	28 (100)
6-10	10 (35)	10 (35)	9 (30)	29 (100)
1-5	11 (32)	12 (36)	11 (32)	34 (100)
Recruits	3 (42)	2 (29)	2 (29)	7 (100)
Total	37 (34)	36 (33)	36 (33)	109 (100)

TABLE XXIX: A COMPARISON OF SENIOR CRUISERMEN AND OTHERS BY LAW SCALE SCORES

<u>Assignment:</u>	<u>Law Scores</u>			<u>Total</u>
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	
Veterans	17 (35%)	16 (33)	15 (32)	48 (100%)
Senior Cruisermen	6 (30)	6 (30)	8 (40)	20 (100)
Junior Cruisermen	14 (34)	14 (34)	13 (32)	41 (100)
Total	37 (34)	36 (33)	36 (33)	109 (100)

$$\chi^2 = .67, 4 \text{ df}, P. > .05$$

Concerning resentment, the relationship is curvilinear and parallel to that for order scores. There is little association between length of service and resentment (Table XXX). But, when senior cruisermen are compared to the remainder of the sample the curvilinear relationship is more apparent (Table XXXI) and the observations fall just short of being significant at the .05 level.

TABLE XXX: LENGTH OF SERVICE AND RESENTMENT

	<u>Resentment</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Absent</u>	
<u>Length of Service:</u>			
21-34	6 (55%)	5 (45)	11 (100%)
11-20	13 (46)	15 (54)	28 (100)
6-10	13 (48)	16 (52)	29 (100)
1-5	19 (58)	14 (42)	33 (100)
Recruits	3 (43)	4 (57)	7 (100)
Total	54 (50)	54 (50)	108 (100)

TABLE XXXI: A COMPARISON OF SENIOR CRUISERMEN AND OTHERS REGARDING RESENTMENT

	<u>Resentment</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Present</u>	<u>Absent</u>	
<u>Assignment:</u>			
Veterans	19 (40%)	29 (60)	48 (100%)
Senior Cruisermen	13 (65)	7 (35)	20 (100)
Junior Cruisermen	22 (55)	18 (45)	40 (100)
Total	54 (50)	54 (50)	108 (100)

$$\chi^2 = 4.28, 2 \text{ df}, P > .05$$

In short, there is little relationship between length of service and the dependent variables, but what relationships exist are curvilinear. Those officers who are at the point in their careers where they are the senior members of two-man patrol cars and have accumulated several years of experience in this assignment have higher order scores, slightly lower law scores and show more resentment,

Senior cruisemen have higher order scores and show more resentment. They also have slightly lower law scores.

#### Summary

In attempting to explain the distribution of police scores, four statistically significant relationships were uncovered. They are:

1. Officers with blue-collar backgrounds who have attended college have lower Order Scale scores than officers of blue-collar backgrounds who have not attended college.
2. Officers with advanced training have higher Law Scale scores.
3. Officers with advanced police training show less resentment.
4. Officers with lower job commitment are more likely to show resentment.

Two relationships approached significance at the .05 level.

1. Senior cruisemen show more resentment.



## 2. Non-promoted patrolmen show more resentment.<sup>8</sup>

In interpreting these statistically significant relationships it should be remembered that this is not a longitudinal study. Future research would benefit greatly from such a study.

Other variables, such as religion, ethnicity and social class origin proved to be of little value, but they cannot be dismissed from future consideration because of the paucity of data in the present study and the extreme homogeneity of the CPD sample.

These findings do not bode well for the differential association model which was being tested in this research. But they also do not lend direct support to a pre-induction socialization or instant socialization explanation of police attitudes. The curvilinear relations which occur between the fifth and tenth years of service and the changes which take place as the men move off the front-line tend to support the conclusions of Westley, Niederhoffer and Skolnick who emphasize the importance of occupational socialization. It may be concluded that socialization does have some effect on the formation of attitudes but that this effect is more complicated than any of the socialization models mentioned in this paragraph allow.

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<sup>8</sup> Senior cruisemen are patrolmen with more than five years experience who are assigned to patrol vehicles. (N = 20) Non-promoted patrolmen are officers with more than ten years of service who have not been promoted to sergeant (N = 27). The overlap between these groups was only six.

The present data also support Rokeach's conclusion that police value systems should be highly similar to value systems of those who come from comparable backgrounds. The slight difference in scale scores between the firefighter and police samples is probably best explained by socialization into the occupation. But the important finding here is the great similarity between the two samples on all scale items. It is safe to conclude with Rokeach that personality predispositions and social origins are important. Here we may also go beyond Rokeach and conclude that police are similar to those of comparable backgrounds not only in regard to the kinds of values measured by the Rokeach scales, but also in regard to democratic values which are of more central importance in law enforcement.

Before proceeding with a final interpretation of these results the data will be used in one additional way. In the following chapter both the field notes and the questionnaire are used to construct modal attitude types.

CHAPTER VII  
MODAL TYPES OF POLICE ATTITUDES

This chapter is based upon the combination of Law Scale scores and Order Scale scores to create ideal types of police attitudes. Median scale scores were calculated and the officers were grouped according to above and below-median positions on both scales.<sup>1</sup>

The four-fold classification represented in Table XXXII is a type of property space, and the question to be answered is whether there are any differences between the classes other than the scale scores.

TABLE XXXII: MODES OF RESPONSE TO COMBINED  
LAW AND ORDER SCALES\*

Mode of Response	Law Score	Order Score	N
Idealists	+	+	23
Libertarians	+	-	27
Enforcers	-	+	26
Realists	-	-	17

\* (+) indicates a total scale score above the group median and (-) indicates a below median score.

The questionnaire items, other than those used to construct the scales, and the field notes were then related to the above classification. On many of the questionnaire

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1 Because some officers fell on the median of one of the two scales the N was reduced from 109 to 93. To a slight degree, this chapter deals with extreme cases.

items there were little or no differences between the responses of the four groups. Any item which resulted in a difference of 15 percent or more between any two of the groups is contained on Table XXXIII.

The field notes were then reviewed and a few cases could be found of officers whose questionnaires could be identified and who fell into one of the four classes. Excerpts from the notes have been added to give dimension to the descriptions of the ideal types. The officers used to exemplify each type were observed at work, and their questionnaires actually place them in the appropriate category. Names and a few details have been changed to further protect anonymity.

The Idealist: Detective Bill Walters

This group subscribes most closely to the policeman's oath which stresses both protection of individual rights and the protection of society. The Idealists are those officers who are above the median on both scales. It should be stressed that this label was chosen for the group only because the officers had high scores on both scales. Whether they find it easy to live up to these ideals is another matter.

TABLE XXXIII: A COMPARISON OF THE MODAL  
ATTITUDE TYPES

	Idealists	Enforcers		Total	
	Libertarians	Realists	Realists		
1. Percent displaying ressentiment . . . . .	74	22	70	29	49
2. Percent with advanced training . . . . .	35	41	15	18	28
3. Percent with high job commitment . . . . .	35	63	42	41	46
4. Percent which says that the prestige of police work is ex- cellent or good . . . . .	35	45	50	65	47
5. Percent of the group who are ranking officers . . . . .	22	30	15	18	22
6. Percent which agrees that esprit-de-corps is extremely important . . . . .	47	45	62	41	49
7. Percent which agrees that many people recog- nize the value of police work . . . . .	35	67	69	41	55
8. Percent which would recommend that a son enter law enforcement . . . . .	30	52	42	59	45
9. Percent which agrees that college training helps policemen . . . . .	52	70	27	65	53
10. Percent which would again enter law enforcement . . . . .	70	81	63	70	71
11. Mean age of the group	34.7	36.5	38.8	35.2	37.4

Table XXXIII indicates that when these officers differ from their colleagues their responses are always in a negative or pessimistic direction. For example, 74 percent of these officers show resentment as compared with only 22 percent for the Libertarians. Their commitment to the job was also the lowest of the four groups, and they rated the prestige of their occupation lowest. While 67 percent of the Libertarians agreed that many people recognize the value of police work, only 35 percent of the Idealists did. This group is also least likely to recommend the job to a son.

Their additional comments at the end of the questionnaire were almost entirely negative. Four expressed a desire to see the courts improve, one complained of political interference and one stated that only the police stand between anarchy and order.

The mean age of this group is slightly lower than average and one might conclude that this group consists primarily of young officers whose attitudes are changing. This is not the case. The group contains the average number of ranking officers as well as five patrolmen who are over 40 years old.

Typical of this group is a 30-year-old detective in the Juvenile Bureau who has been with the CPD for five years. Bill Walters is a detective despite his short term of service, primarily because he enrolled in law enforcement courses at his own expense before it was popular to do so in the CPD. He is well liked by the others and is one of the

few detectives who regularly visit the dispatch area of the station to joke with the older uniformed officers. Prior to joining the CPD he was a repairman for a public utility and had been attending college part time.

His answers to the open-ended questions are interesting. He lists the three most important qualities that a policeman should have as "honesty, patience and understanding." In reply to the question, "In your contact with average citizens, what sort of behavior have you found most annoying?", Walters wrote:

"Resentment directed towards me as a police officer by the community which employs me. Resentment of authority and hostility. I have begun to dislike people in general. That is not to say that I dislike people whom I meet, but rather the public as a whole. The public has made me feel apart from them."

Walters also says that his opinion has changed since he joined the CPD.

"I do not think that justice is distributed right to all individuals. The person who doesn't know anyone is always the one who suffers."

After the research was completed I returned to the CPD and had lunch with Bill Walters. He was again critical of the courts. Unlike many of his colleagues, he does not believe that Supreme Court decisions such as Miranda hinder law enforcement, but he is very critical of the legal machinery operating at the lower court level which he sees as lacking in equity.

During this last interview we discussed at length the

attempts by a local juvenile court judge to improve probation, increase the availability of psychiatric consultation and open a reverse half-way house to be used as an alternative to juvenile detention. Walters is in favor of all of these proposals but feels that they are not enough. When asked what would be enough, Walters does not say. He makes the point that as long as there is inequity and political favoritism in law enforcement nothing will be enough.

Out of context, some of Walters' statements might indicate a strong degree of political conservatism, but taken as a whole they represent the kinds of criticism that one finds among college students. That is, great stress upon both individual liberty and "brotherhood" plus the vague desire to improve the system.

The impression conveyed by Walters and by the questionnaire results is that officers who see their job as protecting both individual rights and the common good find it difficult to live up to their ideals. At the end of our conversation Walters told me that he is considering moving to northern New Hampshire and becoming a conservation officer.

#### The Libertarian: Det. Sgt. Joe Brown

The Libertarians are those officers who emphasize individual rights and de-emphasize social order in comparison to their fellow officers.

Table XXXIII indicates that, unlike the Idealists, the findings concerning this group are all in a positive or optimistic direction.



This group has the lowest amount of resentment, 22 percent, as compared to 49 percent for the 93 officers used in this subsample. They are also more likely to have advanced training and to agree that this training helps policemen. This group also has the highest commitment to the occupation and a greater number of them say that they would again choose law enforcement as a career.

Typical of the group is the detective-sergeant whose part in the arrest of the Photographer is detailed in Appendix E. The following conversation took place near the end of the research period. Sgt. Brown had completed a questionnaire just before beginning the day shift and by mid-afternoon he wanted to talk more about it and clarify some of his answers.

At 2:25 Brown came in. On his way upstairs he stopped and asked if I had had a chance to read the questionnaire he had completed that morning. He said he would be glad to talk it over with me and I suggested we do it now.

We went upstairs to the Bureau of Criminal Investigation. Three other detectives were in the room. It would have been impossible to talk to Brown in the BCI room because the others would have entered into the conversation so I suggested that we go into the interrogation room.

We went in and closed the door and talked from 3:30 to 3:55. After about five minutes Brown's partner opened the door and said he was ready to go. Brown said he would be another five minutes. After twenty minutes I ended the conversation. Brown would have talked longer but I thought his partner might complain.

There were three things on the questionnaire that I wanted to ask Brown about.

First, he had written that, "Law enforcement improved since *Mapp v. Ohio*." He said that by

this he meant that the Supreme Court decisions since Mapp have served to keep policemen on their toes and the job has improved. He said that the FBI has always followed these guidelines and they have a good image. Like many local police, he is not high in his praise of the FBI, saying that they should have a good image because they have the good cases to work on and can make themselves look good.

Secondly, like many others he had indicated that if he had the choice to make again he would definitely become a policeman, but he also noted that he would not recommend the job to his son. He gave the expected explanation of this, saying that he wanted something better for his son, "something like a profession."

Lastly, on the questionnaire he had said that his enthusiasm for the job was high and he rated the prestige of the job as low. He explained this by saying that the lack of prestige really did not bother him because he liked his work and that was more important. He said that police work does not have the status of medicine or law and he doubts it will in the future.

When we finished the three points I had picked from the questionnaire I let the conversation drift.

Brown told me of his aspirations. He is 36 and has been with the department for 9 years. His promotion to sergeant came sooner than it does for most. He said that at 36 his life is half over and he wonders where he is going. He seems to know where he is going. Recently he made some investments and he wishes that he had thought to do this earlier but that he had just drifted and did not think about the future.

I mentioned that after 10 years on the same job and at about his age some people become cynical when they realize that they are not going to be world-beaters and reach the top. Brown replied that he has not reached this stage but he has seen it in others. He still expects to be chief some day.

Sgt. Brown is well dressed, earnest and articulate.

The machismo displayed by some of the younger patrolmen would be very much out of character for him. His reaction

to the booking of the Photographer for lewd and lascivious behavior is recorded in Appendix E. He displayed no moral indignation as did some of the other officers but he was bewildered as to why anyone would do such a thing.

Unlike many Libertarians, he did not attend college until after becoming a policeman, but he is now working on an A.A. degree in law enforcement. In response to the question, "What three qualities are most important in a policeman?", he answered, "Proper training, impartiality and common sense." In five years he would like to be doing "the lieutenant's job." On the occasions when Brown spoke to me during the research we always went to the BCI or outside the station. Like many of the detectives and specialists who have a more cosmopolitan attitude he does not mingle easily with the uniformed men.

In regard to additional comments at the end of the questionnaire the Libertarians did not have much to say, but none were negative in their statements. Two added polite closings and three said that they thought law enforcement was improving.

The Libertarians have this label only in comparison to the rest of the police sample. Of the four groups this is the group which seems to be most at ease in the police environment. If there is a police stereotype in the popular press or the professional journals, this is the group that is furthest removed from it.

The Enforcer: Det. Tony Gallo

This group ranks low on the Law Scale and high on the Order Scale.

Like the Idealists, who are also above the median on the Order Scale, the group contains a large number of officers who show resentment. On other points the Enforcers and the Idealists are considerably different. Only 15 percent of the Enforcers are enrolled in advanced training courses. Unlike the other three groups only a minority of them, 27 percent, agree that this training is a help to officers. Three of the officers in this group who are enrolled in courses complained that what is being taught is impractical.

This is also the only group in which a majority of the men believe that esprit-de-corps is extremely important.

Detective Tony Gallo is representative of this group. Gallo has been a patrolman in the CPD for 15 years and for the past several years he has served as a detective. He is active in both the Patrolman's Association and county politics. The interview with him which follows requires a brief explanation. At the time it took place I had been at the CPD for 14 hours and had just collected the last of the 109 questionnaires. Shortly before it began one of the officers had brought sandwiches from a delicatessen and a party atmosphere dominated the station. I felt that my work was done for the day and did not make the most of

the opportunity to interview Gallo. At first he had adamantly refused to complete the questionnaire and he was the center of much joking. He finally agreed to talk to me privately.

We went into the small interrogation room. We stayed there and talked from 8:10 to 9:05 PM. I did not take notes during the hour but the subjects covered included the following:

Gallo began by telling a story of when he was a kid in an Italian neighborhood. He remembers having to go to Mass on Christmas in sneakers because his family could not afford shoes. It was tough in those neighborhoods in those days. Today everyone wants something for nothing, especially people who are on welfare.

The conversation turned to the courses that some of the men are taking. Gallo thinks they are "a lot of crap." He said that some of the men who take the courses are the worst policemen. "The guys cheat like hell and the stuff they learn doesn't make any difference. You get ahead here by politics, not by going to school."

He elaborated upon his views of politics in the CPD. "Sure there's politics involved. I'll admit it. Most wouldn't. I don't mind telling you I got this job by politics. But you still got to have respect for other people and the law. Nowadays there isn't enough of that."

There were three times during the hour when Gallo was more interested in listening than in talking. I mentioned that Streetcorner Society was about the neighborhood in which he lived as a boy and he said that he was interested in reading it. At another point he mentioned the Mafia, saying that it was still mostly Italian but that this is changing. He was interested in the history of the Mafia.

This led to comments about police corruption. Gallo said that most cops in his old neighborhood used to be on the take and that in some towns they still are. This annoys him because, "Today people still think that all cops are on the take, and it's only in some places that it still happens."

I mentioned a nearby city. He said, "Well you know which ones. You know it isn't here."

The third subject that interests him is politics. He is planning to run for office and he wanted to talk about county government.

At the end of the conversation he said that he would complete the questionnaire, sign it, and mail it to me. He seemed to enjoy talking. He said, "So you get a hundred of these questionnaires. Mine is just one percent. What good does it do? I'll tell you what I really think but it won't do any good."

On the signed questionnaire which he later provided Gallo elaborated upon his views. What he finds most annoying in his contact with average citizens are, "People who think they know more than you do about the law." The most unexpected thing that has happened to him in the job is, "To find that I have lost respect for some of the officers who are not capable of running a shift." He was also critical of the younger officers. He said, "In the last few years the new men are more interested in individual achievement and recognition rather than teamwork." At the end of the questionnaire, and over his signature, Gallo again made the point that, "I do not feel the questionnaire will accomplish anything."

The Realist: Patrolman Frank Steenberg

It was originally expected that officers who were low on both scales could be called cynics or sceptics. However, a review of the additional items on the questionnaire indicated that neither title was appropriate. The term realist was chosen because one of the officers in the group used it to describe himself and it is likely

that the others in the group would accept this label.

Only 29 percent of the Realists display resentment, and they constitute the only group in which a majority ranks the prestige of police work as excellent or good. Fifty-nine percent would also recommend the job to a son.

The following statement is not contained in the field notes. One of the last officers to complete the questionnaire mailed me a lengthy statement on the following day. The statement was unsigned, but the officer did not disguise his identity and it was a simple matter to locate the proper questionnaire. During the observation period this officer, who is here called Frank Steenberg, showed a sincere interest in the research and approached me several times to state his views about the poor quality of training for police. He always made these approaches during busy times when his opinions could not be discussed in detail. His written statement is quoted here in its entirety and without change because it contains many of the points which other officers made during the observation period, and because I believe it to be an honest attempt by a police officer to contribute to an understanding of his job.

With all due respect to the professor and his questionnaire I would like to add these personal opinions which I believe cannot be answered with a simple yes or no or even with a couple of sentences.

Having a Jewish name and being of the Catholic religion I believe I have given me a very close and real look at people as a whole and also as individuals which I will explain as I go on. Recently I had taken a college course which I felt would be helpful in my job. (The course

was) Police Community Relations. It consisted of mainly the poor under-privileged Negro. Well, by the seventh or eighth week I had to flunk out. I had to write about why the Negro is picked on, how the police use unnecessary force on these people who are fighting for their rights, and there was more.

To begin with, I come from a middle-class family on the East Side where there was every nationality, French, Italian, etc., and last but not least, Negroes who were the finest of people and very good friends of mine. To make a long story short, the blacks had one disadvantage to overcome, he is black. Once he has overcome this barrier he was accepted. But here I am a white like most of the others but half Jewish with a Jewish name. From childhood to presently, daily I come in contact with people who damn the Jews whenever and wherever it is feasible for them. I have this to overcome every day and now it goes on to my children and I am white. It is very hard to understand a situation unless you are actually a part of it. But do not rebel or blaspheme anyone.

No amount of books or knowledge which is learned from books can take the place of actually being one of the oppressed. Too much emphasis is put on one group.

There is much more that could be said about the so-called minority groups but I will not bore you so I will go on. Some of the questions I did not answer, maybe when I am through they will be answered. The police job is to protect the rights of individuals, life, property, etc. People as a whole do not understand your limitations. Sufficient evidence to arrest may be or maybe not. Do you as a police officer want to take the chance to arrest a certain individual where there is uncertainty? For to arrest you deprive that person of his liberty, freedom. And if you don't, the victim is very sceptical of you. The victim wants to see justice done, but not for society, for self-satisfaction. People I have found are very self-centered, their concern for others is practically nil unless family, etc. intervenes.

To go further, I have seen children the subject of a would-be rapist, a man who had been convicted previously of similar crimes. The psychiatrist talks with the offender and finds that years ago he had a hang-up so to speak, maybe he didn't like his father or his mother or some other reason. They publish this and all the emphasis is put upon



the offender, but what about the victim? What effect does it have on her? The concern should be with the victim. Protect the people. Certainly people with any emotions feel sorry for the offender but he is and will remain a threat to society. Until it happens to you or one of yours you cannot honestly make a judgment.

Again I say, see it and be a part of it. Policemen with any compassion can feel for people regardless of social standing or what have you. In this subject like many others I could go on and on, but it would involve too much time and possibly be too boring.

The political point of view of your questionnaire is too brief. The greatest amount of politicians I have had dealings with are incompetent, corrupt and too quick to second-guess anyone, above all, the police. How many times has it been said, "Do you know who you just wrote a speeding ticket for?" And very honestly the son of a politician or a friend or relative of some sort. The outcome is you may impair your chance for a pay raise, you may be transferred, or any one of many things. A rookie just coming on shakes his head attempting to understand what is taking place. But the man with a little experience knows. The politician expects you to bend to their needs and wants at their beck and call. If these needs are not met they want to know why, in very short order.

I had a situation happen to me not long ago. Two convicted bank robbers escaped from jail. I was instrumental in apprehending these men initially. The word was sent out that they were going to get me. My wife sat home for numerous nights with my personal gun loaded guarding my children. Even though I was a police officer I got no personal protection. And now a civic-minded politician calls and demands a cruiser check out constantly a house of a citizen who was threatened over the telephone that he was going to be beat up. We had to check this man's house and property. And the politician gained a vote. Isn't my family afforded the same rights? Evidently not, and it was laughed off. There is much to be said for these so-called civic-minded leaders. But to go on would bring you into disbelief. For I am a realist. And our society is a shambles and people dislike the truth, they hide it when it affects them. Rock someone else's boat, not mine. The same old story.

To sum up some of the questionnaire:

1. Politicians - very corrupt and a deterrent to crime prevention.
2. Schooling for police - not enough courses pertaining to the man on the street. A man does not care how much knowledge you have under your belt and your actions at that time are as an individual, bringing a good or bad result.
3. Negroes - too much emphasis put on these people. Very unnecessary. Too much public sympathy.
4. People as a rule do not like to be with a loser, such as again, the Negro good or bad jumps on the bandwagon - we are being noticed. Nobody likes to be a loser.

P.S. I would like to go on but if I did I would have to put it in book form and I am no writer as you can see. Secondly, it would involve too much time and as I said before people dislike the real truth and would therefore consider me very possibly a radical.

Some of the points made in this statement appear in the field notes. Among these is the belief that there is a clear separation between experience and knowledge. For some officers "knowing" has little relationship to "doing." Steenberg, for example, states that, "A man does not care how much knowledge you have under your belt and your actions at that time are as an individual, bringing a good or bad result." This belief has implications for police training programs and it will be dealt with later.

Steenberg's statement also notes that Blacks can be "among the finest of people," but that they should not expect treatment different than that accorded to other minorities in the past. Officers often find incomprehensible the suggestion that civil service examinations

might be culturally biased or that height requirements for entry into police work should be lowered.

On other points Steenberg's letter is not typical of the responses of the Realists. In comparison to the Enforcers, as represented by Gallo, the Realists are more likely to rate the prestige of their job as high, to again choose the job as a career and to recommend the job to a son. They also show considerably less resentment.

In this chapter the police officers have been allowed to speak for themselves. The ideal types constructed here are based entirely upon the statements of officers. There has been very little analysis of the statements and no attempt has been made to fit the data to preconceived expectations. In the last section these ideal types will be related to the previously constructed role-set and the earlier hypotheses. The remaining analysis is aimed at both a reconsideration of the socialization model and a review of the suggestions in the literature for improving law enforcement in a democracy.

## PART III

## SUMMARY STATEMENTS

These final two chapters combine the literature reviewed in Part I and the findings presented in Part II. Chapter VIII re-examines the socialization hypothesis. Chapter IX uses the present data to reassess past suggestions for improving the efficiency of law enforcement in democracies.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE FORMATION OF POLICE ATTITUDES

Some of the findings in the previous chapters tend to confirm and expand upon certain conclusions reached in past research. However, these findings do not provide the strong support for the differential association model of occupational socialization which was expected when this research was designed. Both of these conclusions will now be discussed.<sup>1</sup>

In regard to the agreement between the previously reviewed literature and the present findings, the following conclusions can be drawn.

First, Westley, Niederhoffer and Skolnick all noted that policemen tend to enforce their own moral codes as well as the criminal code. The present data indicate that this is true only of some officers. While some were quick to take offense and to display moral indignation and condemnation, others did not. The officers who are here called Idealists (Walters) and Libertarians (Brown) did not show moral condemnation even when confronted with such normally repulsive acts as child abuse.

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1 Table XXXIV, which summarizes the statistical findings of Chapter IV, is added simply as an aid to memory and should be read with the qualifications of that chapter in mind.

TABLE XXXIV: A SUMMARY  
OF THE STATISTICAL FINDINGS

The Variables			
Independent	(Gamma)	Dependent	Conclusion
Religion	.0	Law Scale	None (insufficient data)
Religion	-.17	Order Scale	
Religion	.09	Ressentiment	
SES	.0	Law Scale	Officers of white-collar origins are slightly more likely to display resentment.
SES	.0	Order Scale	
SES	-.29	Ressentiment	
Ethnicity			None (insufficient data)
Formal educ.	.11	Law Scale	Formal education has a weak liberalizing influence. But, there is a significant reduction in order scores for officers of blue-collar origins who have attended college.
Formal educ.	-.14	Order Scale	
Formal educ.	-.10	Ressentiment	
Age	-.11	Law Scale	Very weak association, but the scattergrams are curvilinear. This is not true of the Fire Dept. data. Best explained by Length of Service.
Age	.04	Order Scale	
Age	.07	Ressentiment	
Rank	.16	Law Scale	Officers overdue for promotion show more resentment than those promoted in the normal time.
Rank	-.19	Order Scale	
Rank	-.46	Ressentiment	
Commitment	-.04	Law Scale	Officers with high job commitment show significantly less resentment and have lower order scores.
Commitment	-.33	Order Scale	
Commitment	-.39	Ressentiment	
Police trng.	.39	Law Scale	Officers with advanced police training at the college level have significantly higher law scores and show significantly less resentment.
Police trng.	.17	Order Scale	
Police trng.	-.48	Ressentiment	
Length of Service			Weak curvilinear association. But senior cruisemen show more resentment and have lower order scores.

These officers were identified by both observation of their behavior and their answers to questionnaire items. If it is functional for a democratic society to employ police officers who will enforce the criminal code without at the same time enforcing their own moral codes, then the development of scales similar to those used in this research might assist in screening applicants for the police occupation.

Also, here as in the literature, the patrolman role appears to be the critical one for police organizations. The literature stresses the importance of this role for two reasons. First, virtually all police administrators are initially incumbents of the patrolman role, and secondly, it is the patrolman on the front line who exercises the greatest amount of discretion. According to the role-set model generated by the field notes, the options available to police commanders are known by patrolmen and the choice from among these options is generally predictable. There is no instance in the notes where a patrolman did not know how a superior officer would respond to his behavior. While exercising discretion vis-a-vis the citizen or the offender, the patrolman can also predict the behavior of his superiors. The ability of the administrator to manipulate the organization and initiate changes is thereby limited.

As in the case of past research, the police were again found to be critical of the courts. The present findings indicate that there are several reasons for this. Some, but by no means all, officers were critical of Supreme Court

decisions which they see as hampering effective law enforcement. Many officers, probably all had the findings been complete on this point, dislike having their decisions reversed by courts. The third reason for this criticism does not seem to be as clearly substantiated in the literature. Some officers, for example Walters, comment upon what they see as inequality in the administration of justice. They object strongly to the lack of treatment facilities for juvenile offenders, the long delays between arrest and trial, and the ability of persons of the upper and middle classes to "fix" a case. At least some of this criticism of the courts does not result from the policeman's perception of his own relationship to the courts. Some officers are able to step out of their own roles and make the simple observation that courts are inefficient and lack proper facilities. This criticism is virtually universal among legal scholars who have commented upon the present condition of American criminal justice. It is likely that this type of criticism is most vexing to those officers who hold relatively high ideals concerning law enforcement.

In regard to the testing of the differential association model the findings were as follows:

First, the similarity between the attitudes of police and firefighters lends indirect support to the conclusion of Rokeach that social background provides a better explanation of police values than does occupational socialization. Unfortunately, the social class origins of the CPD sample were



such that this finding could not be explored more fully.

Also, because officers with only one year's experience were largely indistinguishable from veteran officers, and because recruits were easily identified as such, one is led to the conclusion that much of the occupational socialization is a relatively brief process. The simplicity of the role-set and the absence of a strong need for technical training also indicate that the job can be easily learned. The recruits observed in the present study did not know how to wear the uniform properly, they were awkward when answering the phone and they were unclear as to such matters as the distinction between a felony and a misdemeanor. Once these and similar minor matters are learned, the recruit can pass as a veteran.

Other findings do lend support to the argument that occupational socialization is important. Niederhoffer found a curvilinear relationship between length of service and cynicism which extended over several years. The present data are also in some respects curvilinear. In this case, the senior cruisemen showed more resentment and had lower law scores than those who were either senior or junior to them. Niederhoffer also found that non-promoted patrolmen are more cynical. The present data indicate that non-promoted officers were more likely to show resentment.

Other findings indicate statistically significant relationships between occupational experience and attitudes. Officers with higher occupational commitment show significantly less resentment and have significantly lower order scores.

Advanced police training is also significantly related to higher law scores and lower resentment.

While the recruits are much like veteran officers after a relatively short period, prolonged contact with the occupation does have its effects and the socialization hypothesis cannot be completely dismissed.

The findings outlined in these last paragraphs indicate that neither pre-induction values nor occupational socialization can serve to monistically explain the distribution of police attitudes. The truth probably is that there is interaction between personality and social system variables. Policemen are much like firefighters, recruits are much like veterans, and despite the paucity of data, this similarity can best be explained by social background and personality as suggested by Rokeach. But, rank, or the lack of it, assignment, advanced police training and occupational commitment also have their effects. These findings tend to support the claims made by Niederhoffer, Westley and Skolnick that socialization is an important variable in shaping the policeman's working personality.

The obvious question at this point is to ask why the initial hypothesis did not fare well. It is possible that the stress which past research placed upon occupational socialization results from an over reliance upon participant-observation as a research tool. Only two researchers, Niederhoffer and Rokeach, used statistical techniques to test hypotheses. The first, who has over twenty years experience

as a police officer, found mild support for a socialization model, and the second found support for the importance of pre-induction values. The sociological knowledge of the police occupation has probably advanced to the point where unsupported participant-observation is no longer satisfactory.

I believe that the findings summarized in this chapter lead to two general conclusions which will be useful in future research. The first of these has been stated earlier, that is, police attitudes regarding democratic values are accounted for by both preinduction values and occupational socialization. This conclusion suggests that future research should emphasize both social psychological and organizational variables.

The second general conclusion is drawn from Chapter VI and the modal types which were constructed from the scale responses and the rest of the questionnaire items. That is, both the field notes and the questionnaire responses indicate that police attitudes do not fit one stereotype. This conclusion suggests that future research might explore these modal types more fully by the use of more sophisticated techniques than the scales devised for this research.

All of the authors cited here would probably agree with Rokeach's assumption that value gaps between the police and the policed are dysfunctional in a democracy. A problem now seems to be to identify those factors - whether they be related to social class origin, socialization, or personality - which serve to produce the various modal types of police

responses. The last chapter will examine these modal types more fully and will relate them to past suggestions for improving law enforcement in democracies.

CHAPTER IX  
A REVIEW OF THE SUGGESTIONS FOR  
IMPROVING THE POLICEMAN'S LOT

This chapter assumes that in a democracy congruence of values between the police and the policed is functional for the social system. Less safe assumptions are that such congruence is also functional for police personalities and police organizations. It has previously been concluded that both personality variables and social system variables are important for an understanding of law enforcement. Given these assumptions and conclusions, this chapter will examine past suggestions for improving law enforcement in the light of both the present findings and the social science literature.

The President's Commission has suggested improvement in four general areas: better administration, higher levels of education and training, the attraction of better qualified applicants, and improved community relations. The Wickersham Report of 1931 found six underlying causes of police failure, but only one of these still remains in the CPD. Political interference and the resulting short terms of service for police chiefs continues to be a problem.

Improved Administration

It has previously been pointed out that police administrators have only limited opportunity to initiate reforms because discretion inheres in the patrolman role rather than

in the administrative roles. The major device which the Commission suggests for improving administration is lateral entry. That is, bringing administrators in from the outside rather than promoting them from within the organization. The expectation is that these enlightened administrators will be better able to control the less enlightened, but hopefully better educated rank and file.

There are two difficulties with this approach. First, police officers, at least in the CPD, do not take kindly to the suggestion that lateral entry be used. It might therefore adversely effect police morale. Secondly, despite lateral entry discretion and power will still remain with the patrolman rather than with the administrator. In the CPD there is already social distance between the uniformed patrolmen and the specialists even though all of the specialists have come up through the ranks. It seems reasonable to anticipate that with the use of lateral entry this social distance will increase while power and discretion continues to remain with the patrolman.

An alternative to lateral entry is to recognize that police departments are front-line organizations and to make greater use of enlightened personnel at the front-line level as well as at the administrative level.

For example, Walters, the somewhat disillusioned juvenile officer, is well aware of the need to improve the manner in which juveniles are processed by both the CPD and the local court. The juvenile court judge and the local probation department recognize problems in this area and are

attempting to correct them. But, Walters and his colleagues have had no input into the formulation of these proposed changes.

Walters is typical of the Idealists. He emphasizes both social order and due process of law, but he also displays resentment, has low job commitment, ranks the prestige of his occupation as low and feels that people do not recognize the value of police work. Walters undoubtedly sees police work as a helping profession, but in his present position he is accomplishing very little and he knows it. Walters is thinking of becoming a conservation officer.

It seems reasonable to suggest that lateral entry be used to fill consulting or staff positions in such skills as public administration and law. Both the present Chief and the past Acting Chief agreed that they were in need of help in these areas. In regard to the line positions of command and uniformed patrol greater use might be made of the abilities which already exist within the department.

For example, as part of their training recruits might be assigned as court or probation aides. The local court uses college students as probation aides and such experience might be useful to young men who enter police work with the expectation that they will be helping people. The recruits who were added to the CPD at the end of the research period were being taught to "work the system" by the old-timers. Early exposure to lawyers and a professionally oriented probation staff might serve to broaden these early experiences.

Future research might explore the findings regarding Walters and his fellow Idealists. Should they be given more input into the planning and management of the legal process two results might follow. They might come closer to fulfilling their ideals and the administration of law enforcement might improve.

#### Education for Police

Regarding education the literature suggests one possible disadvantage. Hostility might develop between officers who receive advanced training and those who do not. The questionnaire results and the observations indicate that much hostility exists in the CPD, but as more officers enroll in college training programs this is lessening. All six officers interviewed in the follow-up phase of the research reported that when pay increments were first established as an incentive for college training there was friction between the "students" and the "old-timers" but that as more officers enroll in courses this friction has steadily lessened. (Since the research has been completed even Tony Galle, the Enforcer, has enrolled in a degree program.)

The present findings indicate a great deal of variance between the scale scores of the student and police samples. A more surprising finding is that even the watered-down courses which CPD officers are taking seem to be having an effect. As these law enforcement training



programs grow, students similar to those used in this research and the CPD officers are finding themselves enrolled in the same classes. Possibly the simple interaction between the two groups in an academic setting might increase the congruence between them.

The question of whether these courses will overcome the division which Steenberg and others make between "knowing" and "doing" must be left to further research. The negative comments made by officers regarding education indicate that they recognize both poor teaching and liberal polemics when they see them.

#### Attracting Better Qualified Applicants

It was suggested earlier that future research might develop scales similar to those used here for the purpose of screening police applicants and thereby reducing the incongruence between the attitudes of the general public and police. The question remains as to what will be done with these better qualified applicants once they are attracted to the occupation. Hopefully, like Sgt. Brown, they will have advanced training, will show little resentment toward the public, will have high occupational commitment and will not enforce their own moral codes as well as the criminal code. However, the present data indicate that there are several aspects of the occupation which these better trained recruits might find unsatisfactory. Like Walters, they might find it difficult to live up to the ideals expressed in

the policeman's oath. The lack of opportunity to provide satisfactory routine service and the inability to have meaningful inputs into the administration as well as the previously reviewed "accidents of history" might limit their effectiveness.

Among these last elements are the paramilitary organization of police departments and the gradual accumulation of many routine non-police duties. When asked about the use of military rank, insignia and jargon within the department the six informants used in the last stage of the research were somewhat bewildered by the question. Their responses indicated that these elements of the job are simply "taken for granted" by them. They were not particularly impressed by military ranks and titles, nor did they see any reason for changing them. Future research might indicate that the better applicants which the Commission seeks would not be so quick to take these elements of the occupation for granted. It is likely that these applicants will have been exposed to a college environment and will question both the innumerable non-police duties and the military aspects of their occupation. Again, should the power and discretion of the patrolman role be recognized these better qualified applicants, as well as many present patrolmen, would be in a better position to reshape their role and make it both more efficient and more acceptable to a public which is becoming increasingly better educated.

The suggestion here is that future research go beyond the conclusion that better applicants are necessary and investigate ways in which these applicants might be used efficiently at the front-line of the organization.

#### Police-Community Relations

This topic was of only peripheral concern in the research design. Both observation data and comments by officers indicate that police frequently find it difficult to meet the routine demands made upon them by citizens. Police-citizen interaction was often frustrating for both parties. Future research might assume that police-community relations are in fact patrolman-citizen relations. Here the combination of staff consultants in public administration and the increase of input into administrative planning by patrolmen might be more effective than the creation of specialized bureaus whose goals are the increase of good will in the community and the "cooling out" of complainants during periods of crisis.

#### Political Interference

Of the six problems noted by the Wickersham Report only political interference and the resulting short term of service for police chiefs continue to be a problem in the CPD.

The problem is largely beyond the scope of the present research, but one suggestion which is similar to

the others in this chapter will be made. Future research might investigate the establishment of boards of trustees for police departments similar to those used by state affiliated colleges. These boards might serve as buffers between police administrators and elected officials and they might incorporate some of the benefits attributed to the more controversial civilian review boards. Should members of such boards be skilled in law and business administration rather in the manipulation of local partisan politics they could at least complement the skills of police chiefs who have come up through the ranks. Should they be given the authority to review promotions, special assignments and other major administrative decisions they would serve to reduce the complaints which officers have about politics in the department. This is simply a suggestion for further research. The present research has uncovered the problem of political interference and the data do not directly suggest this solution.

This chapter suggests that future research investigate the practicality of a rather simple plan for improving law enforcement. The plan results from an analysis of the present findings. It suggests a) that applicants who are more representative of the larger community be attracted to law enforcement; b) that training at the college level be made available to them; c) that they be freed from the military model of police organization, from non-police duties, and from political interference; and d) that they be

given greater opportunity to contribute to law enforcement administration and planning.

Had the data supported the original differential association model of socialization the last of the above suggestions would be out of place. However, the data indicate that simple exposure to the occupational environment does not have an overwhelmingly negative effect. The research indicates that patrolmen exercise great power and discretion when interacting with citizens, but that these same men have little control over the organization and operation of their agencies.

More than twenty years ago, Westley wondered how "decent, humble urban men" could at the same time lead lives as policemen "in antagonistic relationships with the community." The research which followed Westley's original contribution used participant-observation to conclude that it was probably occupational experience which gives rise to antagonism, cynicism and a generally officious and negative attitude on the part of the police. The present research indicates that occupational socialization is probably not as powerful a factor as the literature suggests. When policemen are not given opportunities to manipulate their occupational environment, dissatisfaction is likely to be evident. Focal concerns such as "keeping your mouth shut" and "not taking any crap" are not surprising under such circumstances. Future research might

go beyond the use of participant-observation to describe the non-democratic aspects of law enforcement and attempt to identify these factors which can be manipulated for the purpose of improving the quality of justice.

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## APPENDIX A:

**Law Enforcement Survey:  
Police Questionnaire**

**John Broderick  
Assistant Professor  
Sociology Department  
Stonehill College**



II. The following statements are taken from the writings of lawyers, judges and policemen. They are only opinions. You are asked if you agree or disagree with them. The numbers on the right represent a scale from +3 (meaning very strongly agree) to -3 (very strongly disagree). Please circle the one number on the scale that best represents your thoughts on the matter. 211

	Very Strongly Agree +3	Strongly Agree +2	Agree +1	Neutral 0	Disagree -1	Strongly Disagree -2	Very Strongly Disagree -3
1. The right of free speech should include the right to make speeches in favor of communism. . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
2. It is sometimes more important to apprehend criminals than to follow all the rules laid down by courts. . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
3. The central task of the police is to maintain order and to thereby reduce the opportunity for crime. . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
4. When police use illegal questioning the innocent are sometimes convicted . . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
5. The emphasis of recent Supreme Court decisions is on individual rights and the public be damned. . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
6. Social order must sometimes be reduced to assure that individual rights are protected . . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
7. Public opinion is swinging too far in favor of individual rights. . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
8. Civil liberties must sometimes be limited to protect the nation . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
9. The rise in crime is due largely to the failure to protect the rights of the poor. . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
10. There is always the danger that police power will be used to oppress the underprivileged. . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
11. When courts put limits on law enforcement crime increases. . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
12. Our modern system of justice has too little concern for the individual.	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
13. Our society is becoming too permissive . . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
14. Lack of impartial treatment by the police is one reason why people distrust law enforcement . . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3



III. THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ALSO ASK FOR YOUR OPINIONS. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. IT IS EXPECTED THAT OFFICERS WILL VARY IN THEIR ANSWERS.

1. How important is solidarity or esprit-de-corps in police departments?
  - a) \_\_\_ extremely important
  - b) \_\_\_ more important than in most jobs
  - c) \_\_\_ about the same as other jobs
  - d) \_\_\_ less important than other jobs
  
2. The prestige of police work as compared to other jobs is
  - a) \_\_\_ excellent
  - b) \_\_\_ good
  - c) \_\_\_ fair
  - d) \_\_\_ poor
  
3. In general, do people recognize the value to society of police work?
  - a) \_\_\_ most people do
  - b) \_\_\_ many do
  - c) \_\_\_ some do
  - d) \_\_\_ a few do
  
4. Please list the most important qualities that a policeman should have. List as many as you like but put the most important first, the second next, and so on.
  - 1) \_\_\_\_\_
  - 2) \_\_\_\_\_
  - 3) \_\_\_\_\_
  
5. A large number of people have attitudes of hate and hostility toward the police.
 

strongly agree\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_ strongly disagree\_\_\_

If you agree with the above statement please answer the following:

  - A. The patrolman frequently encounters the hostility of these people in his work.
 

strongly agree\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_ strongly disagree\_\_\_
  - B. Recent court decisions protect those who hate the police from proper law enforcement.
 

strongly agree\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_ strongly disagree\_\_\_
  
6. In big cities is political corruption as wide spread as people think it is?
 

almost always\_\_\_ usually\_\_\_ about half the time\_\_\_ seldom\_\_\_ almost never\_\_\_
  
7. To what extent does the average citizen fail to understand the problems of the police
 

almost always\_\_\_ usually\_\_\_ about half the time\_\_\_ seldom\_\_\_ almost never\_\_\_

IV. THE LAST FEW QUESTIONS ARE MOSTLY ABOUT YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE JOB.

1. Does your work give you a sense of accomplishment?
  - a) \_\_\_ very much so
  - b) \_\_\_ to a considerable extent
  - c) \_\_\_ to some extent
  - d) \_\_\_ little or none at all
  
2. How interested are you in your work?
  - a) \_\_\_ very much interested
  - b) \_\_\_ considerably interested
  - c) \_\_\_ a little, but not much
  - d) \_\_\_ not interested at all
  
3. A. How enthusiastic were you when you first started on the job?
  - a) \_\_\_ very enthusiastic
  - b) \_\_\_ fairly enthusiastic
  - c) \_\_\_ not particularly enthusiastic

B. In comparison to that feeling, how do you feel today?

  - a) \_\_\_ more enthusiastic
  - b) \_\_\_ about the same
  - c) \_\_\_ less enthusiastic
  
4. In your contact with average citizens, what sort of behavior have you found most annoying?
 

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5. What one thing has happened to you in the job that you did not expect?
 

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6. A. Since you have been a police officer have you ever thought of leaving the job? yes\_\_\_ no\_\_\_
 

B. If yes, what was your main reason?

---
  
7. If you had a son, would you advise him to become a police officer?
 

definitely\_\_\_ probably\_\_\_ probably not\_\_\_ definitely not\_\_\_
  
8. What job would you like to be doing five years from now?
 

---

9. Do you have any relatives who are (or were) policemen?  
 yes\_\_\_ no\_\_\_ If yes please specify which ones, for  
 example, father, brother, brother-in-law, etc.
- 

10. A. Recently many policemen have been taking college  
 courses in law enforcement and related subjects.  
 Do you think that these courses will help to  
 improve their performances as police officers?
- a) \_\_\_ very much so
  - b) \_\_\_ to a considerable extent
  - c) \_\_\_ to some extent
  - d) \_\_\_ little or not at all
- B. What do you think is their main reason for taking  
 these courses?
- a) \_\_\_ increase in pay
  - b) \_\_\_ to improve chances for promotion
  - c) \_\_\_ to improve their skills as police officers
  - d) \_\_\_ other. Please explain\_\_\_\_\_
- 

- C. Is there anything else you would care to say about  
 college courses for policemen?
- 
- 

11. In what one way have you changed your opinion about police  
 work since you joined the department?
- 
- 

12. If you had the choice to make again, would you still  
 become a policeman?  
 definitely\_\_\_ probably\_\_\_ probably not\_\_\_ definitely not\_\_\_

13. Is there anything else you would care to say about law  
 enforcement or about this questionnaire?
- 
- 

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

Appendix B  
A Summary of the Police  
Questionnaire Results

Part I

(Items 1 and 3 are used to compare the sample to the remainder of the department.)

1. How many years experience do you have as a police Officer?

Years of Experience:	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	25-35	Total
Sample	7	34	29	14	14	6	5	109
Department	9	43	54	31	22	13	8	180
Percent of the Dept. in the sample	79%	79	54	45	64	46	63	61%

2. What department do you work for?

All 109 respondents are members of the City Department. Questionnaires were completed by forty members of other police departments but these were not used in this research.

3. What is your present rank?

Rank:	Recruit	Patrol.	Sgt.	Lt.	Capt.	Chief	Total
Sample	7	80	13	6	3	0	109
Depart.	9	138	17	10	5	1	180
Percent of the Dept. in the Sample	79%	58	76	60	60	0	61%

4. Your Age?

Yrs.	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	51-55	56-60	60+	Tot
	10	25	18	17	12	17	5	4	1	109

## 5. What is your present assignment?

<u>Recruits</u>	7
<u>Uniformed Patrol</u>	52
Cruisers	39
Desk & House	13
<u>Preferred Assignments</u>	28
Detective Bureau	8
Narcotics	6
Records	6
Juvenile	2
Dispatcher	3
Safety	2
K-9	1
<u>Sergeants</u>	13
Patrol Supervisors	7
Detective Bureau	3
Juvenile	1
Records	1
Prosecutor	1
<u>Lieutenants</u>	6
Commanders	3
Detective Bureau	1
Planning	1
Public Relations	1
<u>Captains</u>	3
Commanders	1
Detective Bureau	1
Training Officer	1
<u>Total</u>	109

If you had a choice, what assignment would you prefer?

<u>Recruits</u>	
Narcotics	2
Cruiser	1
Detective Bureau	1
No reply	2

<u>Uniformed Patrol</u>	
Same	28
Detective Bureau	2
Juvenile	1
Sergeant	2
Foot patrol	3
Cruiser	1
No reply	16

<u>Sergeant</u>	
Narcotics	1
Public relations	1
Same	11

<u>Lieutenant</u>	
Detective Bureau	1
Same	4
No reply	1

<u>Captain</u>	
Same	2
Juvenile	1

6. a.) What is the highest level of school that you have completed?

	<u>Eighth</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>H. S.</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Col.</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Grade</u>	<u>H. S.</u>	<u>Grad.</u>	<u>Col.</u>	<u>Grad.</u>	
Captain			1	2		3
Lt.	1	1	2	2		6
Sgt.		1	4	7	1	13
Preferred Assignment		6	4	18		28
Patrol		6	33	11	2	52
Recruit			4	3		7
<u>Total</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>109</u>

6. b) Are you now enrolled in any courses in law enforcement?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	3	0	3
Lt.	5	1	6
Sgt.	12	1	13
Preferred Assignment	20	8	28
Patrol	20	32	52
Recruit	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	61	48	109

6. c) Have you any police training other than recruit training or the courses listed above?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	2	1	3
Lt.	5	1	6
Sgt.	12	1	13
Preferred Assignment	11	17	28
Patrol	11	41	52
Recruits	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	42	67	109

6. d) Are you now working for a college degree?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	3	0	3
Lt.	3	3	6
Sgt.	8	5	13
Preferred Assignment	18	10	28
Patrol	11	41	52
Recruit	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	53	56	109

## 7. What is your religious preference?

	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Cath.</u>	<u>Jew.</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>No reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	1	2				3
Lt.		5		1		6
Sgt.	3	10				13
Preferred Assignment	4	20		2	2	28
Patrol	7	42	1	1	1	52
Recruit	2	5				7
Total	17	84	1	4	3	109

## 8. Do you consider yourself to be a member of an ethnic or nationality group?

	<u>No</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Yes Italo.</u>	<u>Other*</u>	<u>No Reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	2			1		3
Lt.	4	1	1			6
Sgt.	7		2	3	1	13
Preferred Assignment	23	2	2		1	28
Patrol	40	5	3	4		52
Recruit	7					7
Total	83	8	8	8	2	109

(\* Lithuanian 3, Polish 2, French 1,  
Negro 1, Swedish 1.)

## 9. a) What was your last job before becoming a policeman?

	<u>Blue collar</u>	<u>White collar</u>	<u>U. S. Army</u>	<u>Undeter- mined</u>	<u>No reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	3					3
Lt.	5		1			6
Sgt.	8	5				13
Preferred Assignment	24	2		2		28
Patrol	41	3		6	2	52
Recruit	5	1	1			7
Total	86	11	2	8	2	109



9. b) Do you now have an occupation other than police work?

	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No reply</u>	<u>Total</u>	
		Blue Collar	White Collar		
Capt.	3			3	
Lt.	5		1	6	
Sgt.	10	2	1	13	
Preferred Assignment	21	3	3	1	28
Patrol	37	8	3	4	52
Recruit	7				7
Total	83	13	8	5	109

9. c) What was (is) your father's last full-time occupation?

	<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>White Collar</u>	<u>Undeter- mined</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.		3		3
Lt.	6			6
Sgt.	11	2		13
Preferred Assignment	23	5		28
Patrol	39	3	10	52
Recruit	4	3		7
Total	83	16	10	109

#### Part II

Each of the following scores is based on responses to seven items for each scale. Responses to each item varied on a seven point range from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree), with an absolute range of scores from 7 to 49. The higher scores represent higher emphasis upon either law (individual liberties) or order (collective responsibility). The distribution of responses to individual items is contained in tables II and III on pages 142 and 143.

	<u>Order Scale Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>7-13</u>	<u>14-20</u>	<u>21-27</u>	<u>28-34</u>	<u>35-41</u>	<u>42-49</u>	
Capt:				2	1		3
Lt.		1		2	1	2	6
Sgt.			1	1	4	7	13
Preferred Assignment		1		3	13	11	28
Patrol				11	18	23	52
Recruit				3	4		7
<u>Total</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>109</u>

	<u>Law Scale Scores</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>7-13</u>	<u>14-20</u>	<u>21-27</u>	<u>28-34</u>	<u>35-41</u>	<u>42-49</u>	
Capt.		1		2			3
Lt.		3	1	2			6
Sgt.	1	2	6	3	1		13
Preferred Assignment	3	7	12	6			28
Patrol	2	18	24	6	2		52
Recruit	1	1	5				7
<u>Total</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>109</u>

Part III

1. How important is solidarity or esprit-de-corps in police departments?

	<u>Extremely important</u>	<u>More than most jobs</u>	<u>About the same</u>	<u>Less imp.</u>	<u>No Reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	2	1				3
Lt.	4	2				6
Sgt.	7	6				13
Preferred Assignment	13	8	3		4	28
Patrol	28	21	2		1	52
Recruit	4	1			1	7
<u>Total</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>109</u>

2. The prestige of police work as compared to other jobs is

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	No reply	Total
Capt.	1	1	1			3
Lt.		3	1	2		6
Sgt.		2	5	6		13
Preferred Assignment	2	11	10	5		28
Patrol	6	22	16	7	1	52
Recruit	3	3	1			7
Total	12	42	34	20	1	109

3. In general, do people recognize the value to society of police work?

	Most do	Many do	Some do	A few	No reply	Total
Capt.	2	1				3
Lt.	2	3		1		6
Sgt.	2		8	3		13
Preferred Assignment	9	11	5	3		28
Patrol	14	10	24	2	2	52
Recruit	1	2	4			7
Total	30	27	41	9	2	109

4. Please list the most important qualities that a policeman should have.

(The number after the quality indicates the number of respondents who cited it. Seven officers did not answer the question and three used the acronym for pig - pride, integrity and guts. These three replies are not listed below. The spacing of the questionnaire suggested that three qualities should be listed.

Honesty (43)	Good morals (8)
Common Sense (39)	Impartial (8)
Fairness (18)	Integrity (8)
Intelligence (12)	Understanding (8)
Knowledge of law (11)	Compassion (6)
Courage (8)	Pride (5)

Patience (5)	Know area he works
Sincerity (5)	Know how
Concern for others (4)	Know purpose of job
Dedication (4)	Knowledge of people
Neatness (4)	Like the job
Self-control (4)	Love of country
Education (3)	Love of man
Good judgement (3)	Loyalty
Perseverance (3)	Mix with public
Character (2)	Non-alcoholic
Ability to deal with people (1)	Not hot-headed
Ability to make quick decisions	Observant
Ability to talk	Openminded
Administer authority	Personality
Alert	Poise
Broadminded	Politeness
Compatible	Professional
Confidence	Physical fitness
Consideration	Q uick wit
Decency	Respect for people
Desire	Respect for rank
Firmness	Respect for law
Forceful	Tolerance
Good attitude	Training
Good temper	Trustworthy
Gregarious	Unbiased
High school education	Well adjusted
Humane	Willingness to work
Incentive	Willingness to do duty
Kindness	

5. a) A large number of people have attitudes of hate and hostility toward the police.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Total
Capt.		1	2		3
Lt.	3	2	1		6
Sgt.	4	6	3		13
Preferred Assignment	4	18	5	1	28
Patrol	16	25	10	1	52
Recruit	1	6			7
Total	28	58	21	2	109

If you agree with the above statement please answer the following questions:

- b) The policeman frequently encounters the hostility of these people in his work.  
 c) Recent court decisions protect those who hate the police from proper law enforcement.

	Agrees with a only	Agrees with a and b	Agrees with a, b, & c	Total
Capt.		1		1
Lt.		3	2	5
Sgt.	2	4	4	10
Preferred Assignment	1	6	15	22
Patrol	1	10	30	41
Recruit	2	2	3	7
Total	6	26	54*	86

\*The 54 officers who agree with all three statements are considered to display resentment.

6. In big cities, is political corruption as wide spread as people think it is?

	Almost always	Usually	Half the time	Seldom	Almost never	Total
Capt.		1		1	1	3
Lt.	2	1	1	2		6
Sgt.	2	6	2	3		13
Preferred Assignment	5	9	3	6	3	28
Patrol	7	25	11	6		52
Recruit		1	4	2		7
Total	16	43	21	20	4	109

7. To what extent does the average citizen fail to understand the police?

	Almost always	Usually	Half the time	Seldom	Almost never	No reply	Total
Capt.		2	1				3
Lt.	1	2	2	1			6
Sgt.	3	6	2	2			13
Preferred Assignment	5	6	13	2		2	28
Patrol	5	17	20	7	1	2	52
Recruit	1	4	1	1			7
Total	15	37	39	13	1	4	109

Part IV

1. Does your work give you a sense of accomplishment?

	Very Much	Considerably	Some	Little or none	Total
Capt.	2		1		3
Lt.	2	3		1	6
Sgt.	4	5	1	3	13
Preferred Assignment	14	6	7	1	28
Patrol	19	14	19		52
Recruit	4	3			7
Total	45	31	28	5	109

2. How interested are you in your work?

	Very much	Consid- erably	A little	Not interested	No reply	Total
Capt	2	1				3
Lt.	4	1		1		6
Sgt.	8	1	4			13
Preferred Assignment	19	8	1			28
Patrol	31	18	2		1	52
Recruit	7					7
Total	71	29	7	1	1	109

3. a) How enthusiastic were you when you first started on the job?

	Very enthusiastic	Fairly enthusiastic	Not particularly enthusiastic	Total
Capt.	3			3
Lt.	6			6
Sgt.	10	3		13
Preferred Assignment	24	4		28
Patrol	37	13	2	52
Recruit	7			7
Total	87	20	2	109

3. b) In comparison to that feeling, how do you feel today?

	More enthusiastic	About the same	Less enthusiastic	Total
Capt.	1	1	1	3
Lt.	1	2	3	6
Sgt.	2	6	5	13
Preferred Assignment	6	13	9	28
Patrol	13	20	19	52
Recruit	4	3		7
Total	27	45	37	109

4. In your contact with average citizens, what sort of behavior have you found most annoying?

Disrespect for police	22
Verbal abuse	11
Lack of understanding of the limits of law enforcement	10
Public apathy	8
Public is too demanding	6
Attempts to use political influence	4
People who think the police are lazy	4

Child abuse	3
Drunkenness	3
Lack of respect for law	3
Blacks complain of prejudice	2
Family arguments	2
Hostility	2
Lower class not caring for themselves	2
Authoritarian people	1
Complaints about other officers	1
Militancy	1
Uncooperativeness	1
Nothing in particular	1
Illegible answer	1
No reply	<u>12</u>
Total	102

## Recruits:

Disrespect	2
Apathy	2
Lack of understanding	1
Neighborhood complaints	1
Lack of common sense	<u>1</u>
Total	7

5. What one thing has happened to you on the job that you did not expect?

The number after the item indicates the number of officers who gave that response. The seven recruits are not included in the tabulation. Five gave no reply to the question, one complained of lack of respect and the seventh noted that he had hit a fire hydrant with a cruiser during his first week on the job.

- Nothing in particular (9)  
Lack of respect from the public (8)  
Poor quality of superior officers (7)



Being misunderstood by people (3)  
Getting promoted (3)  
Getting stabbed (3)  
Politics in the department (3)  
Social change (3)  
Child abuse (2)  
Courts are too lenient (2)  
Failure of other officers to help me (2)  
I have begun to dislike the public (2)  
People do not appreciate cops (2)  
A civil suit (1)  
A lack of honesty (1)  
A sense of being alone  
Arresting six people on a stake out  
Being assaulted by both men and women  
Being spit on  
Family complaints  
Friendliness of public  
Getting shot  
Hatred toward me because I have a uniform  
I am able to endure things I did not think I could  
I was called a pig  
Increase in the work load  
Learning I can live with criticism  
Loss of civilian friends  
Low pay  
My wife is accepting the job after ten years  
Threat to be shot  
Threatened with a knife  
People got friendly when I became a cop  
People I arrest have no ill feeling if I am honest  
Public apathy  
Unable to solve social problems  
Using the gun

Verbal abuse  
 Unclear answers (2)  
 No reply (25)

6. a) Since you have been a policeman have you ever thought of leaving?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	1	2	3
Lt.	5	1	6
Sgt.	6	7	13
Preferred Assignment	13	15	28
Patrol	20	32	52
Recruit	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	45	64	109

b) If yes, what was your main reason?

Captain: No reply (1)

Lieutenant: Financial reasons (2)  
 Failure to get promoted (1)  
 Lack of respect  
 Too much politics

Sergeant: No sense of accomplishment (2)  
 Failure to get promoted (1)  
 Financial reasons  
 Lack of respect  
 No reply

Preferred Assignment: Financial reasons (5)  
 Frustration (2)  
 For a better job (1)  
 Go to federal law enforcement  
 Lack of appreciation  
 To relieve tension

To stop hating people

No reply

Patrol: Financial reasons (11)  
 Poor organization (2)  
 Aggravation (1)  
 Lack of respect  
 Too many reasons to list  
 No reply (4)

7. If you had a son would you advise him to become a policeman?

	Definitely	Probably	Probably not	Definitely not	Total
Capt.	1		2		3
Lt.		2	3	1	6
Sgt.	4	2	2	5	13
Preferred Assignment	2	15	3	8	28
Patrol	6	13	19	14	52
Recruit	1	6			7
Total	14	38	29	28	109

8. What job would you like to be doing five years from now?

Captain Police training (1)  
 Retired  
 Same

Lieutenant Retired (2)  
 Do not know  
 Same (2)  
 Teaching

Sergeant Same (3)  
 Long way off (1)  
 Own small business (2)  
 Police work (2)  
 Teaching (2)

Promoted (2)  
 Public relations

Preferred  
 Assignment Same (12)  
 Promoted (3)  
 Retired (3)  
 Unknown (3)  
 Police work (2)  
 Youth programs (2)  
 Art work (1)  
 Police academy training  
 No reply (1)

Patrol Same (15)  
 Retired (9)  
 Promoted (5)  
 Unknow (4)  
 Federal Law enforcement (2)  
 My own small business (2)  
 Airline pilot (1)  
 Computers  
 Detective bureau  
 Fishing  
 Inside desk job  
 Making furniture  
 Working in Spain  
 Working with kids  
 No reply (6)

Recruits Same (3)  
 Promoted (2)  
 No reply (2)

9. Do you have any relatives who are (or were) policemen?

	<u>Yes</u>		<u>No</u>	<u>No Reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Immediate Family*</u>	<u>Other</u>			
Capt.		2	1		3
Lt.	2	3	1		6
Sgt.	5	3	5		13
Preferred Assignment	4	4	19	1	28
Patrol	9	14	17	2	52
Recruit	2	1	4		7
Total	22	27	57	3	109

\*Immediate family includes father, son and brother. Five officers were sons of policemen.

10. a) Do you think that courses in law enforcement will help to improve the skills of police officers?

	<u>Very much</u>	<u>Considerably</u>	<u>To some extent</u>	<u>Little or none</u>	<u>No reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	1	2				3
Lt.	4		2			6
Sgt.	6	2	4	1		13
Preferred Assignment	12	3	9	3	1	28
Patrol	16	6	21	7	2	52
Recruits	7					7
Total	46	13	36	11	3	109

10. b) What do you think is their main reason for taking these courses?

A. Increase in pay  
 B. Improve chances for promotion  
 C. Improve skills as police officers

	<u>No</u>						<u>Total</u>
	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>A&amp;B</u>	<u>A&amp;C</u>	<u>A,B&amp;C</u>	
Capt.	2	1					3
Lt.	4				1	1	6
Sgt.	8	1	1	2	1		13
Preferred Assign.	16	2	5	1	1	2	28
Patrol	36		3	3	5	3	52
Recruit	1	1	1			4	7
Total	66	5	10	7	8	10	109

10. c) Is there anything else you would care to say about college courses for policemen?

(\* Indicates respondents who are not enrolled in courses.)

Captain:

They give the officer a new perspective on his job. Very important in broadening the average officers views, especially in social problems.

Lieutenant:

There should be more criminal law.

I believe they are genuinely interested in professionalizing their occupation.

Failure to attend should warrant failure in the course.

\*Any pay increment should be limited to courses relating directly to the job.

Sergeant

They should be limited to young officers.

Most beneficial. Creates better attitudes through understanding.

Police officers should be mixed in with civilians. Too many courses do not allow the civilian point of view.

Should only pertain to the humanities such as sociology and police work.

They are very good if they stay with the outline for just police officers and do not get too flowery about social conditions.

I think they should be directed more to police work.

Should have come years ago.

Should require more class work and less home work, many of us do not have the time.

\*I have yet to see anyone become a better police officer because of them.

Preferred Assignment:

Instruction is on too high a level. Almost anyone can pass, but nothing is learned.

Should require a C average or better.

Very educational.

I think if every officer could participate our job would be understood more by people and become more professional.

It's about time.

It's a farce.

Rules of evidence should be stressed. Most men have been out of school for a few years and this should be considered.

I think it is about time the cities and town acknowledged the officers' participation.

\*The men have lost interest in actual police work in order to study books.

\*They enable the officer to associate with college groups and younger groups.

\*Should be discontinued.

\*The state of knowing all sometimes overlooks the ability to use good common sense.

\*I think it is good for those who care to take them and they should improve.

Patrol:

More courses.

Unbelievable - in any police course this author has attended 80% of the officers cheat like hell and cause damage to the 20% who are trying. The author blames the administration and the instructor.

Some of the courses are good. A lot of them don't deal with the real problems at all.

There should be specific courses for dealing with specific situations, either on the street or in court.

\*Not teaching the correct things.

\*I think that when you have a cruiser team attending school they are talking about school and not attending to business.

\*100% in favor of improving our lot. Everyone will benefit.

\*Too many of the courses have nothing to do with police work.

\*I think that the courses are not teaching the basics of police work.

- \* I believe that anyone with average intelligence can perform adequately as a policeman if they love thy neighbor.
- \*Pay increase is the big motivation.
- \*The city should pay for credits.
- \*I don't believe it hurts a police officer to go to college. But the best student does not always make a good police officer.
- \*They are causing police to neglect their duties because of studies and class schedules.
- \*I think they are good if they are job related. Some of the subjects such as math and English, definitely not.
- \*It enables a man to better himself.

Recruits:

No comments.

11. In what ways have you changed your opinion about police work since you joined the department?

Captain:

In many ways it is a thankless job.

It is a dedicated job and everyday you like it more despite its dangers. Every day is different.

Lieutenant:

It is not all excitement and glory.

I have come to realize its importance to the community to a greater extent than I did.

I have become disillusioned and disenchanted.

O. W. Wilson has it down to a T.

Sergeant:

It is harder to gain evidence and facts to convict.

That there can be so many on the police department that do not do any police work.

Police work is now more skilled than I ever thought it would be a few years ago.

Don't make your move until you have a 100% case.

Too many times I have seen a case go bad.

Poor management and political influence.

Political influence. Poor supervision, including top men.



Good police work goes unrewarded. Too much political interference.

Become more professional.

It is much more complex.

Preferred Assignment:

More understanding.

I realize that a lot of the job is for show.

The courts are not interested in rehabilitation.

It is becoming more complex to do police work than I thought it would be.

Similar to any group you have a few misfits.

But generally all officers are dedicated to doing a good job and try to help all the people.

I don't think that justice is distributed right to all individuals. The person who doesn't know anyone is always the one who suffers.

Two types of justice.

The difficulty in performing the job.

More frustrating than I surmised.

It is not as easy as it looks from the outside.

More interesting as years go by.

Police departments are still based on politics and not based on **individual** merit and achievement.

It is more difficult today.

A new police officer has to know more and his police powers are different than the old days.

Work is interestingly intricate.

I have almost lost interest in the job due to the court system, politics and other officers.

Must be better educated.

In the last few years the new men are more interested in individual achievement and recognition than in team work.

Patrol:

It is a lot harder than expected.

More cruisers and beat men to protect the public.

It takes time and hard work to crack a case.

Lack of corporation from efficals. (sic)

It is a very thankless and frustrating job.

More respect for police officers.

It is much more involved than I expected.

I have learned that police work is more than arresting people. It is helping and understanding people also.

The courts have tied the hands of police officers in every possible way.

I've learned to like it.

Indifference among police officers I find to be annoying.

Like making spaghetti sauce. Doesn't always come out the way it should.

My opinion has changed in no way.

It has become more technical.

Be tolerant, not quick to judge or arrest and be firm at the same time.

Cut throat.

That police sometimes feel exemptions above the law. I did not realize it before.

More discipline.

Not as easy as people think.

More understanding of the job.

Courts are too lenient on constant offenders.

When I first started my main concern was to help people. Now I must be concerned with my safety more than six years ago.

Recruits:

I can see that it is not as easy as people think.

Not as easy as it looks.

I never realized how much the job involved.

12. If you had the choice to make again would you still become a policeman?

	<u>Definitely</u>	<u>Probably</u>	<u>Probably not</u>	<u>Definitely not</u>	<u>No reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
Capt.	1	1	1			3
Lt.		3	1	1	1	6
Sgt.	5	3	2	3		13
Preferred Assignment	11	9	2	4	2	28
Patrol	20	19	5	6	2	52
Recruits	5	2				7
<b>Total</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>109</b>

13. Is there anything else you would care to say about law enforcement?

**Captain**

Excellent questionnaire. Law enforcement is improving every minute.

With no law enforcement we would have no country.

**Lieutenant**

A satisfying profession. Not perfect, but then what is.

I think some of the questions are controversial and I would like to discuss them.

Qualifications should never be lowered because of race, creed or national origin. Job opportunity in law enforcement should be only on qualifications.

**Sergeant**

Some answers deserve more explanation. I believe that law enforcement is a type of work that takes dedication on the part of the individual.

Those who actually do the work should be recognized as the most important part of the police department.

Law enforcement has come a long way since Mapp v. Ohio and the advent of police courses. This questionnaire is very good, not as simple as one would think.

The cadet program is a step in the right direction for getting the right officers. Too many officers have never received the proper training. May these few ideas help you put more light on the program of public safety and its many fields of public service. (signed)

I hope that this questionnaire could improve the police officer's lot. Also ask questions about what police officers think of the courts!

No justice in courts. Many cases are fixed - the majority.

Take politics out of the police departments.

Good questionnaire.

#### Preferred Assignment

I think that you covered only a small part of law enforcement. Possibly only what you were interested in finding out. As it stands I think the questionnaire is very well put. (signed)

My only complaint is you apprehend members of organized crime after years of delays and they get probation. You wonder what is the sense of trying to suppress them in the beginning.

I think the courts should stop baby sitting for the people and make them pay for their crimes.

Regarding education for the police, if you could put it to use it would be OK.

More understanding from the public.

I think it offers many opportunities for a young man if he wants to work at it full-time without an outside job.

Some of the laws should be revised. They lean too much to the criminal.

Some questions, Supreme Court questions, are out of data.

#### Patrol

90% of law enforcement personnel are underpaid.

I am all for law enforcement but I wish we could get more of the public on our side. I feel the

questionnaire was good and I hope it does some good in that the public might understand.

Law enforcement should try to lure more highly trained men. Offering more money and benefits could lure college men. Also more education should be a requirement.

Some of the questionnaire you were not able to answer. Law enforcement is a full-time job and a demanding job. You are never through learning.

Law enforcement needs college men but these men need the education before becoming policemen. attending schools while being a police officer interferes with proper execution of police duties.

The police, regardless of public opinion etc., is the last door that corruption or anarchy etc. must pass through. Without it we have nothing.

This questionnaire is too long.

I believe that most people that do not get entangled with the police respect them but those who get entangled criminally tend to be prejudiced by their feelings.

Keep the politicians away from us.

Question #5 is ambiguous, what is "a large number of people?"

I would like to see the pendulum swing the other way.

I'd like to have been a policeman 20 years ago when the Supreme Court wasn't handcuffing you. There are too many killers, rapists, burglars, etc. walking the streets because of a technicality that was proposed by the Supreme Court. The only thing a policeman has to do is follow the footprints in the snow to get a conviction. The Supreme Court has hampered police work and in so many words - given the thief a chance to steal.

Recruit

Educate the people about our job and more education for the police.

## APPENDIX C:

Law Enforcement Survey:  
Fire Department  
Questionnaire

John Broderick  
Assistant Professor  
Sociology Department  
Stonehill College

1. ALL ANSWERS WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.

2. How many years experience do you have as a fireman?  
\_\_\_\_\_ years.

3. What is your present rank? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Your age? \_\_\_\_\_

5. What is the highest level of school that you have completed?

some high school \_\_\_\_\_

high school graduate \_\_\_\_\_

some college \_\_\_\_\_

college graduate \_\_\_\_\_

6. What is your religious preference?

Protestant \_\_\_\_\_

Catholic \_\_\_\_\_

Jewish \_\_\_\_\_

Other \_\_\_\_\_

None \_\_\_\_\_

7. Do you consider yourself to be a member of an ethnic or nationality group? (e.g., Irish-American, Italo-American, etc.) yes \_\_\_\_\_ no \_\_\_\_\_ (If yes, which group? \_\_\_\_\_)

8. What was your last job before becoming a fireman?  
\_\_\_\_\_

II. The following statements are taken from the writings of lawyers, judges and policemen. They are only opinions. You are asked if you agree or disagree with them. The numbers on the right represent a scale from +3 (meaning very strongly agree) to -3 (very strongly disagree). Please circle the one number on the scale that best represents your thoughts on the matter.

	Very Strongly Agree +3	Strongly Agree +2	Agree +1	Neutral 0	Disagree -1	Strongly Disagree -2	Very Strongly Disagree -3
1. The right of free speech should include the right to make speeches in favor of communism. . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
2. It is sometimes more important to apprehend criminals than to follow all the rules laid down by courts. . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
3. The central task of the police is to maintain order and to thereby reduce the opportunity for crime. . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
4. When police use illegal questioning the innocent are sometimes convicted . . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
5. The emphasis of recent Supreme Court decisions is on individual rights and the public be damned. . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
6. Social order must sometimes be reduced to assure that individual rights are protected . . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
7. Public opinion is swinging too far in favor of individual rights. . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
8. Civil liberties must sometimes be limited to protect the nation . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
9. The rise in crime is due largely to the failure to protect the rights of the poor. . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
10. There is always the danger that police power will be used to oppress the underprivileged. . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
11. When courts put limits on law enforcement crime increases. . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
12. Our modern system of justice has too little concern for the individual. .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
13. Our society is becoming too permissive . . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3
14. Lack of impartial treatment by the police is one reason why people distrust law enforcement . . . . .	+3	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-3



III. THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ALSO ASK FOR YOUR OPINIONS OF POLICE WORK. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS. IT IS EXPECTED THAT ANSWERS WILL VARY.

1. The prestige of police work as compared to other jobs is

- a) \_\_\_ excellent
- b) \_\_\_ good
- c) \_\_\_ fair
- d) \_\_\_ poor

2. In general, do people recognize the value to society of police work?

- a) \_\_\_ most people do
- b) \_\_\_ many do
- c) \_\_\_ some do
- d) \_\_\_ a few do

3. A large number of people have attitudes of hate and hostility toward the police.

strongly agree\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_ strongly disagree\_\_\_

If you agree with the above statement please answer the following:

A. The patrolman frequently encounters the hostility of these people in his work.

strongly agree\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_ strongly disagree\_\_\_

B. Recent court decisions protect those who hate the police from proper law enforcement.

strongly agree\_\_\_ agree\_\_\_ disagree\_\_\_ strongly disagree\_\_\_

4. To what extent does the average citizen fail to understand the problems of the police?

almost always\_\_\_ usually\_\_\_ about half the time \_\_\_ seldom almost never\_\_\_

IV. THE LAST FEW QUESTIONS ARE MOSTLY ABOUT YOUR ATTITUDE  
TOWARD YOUR OWN JOB.

1. If you had a son, would you advise him to become a fireman?  
definitely\_\_\_ probably\_\_\_ probably not\_\_\_ definitely not\_\_\_
2. Does your work give you a sense of accomplishment?  
a) \_\_\_ very much so  
b) \_\_\_ to a considerable extent  
c) \_\_\_ to some extent  
d) \_\_\_ little or none at all
3. How interested are you in your work?  
a) \_\_\_ very much interested  
b) \_\_\_ considerably interested  
c) \_\_\_ a little, but not much  
d) \_\_\_ not interested at all
4. A. How enthusiastic were you when you first started on the job?  
a) \_\_\_ very enthusiastic  
b) \_\_\_ fairly enthusiastic  
c) \_\_\_ not particularly enthusiastic
- B. In comparison to that feeling, how do you feel today?  
a) \_\_\_ more enthusiastic  
b) \_\_\_ about the same  
c) \_\_\_ less enthusiastic
5. Since you have been a fireman have you ever thought  
of leaving the job? yes\_\_\_ no\_\_\_  
If yes, what was your main reason?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. What job would you like to be doing five years from now?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. If you had the choice to make again, would you still  
become a fireman?  
definitely\_\_\_ probably\_\_\_ probably not\_\_\_ definitely not\_\_\_
8. Is there anything else you would care to say about law  
enforcement or about this questionnaire?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

Appendix D  
A Summary of the Fire Department  
Questionnaire Results

Part I

1. How many years experience do you have as a fireman?

Years	<u>0</u>	<u>1-5</u>	<u>6-10</u>	<u>11-15</u>	<u>16-20</u>	<u>21-25</u>	<u>16-30</u>	<u>Total</u>
	1	12	13	3	17	3	11	60

2. What is your present Rank?

Rank	<u>Private</u>	<u>Lieutenant</u>	<u>Captain</u>	<u>Total</u>
	54	4	2	60

3. Your age?

Yrs.	<u>21-25</u>	<u>26-30</u>	<u>31-35</u>	<u>36-40</u>	<u>41-45</u>	<u>46-50</u>	<u>51-55</u>	<u>56-60</u>	<u>Total</u>
	1	8	7	9	15	5	8	7	60

4. What is the highest level of school that you have completed?

	<u>Eighth Grade</u>	<u>Some H. S.</u>	<u>H. S. Grad.</u>	<u>Some Col. Grad.</u>	<u>Col. Grad.</u>	<u>No reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
	1	19	32	7	0	1	60

5. What is your religious preference?

	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>No reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
	13	46	1	60

6. Do you consider yourself to be a member of an ethnic or nationality group?

	<u>No</u>	<u>Italo</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>No reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
	48	6	3	2	1	60

7. What was your last job before becoming a fireman?

	<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>White Collar</u>	<u>Military</u>	<u>Undetermined</u>	<u>Total</u>
	52	1	6	1	60

Part IIOrder Scale Scores

<u>7-13</u>	<u>14-20</u>	<u>21-27</u>	<u>28-34</u>	<u>35-41</u>	<u>42-49</u>	<u>Total</u>
0	1	3	10	20	24	58*

Law Scale Scores

<u>7-13</u>	<u>14-20</u>	<u>21-27</u>	<u>28-34</u>	<u>35-41</u>	<u>42-49</u>	<u>Total</u>
3	11	26	13	4	1	58*

\*Two men completed only a few of the scale items.

Part III

1. The prestige of police work as compared to other jobs is

<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>Total</u>
7	22	24	7	60

2. In general, do people recognize the value to society of police work?

<u>Most do</u>	<u>Many do</u>	<u>Some do</u>	<u>A few do</u>	<u>Total</u>
23	15	18	4	60

3. a) A large number of people have attitudes of hate and hostility toward the police

<u>Strongly agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>	<u>Total</u>
13	25	19	3	60

If you agree with the above statement please answer the following:

- b) The policeman frequently encounters the hostility of these people in his work  
 c) Recent court decisions protect those who hate the police from proper law enforcement.

<u>Agrees with a only</u>	<u>Agrees with a and b</u>	<u>Agrees with a, b, &amp; c</u>	<u>Total</u>
0	7	31	38

4. To what extent does the average citizen fail to understand the problems of the police?

<u>Almost always</u>	<u>Usually</u>	<u>About half the time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Almost never</u>	<u>No reply</u>	<u>Total</u>
5	9	38	1	1	6	60

Part IV

1. If you had a son, would you advise him to become a fireman?

<u>Definitely</u>	<u>Probably</u>	<u>Probably not</u>	<u>Definitely not</u>	<u>Total</u>
15	25	13	7	60

2. Does your work give you a sense of accomplishment?

<u>Very much</u>	<u>Consider- ably</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little or none</u>	<u>Total</u>
35	15	7	3	60

3. How interested are you in your work?

<u>Very much ably</u>	<u>Consider- ably</u>	<u>A little, but not much</u>	<u>Not inter- ested at all</u>	<u>Total</u>
42	14	3	1	60

4. a) How enthusiastic were you when you first started on the job?

<u>Very enthusiastic</u>	<u>Fairly enthusiastic</u>	<u>Not particularly enthusiastic</u>	<u>Total</u>
48	9	3	60

- b) In comparison to that, how do you feel today?

<u>More enthusiastic</u>	<u>About the same</u>	<u>Less enthusiastic</u>	<u>Total</u>
19	29	12	60

5. Since you have been a fireman have you ever thought of leaving the job?

<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Total</u>
15	45	60

If yes, what was your main reason?

Financial (6)  
 Better hours (3)  
 Politics and favoritism in the department (2)  
 To better myself (1)  
 To join the police department (1)  
 Hours and pay (1)  
 Return to training horses (1)

6. What job would you like to be doing five years from now?

The same (26)  
 No reply (12)  
 Retired (?)  
 Promoted (5)  
 Not sure (3)  
 None (2)  
 Real estate (1)  
 School teacher (1)  
 Forest fire fighter (1)  
 Police or fire department (1)  
 Training horses (1)

7. If you had the choice to make again, would you still become a fireman?

Definitely	Probably	Probably not	Definitely not	Total
27	22	9	2	60

8. Is there anything else you would care to say about law enforcement or about this questionnaire.

No, but I think it is a good idea.

I believe that law enforcement personnel are not appreciated unless needed personally by individuals.

Definitely the most underrated and underpaid protective group along with firefighters.

Better public relations should be set up between public and police.

Do not restrain the police. Unshakle them  
 Back them up.

Stricter penalties for crime.

Stronger tools of enforcement for fire and police departments.

Courts in this country do not back up police efforts.

If police would enforce the law and the people would respect the same it would be a better world to live in.

The courts should do more for the police to keep criminals in jail.

More changes needed to keep up with today's changes in general.

Stop crime at the top levels of government so that the little man knows that the policeman means business.

Untie the policeman's hands so that the law can be enforced.

Police are usually of low calibre.

Put teeth in the law and enforce the laws already written.

Put the teeth back in the law. Get the pinkies out of the Supreme Court, and put all the deadbeats to work. Also cut out the foreign imports, clean up water and air, cut out too much monopoly. Let the cop on the beat give a kid a shot in the pants for something he deserves it for, without the cop being put on trial.

No, your welcome.

## Appendix E

Comments on the use of Qualitative Methodology  
and an Excerpt from the Field Notes

The five appendices were added to this research to allow the reader to better judge the quality of the data. The first four appendices pertain to the questionnaire phase of the research and they need no further elaboration. This last appendix concerns the field notes, and a few of the problems encountered in using qualitative methods will be discussed. These problems relate to the choice of a research role, the gathering of field notes, and the analysis of these notes.

The research role used in this study has been discussed in the body of the report. However, the identification of an "ex-cop-college teacher" produced some unanticipated consequences. Most notable among these was the assumption by some officers that the researcher knew more than he actually did about the operation of the department. Their assumption was that poor police work was so obvious that nothing was gained by attempting to hide it. The literature frequently mentions secrecy as an important characteristic of the police subculture, but this norm did not apply here to the extent anticipated.

A second unanticipated result of the research role was that the greater amount of suspicion was generated by



the questionnaire phase rather than by the observation period. Officers did not seem to mind speaking freely to an "outsider", but when asked to "put it in writing" they were often openly suspicious. The implication for future research is that studies which begin with questionnaire administration might give rise to misleading results. The rapport established during the participant-observation period was probably essential to the research.

The gathering of field notes began with two assumptions. First, that the notes would be analyzed according to a role-set model, and secondly that note taking would focus upon the patrolman role. As the following excerpt indicates, an attempt was made to produce a narrative of incidents from which a role-set could be constructed. A disadvantage of this approach was that there was no follow-up to many of the incidents recorded. Despite this lack of follow-up, one of the findings was that response to citizens' requests for service was often inadequate, and that police officers could not be held responsible for much of this inadequacy. Future research might employ opinion research techniques to evaluate citizens' opinions of the adequacy of police service.

In regard to the analysis of the field notes a conservative stance was taken. Lacking a high level of anthropological training the danger was present that atypical anecdotal material might be drawn from the notes.

In this regard the use of a role-set model proved to be a useful device in that it resulted in several conclusions that would not have been reached had the study relied entirely upon quantitative methods. Among these were the conclusion that social distance exists between uniformed patrolmen and specialists, the lack of opportunity which patrolmen have to manipulate their occupational environment, and the fact that police do discriminate between classes of clients. The notes were also useful as a source of data to illustrate the modal attitudes which were constructed from the questionnaires.

No attempt was made to arrive at new conceptualizations on the basis of the field notes, although the notes might be used for this purpose in the future. This timidity might have been a mistake, but given a lack of experience in such analysis I felt it better to err on the side of conservative analysis than to risk an invalid interpretation. The 518 pages of field notes cannot be reproduced here, but the following excerpt and the quotations presented in the body of the report should allow the reader to judge for himself the benefits of this application of qualitative methods to the law enforcement occupation.

\* \* \* \* \*

### An Excerpt from the Field Notes

1:40 PM. The man who just signed the release to pick up his stolen car came back to the window. He had a laundry bag with him. The Street Sergeant had just come in and he talked with him. The Lieutenant (the assistant shift commander) was sitting behind the desk and he eventually joined in the conversation. The man was in his early twenties and looked like he might be a clerk in a men's store. He was eager and interested in the laundry bag. He said that he found it in his car and the bag did not belong to him or to the garage man who towed the car so it must belong to the person who stole the car. He put the bag on the counter for the officers to look at.

There was a lack of communication for a few minutes. The man was excited by his find and he acted as though he expected the cops to dust the bag for prints. The attitude of the officers was that an old bag of laundry did not make any difference and they were not interested in taking possession of it.

A name had been stenciled on the bag. Everyone agreed that maybe it said "Carlson" but that it really could not be read. Without saying it the police were getting the idea across - so you found a laundry bag, so what? The man's behavior indicated - see, I have some evidence for you, now you can break the case.

The officers were polite to the young man but they had different expectations about the worth of the bag.

Nothing was happening, and the man finally said what he expected the police to do. "If we find some laundry marks or something we will know who stole the car."

The Sergeant finally realized what he wanted them to do. He said, "O, I see. But look, if that is all we have the guy will just say that somebody stole his laundry and that will be the end of it."

The man realized that the bag was not as important as he thought it was. He was disappointed. He thought of a new approach to rebuild his case.

"The car was involved in a robbery you know."

This interested the officers. The Lieutenant said, "That's different, we didn't know that. Where was the robbery?"

"In Boston."

"What was robbed?"

"The car."

"The car was robbed? You mean the car was stolen or it was used in committing a robbery?"

"I mean the car was stolen. Robbed."

The officers lost interest again. They explained that it was not a robbery, just a stolen car.

Another impasse. The bag was still on the counter.

The Sergeant suggested that since the car was stolen in Boston the man take the laundry bag to the Boston Police. The man said that after the car was stolen he had asked around and found a kid who may have seen the theft.

That was all the Sergeant needed. "OK, you take the bag to Boston. Maybe the bag and the identification can go together if they pick the guy up. OK?"

"Ya, sure, right. I'll take the bag to Boston." He thanked the officers and left. Now he had a case again and I imagine that he went through the same routine in Boston.

After he left the Sergeant said, "I thought that the car was stolen here." He meant that the misunderstanding had resulted in a waste of time.

1:50 Sergeant King came in from lunch. He is a gabby sort and he wanted to talk about what he called crimes without victims. He sat down in front of the phone desk where everyone could hear him and began a little spiel that sounded as though he had used it many times before in bull sessions.

"In California prostitution is legal. They say it doesn't hurt anyone or society. Right?"

He looked around for agreement and then began again before anyone could interrupt him. "So how about pornography? A man's home is his castle, right? So what's wrong with

allowing a man to have pornography in his own home if he wants to?"

He approached his conclusion. "If you are going to allow prostitution and pornography because of individual rights why not go all the way? Where does it stop? Why not allow a man to have heroin in his home? Or machine guns?"

I started to reply, knowing that it would not make any difference because conversation like this around here never stay on one topic long enough. I said, "There's a book about that, what you call crime without victims. It sounds like you read it."

King was not really interested in discussing the subject further. He just wanted to make his point. "How far will it go?" This question is meant to be the end of the discussion.

This reminded Thomas (one of the older officers assigned to answering the phone) of another story about a police officer in a nearby town.

"Remember Johnny D. when he shot that girl?"

Not everyone did so he explained.

"Ya, there was a B and E and when Johnny got there someone was coming out the window. He yelled for him to stop but he didn't. So John fired a warning shot. You know, just like you're supposed to? It looked like a guy to him, an adult. He fired again and it turned out

to be a girl, just a kid, about fourteen. She was dressed in pants and he thought it was a guy. He just did what he was supposed to do, and look how it turned out. If that happened today they would hang him and he would just be a cop doing his job."

This exchange is typical. King tells his story and this reminds Thomas of one of his favorite stories so he tells it. There is not much continuity. The pattern is that now someone else can tell a story, like Tony the State Trooper, who knows many stories about bloody traffic accidents. Others are not so good, like Old Mac, whose stories always end with the moral that you should use common sense. As a result Old Mac is the butt of jokes.

There was no next story this time. Somebody mentioned that the air conditioning was not working again and that the building had a lousy design. The talk turned to one of the sergeants who has seven children and has just put in a swimming pool. Somebody reported that the pool was working fine. From the weather and the swimming pool the conversation turned to discussion of the best way to build an outdoor terrace. The men mostly own their own homes and one of the chief topics of conversation is home improvement and do-it-yourself jobs. There are a lot of blue collar skills around here.

2:15 The conversation ended suddenly when it got busy. Thomas took the first call. He is very quick

on the phone about getting details but this time he did not get them all. The caller said that a man was lying on the ground near a church on Main St. Thomas phoned the Fire Department ambulance. He said to the Fire Department dispatcher, "I don't know the whole story." He meant that it might just be a drunk.

Within a minute there was another call in.

A woman was hemorrhaging.

Thomas asked, "Can she walk or is it a stretcher case?" The caller was excited and did not know.

Somebody said, "Son of a bitch." That is what everyone was thinking because the ambulance had been sent to pick up what might be just a drunk, and now it was not available for the woman. The dispatcher sent a car on the second call and sent another car to assist the ambulance in case it could be freed for the hemorrhaging woman.

Now was one of the waiting periods. Everyone sat around listening to the radio to see what would happen next. At this time there were only three cars covering the city and two of them were busy with ambulance runs. There were five marked cars idle in the garage and the two dog cars were parked outside.

Car 8, the one that had been sent on the hemorrhaging case, was the first to call back. The siren could be heard in the background over the radio. The cruiserman said, "Car 8, on the way to the hospital. Call the hospital."



We will give you the details later. We think she is bleeding pretty bad." Thomas called the hospital.

In a minute the car that was sent to assist the ambulance responded. "Car 2, coming in with one (prisoner), a 10-14."

Willis, the dispatcher said, "What the hell does he mean, 10-14?" He did not hear the part about the prisoner because he was busy typing in the log.

I said, "It's just a drunk, that's all." Willis (who invented the radio code used here) gets annoyed when the code is used incorrectly.

In another minute car 8 went off the air at the hospital.

Car 2 came in with the prisoner. The man was about sixty and he looked like a vagrant. He was very drunk. He was booked quickly and without comment. The arresting officers said only that he had been sleeping on the lawn.

Suddenly Thomas yelled from the phone room. "We've got a hold-up!"

The cruiser team was just returning from the cells where they had put the drunk. They started running to the garage and Thomas yelled after them that the hold-up was at the A&P store on Main St.

The Street Sergeant was still hanging around and he took charge of the manipulation of the cars. One was at the hospital so he had only one car available besides the cruiser team that was just leaving the garage.

Willis, the dispatcher, had already broadcast the code for a hold-up and given the location. He said, "All

CPD cars to channel 2." (So that cruisers in surrounding towns could monitor the conversation.)

He continued the message. "This is a young man with a gun. We do not have any more information at this time."

Because he had switched channels in the middle of the broadcast he had to go back and explain so that the surrounding towns would understand. "This is CPD with a GBC. We have a hold-up in progress at this time. Subject is armed. CPD to (a neighboring town). This is the A&P on Main St. He may head your way. Do you read?"

The woman who was the dispatcher in the town could be heard relaying the message to the one patrol car in town. She was saying, "Frank, did you hear that? That was CPD. They got a hold-up or something at the A&P. It might be the one on Main St. Can you swing by in case they come this way?"

The first car to arrive at the store was the one that had just left the station.

"Car 2 to CPD. Everything looks normal here." The two men were waiting outside the store for more help before going in. The Street Sergeant told Willis to tell them that Car 11 was on the way and to wait outside.

Car 11 was the next one on the air. They had arrived and evidently gone inside. I Recognized Berry's voice. He said, "It was a youth and he headed down Main St. There was a hold-up alright. Blond, dungarees and he

is armed. A silver pistol. The store manager is in pursuit on foot."

Both cars left the store and began looking for the store manager and the hold-up man. Car 11 reported that it had spotted a youth on North Main St. and would check him out. Everyone waited. This turned out to be the wrong person.

Just before the hold-up Joe Dinunno ( a narcotics detective) had come into the station and gone upstairs to his office to do some work. It was his day off. When he had heard the hold-up report over the radio upstairs he had quietly come down and taken the keys to one of the idle cruisers and driven into the neighborhood. When he came on the air the dispatcher did not know who he was and he had to repeat his name.

Next there was another phone call from the store. This time the caller said that the man ran up Pine St., not Main St. This caller gave a more complete description and it was broadcast by Willis. "The subject is about 25 years old. Wearing dungarees. Short sleeve shirt. 190 pounds, 5' 8". Carrying a silver revolver."

2:40. Willis is getting upset. He says, "If the guy gets into that housing project he is gone." Willis had to re-broadcast the description for the woman dispatcher in the neighboring town.

Car 11 says that it has checked out a social club that the man could have gone into and it is OK.

The back-up dispatcher who has just come back

from lunch says that the guy knows the best time to stage a hold-up, the lunch hour.

Now the trail is getting cold and everyone is making random suggestions about where to look next.

2:43. I went back into the phone room. A man at the window wanted the address of the Better Business bureau. A man behind him wanted some accident forms. Both had been kept waiting because everyone was in the radio room listening.

Car 11 gave up the chase and went back to the store to talk to the manager. They got a more complete description. Sweater type jersey. Light brown hair, not blond. Two tattoos, one of an alligator on his forearm.

Another cruiser team came back from lunch and the two officers were filled in on the hold-up before they resumed patrol. Within five minutes they said that they were stopping someone who fitted the description. It turned out to be the wrong person.

There was a phone call in. Manny is shooting off fire crackers again. One of the officers said that the last time Manny was picked up it was for drugs. They would like to send a car to pick up Manny again but right now there is none available.

Now things are quiet again and everyone is thinking about the hold-up, trying to figure who it might be. No one can think of a past offender who has an alligator tattoo.

3:10. A radio station called and asked for information about the hold-up. Hunter, a rookie, was now helping Thomas in the phone room. He asked what he should say and

the Captain told him to say that there was a hold-up but that they had no other information now. When he hung up Hunter said to me, "They think it was a bank, not a store." He did not bother to correct the radio station but just did what the Captain told him.

3:15. A caller said that a man fitting the description was at a nearby hamburger stand. (The caller was) probably listening to the police radio. A car was sent but this checked out.

Thomas took the next call. "Is she conscious? ... OK, I will send the ambulance." A woman had passed out on the sidewalk.

The next call was from a woman who said that she heard someone in the cellar. Even before the dispatcher could send a car her husband called back and said that he had checked the cellar and it was OK.

Hunter took the next call. The caller complained of fire works and Hunter said that they were very busy but that a car would be sent when it was available. He did not bother to pass this on to the dispatcher.

One of the men in car 11 had been thinking about the description of the hold-up man. He asked for a description of an escapee from a county jail. Nobody recalled the escape. The dispatcher said, "I don't know what you are talking about."

Hunter asked about the janitors. One of them

was sitting in the lobby having a coke. It was his second break in a few minutes. Thomas said that they were paid by the Federal Government as part of a self-help program so it did not matter if they did any work. Hunter caught the sarcasm. He could not understand why someone did not make the janitors do some work.

3:40. One up. I went out to watch the booking. Hunter came along. He said, "I guess they got the guy from the hold-up."

The man being booked did not fit the description at all. He was about thirty-five and he wore a blue work shirt with the name of a company over one pocket and his own name over the other. His head was bowed. His hands were still cuffed behind his back and he was crying. Thomas came into the booking room to type the booking sheet and the Captain and the Street Sergeant who was still hanging around following him. Behind the man being booked were four detectives. One of them was Brown. I noticed that he had a polaroid camera in his hands and I realized that this must be the complaint (made the previous Friday by the mother of a young girl) about the uncle who was taking indecent pictures of his niece.

It was quiet. The officers just stood and looked at the man. His chin was on his chest and he tried to turn his head to hide his crying. As soon as he had to answer Thomas' questions about name, color of eyes and

so forth he could no longer hide his tears so he really started sobbing. Now he did not care who saw him.

Berry and his partner who had been in Car 11 came into the station and walked over to the booking desk to see what was going on.

Hunter, the rookie, said to Berry, "They got the guy from the A&P hold-up."

Berry looked at the prisoner. "My God! That was some description. My Grandmother fits it better than that guy." He made a joke about the man's name on the shirt. Nobody laughed. Berry then realized that this could not be the hold-up man. He asked what was going on and continued to joke about the name on the shirt and the crying. Nobody explained the arrest to him.

I said, "Shut up will you Dan. Give the guy a break for a minute."

Berry did not mind. He looked over Thomas' shoulder to read the charge at the top of the booking card.

"Ah, L and L. That's a good one."

Hunter asked, "What's L and L?"

Berry stepped back away from the booking desk and answered, "Lewd and lascivious behavior. That can mean a lot of things." An additional charge on the sheet was indecent assault upon a minor.

One of the detectives asked the prisoner, "What

are you crying for?"

"My Wife. My Wife will find out."

"You should have thought of that before."

Thomas asked the next question. "Any children?"

"I got a son."

"What's his name."

"Same as mine." The thought of the son made him feel worse and the crying got louder. He was so overcome that he bent over and put his face on the shelf next to Thomas' typewriter.

The Sergeant noticed a cut on the top of his head. "How did you get that?"

One of the detectives answered that it had happened at work and it was nothing serious.

The change in subject made the prisoner feel a little better and he picked up his head and sniffed and said, "Ya, I got it at work this morning."

The officers were not harassing the prisoner in the least. Behind him Brown was more or less ignoring the booking. He turned to the other detectives and began discussing his part in the arrest. Berry stopped making his usual jokes when he saw that no one was responding. The only derisive comments were made by Newman (one of the range officers) who came up from downstairs to see what was going on. He kept saying things like, "His Wife will find out and get mad at him. Ain't that awful!"



The detectives finally decided to check the bail. This annoyed Newman. "He does a thing like that and he gets bail. My God!"

He could be bailed only with permission of the court. The Captain had already seen that the Bailbondsman was called.

The Photographer was finally placed in a cell and the group in the booking room broke up. Newman did not know the details of the case and I told him about the complaint on Friday.

Back in the phone room Hunter was at his desk. Evidently the phone had been left unattended during the booking. Hunter said to me, "This place is like a railroad station. There are janitors and secretaries wandering all over the place." He meant the self-help people who seem to be on endless breaks. Every time they go through the lobby someone must get up and push the button and this accents their presence. Hunter was concerned because he thought someone might steal the new equipment near the phone desks.

3:45. Hunter took the next phone call. A woman called to say that her neighbor's burglar alarm was going off and no one was at home. A car was sent.

A young man came to the window to arrange to pick up his car that had been towed last Saturday for being illegally parked. The Street Sergeant got the record

of towings. The records are kept in a loose leaf binder that always seems to be getting lost. There is no special place for it. The young man was complaining about having the car towed. The Sergeant checked the book and said that it had been illegally parked for a week and did not have an inspection sticker. The towing fee would be twenty dollars.

The man complained that he had bought the car for junk and had only paid nine dollars for it. For some reason he had left it in the street and planned to pick it up later. Now he had a towing charge or twenty dollars and the car was not worth that much. He was annoyed but he did not blame the police. He said that maybe he would just leave the car at the towing garage because it was not worth paying the charge. What he wanted was for the police to tell him that this was alright. The Sergeant did not do this, nor did he say that the man had a responsibility to pay the garage that had towed the car. The man then tried to argue that the charge should be reduced because of the value of the car. He thought that this was logical but the Sergeant did not. Finally the Sergeant suggested that he talk it over with the tow truck operator.

3:55 Missing person report. Hunter took down the details.

Signal 1 (fire) at a church. False alarm.

The car that was sent to the house where the burglar

alarm was going off called to say that all was secure but the alarm was still ringing and they did not know how to shut it off.

The Maintenance Man (a patrolman) came through the phone room and stopped to talk. He had an accident report in his hand and he wanted to use it to make his usual point.

"See, just what I've been telling you. This is an accident report for a cruiser. Al filled it out. He's a big man for the college courses, always going to school. He forgot to sign his name to it! You have to go to school to learn to sign your name? Those guys spend so much time thinking about the damned courses they forget to use common sense and don't pay attention to the job."

I said, "Maybe Al should take a course in report writing."

Gillis (the Maintenance Man) replied, "Any clown can fill out an accident report, except the clowns who take the courses. They can't sign their names. Maybe you got a course to make people stupid?"

4:10. Hunter went out back to check the prisoners. When he came back he said that the drunk was watching the Photographer so he would not escape. He finds the prisoners to be very interesting. (This was his first full day as a patrolman.) Hunter hopes that the Photographer does not get bail.

Hunter asked what would happen to him. I said that he would get bail and might be sent for observation.

"Observation? You mean like thirty days at (the state hospital)?" Hunter agreed that this might be fair.

Antonelli, one of the range officers was in the room. He said, "Observation hell, anybody that does a thing like that should be locked up for good. The court will let the bastard back on the street, and his own niece too."

I had not met Antonelli before. The range officers are not around much. He did not know who I was.

I interrupted. "Now look, what kind of a guy do you think would do a thing like that?"

"What kind of guy? He must be sick."

"So he is sick, now what do you want to do with him?"

"Ya, OK, maybe the hospital is the place for him, but the damned court will just let him back on the street."

Antonelli went out back to the cells to get a look at the prisoner.

Hunter got another call. He was on the phone for quite awhile taking notes. Then he explained the call to the dispatcher. He said the caller, a woman, had just bought a used car and put the plates on it and driven

it home. Now the person who sold the car wants it back and the woman thinks that the deal is final. Explaining this call to the car was a problem for the dispatcher. He is supposed to keep the message brief. Instead of just sending the car to the address he tried to explain the problem. The cruiser wanted to hear the story again because he thought that this would be a touchy call. The dispatcher explained it again and added, "Good luck."

The next call was about a juvenile throwing rocks at a man.

4:20. A man fell down stairs and was unconscious. A car was sent.

The Bailbondsman came to bail the Photographer. I went to the interrogation room to see what the officers would have to say about this. There was a small collection of people in the corridor. Gillis, Antonelli, one juvenile detective and both the Sergeant and Lieutenant who are the full time prosecutors.

Gillis introduced me to Antonelli and said that I was one of the rookies. I thought that Antonelli did not like being the butt of jokes so I told him who I was. He wanted to talk about the kind of sickness that the Photographer has. I said that I did not know anything about it.

Antonelli said, "Imagine that, sick or not, he gets bail."

The Photographer finally completed his business with the bailbondsman and came out of the interrogation room. He walked rapidly toward the door. The hall was crowded and he had to pass between Antonelli and me. He took quick steps. His knees were flexed and his shoulders were hunched. If an actor walked this way to portray guilt it would look like over acting. I felt sorry for the guy.

As he got to the door Antonelli said, "Hey." He turned around but kept sidling toward the door.

"Don't take any more pictures, huh?"

The Photographer tried to smile but couldn't. He looked sick. I could not understand his answer.

I joined the other conversation in the hall. The Sergeant who is the police prosecutor was complaining to the Bailbondsman (who is also the Clerk of District Court) and to the juvenile officer about some of the officers who cannot testify in court.

He said, "I put them on the stand and they can't give you the time of day." He did a little monologue of himself questioning a stupid officer. It was funny. The Bailbondsman smiled and nodded agreement. In this group of specialists all the men were well dressed in civilian clothes. The Bailbondsman talked with them at length. He is also very friendly toward the uniformed men and they speak highly of him, but I have never seen him in long conversations with them.

The Lieutenant who is the head prosecutor was also there. I had never met the prosecutors in the station before this. He took me aside. He offered his cooperation. He was more professional in his comments than most of the officers.

I was standing talking to the Lieutenant and Antonelli when the Sergeant-prosecutor approached. He had a college age boy with him whom he introduced to everybody. He said that the boy was the son of a local doctor and that he had promised the doctor that he would take the boy to the range and let him shoot. Now the Sergeant asked Antonelli if he would take the boy down to the range and let him fire a few rounds. Antonelli asked if I wanted to come along.

The four of us went down to the range. Antonelli enjoys giving tours of the range and he seemed to enjoy showing the boy how to shoot. The boy had never fired a gun before and he thought that he should start with a .22 instead of a .38.

Antonelli gave a little spiel about how to shoot. First he fired five rounds himself to demonstrate. They were all pretty good. Then he let the boy fire. When we took the ear muffs off I said that the boy was really good for never having shot before and Antonelli agreed. The boy fired another five rounds.

After the firing was done the Sergeant and the boy went back upstairs and I stayed down to talk to Antonelli.

He is very interested in guns and enjoyed showing me the paraphernalia around the range. He emphasized the fact that the range officers reload the ammunition and save the city money. In the weapons room he had a rifle that he said is exactly like the one used to assassinate President Kennedy except that it does not have a scope. I looked at the weapon and worked the bolt.

Antonelli said, "Exactly the same thing except for the scope. You can get one of these for under twenty dollars. Damn gun is no good but they are all over the place. We used to call them Saturday night specials. Some of the pistols like this will blow up in your hand."

I said, "You know, I have always wondered how Oswald could get off three shots so quickly with a bolt like this. It's pretty slow."

"You can't. Nobody can. I tried it. The gun won't fire that fast. The report that says it will must be wrong."

After the tour of the range we sat and talked for awhile. Antonelli is upset about the large number of people who apply for gun permits. He said that sometimes he takes them down to the range to see if they know how to handle weapons and some of them have trouble hitting the back wall. He explained that he has been around guns since he was a kid and his Father taught him to shoot and to respect firearms. Under circumstances such



as this guns are fine but when a man wants a gun permit just so he can carry a pistol to show his friends he is just looking for trouble.

He asked me why people objected to a rifle team at the local community college. I tried to explain that some people find any kind of gun objectionable. He thought about this but could not see why they should feel this way.

We went back upstairs at 5:15. Brown was getting ready to leave. He was near the door and no one else was around so I approached him.

"Joe, can you tell me about this arrest?"

"Ya, sure. The girl was about 12 but she was bright for her age. We set it up for her to make an appointment to see him again at home. We had one car following her all day in case he decided to go some place else. He picked her up and drove her to the house. Al and I were hiding in a little closet under the stairs. As soon as the flash bulb went off we came out and grabbed him. He didn't give us any trouble. He had some pictures there from magazines and he had her posing like the pictures."

By his manner Brown indicated that he did not like hiding in the closet. Brown said that he does not understand pornographic magazines and the appeal they have. Sadism and masochism are especially bewildering to him.

He added a few more facts to the story. The Photographer used the blow on the head to say that he sold the first pictures to the Mafia and now if he did not get more pictures they would kill him. He said that he had been beaten up. His first line on approaching the girl was to have her sign a contract to be a model. Once she did that he told her that she would have to go through with it.

Brown was not gloating about a big pinch. He was tired and depressed.

Back in the phone room the shift change was starting. The topic was the hold-up at the A&P. Berry and his partner were in and Berry was telling his usual jokes.

"We had the guy once but he said he was sorry so we let him go. What are you going to do? ... No, we really thought we had the right guy once, but the tattoo was a crocodile, not an alligator."

Berry and his partner had been in car 11 and when they first got to the store they were given poor directions. The man had gone through a hole in a fence and run in the opposite direction.

At 5:30 I left. Berry and his partner were still in the phone room telling each other how the hold-up man got away.