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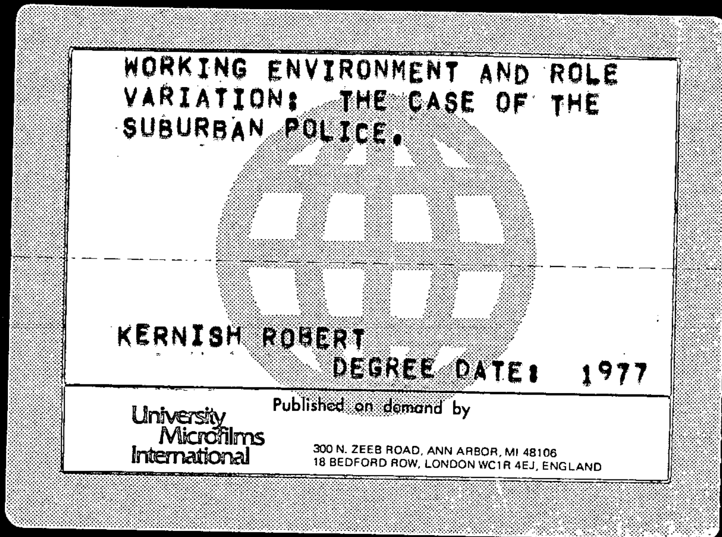
WORKING ENVIRONMENT AND ROLE VARIATION: THE CASE OF THE SUBURBAN POLICE.

KERNISH ROBERT

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WORKING ENVIRONMENT AND ROLE VARIATION: THE CASE OF THE SUBURBAN POLICE

Robert Kernish

Submitted to the Temple University Graduate Board in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

FORM IV

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I. Work: An Interactionist Approach

> Confinement, migration, mortality, disengagement because of aging, and similar factors may radically alter the kind of people who are available, as role partners and as audiences, so that quite different role-identities are supported and formerly important ones decline in prominence through want of social support. When one changes his web of face-to-face interactions, he changes himself as well, in the sense that different combinations and contents of role-identities are called forth through interaction. (McCall and Simmons, 1966)

One of the key insights of sociology, traceable to such Founding Fathers as Marx, Durkheim and Mead, is that who we are is largely a function of what we do, and who we do it with. Among these, it is Marx who first underlined work as the most important thing that we do, while Veblen went so far as to suggest Homo Faber as a more descriptive replacement for Homo Sapiens. Since the insights of Freud have become our conventional wisdom, many social scientists have come to view this earlier emphasis on work roles as significant shapers of the self as somewhat naive, and much research attention has shifted to examining the preadolescent formative years. Perhaps as a result of this, the subfield of the sociology of occupations is remarkable for its paucity of theorists; such general theory as exists must be abstracted almost exclusively from the works of one man, Everett Cherrington Hughes.

In the pages that follow, I propose to map out a Hughesian framework for examining the world of work, and then to concentrate on one small element of such a framework – the notion that work setting explains variation in work attitudes and work behavior – by looking at data

collected from police officers in some thirty different jurisdictions in the suburban Philadelphia area. The data no doubt equally well lend themselves to testing propositions about human ecology or urban sociology, or about social control or criminology, but I have chosen to concentrate on their implications for a better understanding of how our contexts shape our experiences, and through them, our selves.

* * *

Hughesian occupational sociology is firmly rooted in symbolic interactionist social psychology, a fact hardly surprising in view of his other sociological contributions (see Hughes, 1971, part I). The most fruitful branch that has grown from interactionist roots is role theory (some would disagree; see Banton, 1965:142-43), and that branch, in turn, is lush with concepts. Without pretending to offer even a "quick and dirty" overview of role theory, it is useful to sketch in a view of what a role means to the actor performing it, because it is variation in that meaning that is at the heart of what is being measured in this research.

To play a role is to gain a perspective, and to mold an identity.

Perspective, as used here, is best defined by Shibutani (1955) as the things one takes for granted about one's world, the basis on which one defines situations. A perspective filters the perceptions a person receives, ignoring some and heightening others, so that "a prostitute and a social worker walking through a slum area should notice different things" (1955:564). A culture, or subculture (traditional concepts in the sociology of occupations literature) is simply a perspective that

members of a group share. And the transition from outsider to group member is above all the internalizing of a perspective: "once one has incorporated a particular outlook from his group, it becomes his orientation toward the world, and he brings this frame of reference to bear on all new situations" (1955:565).

Identity, on the other hand, is a point of view about the self. The interactionist literature on the formation of deviant identities (for example, Goffman, 1963; Becker, 1963, 1964) speaks, in classical Meadian terms, of a growing commitment to a self that has been defined by a generalized other that shares an evaluation of an actor.

To play a role is also to expose oneself to a non-random sample of fellow beings, a role set (Merton, 1957: 369-70). As the name implies, this forms a setting within which a role is enacted, a social environment as real in its effects as the physical settings that anthropologists use to explain regular phenotypic variation. The process is summarized by Deutsch and Krauss (1965: 181): (See also Shibutani, 1961: 242, 246 and Banton, 1965: 150, for the role that institutions play in this process, Gerth & Mills 1953: 173).

> In the process of interaction with his social environment a person not only takes on characteristics as a consequence of the roles he enacts, he also begins to experience a sense of self. He begins to recognize that others react to him, and he begins to react to his own actions and personal qualities as he expects others to react. This emerging capacity to take the point of view of others and to see oneself as an object gives rise to beliefs and attitudes about oneself -- in short, to a "self-concept."

An observer might reasonably expect work roles to be powerful molders of identity, if only because work typically occupies more waking hours than any other pursuit. (See, for example, Pavalko, 1971:3). Indeed,

it is axiomatic among sociologists that the way in which we ask "who are you and where do you stand?" in this society is to ask "what do you do?" However, the inadequacy of common sense explanations is one of the themes running through the history of sociology (indeed, it is our ultimate professional justification), and this assumption about the importance of work is by no means universally accepted. Lindesmith and Strauss (1956:522), for example, suggest the possibility of a job becoming linked with a self-conception, but their discussion is curiously ambivalent, and they also note that a role may have no central or lasting effect on an actor, citing as an example the draftee who perceives himself as a civilian in uniform. (See also Gerth & Mills, 1953:108-109). It was left to Peter Berger, however, to attack this point with greater vigor by flatly asserting (1964:217) that most people no longer gain identity from their work. His argument is based on the separation of work from home that characterizes industrial societies, and the assertion that "it is the family that, for most people in our society, is the principal focus of private life." He proposes a continuum of jobs, ranging from fulfilling to oppressing, with most jobs falling round some central neutral point (1964:218-219). Only the fulfilling jobs might form a basis for a person's sense of who he is. Aside from the separation of work and home, Berger sees mechanization and bureaucratization as forces that deprive work of any compelling interest, a position that has given rise to a considerable literature on work alienation (see, for example, Blauner, 1964 and Marcson, 1970).

On the other hand, many observers stress the centrality of work. Typical of this school is Delbert Miller (1964:96): (See also Nosow & Form, 1962:514-515).

> Work activity can be regarded as an axis along which the worker's pattern of life is organized. It is a purposeful activity expected of most adult males in an industrial society. In addition, most single adult females are also expected to work, and most married women are supposed to be equipped to enter the labor market when they need to or wish to work. The job itself orients and controls the behavior of the person. It serves to maintain him in his group, to regulate his life activity, to fix his position in his society, and to determine the pattern of his social participation and the nature of his life experiences.

Pavalko (1971:3-‑) argues that it is precisely in advanced industrial societies that traditional sources of identity like locale and kinship have lost meaning, leaving occupation as the fundamental identifier. He even goes so far as to suggest that the "identity crisis" of late adolescence occurs because occupational entry, a major symbol of adulthood, is delayed in our society (see also Erikson, 1960:44-45).

The contradiction is by no means trivial, since if Lindesmith and Strauss and Berger are correct, and occupational roles have relatively little effect on peoples' self-conceptions, still less can effects of different work settings, mediated through work roles, have any observable outcomes. Since the research reported here is an attempt to hold role constant while varying setting, some resolution of this controversy about the salience of occupational roles must be reached before continuing. Such a resolution can be found in the social psychological work of Michael Banton, a British social anthropologist whose important primary research on the police role will be discussed later.

Banton's contribution is to propose a new typology of occupational roles in which the criterion is the extent to which a work role spills over into other roles. His contribution here is distinct from those sociologists who have examined the effects of work on leisure (see,

for example, de Grazia, 1962 (especially chapter IV); Gerstl, 1961 and Wilensky, 1960; a more recent overview of research in this area is provided by Parker, 1971). While students of leisure have tended to concentrate on the worker's own choice of leisure-time activities, Banton stresses the constraints on non-work life that emerge from the occupation-cued expectations of others. When workrole effects are examined by American sociologists, they are likely to be stated in the broader categories of social stratification analysis (see, for example, Shostak (1969), Lipset (1960) and Kohn (1969). Dubin (1956), Orzack (1959) and Whyte (1956) are honorable and rare exceptions, but informed by no explicit theoretical framework similar to Banton's. Banton (1965:33) distinguishes between basic, general and independent roles. Basic roles are the ascribed categories sometimes referred to as "face-sheet variables" -- age, sex, race and descent.

> General roles are those which, while being more differentiated than basic roles, nevertheless have extensive implications for the other roles open to their incumbents and for interpersonal relations. Some examples taken from industrial societies are: convict, priest, policeman, doctor, lawyer, ambassador, member of parliament. Each of these roles has a much wider significance than most occupational roles; each of them either restrains the incumbent from engaging in a whole series of activities open to the ordinary person, or confers influence and prestige recognized in very many situations; most of them bring both restrictions and privileges. General roles are usually allocated to individuals in accordance with their qualifications, and are not linked to exhaustive criteria like sex and age; frequently they are associated with activities important in the moral order of society, such as those of a religious or political character. Independent roles are those which have few implications for other roles, either in respect of access to other roles or in the way other people behave toward someone occupying an independent role. Most leisure roles and many occupational roles in industrial societies are examples. Independent roles are almost invariably allocated in accordance with individual merit. (Banton, 1965:40).

In short, general roles imply personal characteristics of actors, leading to expectations which the actor will be pressured to fulfill;

in the most currently popular perspective on deviance, they are "labellable." Although Banton presents his typology rather diffidently, as a very preliminary effort, it is not difficult to extend his reasoning a step or two further. Because a general role affects an actor over a wider range of his life, he is in role more often than the player of an independent role. What he does has at least potential significance for his role, even if he is not always identifiable as the incumbent of that role. A priest caught in a raid on a brothel, an ambassador whose business deal with a rebel leader is revealed, a Ford Motors executive discovered driving a Cadillac: these are all people whose private lives are likely to be made relevant to their work lives. Although not immediately identifiable (save when in some sort of costume or face which announces their role) they are potentially identifiable, and thus must act as though they were immediately identifiable, or risk discrediting (see Goffman, 1963:41-42). Having the sense there is an invisible audience always present must inevitably blur the distinction between work life and private life, and in so doing, must emphasize the work role as crucial to personal identity. Even an attempt to react against this sort of labelling, such as a college professor who speaks ungrammatically to his working class neighbors, merely underlines its reality.

While the boundary between general and independent roles is likely to prove as vague as the boundary between occupations and professions, police officers clearly play general roles, both by their own accounts to researchers (which will be discussed below) and in response to the expectations and occasionally explicit directions of their superiors.

The International Association of Chiefs of Police Law Enforcement Code of Ethics (Kelley, 1974:49), for example, contains the pledge:

> I will keep my private life unsullied as an example to all; maintain courageous calm in the face of danger, scorn, or ridicule; develop self-restraint; and be constantly mindful of the welfare of others. Honest in thought and deed in both my personal and official life, I will be exemplary in obeying the laws of the land and the regulations of my department. Whatever I see or hear of a confidential nature or that is confided to me in my official capacity will be kept ever secret unless revelation is necessary in the performance of my duty.
>
> I will never act officiously or permit personal feelings, prejudices, animosities or friendships to influence my decisions...

Richard N. Harris (1973), in his perceptive account of a suburban police academy, provides some examples of how recruits are taught about the disappearance of the work-private life distinction they have been used to:

> Your conduct off-duty -- and technically you're never off-duty -- determines how people judge the police force. Even if you quit, you're branded "ex-cop." Not everyone can get in. but once you're in. your branded for life... You used to have four beers, now you have to have three so you don't stagger. The same people who said "Look at Joe, he's put one on again, but he deserves it; he works hard," now say "Look at that cop." You can't engage in loud arguments anymore, even in your own home. They'll say the shield's gone to your head. It doesn't matter that you used to do this all the time. (1973:118).

And finally, like the priest's ordination, the ambassador's letters patent or the monarch's anointment, becoming a policeman confers a special status on a person, and special powers. The policeman's power of arrest is considerably broader than the citizen's (for a brief, non-technical discussion, see Karlen, 1967:107-114), and the policeman may legitimately use violence in applying that power. This status and privilege is always available to the police officer, although he may choose not to activate it when offduty and not easily identifiable (see Savitz, 1971:100-104).

It is appropriate, then, to speak of the police role as involving a perspective and an identity. As a general role, it will leave its mark on other aspects of a policeman's life. The nature of this perspective and identity, the shape of this mark, will be discussed below. To establish the centrality of a work role only begins the task of analysis, and analysis is only distinguished from random information by the discipline of theory, so at this point it is appropriate to turn to the work of Everett C. Hughes.

* * *

Rosow and Form (1962:6) pay this tribute to the impact of Hughes:

> Perhaps the person most responsible for showing how occupational sociology could be developed into a coherent entity is Everett C. Hughes. In his earliest work, he demonstrated that the division of labor is not only functional, but also ecological and social. He later demonstrated an analytical framework which exposes commonalities between the professions, on the one hand and the illegitimate occupations on the other.

They hint here at a certain duality, a bimodality in Hughes' work on occupations. But before taking up that theme, a caveat is in order. Anyone who has attempted to integrate Hughes' scattered articles on work into a coherent theory of occupations must endorse David Solomon's warning that "the qualities of the Hughes approach are such that it is perhaps presumptuous and certainly difficult to summarize." (1968:8). His writing is discursive and often tentative he himself sees it as the outcome of a sort of free association (1958:vi), and so his great value to the student of work (aside from defining the field by his own work in it) lies in pointing to themes, emphases and perspectives. These, in turn, tend to cluster around two centers of interest united by the concept of career: careers of people at work, and careers of occupations themselves (1958:8; see also Krause, 1971:48). It is the first focal point, people at work, that suggests directions for the

research reported below, and it is on that aspect of his work that this discussion centers.

The career of a worker is not as self-contained as some students of organization would have us believe (even, sadly, Weber's classic discussion of bureaucracy). Hughes implicitly rejected much of the product of industrial sociologists when he claimed a concern "with the social-psychological, rather than with the organizational aspects of work..." In fact, the distinctiveness of his approach lies in its deft blending of the social-psychological and the structural. Solomon underlines this:

> The basic preoccupation of Hughes' approach is with the "social drama of work," that is to say, with processes of interaction among participants, be they fellow workers or others. The outstanding feature of work in this perspective is that it requires, permits, encourages or discourages interaction. Work is never done except in some situation of interaction. (1968:9).

It follows that a particular type of work isolates its participants from some sorts of people, and thrusts them into contact with other sorts. In this manner, aside from the technicalities of what is actually done -- whether one shovels excrement, or files reports on it -- each person's work surrounds him with a unique social universe, and provides a unique set of experiences. Unique, but patterned:

> Most kinds of work bring people together in definable roles...In many occupations there is some category of persons with whom the people at work regularly come into crucial contact. In some occupations the most crucial relations are those with one's fellow-workers. It is they who can do most to make life sweet or sour. Often, however, it is the people in some other position. And in many there is a category of persons who are, so to speak, the consumers of one's work or services. (1971:345).

Teaching, then, always involves having students; each teacher's students are unique, compared to all other teachers' students, but the pattern of relationships that teachers have are different than the pattern of relationships surrounding any other work - this permits generalizations. In the light of Meadian social psychology and the more recent insights of the sociology of knowledge, it should come as no surprise that to pattern a person's interactions is to shape his sense of what the world is like. Hughes recognizes this as well:

> Unless complete disorder reigns, there will be typical sequences of position, achievement, responsibility, and even of adventure. The social order will set limits upon the individual's orientation of his life, both as to direction of effort and as to interpretation of its meaning.
>
> Subjectively, a career is the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions and the things which happen to him. (1958:137)

Or more succinctly:

> Society is interaction, Interaction involves sensitivity to others, but to some others more than other others. (1958:vii)

Consequently,

> ...a man's work is one of the more important parts of his social identity, of his self, indeed, of his fate, in the one life he has to live, for there is something almost as irrevocable about choice of occupation as there is about choice of a mate. (1971:339).

Hughes' own writings are rich in illustrations of how the division of labor exposes people to different demands (mobility, subordination) and clientele, and how this in turn generates occupational subcultures and their elements (like the "ritualistic punctiliousness of nurses and pharmacists" (1971:322)). But with only one or two exceptions (for example, the discussion of types of real estate agents (1971:336-337)), Hughes concentrates more on the comparison of one occupation to another, rather than looking at intraoccupational variation. Yet insofar as a

setting may expose a worker to a different set of others, it too should contribute to the way in which a worker comes to define himself and organize his experience. Hughes is not insensitive to this, urging that

> the proper study of the division of labor will include a look at any system of work from the points of view of all the kinds of people involved in it, whether their position be high or low, whether they are at the center or near the periphery of the system. (1971:310).

Apparently the latter part of this prescription was left more to his students; in his contribution to a festschrift for Hughes, Becker (1968:272) notes:

> we generally think of comparative research as research carried on in more than one society, but Everett's meaning was more flexible and more rewarding. He taught us to compare parts of our own society with one another, to compare one time with another, to see the small differences between closely related phenomena that had great theoretical import.

While comparison across occupational lines, and intensive studies of individual occupations are both to be found in American occupational sociology, the study of intra-occupational variation is relatively rare. This is unfortunate, because by "holding constant" the role itself, much can be learned about the sources of regularities in the lives of those who perform a particular role; certainly this has been the logic of progress in other sociological fields like the family and minorities.

Nowhere in the work of Hughes or anyone else is a fully developed theory of man and work presented. But it is possible to take from a Hughes a perspective, an emphasis on the importance of work in patterning interaction and experience and an approach to research which stresses the comparative study of work. A person is somehow different, claims Hughes, as a result of the work that he does. A perspective and an identity developed

on the job are somehow consequential for the whole of a man's life. And since that perspective and identity grow from both a pattern of behavior and obligation, and a system of interaction, the regularities of the former and the singularities of the latter each account for an unknown amount of the variation in a person's fate attributable to the work he does. To examine the same occupation performed in a variety of social environments should clarify the relative importance of both similarities and singularities in any individual's work experience. Of all of the possible occupations that could be selected for such study, the work of the policeman seems particularly appropriate because it exaggerates both elements of interest: it is a strongly patterned occupation, both in terms of the legal framework which surrounds the officer and the para-military style of work socialization and organization; at the same time, it is an occupation whose behaviors consist almost entirely of interaction, and organized in such a way (in Pennsylvania and a few other states) that interaction is carried out in very limited geographical areas which can be differentiated from each other on a variety of sociologically relevant measures. Moreover, it is an occupation which has already attracted the attention of a number of talented researchers to whose findings this discussion now moves.

* * *

"I look back over almost thirty-five years in the police service, thirty-five years of dealing with the worst that humanity has to offer. I meet the failures of humanity daily, and I meet them in the worst possible context. It is hard to keep an objective viewpoint." -William A. Parker (then Chief, Los Angeles Police Department, quoted in Neiderhoffer, 1967:94).

Sociological research on the police has undergone a small boom in the last decade. As a result, a very clear picture of, at least, the urban

policeman in this country has emerged. One of the most striking characteristics of this research is its consistency. The policemen of a midwestern steel town in the early fifties are distinguishable only in detail from the police officers studied twelve years later in a deteriorating California city, or twenty years later in Philadelphia.

Before discovering what policemen are like, it might be well to pause for a moment to consider just which policemen are being discussed. Policemen come in many varieties. Differences related to the locations and people among which they do their work will be considered in the next section, but the bureaucratic distinctions of rank and the functional distinctions of assignment are virtually universal among police. Legally the precinct commander, the sergeant feeding statistics into the department's computer and the detective lifting fingerprints from a murder weapon are equal to the beat officer in their broad powers of arrest, permission to use violence, and in their personal (as opposed to organizational) responsibility for the exercise of both. In reality, they live very different work lives. The legal powers that they share and the impossibility of direct entry into higher ranks suggest to some students of the police that "the constabulary role is the primary one for all police officers..."(Skolnick, 1966:44; see also Banton, 1964:107-108). Rank obviously cannot be ignored, but in focussing attention in this report on what Neiderhoffer calls "the proletarian cop at the base of the occupational pyramid" (1967:21) less information is lost than might be at first supposed. Even this group is not homogenous; "different police duties bring officers into contact with different sections of the public and this is likely to influence both their attitudes and their behaviour on the job" (Banton, 1964:168). These differences of function,

argues Westley, are more likely to expose the patrolman to job pressures such as citizen hostility or disparagement:

> The experience of the policeman must be differentiated between the patrolman and the detective. The former wears a uniform, and frequently as not is a restrictive or punishing figure. The latter can be identified only by the sophisticated and more often appears helpful. In all cases when a complaint is issued it is the detective who will follow up the case, who will retrieve the stolen goods and catch the thief. The detective thus experiences more gratitude than the patrolman. (Westley, 1970:56).

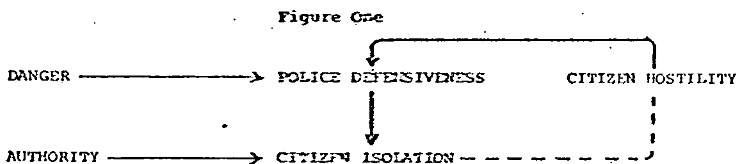
Banton's contrasting viewpoint (1964:6-7) correctly notes that detectives spend most of their time interacting with informants and suspects in a "punitive or inquisitory" manner, but fails to comprehend that the average citizen is much more likely to be the victim from whose perspective Westley draws his conclusion.

The similarities that emerge from sociological research on the police center around the police officer's relationship to the citizenry which he serves. This is an ambiguous relationship because both policeman and citizen need each other, yet are often mutually repelled. From the officer's point of view, the citizen's willing compliance with his directions is a work resource without which he would have to perform his most routine tasks with a drawn gun. Yet at the same time that citizenry is the major source of danger. The policeman who pulls you over for speeding positions his car behind yours and a little to the left so that his car door and engine block give him maximum protection against the weapon you might pull on him. Beyond this kind of direct threat (no less real because it is rare), it is those citizens who do terrible things, or have terrible things done to them by other citizens who are

most likely to come to the police officer's attention. Even when they present no danger to the officer, vomiting drunks, quarrelling spouses, brutal parents and aggressive prostitutes are aesthetically offensive; they are a continual reminder that many citizens organize their lives around quite different sets of values and that a police officer's employers cannot be clearly demarcated from his clients. From the citizen's point of view, warmth toward the policeman is a function of the situation in which the citizen encounters the officer; the same police car which is so reassuring when a night deposit is being made at a bank is less welcome when seen in a rear-view mirror as a traffic signal is ignored. The corollary to "there's never a policeman around when you want one" is "and there always is when you don't."

More analytically, police—citizen interaction emerges from the literature not as a relationship but as a process. The best symbolic approximation of that process is a feedback loop initiated from outside, but self-sustaining in large part.

Figure One



Danger is a characteristic of the environment in which the policeman works. He responds to it; indeed, he must, since to ignore the danger inherent in his job is to increase it. One such response is defensiveness,

a perspective on the world which highlights potential attack. This has nothing to do with the psychological state of being a defensive person; individual policemen may indeed be defensive to the point of paranoia, but even paranoids may have real enemies. Defensiveness, however, has consequences of its own. By heightening the officer's awareness of himself as a policeman, it helps to create strong bonds of solidarity with fellow officers. At the same time, since civilians are always potentially dangerous, no civilian should be taken for granted. Thus, suspicion about outsiders, no less than solidarity with insiders, leads to a certain distance between policeman and civilian. For the civilian, this is further compounded by the very clear inequality of power between policeman and non-policeman. Ambiguity about when a policeman is in role and when he is not makes him a difficult friend.

If defensiveness is a policeman's rational response to a dangerous environment, then hostility is an equally rational civilian response to feelings of being mistrusted, or of being helpless before authority. Such hostility can be expressed by a blank stare, or by a devaluation of the policeman's skills and social worth. No matter how it is manifested, when perceived by policemen it becomes further evidence that they are not really welcome except among each other. This dialogue of reactions becomes a closed loop with its own dynamic, a process capable of continuing even if the objective danger in the policeman's environment should diminish. Evidence to support this brief sketch follows.

What makes a policeman's job unique is not its exposure to danger, but that the dangers are deliberate and intended. A structural steel worker

may have a dangerous job, but he is not a target. After quoting a police officer who pointed out that most police deaths occur in traffic accidents, Skolnick (1966:47) commented "although his assertion is true, he neglected to mention that the police are the only peacetime occupational group with a systematic record of death and injury from gunfire..." A glance at the Uniform Crime Reports turns up some startling figures: in 1973, almost 12% of all U.S. police officers were assaulted, for about 89 such assaults each day. About 10 police officers a month were feloniously killed (Kelley, 1974:38,166,170).

The function of danger in defining the police officer's working world comes largely from the work of William Westley, who first linked police behavior with the pressures of the police work environment, and Jerome Skolnick, who crystallized Westley's insights into the concept of "working personality." Others, such as Banton, Neiderhoffer and Rubinstein, have extended their insights in certain areas, but any analysis of the police role, including this one, must acknowledge its debt to Westley and Skolnick. In Skolnick's work, the officer's relationship to danger is as ambiguous as his relationship to the public. While on the one hand there are "strategies of denial," an unwillingness to admit that one's life is at hazard every day, there is equally a heightened sensitivity to danger and its sources, "a perceptual shorthand to identify certain kinds of people as symbolic assailants, that is, as persons who use gesture, language and attire that the policeman has come to recognize as a prelude to violence" (Skolnick, 1966:45). Regularity and predictability, continues Skolnick, are guarantors against the random violence that is

most fearsome; and the irregular and the unpredictable generate a suspiciousness that is one of the police officer's most valuable investigative and protective tools (see, for example, Rubinstein, 1973:199 & ch 6).

Suspiciousness is one of the elements of police defensiveness in Figure 1. Solidarity is another. When danger is unpredictable, help is reassuring. As Banton points out, "In situations of danger, patrolmen make very heavy demands of solidarity upon their brother officers...the feeling of obligation to a brother officer helps a policeman to do his duty in such circumstances; it has to be one of the principal values of the culture of the patrolman "(Banton, 1964:113). So important, in fact, that policemen regularly test newcomers to see how likely they are to back up a partner in a sticky situation, either by directly testing their courage (Manning (1972:249) reports an instance of David Bordua being pushed to the front of a group of detectives raiding a house), or by testing their loyalty in other contexts that can be taken as analogous, such as reporting a partner for a breach of rules (police corruption thus becomes curiously related to danger; see, for example, Pennsylvania Crime Commission, 1974:430-437, Stern, 1962; Stoddard, 1974 and Rubinstein, 1973:403). The very concept of "brother officer," used widely among police, implies a moral obligation to help that transcends a mere job description. If, as discussed below, a police officer sees the general public as hostile, or at best indifferent to his plight, that moral obligation carries greater weight still (see also Skolnick, 1966:53-54). Hahn, for example, cites a survey of New York City patrolmen which

"found that more than two-thirds of all officers agreed with the statement that 'the police department is really a large brotherhood in which each patrolman does his best to help all other patrolmen.'" (1974:9).

There are surveys that show that citizens are not, by and large, hostile to the police, even in black ghetto areas (President's Commission...,1967:145-146; Attorney-General's Advisory Commission...,1973:ch.3). While this may be true about an abstraction called "the citizenry," it is not true of many of the people that the policeman personally interacts with:

> There is absolutely nothing flattering or reassuring about receiving the unsolicited attention of the police. The stopping of pedestrians and motorists may be theoretically comforting to the people as a whole, insofar as it increases their general security (which cannot be demonstrated), but each individual action is personally unsettling or disrupting. Whenever a policeman stops someone, he is suggesting, no matter how delicately he conducts his inquiry or how much consideration he has for the feelings of the person stopped, that he sees something worthy of question. The person's sense of himself is placed in doubt, hints of inadmissable deeds are whispered, and a re-evaluation, even if only temporary, of what he thinks others are seeing when he passes in public is required. (Rubinstein, 1973:260).

What shows up as "citizen hostility to the police" in Figure 1 includes some real hostility, for reasons which have little to do with police-citizen interactions, and a combination of fear, resentment and suppressed anger that may be a momentary phenomenon to the citizen, but that defines the citizenry to the officer. As Westley observes, "He sees this public as a threat. He seldom meets it at its best and it seldom welcomes him" (Westley, 1970:49).

Part of the ambiguity of police-citizen relations comes from the ability of the public to think, at one and the same time, that the police are doing a good job and its nice to have them around, but on the other

hand, they're really not such nice people after all. Unlike Britain, where the policeman seems to be a sort of cherished moral symbol (see, for example, Geoffrey Gorer's work on English national character discussed in Neiderhoffer, 1967:7-8 and Banton, 1964:235-242), the American policeman is tainted by the dirty work that he does and the dirty people that he does it to. "Their interest in and competence to deal with the untoward," claims Bittner (1970:7) "surrounds their activities with mystery and distrust. One need only to consider the thoughts that come to mind at the sight of policemen moving into action: here they go to do something the rest of us have no stomach for. And most people naturally experience a slight twinge of panic when approached by a policeman, a feeling against which the awareness of innocence provides no adequate protection." Combine the dirty work with the belief that virtually anyone can do it, and add periodically-confirmed suspicions of police dishonesty, and it is no wonder that, in Bittner's telling phrase, "policemen are viewed as the fire it takes to fight fire" (1970:8) (see Hughes, 1971:ch9 for a fuller discussion of the concept of dirty work).

Because a street officer is nothing if not a trained observer (and former civilian), the fear and contempt soon become apparent. Another irony to the police officer emerges; while he understands that the populations from which offenders and suspects are drawn will be "malicious and hostile," he unexpectedly discovers that his presumed allies are little better:

> He expects rage from the underprivileged and the criminal but understanding from the middle classes: the professionals, the merchants, and

> the white-collar workers. They, however, define him as a servant, not a colleague, and the rejection is hard to take. (Westley, 1970:76,56).

So besides adjusting himself to danger, the policeman must learn to deal with a world in which he is necessary but unappreciated (for a review of the literature on low police occupational prestige, see Hahn, 1974:7-8, and Neiderhoffer, 1967:20-26). Neiderhoffer suggests that this dilemma, shared with other agents of social control, brings out a cynicism which becomes another element of police defensiveness.

> That a "get tough" ideology dominates many workers in the major institutions devoted to the education, control and welfare of the public is of prime importance to sociologists. Why should the field practitioner, in actual contact with the clientele he is supposed to serve, develop a philosophy so contrary to the creed of altruism and service that his profession exalts? Apparently, practical experience leads to the acceptance of the Hobbesian model of the social system. (1961:54).

This cynicism may move easily into violence, according to some students of the police. Westley found that the modal reason advanced for a policeman "roughing a man up" was to maintain respect for the police. This practice "is a value oriented to the experience of the policeman, experience that consists primarily of interaction with a public that is conceived to be hostile, in a role that is unpleasant to the public. In terms of this experience, the value gains meaning. It represents a form of individual and group action in opposition to a threat of personal and group degradation." (Westley, 1970:122,138; see also Rubinstein, 1973:327 and Reiss, 1971:150). And Skolnick sees the public's unwillingness to be tainted by getting too close to the policeman's dirty work as a source of police solidarity separate from the element of danger previously discussed (Skolnick, 1966:53-54). At this juncture, hostility blends

imperceptibly into isolation. As Figure 1 suggests, some of the police reaction to citizen hostility involves a drawing back from civilians (a reaction which has other sources as well), and some of the citizen hostility to the police both emerges from and feeds into this isolation. The dotted line without arrowheads in Figure 1 is an attempt to indicate how difficult it is to separate citizen hostility from citizen isolation. In fact, many of those scholars who have discussed police isolation stress that it is a two-way process, with police and citizenry both drawing away from each other (Clark, 1965:308, Skolnick, 1966:50-59, Tauber, 1969:73-74). Some even argue that it is necessary: "...separateness from the public leaves the policeman free to make negative moral judgements about a person's character and...without feelings of isolation a policeman's job would be untenable" (Tauber, 1969:74; see also Clark 1965:310). Necessary or not, the effect of such isolation is to reinforce police solidarity and the view of reality which gives rise to it:

> The theme of an enemy public that threatens and criticizes binds the policeman's group to isolation and secrecy. It is an occupational directive, a rule of thumb, the sustenance and the core of meanings. From it the definitions flow and conduct is regulated for the general and the particular. (Westley, 1970:49).

Cumming et. al. (1970:191) report that a common catch-phrase in the department that they studied was "I hate citizens."

One further source of isolation is the policeman's authority. Not only has he taken a job, but he has changed his status as well, and that new status infuses his relationships with those who are aware of it. It also makes it difficult for the police officer to completely relax in

the presence of people who might contrast his off-duty behavior with the exacting moral standards he is sworn to uphold (Skolnick, 1966:49-51, 57-58, see also Rubinstein, 1973:434-435, Pennsylvania Crime Commission 74:434-435, and Harris, 1973:55-56, 118-120; Banton, curiously, reports just the opposite (1964:217,219) but his perception may have been influenced by contrast to the very isolated Scottish police he reports on).

This is a portrait of the police officer in broad brushstrokes. Other, finer, detail could be added by pointing out the limited extent to which the law enforcement officer actually enforces the law (see Bittner's classic discussion in Bittner, 1967), or by noting how much of the police officer's work is composed of uncertainties (see McNamara, 1967:163, and Rubinstein, 1973:ch.3), or even by considering psychological issues like authoritarianism (a good summary of the issues involved appears in Neiderhoffer, 1967:ch.5).

But the portrait presented here, with its emphasis on the relationships between police and public, abstracts those elements of the occupation which a sociologist might fruitfully consider, and in doing so, it sets up a baseline which will be referred back to in the discussion of empirical findings below. Although the portrait of the police presented here owes much to the insights of Skolnick, it differs in detail and emphasis from his delineation of the policeman's "working personality." Still, his conception of "working personality" as a cognitive phenomenon underlines some of the points made in previous sections of this chapter:

> ...certain outstanding elements in the police milieu, danger, authority and efficiency...combine to generate distinctive cognitive and behavioral responses in police: a "working personality." Such an analysis does not suggest that all police are alike in "working personality," but that there are distinctive cognitive tendencies in police as an occupational grouping ...Thus, the police, as a result of combined features of their social situation, tend to develop ways of looking at the world distinctive to themselves, cognitive lenses through which to see situation and events. The strength of the lenses may be weaker or stronger depending on certain conditions, but they are ground on a similar axis. (Skolnick, 1966:42).

* * *

> "...if you work in a shithouse like this for a while, you can go to any precinct and it would look great. A guy who's worked twenty years in Staten Island, he ain't even gonna walk the streets up here. I think you'll find in all police forces, and especially in this one here, that a great many patrolmen are a product of their environment within the job, of their associations within the job, their fellow workers and the people they have to deal with..." - P.O. Joseph Minelli (quoted on working in Harlem in Whittemore, 1969:19-20).

As striking as the unanimity of findings in the police literature are the settings in which the research took place. Virtually without exception, policemen have been studied in cities, some of them big, few of them very small. Westley examined officers in a steel-mill city that "has enjoyed considerable notoriety as a center of vice and gambling and has regularly had one of the highest crime rates in the nation" (Westley, 1970:20), Skolnick looked at an industrial city in California with a 30% non-white population, Rubinstein worked in Philadelphia and Neiderhoffer in New York, while Reiss concentrated on high-crime precincts in Boston, Washington and Chicago. Banton's contacts with American departments included one large and one medium-sized Southern city and a working-class suburb of Boston. Only Banton, Harris (whose work is confined to police training) and Wilson even begin to look at the suburban areas that now hold a third of all Americans, and that show the highest rate of population growth. This unanimity of setting is unfortunate, because

there is evidence to suggest that the portrait of the police adumbrated in the previous section might undergo important modification in communities with characteristics dissimilar to those where police research has been concentrated up to now.

As the American city's tax base shrinks, its crime rate goes up. To examine the police in cities is to look at law enforcement in extremis, and this opens the possibility that the police officer described in the research just reviewed is a police offirer in extremis. Among the 40,000-odd police departments in this country, relatively few patrol the large and middle-sized cities which have been the venue of previous police research. Most of them patrol places that are very different from cities in ways that are relevant to the police mission. The research reported below concentrates on policemen in suburbs because of these differences, and because Suburban America is increasingly becoming Modal America. In the last decade and a half, suburban areas in the United States have increased their populations; central cities and rural areas both showed population declines. Over a third of America's population lives in such suburban areas, and in many significant ways they are different from those who dwell in the cities. They are wealthier, younger, more likely to be married and living with a spouse, they hold better jobs and they are overwhelmingly white. The kind of crime that they live with is different, too. Suburban crime is considerably less violent (about 7% of all suburban crimes are classified by the FBI (Kelley, 1974:104-105) as crimes of violence, compared to about 15% for cities over 250,000 population), and criminals who work in the suburbs, in sharp contrast to those in the central cities, are almost as homogeneously white as suburban residents (Kelley, 1974:142,150). On the basis of

both theory and past research, these differences can be expected to make a difference. To say this is not to fall into the trap of assuming either suburban or urban homogeneity. Kramer (1972:xv), in one of the strongest attacks yet on the "suburban myth", reminds us that

> ...from the standpoint of sociology, the term 'suburb' has relatively little meaning. It refers only to a locality nearby and somehow interdependent with a city. To employ the term to suggest a single type of place, or to imply that there is an overarching pattern of 'suburban' social organization, is to engage in an overgeneralization of serious proportions.

And Gans, in a classic revision of Wirth's theses on urbanism, points out that the critical distinction is between the inner city and the outer residential areas, and that the latter, from the sociological point of view, blend into the suburbs, blithely ignoring municipal boundary lines (Gans, 1972:31-50). Kramer's warning about suburban heterogeneity and Gans' intra-urban distinction are consistent with the considerable body of research (for example, Fava, 1956; Bell, 1958; Martin, 1958 and Gans, 1972) which concludes that different ecological areas selectively attract different types of people. Certainly this does not give rise to suburbs composed of identical middle-class young marrieds because each such area is a unique mix of immigrants and old-timers (see Dobriner, 1958:132-143 and 1963:ch.5, and Martin, 1958:31). In the newly developing areas along the rural-urban fringe, the old-timers may be people raised in a rural, agricultural environment, and in the older, closer suburbs the old-timers may be former city folk who took the trolley car out to the end of the tracks in the twenties. Yet at the same time, to the extent that suburbs selectively attract certain types of people, they begin to differ in the aggregate. It is this selective attraction, of course, and not the physical or ecological

characteristics of a suburb that result in behavior and attitude differences of interest to the sociologist. Even this point, obvious as it is, can be overstated; since privacy is both a commodity and a value whose importance differs by class, high density suburbs are likely to be different in important ways than low density suburbs Thus, both because of their dissimilarities to cities (as a whole) and because of their dissimilarities to each other, suburban communities become a useful laboratory for looking at the effects of setting on work.

Discussion, above, of role theory and Hughes' occupational sociology provide a theoretical framework (certainly not a fully developed theory) for understanding the importance of setting, or context, to perspective and identity. Several students of the police have come to ppreciate the importance of setting to that occupation. Banton's work, in particular, illustrates his assertion that "sociological study can indicate how differences in police practice are related to the local context in which the police department has to operate." (Banton, 1964:94). Both Banton (168-181) and Westley (97-105) stress the importance of race and class to the police officer's job; Banton notes, for example, that although police work in middle-class districts is often less satisfying to the officer (because so many of the calls are likely to be for "trivialities"), there is a greater moral consensus between policeman and citizen (180). Skolnick, too (1966:11) hypothesizes "that varying social conditions - the nature of the criminal law, the presence of danger in the community, the political complexion of the community, the social dissimilarity of the population being policed - all contribute to the conception of order held by the police;" in his own work, however, he places greatest emphasis

on intra-departmental differences associated with specific units. And Neiderhoffer proposes a Durkheimian theory of urban-rural police differences:

> The modern metropolitan department, complex and highly specialized in its division of labor, is the counterpart of the organically integrated society. The traditional police force, such as previously existed in American cities and still does in smaller communities, more primitive, stable, conservative, and "reliable" than the contemporary urban police organization, is bound by mechanical solidarity. If the comparison is valid, then rural police forces today should be the most punitive and repressive; large urban departments, the most humane and most involved in civil and administrative functions; and police in small cities somewhere between these two extremes. (1967:29)

The ratio of arrests to crimes known to the police should be higher in punitive departments, he suggests, and cites FBI statistics that show a higher ratio for smaller departments. An analysis of the 1974 Part 1 offenses confirms this; the critical break seems to be between departments over and under 50,000 population, with suburban departments operating like small city departments in this instance (Kelley, 1974:109-110,122). Obviously, this topic could be profitably pursued further.

It is left to James Q. Wilson, however, to most constructively articulate theory with empirical findings, and it is to his work that much of the analysis in this report is oriented. He starts with an interest in "police misconduct," that is graft, burglary rings and some of the other well-publicized police lawlessness of recent years. In trying to explain such misconduct, he reviews many of the morale-lowering aspects of the police job discussed in the previous section, and concludes that where police morale is lowered by citizen hostility, poor compensation and moral dissensus between police and citizenry, the preconditions for such misconduct exist; whether it will actually occur is seen, as befits a political scientist, as largely a function of the community's "political

ethic," a universalistic-particularistic dimension (Wilson, 1963). His later work (Wilson, 1968) is an empirical test of this theory, and will be considered more fully below. The earlier article is noteworthy for stressing that the morale problems that are the proximate cause of police misconduct are more a function of the setting than of the job itself, or the local political climate.

Since the research reported below is to a great extent an attempt to test Wilson's hypotheses, they are worth stating at some length:

> 1. Rural and small-town policemen are probably less affected by feelings of separateness than are big-city policemen. In small communities and in thinly-settled country, a policeman does not patrol, he is summoned by complaints. Most of the people he sees have sought his aid on their own volition; his contacts are thus less likely to be of an adversary nature. ...
> 2. In the most overcrowded parts of the central city, hostile police-citizen contacts are more frequent than in less densely populated areas.../much private life of necessity spills over into the public streets, so/where the middle-class family sees the policeman walking in front of its home as a welcome protector of its privacy, the lower-class family is likely to see the same officer as an unwelcome invader of its privacy. ...
> 3. The class structure of the city probably affects the extent to which the officer feels isolated or alien. In a small, middle-class residential suburb, where standards of appropriate conduct are widely shared, where the privacy of the residents is assured, and where there are no illegal enterprises, the police may exist largely to protect the community from outsiders and to offer assistance to citizens who have lost their dogs, stalled their cars, or drunk too much at parties. In such communities, police-public relations may be very congenial. In the bigger cities with a large lower-class population, the situation is altogether different. Standards of conduct are not widely shared and resentment of authority is much greater. Illegal businesses - gambling, illegal liquor sales, and prostitution - may flourish. The stakes in organized crime, and therefore the incentives to bribe policemen, are likely to be high. In many of these cities, opportunities to frustrate the law by court delays, legal maneuvers, and even the corruption of judges are numerous. (Wilson, 1963:296-297)

There is some empirical evidence to support these hypotheses. The FBI Uniform Crime Report for instance, shows (Kelley, 1974:170) that policemen

in smaller jurisdictions are less likely to be assaulted, and if assaulted, less likely to be injured than policemen in larger communities. The crucial dividing line seems to be 25,000 population; in communities with populations below that figure, both assaults and Index crime rates are below the national average (Kelley, 1974:105). Other evidence, derived from previous research, can be briefly summarized:

1. It is possible to treat police districts in large, heterogeneous cities as separate communities differing in income level and citizen hostility. In a study of the New York City Police Department prepared for the Vera Institute, researchers found that:

> Patrolmen who serve what they characterize as low income areas are far more likely to think that the public has little or no respect for the police than are those who serve high or middle income areas... Opinion varies by hazard level of the area -- 49% of patrolmen who are in high hazard precincts say that people they come in contact with have little or no respect for the police, 38% who are in medium hazard precincts, and 34% in low hazard precincts. (Opinion Research Corporation, 1968:2).

Bloch and Specht's evaluation of the New York Police Department's experiment in neighborhood team policing also contains some inter-precinct comparisons, but the uncontrolled, simultaneous operation of several variables, and the rather sketchy presentation of data makes it difficult to draw any reliable conclusions. Only the two control precincts can be compared; these are the 114th, in the Long Island City-Astoria-Elmhurst area of Queens (80% white, 509.35 crimes of violence per 100,000 population) and the 79th, in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn (10% white, 2127 crimes of violence per 100,000 population). Patrolmen in the 114th were more satisfied with their jobs, perceived more citizen support for the police, and less citizen hostility (1973:60,85,96). The police in

Bedford-Stuyvesant, on the other hand, saw the public as more cooperative, and felt less need to use aggressive patrol tactics like stop-and-frisk (!) (1973:64,68); both of these findings might be an artifact of the 4.4 year average seniority advantage of the Bedford-Stuyvesant police over the Astoria police, as might the finding about job satisfaction (1973:102).

2. L. P. Donovan (1971), studied rural-urban differences among Missouri police departments. Although he found generally that similarities outweighed differences, community type and size do make a difference in some areas. For example, 40% of his rural sample reported that off-duty associations with other police officers were rare or non-existant, compared to 27% of his urban sample (1971:43). The larger the population and the more urban the department, the more crime is perceived as a serious local problem (1971:74), while the larger and more urban the community, the less respect officers receive from citizens (1971:82; interestingly, the one exception to this pattern was among urban cities with less than 10,000 population, that is, those areas most likely to be suburbs or exurbs. Officers in these communities reported 95% of the time that local citizens had "a great deal" of respect for the police). Using a concept of "law enforcement style" obviously derived from Wilson (1968), Donovan found that "rural police see themselves as strict law enforcers, making arrests very frequently with little concern for alternatives to arrest. Urban police tend to see themselves as more concerned with keeping up with the latest developments in law enforcement, and as regularly searching for constructive alternatives to the use of arrest as a law enforcement panacea" (Donovan, 1971:116). This tendency is even more pronounced in the smaller urban departments (1971:60; Donovan defines "urban" as within a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area).

for further analysis, so the ambiguity about just what inconsistent patterns turned up must remain unresolved.

While the empirical evidence for the importance of setting to police work is not very impressive, neither is the evidence against it; such is often the case with virgin research territory.

1. Only two monographs have ever appeared exclusively about suburban police departments, and both tend to emphasize the similarities to other types of police departments. Harris, in his study of police training in a large suburban county department (1973) discovered most of the themes discussed in the urban police literature above, summarizing them under the headings of defensiveness, professionalization and depersonalization. Clinton H. Anderson, writing about his experiences as police chief of

Beverly Hills, California (1960) points out that "the glamorous surroundings of Beverly Hills do not make police work any less dangerous here than it is anywhere else. We have lost several fine officers who gave their lives in the line of duty" (1960:24-25). It can be argued that Beverly Hills is an atypical suburb because of its associations with mobsters (Bugsy Seigel was shot there) and movie stars, but while much of Chief Anderson's narrative concerns these more colorful citizens, it is clear that many of his law enforcement problems come from the non-prominent wealthy as well.

2. Donovan, in spite of the evidence cited above, concludes that:

> ...the most characteristic aspect of the results of our study is the fact that there are very broad similarities among all categories of police. This fact suggests that the most fruitful insight which we have gained from this study is not that urban and larger town police are better qualified, better organized, more professional and more career oriented than are rural and small town police. Rather, the insight to be noted is that police share the same kinds of occupations, status in their communities and tasks at work. They know in common certain aspects of our social structure, and from this experience, they share in common a certain kind of self-image and world view. Our data support very strongly the proposition that there is a "police subculture." (1971:119)

This brief survey of the importance of setting to the experience of policing sets the boundaries for the research reported below. Either Wilson is right, and integration, citizen hostility and police-citizen consensus vary systematically with community demographic and socio-economic variables, with police morale and attitudes to citizens varying similarly; or Donovan is correct, and those characteristics of police work that are universal, such as the exercise of authority, the potential for danger and the disproportionate contact with the distressed, the deranged and the dead all combine to make a world for policemen that is truly a function of their occupation alone. More formally, this study attempts to test the following hypotheses:

1. Police isolation varies inversely with community socio-economic status, community stability and community homogeneity, and directly with community size, population density and danger.
2. Police hostility to civilians varies inversely with community socio-economic status, community stability and community homogeneity, and directly with community size, population density and danger.
3. Police perception of civilian hostility varies inversely with community socio-economic status, community stability and community homogeneity, and directly with community size, population density and danger.
4. Police morale varies directly with community socio-economic status, community stability and community homogeneity, and inversely with community size, population density and danger.
5. The recruitment pool and training procedure for suburban police will show significant differences from those of metropolitan departments.

II. A Research Log

Like most scientific research, this project came to life as a mixture of intent and accident. Some steps in the process of moving from research proposal to data follow:

RESEARCH SITE

The suburbs of Philadelphia were originally chosen not only because of accessibility, but also because Pennsylvania is one of the few states in the United States with separate township police departments, and because the suburban area is characterized by exceptional diversity, ranging from tiny industrial boroughs to the "Main Line" which has become a synonym for wealthy suburb. However, while "the suburbs of Philadelphia" can be sharply demarcated at one end by the city limit, it is much less clear where the suburbs turn into "upstate." It is equally unclear when a locality is a suburb of Philadelphia, or an urban nucleus with suburbs of its own (Chester is probably the best local example; the distinction is amplified in Schnore, 1958 and 1963). Finally, some of the suburbs of Philadelphia are in Pennsylvania, and some are in New Jersey. The research site emerged, then, by a process of progressive exclusion; in some sense it represents a residual category that is neither rural nor urban. The first decision was to exclude all localities outside of the Philadelphia Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. That left Philadelphia, four Pennsylvania counties, and three counties in New Jersey. The latter were next excluded in order to control for differences in state laws and practices (for example, a New Jersey patrolman can tell roughly where and when a license plate was issued in his state, while a Pennsylvania officer cannot). Next Chester County was eliminated because it is not contiguous to Philadelphia. Finally, I decided to concentrate on Montgomery

County because of the diversity of its suburbs, its gradual shift from suburban to rural as one moves west and north, and the absence of other urban areas in or near the county which might provide alternate foci of suburbanization (such as Chester or Wilmington in Delaware County, and Trenton for lower Bucks County). The initial plan, then, was to approach every police department in Montgomery County, and the contiguous departments of Delaware and Bucks Counties; these latter were included primarily to provide some working class suburbs. Similarly, two Chester County municipalities were included to insure full coverage of the Main Line. The first department was approached in August, 1973. For about a year I continued with the same research site plan, but it became apparent that the investment of time and energy needed to secure full coverage for Montgomery County was beyond my resources. A more constricted research site took form when I discovered a logical law enforcement boundary in Montgomery County roughly continuous with a geographical boundary in Delaware County. I had already decided to use Crum Creek as my western limit in Delaware County to avoid communities focussed on Chester and Wilmington, and my new Montgomery County boundary became a line drawn from Valley Forge, through Worcester and Towamencin Townships, which had no police departments at this time, to Hatfield. Finally, contiguous townships in Lower Bucks County were contacted for data, with the exception of Warminster, which showed signs of considerable internal turmoil as a result of an outside evaluation of the department and the lame-duck status of the then-chief of police. The research site is thus defined as a belt of communities north and west of Philadelphia, ranging from seven to about 20 miles in width, covering eastern Delaware County, the lower half of Montgomery County and a fringe of Bucks County communities. This corresponds fairly well to the Census Bureau's definition of a

suburb, e.g., an urbanized area within a SMSA, although the Census map of the Philadelphia area shows a ring of urbanized areas surrounding Chester, an urbanized area in central Chester County west of Paoli, and a considerable area of lower Bucks County between Bensalem and Trenton which were all excluded from the research site. In addition, several non-urbanized areas in central Montgomery County were included. Although site selection, in retrospect, was rather haphazard, the final research site is an area with logical boundaries and sufficient diversity to permit me to test my hypotheses. Since I do not wish to generalize from these findings to other suburban areas, but rather to make statements about the relationship between certain environmental variables and the experience of being a policeman, the final research site serves my purpose well.

DATA COLLECTION - TECHNIQUE

A conscious decision that breadth of coverage, in a study like this, is more valuable than depth of coverage led to the decision to use a questionnaire, rather than conduct interviews or case-study one or two departments. The key problem now became how to distribute the questionnaires. My original plan had been to request from each participating department a list of the names and home addresses of each police officer and mail the questionnaires. This would also facilitate follow-up efforts. I quickly discovered, while pre-testing the questionnaire in New Jersey, that this was a vain hope; no police department, I was told, would release the home addresses of its officers no matter how cooperative it wished to be. Considering the evidence of defensiveness and denigration by the public presented in Chapter 1, it is probable that this policy is both universal and directly responsive to demands from below, rather than being a mere bureaucratic fetish. If I couldn't mail them out, then the

only alternative was to give them out at the police station. In every department that I studied, patrolmen came to a central building at the start and finish of each shift to pick up their equipment and receive communications of general interest. Some departments went through a formal roll-call procedure, and many departments provided mailboxes for each officer. Questionnaires could go out through these channels. This form of distribution, however, imposed certain penalties. First, since the questionnaires were to be filled out on the officers' time, some eight to sixteen hours intervened between the time the officer received the envelope and the time that he opened it; time enough, certainly, to lose the form or lose interest in filling it out. Second, the way in which the questionnaire was presented to the officer was uncontrolled. Ideally, I would have spoken briefly at each roll-call formation, and made myself available for questions to the men coming off duty. I found consistent lack of enthusiasm for this plan among the first few chiefs that I interviewed, so I abandoned it. In retrospect, time pressures, already severe, would probably have made it impossible without a data collection staff. So officers in one department simply found an envelope stuffed in a mailbox along with hot car sheets, wanted posters, credit union statements, etc., while officers in another department were given them by a sergeant who said "here's some bullshit from some professor at Temple," or "get these back as soon as you can, the Chief wants a good turnout from this department. Generally, but not always, I got the highest return rate from departments where I felt that I had good rapport with the chief.

The very characteristics of policemen that have emerged from previous research suggested that they are likely to be a particularly difficult

group from which to gather data. Neiderhoffer, himself a police officer for over twenty years, points out that

> Even under optimum conditions there are problems in choosing a sample for a research study, then in persuading respondents to answer to the best of their ability. With policemen, such research is twice as difficult.
>
> The first great obstacle is that officers will not talk. There is no freedom of speech for members of the force... The second barrier is the code of the job, which stresses secrecy and the confidential nature of police knowledge and opinions... Any questionnaire immediately arouses their suspicion and puts them on guard. They recall periodic investigations in which answers to questionnaires formed the basis of a prosecution against some hapless policeman. To overcome this reticence on their part is an art. (1967:193-4).

Rubinstein makes the same point more succinctly: "...policemen regard anything requiring them to commit statements to paper as a threat" (1973:40). On this basis, it seemed particularly important to make the usual guarantee of anonymity as believable as possible. This was accomplished in several ways. First, each officer received his questionnaire and cover letter in a sealed envelope along with a business reply envelope addressed to me at Temple. Thus, no other officer or supervisor should have had access to the completed questionnaire before it reached Temple (or at any other time). This procedure was unacceptable to only one of the departments approached, although several chiefs suggested that it might be more efficient for them to collect the filled-out questionnaires. While this sort of supervision would probably have raised my return rate, I decided that the cost in potential loss of frankness far outweighed any gain. If, in fact, a chief insisted on doing this, there is no way that I could know about it. However, questionnaires from any one department typically came in over a one-to-two-week period, and postmarked at several post offices, which suggests that this possibility was unlikely.

In the vast majority of participating departments, the chiefs seemed very uninterested in what their officers might write; in my initial letter to each chief, I offered to provide a summary computer tabulation of the questionnaires from their department, but only 4 Chiefs out of 39 participating departments requested this. The second tactic used was the dramatization of the guarantee of anonymity by depriving myself of any possible direct knowledge of each respondent. Not only was the respondent not asked for his name, but the first line on the questionnaire (Appendix 2 and 3) warned "Please do not put your name on this page or on any page after it." The officer's name did not appear on the envelope containing the questionnaire, to dramatize the fact the questionnaires were distributed randomly (thus allaying any fears about identification in invisible ink, etc., on the form), and for the same reason questionnaires were serial-numbered only after they reached Temple. In spite of these precautions, it is obviously not too difficult to determine who a particular respondent is, if one has access to department personnel records. How many 27-year-old ex-telephone linemen with 4 years on the force can there be in a fifteen-man department? Awareness of this possibility may have contributed to low response rates; on the other hand, some officers showed supreme indifference to such fears by putting their home addresses on the return envelope. The disadvantage of this procedure lay in the blind approach to follow-up mailings. Since I had no way of knowing who returned a questionnaire and who did not, I was forced to send in unaddressed envelopes, copies of a second letter to every officer in the department which said, in effect, "if you filled out a questionnaire, thanks, and if you didn't, please do." This second letter went through the same uncertain distribution procedure as the original questionnaire, but with

the added disadvantage of being perceived relatively less important. In fact, judging from the number of second-wave questionnaires generated by this procedure, I suspect that more often than not, this "shotgun" letter was simply discarded. Throughout this phase of the research, I was constantly sensitive to the need for higher return rates because I was attempting a census of each department, rather than sampling it. A little less than halfway through this period, I decided to try an experiment; it worked so well that I adopted it as a normal procedure from that point on. After my initial letter to the police Chief, I would call and arrange an appointment. At that time, I would ask him to have ready a list of names of his uniformed officers. Each questionnaire that I would then leave with the Chief would have a "questionnaire return control slip" stapled to it. The slip, about the size of a business card and printed on colored paper, asked for the respondent's name, and promised that the slip would be detached from the questionnaire before it was processed. I felt that any risk involved in contravening anonymity would be balanced by the more efficient follow-up technique which this procedure would permit. In fact, I was surprised at how little resistance there was to filling the slip out, although inevitably many officers left it blank.

Using the slip, I could determine who returned questionnaires, and directly address follow-ups to specific people. Not only did this give the follow-up a greater chance of reaching the person it was addressed to, but the smaller volume of follow-ups permitted sending a duplicate questionnaire. Since the duplicate questionnaires were color-coded, second-wave responders could be distinguished from first-wave responders, an important consideration in assessing non-response bias.

Table 2-1
Participation by Police Departments Approached

Police Departments Approached	Response (percentage bases are uniformed patrolmen
BUCKS COUNTY	
Bensalem T	20/33; 61% patrolman return
Southampton T	Chief hospitalized until after data collection completed
U Southampton T	7/9; 78% patrolman return
CHESTER COUNTY	
Easttown T	3/6; 50% patrolman return
*Tredyffrin T	18/22; 82% patrolman return
DELAWARE COUNTY	
Aldan B	Questionnaires distributed, no returns
Clifton Heights B	4/4; 100% patrolman return
Collingdale B	5/5; 100% patrolman return
Colwyn B	4/7; 57% patrolman return
Darby B	Questionnaires distributed, no returns
*Darby T	7/17; 41% patrolman return
E. Lansdowne B	No response to attempts to contact
Eddystone B	Questionnaires distributed, no returns
Folcroft B	Questionnaires distributed, no returns
Glenolden B	Refused to cooperate
Haverford T	Questionnaires distributed, no returns
*Lansdowne B	4/17; 24% patrolman return
*Marple T	9/27; 33% patrolman return
Millbourne B	No response to attempts to contact
Morton B	3/6; not tabulated as no full-time officers responded
Newtown T	5/8; 62% patrolman return
Norwood B	Questionnaires distributed, no returns
Prospect Park B	Refused to cooperate
*Radnor T	9/32; 28% patrolman return
Ridley T	Refused to cooperate
Ridley Park B	3/4; 75% patrolman return
Sharon Hill B	Questionnaires distributed, no returns
Springfield T	7/18; 39% patrolman return
Swarthmore B	Refused to cooperate
Tinicum B	1/6; 17% patrolman return
Upper Darby T	17/113; 15% patrolman return
Yeadon B	3/5; 60% patrolman return

Table 2-1
Participation by Police Departments Approached

Police Departments Approached	Response (percentage bases are uniformed patrolmen)
MONTGOMERY COUNTY	
Abington T	43/72; 60% patrolman return
Ambler B	Refused to cooperate
Bridgeport B	Questionnaires distributed, no returns
Bryn Athyn B	2/5; 40% patrolman return
Cheltenham T	Refused to cooperate
E. Norriton T	Refused to cooperate
Hatboro B	7/9; 78% patrolman return
Hatfield B	5/8; not tabulated as no full-time officers responded
Hatfield T	4/8; 50% patrolman return
Horsham T	14/18; 78% patrolman return
Jenkintown B	Refused to cooperate
Lansdale B	12/15; 80% patrolman return
L Gwynedd	4/5; 80% patrolman return
L Merion T	57/82; 70% patrolman return
L Moreland T	9/14; 64% patrolman return
L Providence T	Refused to cooperate
Montgomery T	3/4; 75% patrolman return
Narbeth B	No response to attempts to contact
N Wales B	Questionnaires distributed, no returns
Plymouth T	8/16; 50% patrolman return
Rockledge B*	1/1; 100% patrolman return
Springfield T	10/20; 50% patrolman return
U Dublin T	11/25; 44% patrolman return
U Gwynedd T	11/11; 100% patrolman return
U Merion T	20/27; 74% patrolman return
U Moreland T	13/18; 72% patrolman return
W Norriton T	10/10; 100% patrolman return
Whitemarsh T	10/15; 67% patrolman return
Whitpain T	Questionnaires distributed, no returns

TOTALS

61 Departments asked to participate
39 Departments participated
27 Departments tabulated after dropping unusable returns, and departments where less than half the officers returned questionnaires

*Received first version questionnaires

Data gathered from August, 1973 to March, 1975.

Other background data on the department was obtained from an interview, usually lasting an hour, with the police chief; in three departments, the chief delegated this duty to senior officers, and in one other department the deputy chief was present as well as the chief. Background data covers items such as whether and where new officers receive formal training, salaries and recruitment policies, patrol organization (e.g., are patrolmen assigned to delimited sectors, does each man work all three shifts, etc.), off duty obligations of officers and weapons use experience and policies (halfway through the data collection period, the new Pennsylvania Crimes Code set up a mandatory weapons use policy; see Crime Commission, 1973:21). In addition, the chief's views were solicited on city-suburban police differences, problems of policing the affluent (where applicable) and the nature and extent of their depatment's non-law-enforcement services which range from sponsoring juvenile sports teams to making emergency plumbing repairs. The interview offered a good opportunity to build rapport with the chief, and to get an impression of the officer's working environment by touring the police station, riding around the community and monitoring the department's radio channel. On the other hand, when hard data was requested (for example, on salaries, weapons use in the past year, etc.), it was often approximate, or unavailable. When this happened, I am certain that it was not an expression of animosity toward myself (when that happened, it was clear enough), but simply a reflection of clerical shorthandedness or inefficiency. Investigators for the Crime Commission had much the same experience, and they researched only the largest suburban departments.

> ... not every response reflected the actual policy or procedure in each department. In some cases, chiefs misunderstood the question and gave a partial or incorrect answer. In other cases, the chief

> appeared to have understood the question but inadvertently gave an incorrect answer. For example, several chiefs said they had written policy on a particular subject but an examination of the material refuted this. In a few cases, chiefs said they had no written policy when in fact they did. (Crime Commission, 1973:93)

It was obvious that many of the smaller departments were operating with limited resources; I remember being impressed with realization that a department serving nearly three thousand people was headquartered in a room smaller than my office at Temple.

Finally, I should note that access to computer tapes from the 1970 Census was provided by the Rutgers-Princeton Census Project; both institutions donated machine time for data editing.

DATA COLLECTION - INSTRUMENT

In a study, like this, which builds on an existing body of literature, originality in questionnaire items is not particularly desirable. At the same time, items cannot be lifted wholesale from previous studies. Sometimes other people's questions are so specific to their research situation that they cannot be transferred elsewhere (this was a major problem with Neiderhoffer's cynicism scale), and sometimes other people's questions are poorly worded, ambiguous or in the wrong format. So the first step in preparing the questionnaire was to immerse myself in the police literature, and to begin to make judgements about what elements of what studies I wanted to replicate, and what specific items I wanted to use for that purpose. Readers familiar with previous police research will observe that the questionnaire is heavily indebted to earlier work by Wilson (1967) and Savitz (1971). Some original items were included because they seemed necessary to answer questions raised by the hypotheses; for example, my dissatisfaction with the use of "best friends' occupations"

as a measure of social isolation led to the development of separate questions on social participation in specific contexts. Curiosity and a squirrel-like desire to lay away some data for future use led to other questions being inserted. By the start of 1973, a draft questionnaire was ready to be pre-tested in two suburban Trenton police departments. Analysis of the pre-tests led to some changes in wording, sometimes resulting in shifting from an open-end to closed-end format. The pre-test questionnaires were run off on a spirit duplicator and were not, physically, very impressive. The availability of funds for printing led to additional format changes. After absorbing a number of dicta on the importance of a clean, open, professional-looking questionnaire, the printed version came off the presses at the beginning of the summer as a 12-page staple-bound booklet. This impressive looking document was distributed to five police departments before it became apparent that the return rate was considerably less impressive. Since the instrument itself was my only point of contact with the officer, and the only item in the research process entirely under my control, it would clearly have to be modified. And the obvious modification was to trim it down into a less imposing document. The second version did not emerge until the spring of 1974, when I was able to work full-time on the research. This five-page questionnaire became the production version. One of the departments given the earlier version was included among the final research group; while much of the earlier questionnaire was codable, for some items there is no equivalent on the early version, resulting in an inconsistent N from item to item.

Questionnaires were coded by a student assistant with random check-coding by myself. The codes were marked on optical scanning sheets and punched from these sheets by the University's Measurement Center. The

punched cards were then edited for bad codes and field shifts (the latter problem, which turned up a few times, involves all of the punching on a card shifting right or left a few columns; the inclusion of two deliberately blank columns in the coding scheme turned out to be a useful check). Finally, the cards were stored as a file using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie et al, 1975). This set of statistical and file-manipulating programs was the primary data analysis tool, although other programs were used from time to time.

BIASES - NON-RESPONSE

The aim of the data collection was a complete census of uniformed patrolmen in each participating department. Since this was not achieved for every department, the research population is not a random sample. This in itself causes no difficulties, since it is difficult to specify a population which a true random sample of officers in participating departments would reflect. However, the variation in return rates does open the possibility that officers who did not return questionnaires are systematically different from officers who did. This is all the more likely when failing to return a questionnaire may be a manifestation of one of the variables measured, in this case, hostility to civilians. Ideally, the analysis would be confined to those departments providing 100% returns. Even this conservative position is not satisfactory, however, since it would unduly narrow the range of variation in communities studied. Indeed, the results would then be open to the accusation that those communities where all of the policemen fill out questionnaires are different from other communities. Obviously, and particularly because this is an exploratory study, some criterion below 100% return must be used to separate those departments to be analyzed from those whose data must be discarded. There are four methods for reaching such a decision:

A. Determine the characteristics of non-responders and compare them to responders. If respondent characteristics are related to responses, it should be possible to allocate answers to non-respondents or, less elaborately, make a statement about the expected direction of non-response bias. This most desirable technique was not used for lack of data about the total patrolman population. Theoretically, simple demographic and social data on police officers (say age, previous job, year he joined the force) should be available from departmental records. In the real world, I found myself dealing with police departments whose internal disorganization and lack of clerical staff made a request for such information a major administrative burden even when my reception was warm, which was not too often. Because I was totally dependent on the police chief to see that my questionnaires got out, I decided early in the data collection process to minimize my demands on the chief in order to maximize my return.

B. Compare the pattern of responses from high-responding departments with those from low-responding departments. Presumably, if non-respondents share some attributes, their absence will cause a significantly different pattern of responses in the low-responding departments as compared to the others, provided that the departments themselves are all essentially similar. Using T-tests and analysis of variance (and median and Smirnov tests where appropriate), no differences were found between municipal characteristics of high- and low-responding departments, and very few statistically significant differences between response patterns (4 or 5 variables out of 54 at the .05 level, a maximum of 9 at the .10 level).

Two division points for response were used, 50% and 70%. This procedure is vulnerable to the accusation that the type of officer who tears up a questionnaire is simply under-represented in high-return departments, but that this type of officer is still different from the type that returns a questionnaire.

C. Make an arbitrary decision based on a cost-gain criterion. This would permit me to raise the credibility of my data by throwing out low-returning departments until the damage to my N is so great that a multivariate analysis of my data becomes difficult or impossible due to empty cells. On this basis, eliminating all departments with below 50% return rates would cost 49 respondents out of 353, which is an affordable cost. A 60% return criterion would cost 78 respondents, which is also probably affordable, but a 70% criterion would cost 168 respondents, or about 48% of the research population.

D. Compare the response patterns of early returners with late returners. It is generally accepted in the survey methodology literature (see, for example, Erdos, 1970, 146-148) that late returners, and especially respondents secured by follow-up techniques, are predictors of non-returners. I started using a follow-up technique about midway through the data collection; my earlier reluctance was due to the necessity of requiring respondents to give their names, which seemed likely to drop the response rate among policemen (it didn't). However, 163 out of 353 officers can be divided into first-wave returners, and second-wave returners (the latter returned a questionnaire included in a follow-up letter sent anywhere from a month to three months after the original questionnaire was distributed). I concentrated on the 27 Likert-type items which largely define my key dependent variable indicators, and

counted for each group, the number of "agrees" for each item. A Pearson R of .985 suggests that there is virtually no difference in response patterns between early and late returners. To further test this proposition, I controlled for return rate by dividing the officers by their mean return rate of 62% (for this subpopulation of 163, not all 353); officers from the higher returning departments showed a .95 correlation between first and second wave response patterns, and the correlation in the lower-returning departments was .964. Apparently, then, even in the lower return rate departments the questionnaires that I did not receive would look very much like the questionnaires that I did receive.

On the basis of this examination of the data, retention of all 353 respondents could be justified. However, because a somewhat more conservative position should immunize the research from accusations of non-response bias at minimal cost, all nine departments with less than a 50% return rate were eliminated, producing a research population (not a sample) of 304 uniformed police officers from 27 jurisdictions located in four suburban counties surrounding Philadelphia.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

While the selection of suburbs as a likely place to find differences in police work has been justified above, it should be equally clear that "suburbanness" alone is a grossly inadequate explanatory variable. The main thrust of suburban Anyone using community setting as an explanatory variable must be prepared to analyze this into specific indicators sufficient in number to capture the heterogeneity of separate communities. The suburban studies literature provides some guidelines to the selection of appropriate indicators. Martin (1958:105) distinguished between

definitive characteristics of suburbs and derivative characteristics which include many of the demographic, socio-economic and cultural differences which have been the focus for commentators: "...regardless of variations in age, income, family status or attitudes, the structuring of social relationships in suburbs is always influenced by the definitive characteristics -- the size and density of the population, the accessibility of the large city, and the daily commuting pattern." This position would not be accepted in toto today. With the increasing movement of retail trade, light industry and large offices to the suburbs, a majority of suburban-resident workers also work in the suburbs. Those who follow Gans' influential analysis of "urbanism and suburbanism as ways of life" (see Gans, 1972:31-50) would argue with Martin's relegation of stratification and family variables to mere derivations; rather, Gans sees them as the most critical concomitants of location. The broad middle way on which the adherents of both positions can tread is provided by the work of Schnore, who has devoted much of his professional career to documenting suburban diversity. In empirical analysis of intra-suburban differences (particularly in distinguishing suburbs from satellite cities) Schnore (1963) found the following variables most useful: age and ethnic composition, fertility and dependency ratios, socio-economic status, population growth and housing characteristics, with SES the most important of all.

Consequently, largely following Schnore's lead while attempting to keep the number of indicators manageable, and the indicators relevant to police work, the following items were recorded for every community studied:

1. SIZE - the 1970 Census population
2. DENSITY - the population per square mile
3. STABILITY - the proportion of persons over 5 living in the same house in both 1965 and 1970

4. ETHNIC HETEROGENEITY - the non-white proportion of the population in 1970
5. AGE - the proportion of the population under the age of 18
6. HOUSING - the proportion of the population living in rented quarters
7. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS I - the proportion of the population over 25 with 12 or more years of education
8. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS II - the mean family income (because standard deviations cannot be derived from Census data, two other indicators of range were sometimes used: the proportion of families with an income of $25,000 or over in 1969, and the proportion of families with income below the poverty line)
9. DANGER - the FBI Crime Index for 1973 per 100,000 citizens; the index is the total crimes known to the police for the following categories: murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny-theft and auto theft (Kelley, 1974:1)

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

Four dependent variables (isolation, morale, hostility to civilians and perception of civilian hostility to police) are named in the hypotheses in the first chapter. None of them can be measured directly. Thus, it became necessary to assemble indicators which can be directly measured, to "stand in" for the theoretical constructs. Ideally, each construct should have several indicators, both because this makes each indicator considerably less critical in the event of measurement error, and because standard tests of validity require a battery of items. Another constraint, flowing from the design of this study, is that indicators should, as much as possible, duplicate items used in previous studies. Occasionally, pre-testing indicated that slight wording changes would make an item easier to respond to, and this was done, at some slight loss to compatability. Each dependent variable became the focus of a battery of anywhere from seven to 11 indicators. However, the battery items were not combined into indices because several tests of validity indicated that none of the four batteries seemed to be measuring a single dimension. Rather, the batteries are used here as a device for organizing the evidence bearing on each of the first four hypotheses; this permits direct attention to be paid to individual questionnaire items while providing a context for their interpretation. Finally, it should be noted that battery

items were not grouped together on the questionnaire, but were scattered among items in other batteries, and items gathering data to be used in future analyses of the suburban police role. The variables, and the manner in which they were operationalized, are (the numbering refers back to the questionnaire in Appendix 3):

Isolation Battery

3-4. How do you feel about strangers knowing that you are a police officer? For example, you are on vacation, and you meet some pleasant people and have good times with them - which of these is closest to the way you would feel about telling them you are a policeman?

circle one

1. I'd try to avoid revealing my occupation
2. I wouldn't conceal my occupation, but I'd prefer it not become known
3. I wouldn't care one way or the other
4. I'd feel pleased if they found out my occupation
5. I'd tell them my occupation as soon as the opportunity arose

3-5. Do you find that civilians act differently toward you when they know you are a policeman, even when you're not on duty and out of uniform?

circle one

1. Almost always
2. Most of the time
3. A fair amount of the time
4. Not too often
5. Almost never

3-6. When you go out to relax with friends (going out to bowl, or going hunting, for example) do you usually socialize with other police officers?

circle one

1. almost always with other police
2. usually with police
3. about 50-50, police and civilians
4. mostly with civilians
5. almost always with civilians

3-7. When you go out as a couple, with other couples (going to a party, or the movies, for example) do you usually socialize with other "police couples?"

circle one

1. almost always
2. usually
3. about 50-50
4. mostly with civilians
5. almost always with civilians

3-8. How often do civilians approach you when you are off duty and out of uniform with requests for favors or police assistance?

circle one

1. happens very often
2. happens occasionally
3. rarely happens
4. never happens

(the officer is also asked the extent of his agreement with each of the following statements)

j. My police department has the respect of most local citizens.

n. The police department is really a big brotherhood with each policeman doing his best to help all other policemen.

x. Most people don't really understand the policeman's job.

Police Hostility to Civilians Battery

d. Most people obey laws simply from fear of getting caught.

e. It is important that a policeman be liked by the citizens with whom he comes in contact.

o. Policemen have a special view of human nature because of the misery and cruelty they see every day.

p. The average policeman is likely to rough up someone who calls him a fascist pig.

r. Quite often I feel that I've really helped people in my job.

w. One effect of being a policeman for a number of years is the development of suspiciousness about things and people.

aa. Being a policeman tends to make you cynical.

Police Perception of Civilian Hostility Battery

2-16. How much disrespect for the police (ranging from resisting arrest to being surly or sarcastic) do you run into personally?

circle one

1. A great deal
2. A fair amount
3. Very little
4. None at all

3-9. How often do civilians approach you when you are <u>off</u> <u>duty</u> and <u>out</u> <u>of</u> <u>uniform</u> with complaints about other policemen?

<u>circle</u> <u>one</u>

1. happens very often
2. happens occasionally
3. rarely happens
4. never happens

a. Civilians generally cooperate with police officers in their work.

b. Most civilians think that you are a policeman because you were not good enough to get a better job.

d. Most people obey laws simply from fear of getting caught.

j. My police department has the respect of most local citizens.

m. Respect that citizens have for patrolmen has decreased over recent years.

s. If I were in a situation in which my life was in danger, I would get little or no help from people in my patrol area.

x. Most people don't really understand the policeman's job.

y. It is usually difficult to persuade people to give patrolmen the information they need.

z. Most people will try somehow to help patrolmen who are being attacked.

<u>Morale</u> <u>Battery</u>

h. I like being a police officer.

j. My police department has the respect of most local citizens.

l. On the whole, the police department is giving me a chance to show what I can do.

h. The police department is really a big brotherhood with each policeman doing his best to help all other policemen.

r. Quite often, I feel that I've really helped people in my job.

u. If I had to do it all over again, I would again join the police force.

4 - 1 Would you want a son of yours to become a policeman? YES NO (circle one)

III. Results

Some of the items on the suburban survey questionnaire were chosen to replicate previous research; others were included because they tapped areas thought to be relevant to the hypotheses guiding the study (see previous chapter for details). Direct comparability to other studies is thus severely limited, although there is sufficient similarity of items to permit some broad generalizations to be made about how a group of suburban police look when compared to city police in several departments and at several time periods. Because of the _ex post facto_ nature of this comparison, sampling variation, minor discrepancies in question wording and major discrepancies in sampling procedure, only patterns of directionality are likely to have any substantive significance. While in many cases measures of association can be computed from the data given here, they have usually been omitted as inappropriately overspecifying relationships. With this caveat about the nature of the comparisons to be made here, they still provide a useful, if somewhat unfocused wide angle view of territory to be explored subsequently in more detail. (Chappell and Meyer (1974) provide a useful review of the problems and potentialities of this sort of _post-hoc_ comparison.)

BACKGROUND

Existing data on social origins of police officers is quite similar. Where inconsistencies exist, they involve working-class occupations. The Philadelphia suburban sample shares this general similarity, but stands out in two respects: suburban officers are the most likely to have had white-collar fathers, and the least likely to have inherited the police job from their fathers. Although the Neiderhoffer and Westley data for this category include other similar occupations, the IACP data show a clear drop in the proportion of second-generation policemen as community size drops, and the suburban data are consistent with this trend. This may be an artifact of size; if we assume an equal desire on the part

Table 3-1
Comparison of Fathers' Jobs of Police Officers

	Sub-rban	Neiderhoffer1 (Recruits)	Westley	IACP Survey** 100K	IACP Survey** 100-500K	IACP Survey** 500K
Prof.-Tech.	11.4	2.9	4.5			
Mgr.-Admin.	13.1	10.2	15.5	13.4	14.7	15.2
Cler.-Sales	9.[illegible]	8.8	3.5	8.1	9.0.	10.8
Crafts-Fore.	27.9	25.6	28.0	32.0	31.7	31.5
Operative	21.9	19.0	5.6	18.8	17.9	14.6
Laborer	5.4	8.0	32.7	7.2	5.2	6.0
Service	4.7	13.2	2.2	6.6	5.7	7.2
Police	2.7	11.0*	4.5*	6.6	7.4	9.9
Other	3.7#	1.3	3.4	7.4	8.4	4.8
N =	297	1214	91	946	1544	1195
Correlation with Suburban police (Pearson's r)		.774	.361	.870	.881	.850

NOTES: *includes other protective service, such as fireman # largely students.
**categorized by city population size - 1Recruits only

Table 3-2
Last or Highest Skill Level Job Before Joining Police

	Suburban3	MacNamara1,2	Westley3	IACP Survey**,2 100K	IACP Survey**,2 100-500K	IACP Survey**,2 500K
Prof.-Tech.	11.3	9.3	6			
Manager-Admin.	5.[illegible]		1	12.8	[illegible]1.1	13.3
Cler.-Sales	16.9	45.9	18	23.6	26.4	23.2
Crafts-Fore.	21.6	22.9	15	26.9	23.9	22.6
Operative	14.3	12.5	31	22.4	22.9	16.2
Laborer	3.3	3.1	14	3.0	2.0	1.6
Serv.exc.Police	10.3		9	2 4	2.4	2.4
Police	1.0	8.4	6*			
Other, incl. Farm	15.9#	---	---	8.9	11.2	10.8
N =	301	574	87	945	1572	1197
Correlation with Suburban police (Pearson's r)		.467	.339	.757	.744	.842

NOTES: *includes other protective service, such as fireman # largely students.
**categorized by city population size 1-Recruits only 2-Highest skill job 3-Last civilian job

of all sons of police officers to become policemen, in any one year there will be more openings on larger police forces than on smaller ones both because of size and because the longer rank hierarchy in larger forces makes promotion more likely. The suburban group did, however, have considerable informal contact with the job prior to becoming policemen, since only 30.6% report having neither friend nor relative in the police.

When data for the officer's previous occupation is examined, there is less apparent uniformity. Watson and Sterling (1969:114) attribute this to two different forms of question used in previous studies, and suggest (as Table 3-2 bears out) that when a policeman's "highest skill level" job is asked, more officers will turn up in upper-level categories than when "last full-time job" is used. Since the Philadelphia suburban group was asked the "last full-time job" form of the question, results for that group may slightly understate civilian occupational levels. Even so, the suburban group is noteworthy for having the highest professional-technical-managerial representation, although 4 out of the six studies summarized here show more officers with previous white-collar jobs.

In view of the cautious approach that the data warrants, it seems fair to say that the suburban departments studied here recruit from the same general pool of men that urban departments recruit from. With data on education at entry into the department, it might be possible to make a somewhat stronger statement, but no published data exists, and attempts to reconstruct such data from the personnel records of a few of the departments studied led to the abandonment of later attempts. It is possible in Table 3-3, to compare the educational achievements of the suburban patrolmen now, with an average age of 30.6, and an average span of 5.7 years in the police with other data collected from serving police. Compared to an older (39.7 years), more experienced

(13.8 years) and much more heterogeneous national IACP sample (policemen at all ranks and in assignments other than patrol), the suburban group shows remarkable similarities; their slightly higher level of education is most likely an artifact of their relative youth and inexperience, since they have more potential career gain from education than officers nearer to retirement.

While most departments recruit locally, officers come from a variety of locales. In spite of the decades-long trend to suburban migration from the cities, very few of the suburban officers (17.8%) were raised in Philadelphia. Most (53%) were raised in the suburban county in which they work, but only 31.6% work in their native municipality. Upstate Pennsylvania and other states supplied a little over 12% each; several chiefs specifically mentioned the coal regions of upstate Pennsylvania as a source of applicants. While most (60.2%) come fresh to police work, a substantial proportion have had cognate experience as guards, civilian dispatchers, MP's etc. Only 10.2%, however, come from other police departments, and interviews with police chiefs suggested a tacit anti-raiding agreement; indeed, a few chiefs would refuse to hire someone from another department on grounds that if he was desirable, the previous department would have made effective efforts to keep him.

Information supplied by police chiefs during interviews, and the results of two recent studies of suburban Philadelphia police departments point up the wide variation in police training among suburban departments. While the Crime Commission of Philadelphia (1973:8) found that all of the larger suburban departments had some provision for formal recruit training, this training is given at a variety of places:

> Presently 19 departments send their recruits to the State Police Academy in either Hershey or Collegeville, six send theirs to the Philadelphia Police Academy, five utilize combined facilities with neighboring departments and four departments have their own in-house training. Some departments send their recruits to more than one facility depending on availability of space. (1973:68-69).

Table 3-3
Highest Level of Education Completed Among Experienced Police Officers

Less than H.S. Grad.	H.S. Graduate	Technical or Apprentice	Some College	2 or 4 yr. Coll. Grad.	
7.5%	39.1%	---	44.9%	8.5%	4672 Experienced Officers
2.6%	35.8%	3.6%	44.1%	13.9%	302 Suburban Patrolmen

NOTE: Experienced officer figures computed from data in Watson and Sterling (1969:31)

Table 3-4
Marital Status of Police Officers and Civilian Males

	Suburban	Westley	IACP Poll	1970 Census Police	1970 Census Adult Males
Single	10.9%	14.3%	3%	8.4%	19.6%
Married	83.5%	83.5%	94%	88.3%	74.8%
Widowed	--	--	.5%	.8%	2.9%
Divorced	5.6%	2.2%	2%	2.5%	2.8%
N =	304	91	4578	362,440	64,228,000
Mean Age	30.6		39.7		
Median Age	29			35.7	

NOTES: Westley data is recomputed from (1970:211). IACP data is from Watson and Sterling (1969:26), and includes officers at all ranks. Census police include male police and detectives at all ranks, public and private, from Table 31, PC(2)7A Occupational Characteristics (June, 1973). Census males from Table 47, Statistical Abstract (94th edition), 1973.

Table 3-5
Social Participation of Suburban Officers in Two Different Off-duty Situations

	relax with friends	out with couples
primarily police	27.5%	26.4%
50-50	44.7%	38.2%
primarily civilian	27.8%	34.8%
N =	284	302

Now that the Montgomery County Police Chiefs Association school at the County College in Whitpain is in operation, virtually all of the chiefs interviewed in that county expect to send recruits exclusively to that facility; several expressed dissatisfaction with existing facilities because of what they saw as irrelevant material (Philadelphia ordinances at the city academy) or inappropriate emphases (traffic control at the State Police schools).

In the smaller departments surveyed by the Governor's Justice Commission, the situation is considerably different:

> Five of the departments [out of 44] interviewed had no recruit training program of any kind. Five others provided training for new men while in-service only. Four more send their men to various forty-hour or eighty-hour training seminars, as they are available. Finally, thirty departments had already required that their men attend a 400-hour police academy training course within a year of their training (1974:67). Ten departments reported that none of their men had attended a 400-hour police academy course... Our survey found that 314 of the 504 full-time police officers had attended a 400-hour academy course (1974:71,72)

It should be pointed out that these smaller departments range from ten to 25 uniformed officers'; several of the departments studied during the present research are smaller. While most officers undergo training similar to that of a Philadelphia police officer, this similarity falls off considerably for officers in smaller departments, for these latter, the transition from civilian to policeman is often sharper and less supervised, and therefore more likely to be affected by on-the-job experience.

PERSONAL LIFE

It is widely believed by policemen (for instance, the chiefs interviewed for this study) and by those who study the police that that occupation has an unusually high divorce rate. While the belief is plausible, in terms of opportunity, marital strains associated with shift work, possible attenuation of affect associated with the work itself, etc., there is no evidence to suggest

that it is anything more than a belief.* The only nearly-relevant statistics available describe marital sratus, and show policemen to be slightly more likely than U.S. males to be married, much less likely to be single, and very slightly less likely to be divorced. Of course, differences or similarities in percentages divorced permit no inferences about divorce rates, since divorce followed by remarriage may be the pattern for one group, and not another. However, it may be of interest to note that the suburban patrolmen studied here are about twice as likely to be divorced and not remarried as other policemen, or other U.S. males. Nor is this likely to be an artifact of age, since this particular marital status peaks in the 35-44 range, and both police samples are older than the suburban group.

Another effect of becoming a policeman seems to be the loss of civilian friends, and a consequent "clannishness;" the major findings are summarized and cited in Chapter I above. While there is considerable ancedotal and impressionistic support for this belief, there are no figures on relative importance of civilians and policemen in the friendship patterns of metropolitan police officers. This sort of data presents a problem, because the recollection of a particularly vivid incident involving a problem with a civilian friend (see, for example, Skolnick's account of a policeman at a boisterous party, 1966:51) may mask the policeman's continued relationships with civilians. Moreover, friendship can be thought of as having both breadth and depth, so that while the most intense or intimate relationships may be with one kind of person, the general pattern of social relationships may not be as limited. This seems to describe what is happening in the suburban police group. Respondents were asked the occupations of their three best male friends (there were no female respondents). While 71.7% reported at least one policeman among their three best friends, 84.9% reported at least one civilian. Put another way, civilians

*Durner et. al (1975) found divorce rates ranging from 17% to 33% in four urban departments recently, but their methodology and definitions are unclear.

outnumbered policemen by 5 to 3 among best friends, which is hardly evidence of serious social isolation from civilians. Turning to reported patterns of social activity, the same mixed interaction pattern emerges. Two questions were asked, one about who the officer relaxes with (bowling and hunting were suggested as examples) and another about going out as a couple (to a party, or the movies). The modal response in both cases was "about 50-50, police and civilians."

Again this does not support a view of the police as occupational introverts. On the other hand, the data does not permit the conclusion that these suburban officers are less isolated than metropolitan officers, since the impressionistic support for the conclusion of police isolation is not inconsistent with this data. In fact, it is possible that American police in general are not as isolated as they appear in the literature; Banton's conclusion along these lines was referred to above. Some support for this statement comes from Reiss' study of patrolmen in high-crime precincts in four metropolitan areas. Only 36% of his sample reported that their job created difficulties for their wives or children in making friends with others and Clark (1965:313) reported almost identical results in three medium-sized cities in Illinois; 48% of the suburban officers reported that their wives and children are not affected by their occupation, and an additional 2.6% reported positive effects - increased pride, respect from neighbors, etc. When asked specifically whether "being a policeman (has) made any difference in your relationships with relatives, friends or neighbors," only 9.9% of the suburban officers mentioned losing friends; 54.3% reported no difference and 1.3% reported positive effects. Police work has not isolated these officers, but their experience may not be as divergent as it appears at first glance; the available data do not support any firmer conclusion.

MORALE

Rising crime rates and diminishing respect for the police, Supreme Court decisions protecting accused criminals and pay scales that push officers into taking second jobs: all of these have been implicated in the police rebellion (Bopp, 1971), that has allegedly resulted from lowered police morale in this country. As with police isolation, the support for this notion rests on illustration, not fact.

Among the few quantitative studies of police morale is Wilson's (1967) examination of the effect of police reform on morale. Although several items in the suburban questionnaire are directly comparable to Wilson's indices of morale, hi.. research group was composed of sergeants, while the suburban group is limited to patrolmen. Although Wilson provides no demographic information about his group, a good assumption would be that they are older and have had more years of police experience than the suburban police studied here. In addition, they are likely to share with other low-level supervisors the unique frustration that emerges from having to make policies they did not develop palatable to officers upon whose cooperation they are dependent (see Roethlisberger, 1945). All of these characteristics would tend to lower morale. Since, with only one exception, the suburban group shows higher morale than the Chicago group either before or after department reform, the results of this comparison may be due to that difference in rank. Certainly the one exception to the pattern, the higher likelihood of the Chicago group believing that they are being given a chance to show what they can do, can only stem from the fact that they have been promoted at least once already, in contrast to the suburban patrolmen. On the other hand, the differential between the Chicago group and the suburban group on the last question is startling, particularly considering that the sergeants have been objectively rewarded more as policemen than the patrolmen. Further evidence that there may be a real morale difference between urban and

suburban police comes from a more indirect indicator. Several police studies have asked some form of the question "Would you advise a son of yours to be a police officer?" (this wording is from Reiss, 1967:12). Westley judged that a negative answer to this question is "an admission of failure, an admission of degradation" (19:234). It is probably a more sensitive indicator of morale than Wilson's more direct questions because while the officer has an investment in his job which may generate public commitment to it (the well-known mechanism of cognitive dissonance), his child is not so committed. In spite of the difficulties of comparison with the Chicago data, the pattern of responses justifies the conclusion that the suburban officers exhibit considerably higher morale and job commitment than previously studied urban officers.

OPINIONS -- Civilians

The recent popularity of discovering just what policemen think has provided a number of sources of comparative data. Again, Wilson's survey of Chicago police sergeants offers the greatest number of directly comparable items, all of them concentrated on police perception of citizen hostility, a major focus of this research. For these items, the rank and presumed age and experience difference are unlikely, *prima facie*, to be as biasing as they were when considering morale. Still, some caution in interpreting differences is prudent. With one or two exceptions, the suburban officers in Table 3-8 show a much more positive attitude toward civilians than the Chicago sergeants. On two items, civilian criticism and civilian cooperation with the police, the differences are strikingly large. A similar question on cooperation was asked of a sample of New York City patrolmen (Neiderhoffer, 1967:225); 24% of those with less than 13 years on the force agreed that civilians are "eager to cooperate with policemen," as did 36% of those with 13 or more years.

Table 3-6
Morale of Chicago Police Sergeants in 1960 and 1965, and Suburban Officers, 1973-74

	Chicago (Wilson, 1967)		
	1960 (818)	1965 (554)	Suburban (304)
On the whole, do you think the police department is giving you a chance to show what you can do?			
Very good chance (Strongly agree)	24.6	20.9	12.5
Fairly good chance (Agree)	43.0	54.3	53.6
Not much chance (Disagree/Strongly disagree)	28.7	22.3	32.9
Undecided or no answer	3.6	2.0	1.0
How well do you like your present job?			
Like it very much (Strongly agree)	58.2	61.7	73.4
Like it fairly well (Agree)	33.9	32.3	25.3
Indifferent or dislike it (Disagree)	7.6	5.8	.7
No answer	0.4	0.2	.7
Being a policeman tends to make you cynical			
Agree	66.5	69.5	58.3
Disagree	31.7	29.4	38.9
No answer	1.8	1.1	3.0
If you were starting all over again, would you still join the police department?			
Yes	50.1	40.5	92.8
No	28.4	35.9	6.6
Don't know or no answer	21.3	22.0	.7

Table 3-7
Desire for Son to be a Police Officer

Son to be a police officer.		Westley, 1951:235	Reiss, 1967:12	Suburban, 1973-4
	YES	19%	26%	63.8%
	DEPENDS	11%	13%	7.2%
	NO	70%	57%	27%
	DK	—	4%	27%
N=		54	Approx. 204	299

ϕ^2=.11 chi-squared = 39.82; $p < .001$

Table 3-8
Perceptions of Citizen Hostility by Chicago Police Sergeants and Suburban Officers

	Chicago (Wilson, 1967)		
	1960 (818)	1965 (554)	Suburban (304)
Do you think the police department has the respect of most citizens of this city?			
Yes, of most (Strongly Agree)	33.7	45.9	27.3
Of some but not most (Agree)	52.2	48.6	67.1
Of very few (Disagree, Strongly disagree)	13.5	5.1	5.2
No answer	0.6	0.4	.3
Do any of your civilian friends ever criticize the police department to your face?			
Many do (Often)	39.6	24.1	5.9
A few do (Occasionally)	49.4	62.8	34.2
Hardly anyone does (Rare/Never)	10.6	12.9	58.6
No answer	0.4	0.2	1.3
Civilians generally cooperate with police officers in their work			
Agree	43.3	37.4	89.2
Disagree	55.5	62.3	10.5
No answer	1.2	0.2	.3
Most civilians think you are a policemen because you were not good enough to get a better job			
Agree	32.8	2[illegible].9	15.8
Disagree	64.1	69.3	84.2
No answer	3.2	1.6	—
Most people obey laws simply from fear of being caught			
Agree	38.6	46.1	58.9
Disagree	59.4	53.7	40.8
No answer	2.0	0.2	.3
It is important that a policeman be liked by the citizens with whom he comes in contact			
Agree	79.0	59.0	71.4
Disagree	19.8	39.9	28.6
No answer	1.3	1.1	—

Table 3-9
Perceptions of Support for the Police by People in Officer's Patrol Area as Against General Public

Most people will try somehow to help patrolmen who are being attacked.

		Agree	Disagree	
If I were in a situation in which my life was in danger, I would get little or not help from people in my patrol area	Agree	21	74	95
	Disagree	139	45	184
		160	119	279

δ^2 = .26 chi-sqaured = 70.98; p < .000

Reiss (1967:T39) asked officers in high-crime precincts in Boston, Washington, Chicago and St. Louis to answer a variant of the same question, "how often do people cooperate by giving information?" His "often" and "sometimes" categories are equivalent to Wilson's "agree," and total 32%; his "rarely" and "never" categories, equivalent to "disagree," total 61%. The statement about civilians believing that policemen are not good enough for better jobs was put to a sample of police in "a large metropolitan area" whose mean age and years of experience are virtually identical to the suburban group (Viano and Susman; n.d.:4). Their response (68% disagree, 28% agree), like the Neiderhoffer and Reiss data, support the generalizability of Wilson's findings -- for metropolitan policemen only.

One other item from the Reiss (1967:541) study bears on police-civilian relations, and is comparable to a question asked of the suburban police: "Does the public help as much as they should when they see police officers in trouble or needing help?" Reiss' high-crime-precinct sample overwhelmingly (87%) said no; but only 39.9% of the suburban group disagreed with the statement "most people will try somehow to help patrolmen who are being attacked."

And finally, one question from the IACP Police Opinion Poll (Watson and Sterling, 1969:128) reflects a query to the suburban police about citizen respect for the police:

IACP: Public support for the police seems to be growing

Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	
50.2	3.8	45.7	2042 experienced patrolmen
76.2	.7	23.1	304 experienced patrolmen

Suburban: Respect that citizens have for patrolmen has decreased over recent years.

Taken as a whole, the pattern of comparisons on police-civilian relations suggests that the suburban police have a much more positive view of the people among whom they work - <u>their</u> constituents think highly of them, cooperate, and would help them if they were in trouble. But when the questions deal with the public <u>in</u>

general, the suburban group shows up as somewhat more cynical about motivation for obedience to law, and support for the police. This last point is clearly made in Table 3-9.

OPINIONS -- Joblore

Two items from other previous research permit some urban-suburban comparison on job attitudes. Neiderhoffer (1967:208) found that 21% to 24% of the patrolmen in his New York City sample agreed that "the average arrest is made because the patrolman could not avoid it without getting into trouble," while only 10% of the suburban sample agreed. And while 70.3% of the patrolmen in the IACP's national sample rejected the folklore that "there is something about the personal appearance of a criminal - the way he looks - by which an experienced officer can pick him out," a still greater percentage (88.8%) of the suburban sample disagree. Suburban officers were a little less likely to think that being a policeman made them cynical, and these findings suggest that perhaps they are right; certainly, they seem to be a trifle more sophisticated than the average officer, although this is probably an effect of their higher educational level as compared to the IACP sample.

CONCLUSIONS

This panoramic view of city-suburban police differences is somewhat hazy, no doubt because there are smudges on the cognitive lens. Still, some features emerge from the haze as landmarks, and permit some tentative conclusions: suburban police offic rs seem, at the outset, to be no different from police officers elsewhere. But somewhere along the line the suburban police fail to undergo the isolation from and hostility to civilians, and the low morale that are widely believed to accompany police work. This much is clear;

what remains hazy is the extent to which widespread beliefs about police work in general are supportable by research.

* * *

THE THREE YEAR COMPARISON

Major portions of the Savitz study of police professionalization (1971) touched most strongly on the areas of police-civilian relations which are the focus of this research. Partially for this reason, and partially because Savitz's work was the most recent survey of the Philadelphia police, the suburban survey questionnaire was designed to overlap with some of his instruments. This presents a unique opportunity to compare suburban and urban patrolmen all of whom work within a 600 square-mile area of the same state. The price to be paid for this breadth of comparison is the loss of some depth, since Savitz's study was a longitudinal study of two police recruit classes that stopped at their third year on the force. Because length of police experience has been shown by a number of previous studies (Niederhoffer, 1967: ch. 3, 98-100, for example), including Savitz's, to be an important independent variable, the Savitz data can only appropriately be compared with these suburban officers with three years experience on the force. Savitz's original questionnaires were recoded for this analysis in order to maximize comparability with the suburban data. As with previous comparisons,

sampling variation may account for differences between the two groups, so the major utility of a comparison is to determine, over a number of data items, whether or not a consistent pattern of differences or trend emerges. Since neither the suburban nor the Savitz data was sampled randomly, tests of significance of differences are inappropriate.

BACKGROUND

The Philadelphia officers and the suburban officers seem to have been recruited out of the same social strata, using father's occupation as a indicator. Both groups typically came to police work from another occupation, but the prior job held by a suburban officer was considerably more likely to have been a white-collar job. Moreover, since the suburban officers were, on the average, four years younger than the Philadelphia policemen, the latter presumably had more time to secure job advancement before coming to the police. Neither city nor suburban police exhibit job inheritance, but the Philadelphia group is much more plugged into the occupational network through relatives and friends known prior to joining the force; only 7.4% of the Philadelphia group had no such contact, while 37.9% of the suburban police had neither relative nor friends in police work. Questions regarding prior police experience are not strictly comparable, since the suburban questionnaire suggests prison guard, military police and security guard experience, while the Philadelphia questionnaire was probably interpreted to refer to experience on another police force only. If this is, in fact, the case, then the proportions with previous police experience are similar.

PERSONAL LIFE

The suburban group is much more likely to be married after three years of service than the city group (72.4% to 56.4%). Because the Philadelphia study

does not report other marital statuses, there is no way of determining whether the unmarried Philadelphia officers are more likely to be divorced than the suburban officers; on the basis of age alone, one would expect fewer single and more divorced men.

Both city and suburban police show a preference for civilians among their three best friends; 56.9% of Philadelphia officers' friends were not policemen, 53.7% of the suburban group's friends were civilians. Data on social activities was not available for the Philadelphia police, but neither group could be called isolated from civilians.

MORALE

Very few morale items are comparable. The most important of these asks if the officer would want his son to be a police officer, and 58.6% of the suburban officers and 55.2% of the city officers answered "yes." The Philadelphia finding is higher than would be expected, and the suburban percentage is lower than for the whole group. Both disparities are presumably a function of years of experience, but apparently on this issue, that variable acts differently in urban and suburban areas.

OPINIONS - Civilians

On the comparable items, suburban attitudes toward civilians are significantly more positive on the first two question in Table 3-10 and virtually identical on the others. The distinction between "the people that I work with" and "the general public," noted above, does not seem to show up here.

OPINIONS - Joblore

The Savitz data permit considerably more joblore comparisons than any previous study of metropolitan policemen as Table 3-11 shows.

Table 3-10
Attitudes Towards Civilians of City and Suburban Officers With Three Years Police Experience

		City N=149	Suburban N=29
Civilians generally cooperate with police officers in their work.	Agree	66.4%	96.6%
	Disagree	33.6%	3.4%
Most civilians think that you are a policeman because you were not good enough to get a better job.	Agree	32.4%	17.2%
	Disagree	67.6%	82.8%
Most people obey laws simply from fear of getting caught.	Agree	56.8%	55.2%
	Disagree	43.2%	44.8%
Respect that citizens have for patrolmen has decreased over recent years.	Agree	84.6%	85.7%
	Disagree	15.4%	14.3%
It is usually difficult to persuade people to give patrolmen the information they need.	Agree	66.4%	60.7%
	Disagree	33.6%	39.3%
Most people will try somehow to help patrolmen who are being attacked.	Agree	54.7%	50.0%
	Disagree	45.3%	50.0%

Table 3-11
Joblore Opinions of City and Suburban Officers With Three Years Police Experience

		City	Suburban
The essential part of police work is catching criminals.	Agree	38.6%	14.8%
	Disagree	61.4%	85.2%
You can tell by someone's personal appearance or dress if he will give you trouble or become belligerent.	Agree	7.5%	14.3%
	Disagree	92.5%	85.7%
The police department is really a big brotherhood with each policeman doing his best to help all other policemen.	Agree	58.1%	42.9%
	Disagree	41.9%	57.1%
Policemen have a special view of human nature because of the misery and cruelty they see every day.	Agree	90.6%	96.4%
	Disagree	9.4%	3.6%
The average policeman is likely to rough up someone who calls him a fascist pig.	Agree	12.8%	14.3%
	Disagree	87.2%	85.7%
New patrolmen learn more from older patrolmen than from supervisors.	Agree	88.4%	96.4%
	Disagree	11.6%	3.6%
The average arrest is made because the officer could not avoid it without getting into trouble.	Agree	4.1%	14.3%
	Disagree	95.9%	85.7%
A policeman gets along better if he doesn't go looking for situations requiring police action, but handles situations as they arise.	Agree	41.9%	28.6%
	Disagree	58.1%	71.4%
One effect of being a policeman for a number of years is the development of suspiciousness about things and people.	Agree	84.9%	96.4%
	Disagree	15.1%	3.6%
Being a policeman tends to make you cynical.	Agree	42.0%	64.3%
	Disagree	58.0%	35.7%

As with previous comparisons, the possibility of sampling error requires the very conservative approach of assuming equal population proportions unless a considerable disparity shows up between the two groups. Under this rule, the city-suburban similarities are more striking than the differences, but such differences as are worth noticing point up some of the distinctions between the police role in the city and in suburban areas. The first item, for example, suggests that the suburban officer is aware, and accepts, that his job more often involves peace-keeping functions (as defined by Bittner, 1967) and provision of services to residents. In fact, the city officer may be spending as much time on service and peace-keeping; a number of studies (Reiss, 1971:96; Misner, 1967:38; Cumming et. al., 1970) suggest that the average urban policeman spends about 20% of his time "catching criminals." Judging from the ready willingness of most chiefs to admit that getting cats out of trees and bats out of houses is part of the service they provide, the difference may simply be a question of what is legitimated as good police work. This interpretation is further supported by the fact that while both city and suburban officers perceive themselves spending about equal amounts of their time (48.7% for city officers, 44.5% for suburban men) on non-law-enforcement functions, the city men would cut this to a mean of 24.9% while the suburban officers would be satisfied with 40.5% of their time spent on service tasks.

The city group seems to feel somewhat greater solidarity than the suburban police (as indicated by the "big brotherhood" item in Table 3-11). This may be an effect of working among a more hostile population, but a number of comments on suburban questionnaires dealing with city-suburban differences suggest an alternate possibility. Many suburban officers feel that big city departments have more cars on the street, and perhaps more cars per square

mile, than most suburban departments, and therefore the city officer will get a quicker response to a call for assistance. Ideally, even a routine car stop should produce a backup unit, but this is impractical when a department may have only two or three cars on the street at one time.

The suburban officers seem somewhat more aggressive, more willing to "go looking for situations requiring police action." This may be an effect of boredom; informal comparisons of radio traffic between several Philadelphia districts and several suburban communities suggest that a Philadelphia officer is much more likely to be given a radio assignment than most suburban officers.

Finally, the direction of differences on the last two items was unexpected, in that suburban officers showed somewhat greater cynicism than city officers. This may be an effect of greater "reality shock;" the city officer may expect to see much misery, hardship and disrespect for the law, but the suburban officer discovering this along placid, tree-shaded streets may be much more surprised.

CONCLUSIONS

The Savitz data generally support the conclusions arrived at in the previous set of comparisons. More specifically, both city and suburban officers seem to come from the same background, although the city officer is more likely to have had some connection with the police. The two groups differ slightly on the percentage married, but this difference is hard to interpret; they do not differ very much in choice of friends, who are more likely to be civilian than police. The suburban officers seem to feel less citizen hostility than the city officers, but this is not reflected in any differences in morale indicators. The suburban police seem to perceive their job as somewhat

different than the city officer's job. The "joblore" items, in fact, show the greatest divergence between the three-year groups and the police studies considered previously, suggesting that while attitudes toward civilians diverge very early between city and suburb, divergence of opinion is less stable on items tapping attitudes toward the job itself.

The most theoretically significant differences to emerge from these comparisons support the hypotheses guiding this study. Suburban policemen seem to be less hostile to civilians, and less isolated from them as compared to city police. although the latter comparison suffers from lack of quantitative evidence that city police are really isolated. There is some evidence, not supported by the Savitz comparisons, that suburban police have higher morale than city police.

Having established these differences in spite of the caution demanded by the use of ex-post-facto comparisons, the next task is to explain them. Cities and suburbs differ in a variety of ways, ways which are reflected by differences among suburbs themselves. The next section is a close-up view of these differences and their effect on police work.

* * *

The hypotheses guiding this study make statements about the probable effects of a series of demographic and socio-economic variables. Looking at city-suburban comparisons was a shorthand way of seeing if, taken together, those variables seem to make any difference. This approach is reasonable, because the variables used are the ones most likely to differ from city to suburb. But city-suburban comparisons say nothing about what variables, or combinations of variables make the most difference. There are two strategies of multi-variate analysis that can be used to assess the effects of specific variables

and sets of variables on the police experience. One strategy looks at summary descriptors (means, proportions) and how they differ; this is the approach of the previous section. The second strategy, more desirable, looks at the relative homogeneity or heterogeneity of groups formed into categories of the independent variable. The logic underlying any decomposition of variance approach is that if a set of categories is meaningful, dependent indicators will be fairly homogeneous within each category, and rather heterogeneous between them. If, on the other hand, the variation within each category is so great that there is considerable overlap of values from adjacent (or even non-adjacent) categories, then the categorization does not have much explanatory power; it is not, in William James' terms, a difference that makes a difference. The desirability of this strategy rests not only on its more efficient use of the data, but on the more sophisticated statistical routines which are based on measuring explained variance, and their more straightforward interpretability. For years, such statistical manipulation was thought to be appropriate only for continuous data, but the continuing development of statistical analysis has led to techniques suitable for other levels of data.

As desirable as the second strategy appears, the data are not sufficiently determined to make decomposing variance a productive analytic strategy. An early attempt at data reduction through the use of factor analysis revealed that there was no relatively small number of underlying factors whose loadings could be interpreted conceptually, except among the community independent variables. In other words, the dependent variables were moving randomly within the data, or put still another way, the dependent variables were not responding uniformly to the joint effects of the independent variables. This lack of

uniformity among the dependent variables was confirmed by the failure of conceptually distinct subsets of indicators to form scales, whether measured by the stringent Guttman criteria or the less stringent Cronbach Alpha test. Several attempts to decompose variance among the twenty or so indicators that showed some case-to-case variation led to minimal explained variance, even when interaction effects were considered in additive models. Results from canaonical correlation, dummy-variable multiple regression and Multiple Classification Analysis produced coefficients of determination (X100 = percent of variance explained) well below .20. The results of a discriminant function analysis on the same dependent indicators showed that independent variables, whether characteristic of communities in which the officers worked, or characteristic of their own backgrounds, had little discriminatory power; Wilk's lambda, a measure which rises as discriminatory powe falls, rarely dropped below .90, and when it did, either results were not interpretable (a discriminant function can be thought of as a sort of factor which is named by reference to the variables which "load" highly on it) or other measures of the function's utility (variables-to-function canonical correlation, percentage of the original dataset correctly classified using the function) were weak. Similar results were achieved when the analysis was reversed, showing that grouping on dependent variables had no ability to discriminate sets of independent variables. Finally, plots of dependent against independent variables were examined to see if they showed some consistent nonlinear pattern. Instead, the plots merely confirmed the essentially random distribution of the dependent variables relative to the independent variables.

Taken together, these results show that policemen with similar configurations of independent variables do not respond similarly. They may also show that the batteries used lack validity, that is, that they are not measuring

what they seem to be measuring. The fact that most of the questions have been used in previous police research either as individual items or, in a few cases, as sets of items such as those derived from Wilson (1967) is partial protection against such an interpretation. On the other hand, the particular configuration of items in this study is unique, and the juxtaposition of individually valid items may somehow produce an invalid battery. Given the face validity of the batteries, this is unlikely, but the possibility should at least be noted.

It is clear that the data is not strongly patterned, but that it is not the same thing as saying that it is not patterned at all. In a situation such as this, the patterns formed by the summary descriptors may be meaningful even though the dispersion around those descriptors introduces an element of ambiguity to the interpretation of the data. Rather than being conclusive, such interpretations must remain suggestive guideposts for future research. Thus, a return to the first analytic strategy is now indicated, in which the differences between the dependent variables are examined within categories of the independent variables, singly and in combination. Interpretation of the suburban police data can be somewhat less constrained than the city-suburban comparisons reported earlier because tests of statistical significance can be appropriately used as a data screening device, and, following Gold's discussion (1969) substantive importance can be assessed with some firmer grounding. (It is important to note that chi-square is not used here as a measure of "sampling variation from a population in which the association is zero" (Freeman, 1965:215), or as a basis for attributing substantive importance to associations; in fact, some tables with high chi-square values have not been reported here because they showed a pattern similar to tables with lower chi-squares and the same degrees of

freedom, or because conceptually unimportant categories made the major contribution to the chi-square).

There is a problem with this approach that should be acknowledged at the outset. The general pattern (or actually, lack of pattern) of the data is clear. What is reported below is a sort of deviant case analysis, an attempt to tease conceptual relevance out of the very minimal relationships that show up between the community context variables and the officers' attitudes and experiences. Because the associations themselves are so small (the maximum Pearson r was .29, and with five categories of independent variable, Cramer's V never rose above .38), it is the pattern of association which is most useful. Only in the few instances where a relationship is particularly striking will specific bivariate or multi-variate relationships be referred to. Information about the pattern of relationships is useful for assessing the relative strength of the independent variables, by counting the number of associations within each conceptually-linked set of dependent variables. This, in fact, will be the formal test of the hypotheses with which this research started, although with associations of such low magnitude, it should be evident already that those hypotheses have been, for all practical purposes, disconfirmed. Moreover, looking at the pattern of associations will also indicate which variables are most determined, and which variables are entirely free of the influence of community characteristics. The dependent variables are presented here in four batteries which are designed to index the underlying conceptual dependent variables of interest: isolation, hostility to civilians, perception of civilian hostility to police and morale (some items appear in more than one battery). Two sets of patterns are presented here. In the first set, the independent variables have been broken into five categories in order to check the monotonicity of relationships. This is preferable to using the 27 or so categories into which each independent variable can be

divided because many of the departments are so small that a shift of opinion by one or two officers results in substantial per.entage changes; in some sense, this arises because the individual officer himself is not divisible as a unit of opinion. It is therefore prudent to combine the 27 departments into a smaller number of categories each of such size that single individuals have a relatively small effect on category percentages; five categories seems to serve this purpose well. The second measure on the pattern tables shows relatio ships with no categorization of the independent variable; the measure used is the Pearson r, with the dependent variables dummied. This use of two levels of measurement follows Marx (1972).

The .0599 level of significance was used as a data screening device in accordance with Gold (1969). Categorization of the data in one set of measurements, and the use of two different measures of association (Cramer's V and Pearson's r) results in somewhat different patterns of association, summarized by the consistency-of-effect measure explained in the notes to Table 3-15. However, the key associations, those which pass the test of monotonicity with five categories of the independent variable, are invariably confirmed when the independent variable is allowed to be continuous. These eight monotonic associations will be examined in some detail in the next section, for they constitute the only shreds of evidence supporting, though weakly, the original hypotheses. In the meantime, the tale told by the pattern tables may now be summarized.

Table 3-12
Pattern of Associations for Isolation Battery

ISOLATION BATTERY	Population (except as noted, all data is from 1970 Census)	Mean family income	% families with incomes over $25,000 annually	% families in poverty	% persons 25+ with at least 4 years high school, or more	% persons living in same quarters 1965 and 1970	% persons living in rented quarters	% population under 18	% population nonwhite	Population density (persons per square mile)	1973 crime rate (FBI index crimes per 100,000)	Multiple R with all independent variables
3-4 How do you feel about strangers knowing you are a police officer?						.16						.2146
3-5 Do civilians act differently when they know you are police?					-.09						.09	.1785
3-6 When you relax with friends, are they usually policemen?		-.10 / .19		.17	-.16	/ .19		/ .18		.15 / .20		.2446
3-7 When out as a couple, usually with other "police couples"?		/ .20	.13	-.12				/ .20				.2056
3-8 When off-duty, how often do civilians request favors?	.18 / .16	-.29 / .29	-.29 / .29	.10	-.24 / .28	.13 / .22	-.13 / .22	.19 / .23		.21 / .25	-.09 / .27	.3873
j My department has the respect of most local citizens				-.14 / .28	.14 / .27	/ .19				-.16 / .29	/ .21	.2600
n The police department is really a big brotherhood		.10 / .19		.16	-.15					.13 / .21		.2186
x Most people don't really understand policeman's job									/ .17			.2558

Consistency of effect (independent items) = .312
Consistency of effect (battery items) = .692

Battery items are keyed to the questionnaire in Appendix 3; the original wording of many of the battery items has been condensed in these tables.

An explanatory note to tables 3-12 through 3-15 appears at the foot of Table 3-15.

Table 3-13
Pattern of Associations for Hostility to Civilians Battery

POLICE HOSTILITY TO CIVILIANS W. TEXT	Population (except as noted, all data is from 1970 Census)	Mean family income	% families with incomes over $25,000 annually	% families in poverty	% persons 25+ with at least 4 years high school, or more	% persons living in same quarters 1965 and 1970	% persons living in rented quarters	% population under 18	% population nonwhite	Population density (persons per square mile)	1973 crime rate (FBI index crimes per 100,000)	Multiple R with all independent variables
d Most people obey laws simply from fear of being caught												.2049
e It's important that policeman be liked by citizens he meets	-.11							.10	-.11			.1848
o Policemen have a special view of human nature, seeing so much misery		.20						.12				.1566
p Average policeman likely to rough up one calling him "fascist pig"	/ .17	-.18 / .21	-.16	.28 / .38	-.22 / .26	.10 / .26		.11 / .18		.20 / .27	/ .19	.3201
r Quite often I feel that I've really helped people in my job			-.10		-.09							.2[illegible]02
w Police experience leads to development of suspiciousness	-.09	-.16 / .23	-.19 / .23	.12	-.10 / .24	/ .24	-.17 / .19	.23 / .28	-.14 / .16		/ .23	.3084
aa Being a policeman tends to make you cynical								/ .19		-.13 / .19		.2716

Consistency of effect (independent items) = -.025
Consistency of effect (battery items) = .542

Table 3-14
Pattern of Associations for Perception of Civilian Hostility Battery

POLICE PERCEPTION OF CIVILIAN HOSTILITY BATTERY	Population (except as noted, all data is from 1970 Census)	Mean family income	% families with incomes over $25,000 annually	% families in poverty	% persons 25+ with at least 4 years high school, or more	% persons living in same quarters 1965 and 1970	% persons living in rented quarters	% population under 18	% population nonwhite	Population density (persons per square mile)	1973 crime rate (FBI index crimes per 100,000)	Multiple R with all independent variables
2-16 How much disrespect for police do you run into personally?		.09										.2552
3-9 When off-duty, how often do civilians complain about police?				.10		.09						.2364
a Civilians generally cooperate with policemen in their work										-.11		.1915
b Most civilians think policemen couldn't get better jobs		.10	.10						.10			.2467
d Most people obey laws simply from fear of being caught												.2049
j My police department has the respect of most local citizens				.14 / .26	.14 / .27	/ .19				.16 / .29	/ .21	.2680
m Citizen respect for patrolmen has decreased in recent years				.12	-.11	/ .19						.2213
s If in danger, I would get little or no help from citizens		/ .21	/ .20			/ .18			.18 / .21		/ .19	.2727
x Most people don't really understand policeman's job									/ .17			.2558
y Usually difficult to get information from people	-.11 / .16				/ .21			/ .18		/ .20		.2422
z Most people will try to help patrolmen being attacked			/ .19			-.10 / .22	/ .22					.2533

Consistency of effect (independent items) = .132
Consistency of effect (battery items) = -.047

Table 3-15
Pattern of Associations for Morale Battery

MORALE BATTERY	Population (except as noted, all data is from 1970 Census)	Mean family income	% families with incomes over $25,000 annually	% families in poverty	% persons 25+ with at least 4 years high school, or more	% persons living in same quarters 1965 and 1970	% persons living in rented quarters	% population under 18	% population nonwhite	Population density (persons per square mile)	1973 crime rate (FBI index crimes per 100,000)	Multiple R with all independent variables
h I like being a police officer											-.12	.1937
j My police department has the respect of most local citizens				.14 / .28	.14 / .27	/ .19				.06 / .29	/ .21	.2880
l Department is giving me chance to show what I can do	-.09				/ .18		/ .24			.10	-.16 / .19	.2933
m The police department is really a big brotherhood		-.20 / .19		.15	-.15					.33 / .21		.2166
u If I had the choice again, I would again join police department			-.10 / .20		-.12					-.09		.1832
r Quite often I feel that I've really helped people in my job			-.10		-.09							.2582
4-i Would you want a son of yours to become a policeman?	-.13	-.22 / .22	-.22 / .23	.21	.23 / .19	/ .16	/ .20			.22 / .21		.3606

Consistency of effect (independent items) = .?24
Consistency of effect (battery items) = .738

NOTE: Only bivariate associations significant at .059) or better are shown. In each case, the numerator is Pearson's r computed with the battery variables dichotomized, and the denominator is Cramer's V, computed with the independent variables broken in five categories. A measure of the similarity of the patterns of associations between the two measurement techniques used is to count the number of Pearson r associations for each variable, and the number of Cramer V associations, and compute a rank-order correlation coefficient. If this is done separately for the independent variables and the variables in the battery being considered, the resulting figure can be interpreted as a measure of the "consistency of effect" of the set of variables. The measure is computed using Kendall's tau.

ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF ASSOCIATION

Tables 3-12 through 3-15 are keyed to the hypotheses guiding this research. The following sections are commentaries on, or annotations to each table, and consider the relationships indicated by the table in some detail. A more cursory summary may be found at the end of this chapter in the section titled "Recapitulation of Hypotheses."

Isolation battery (Table 3-12): Of all the indicators of police isolation, only one seems to be clearly determined by characteristics of the community in which the officer works; this is the item asking how often the policeman is asked for favors when off duty. Since most of these associations are monotonic, discussion will be deferred. Equally clearly, agreement with the proposition "most people don't really understand the policeman's job" is so widespread among policemen (90.5% of the research group agree) that community characteristics make no difference. Two other items that showed little relationship to community characteristics, 3-4 and 3-5, did exhibit some variation within the research group as a whole; evidently, either some individual idiosyncratic characteristic determines responses to these two items, or (disturbing thought!) nothing does. Each of the four other items seems to some extent determined, although in no case does a monotonic relationship show.

Among the independent variables, only population density and several of the socio-economic status (SES) variables seem very important. Conspicuous by their low number of associations are measurements of the officer's "clientele;" the percentage of juveniles and non-whites in the community, and the FBI crime index.

<u>Police Hostility battery</u> (Table 3-13):Responses to only two items show determination by community characteristics, and these are items on which the research group shows considerable consensus. Only 7.7% of the entire group believes that the average policemen is likely to become violent under verbal provocation, but this figure doubles or triples in low SES communities; for example, in the four communities where less than half of the population has at least a high school diploma, 29.4% of the police agree, while in the six most well-educated communities, only 1.2% of the police agree. In the three most densely populated communities, all with over 10,000 population per square mile, agreement rises to 38.5%. Similarly, while only 7.8% of the entire research group does not believe that "one effect of being a policeman for a number of years is the development of suspiciousness about things and people," that percentage also doubles or triples as SES indicators peak (although, oddly, disagreement rises with the percentage of non-whites). Apparently virtually all police officers in all communities often feel helpful, and feel that their occupation gives them a special view of human nature; responses to these items are not determined by community variables. On the other, there is considerable disagreement within the research group on two items relating to civilians ("most people obey laws simply from fear of getting caught," "it is important that a policeman be liked by the citizens with whom he comes in contact") and one item about policemen ("being a policeman tends to make you cynical"). Whatever the source of variation in these items, it is clearly not any of the community characteristics examined here.

One conclusion emerges clearly from this morass of figures: police hostility to civilians, to the extent that it is measured by these items, does not depend on the type of community for which the officer works. It may well depend on the

type of people with whom he comes in contact, which is a different story entirely; for example, one wealthy, outwardly placid township studied here is periodically plagued by an out-of-community motorcycle gang that can muster more manpower and machinery than the police can. Furthermore, of all of the batteries, this one probably has the least validity. Questions about hostility toward civilians are sensitive because they directly probe whether or not the officer is doing his job as it is traditionally defined (courteously and impersonally) and whether his attitude toward "the public" whose taxes feed him is appropriate. A well-constructed battery of items from the standpoint of validity has a high potential for getting the respondent in trouble if the researcher is not trustworthy.

On the other hand, "toning down" items, like asking about "the average policeman" instead of the respondent, leads to serious difficulties of interpretation while presumably elevating response rates. This caveat is meant to suggest that, while the results reported here strongly suggest that there is no relationship between community variables and police hostility to civilians, the question might be worth re-examining with different indicators, on a low-priority basis. Because so few of the items in the battery are determined, no clear pattern of association emerges from the independent variables.

Civilian Hostility Perception battery (Table 3-14): The sparse scatter of indications of association on the pattern tables for this battery makes it clear that there is virtually no determination by community characteristics. Moreover, categorization of the independent variable has the strongest effect on this battery, which suggests that such patterning as exists is largely random. It is possible to count, for each row, and for each column, the number of associations in each pattern table; when these count-marginals from

the categorized and continuous independent variable tables are correlated, using Kendall's Tau, the dependent indicators are correlated -.047, and the independent variable correlate .132. In short, the patterns of association vary considerably. Finally, there are no monotonic associations in this battery of items.

Morale battery (Table 3-15): A number of morale items seem to be weakly determined by community characteristics, with the strongest pattern showing up for the question "would you want a son of yours to become a policeman?" Positive answers to the latter item were inversely related to a number of SES indicators, presumably because in the lower SES communities the officers' income and social status are similar to those of everyone else. Desire to see a son join the police was also associated with population density: while 64.9% of the research group wanted to see their sons in the police, this figure rose to 91.3% in the nine communities with population densities over 5,000 persons per square mile (these nine communities are also the only boroughs studied, as opposed to townships). Partial correlation analysis suggests that this is largely an effect of SES indicators, since the zero-order Pearson R of .22 drops to .10 when local educational level is controlled, and to .09 when education and percent of families in poverty is held constant. Controlling for police experience shows that the longer the officer has been on the force, the stronger the relationship with density.

Population density and the educational level of the community are the independent variables most clearly, if weakly, related to morale, with index crimes and several of the SES indicators showing somewhat fewer relationships. As with the isolation battery, the proportion of juveniles and non-whites in a community has no effect on morale. This finding is unexpected because these two groups are perceived as more likely sources of trouble by policemen than any other category (Piliavin and Briar, 1964).

Two variables that show little or no association with each other may be related to a third variable in such a way that within one category of the third variable a strong negative correlation exists between the two, and within the other category a strong positive correlation shows up. This phenomenon, discussed by Rosenberg (1968:84-94) among others, is called spurious non-correlation. When associations are as consistently low as the ones reported here, and when factor analysis and other sophisticated techniques indicate no patterning of the data, as happens here, the chances of spurious non-correlation are slender. However, a combination of equal parts wishful thinking and scientific thoroughness led to controls being applied throughout the four batteries for the most obvious possible suppressor variables. For the isolation battery, this was whether or not the officer lives in the municipality for which he works, and for the other three batteries the officer's age and years on the police force were used. Except as noted above, there was virtually no movement of several measures of association (Cramer's V, asymmetric Lambda and Somer's D) when controls were applied. The University of Michigan's Automatic Interaction Detector program was used to scan the data and propose, for each qualified dependent item, the variables most likely to be interacting. Again, using these variables as controls produced no substantive changes in the associations already noted; partial correlation analysis was used in order to permit controlling for more than one variable at a time.

* * *

Each of the hypotheses upon which this study is based assumes a monotonic, though not necessarily linear, relationship. Using the criterion of strength of association, so few relationships are worth noting individually that they have been presented only as elements in patterns of association. Using the

more stringent criterion of monotonicity, (or even the less stringent criterion of near-monotonicity) even fewer associations survive. Because these are the most theoretically relevant relationships, they are most likely to be of interest to future investigators of the police, and so will be discussed here in some detail. Supporting tables may be found in Appendix I.

Among the items in the isolation battery, only the question asking about requests for favors from civilians while off-duty showed any pattern of monotonicity. The officer is more likely to be asked for favors in smaller, more densely populated areas, presumably because he is more likely to be known by the population he serves. Such small, dense areas, in fact, approximate old-fashioned urban precincts. In suburban Philadelphia, boroughs typically function as the local "downtown," particularly in Delaware County, and often have policemen on foot traffic duty who know and are known by at least the local merchants. Such small, dense localities have typically been developed prior to the larger, less densely populated townships, and usually show lower educational and income levels. Therefore, it is not surprising to see that as mean family income and educational level rise, civilian requests for police favors drop. What is surprising is the discovery that in those communities with the highest residential turnover, officers are considerably more likely to be asked for favors than in the more stable communities where, presumably, local residents are more likely to know local policemen better. Moreover, in those communities with high proportions of rental housing, this pattern reverses, again unexpectedly. It is possible to make the zero-order correlation between population stability and requests for favors reverse direction by controlling for population density, the proportion of families in rental housing and the officer's years on the department, but the exercise does not lead to any clarification

of what is actually going on in the data.* The unexpected relationship with population turnover showed up in a number of other relationships that were screened out because of low chi-square values. The most obvious controls are SES variables, on the grounds that population turnover is more characteristic of locations with transferable executives than areas with largely blue-collar or local retail-trade residents; however, such controls make no difference to the relationships. This phenomenon deserves attention by future police researchers.

Very few of the items indexing hostility show monotonic or near-monotonic relationships. One cross-tabulation, while technically monotonic, actually shows that population size makes virtually no difference to the officer's experience of how hard it is to get people to give information. Of the other two variables to be examined here, one shows a pattern of monotonic relationships with SES variables, and the other with demographic information. As indicators of socio-economic status rise, fewer officers think that "the average policeman is likely to rough up someone who calls him a fascist pig." Following Savitz (1971:146), this can be used as a rough estimate of the pervasiveness of police brutality in the surveyed departments, especially since the provocation presented in the question is one of the more trivial of possible hostile reactions to the police. On this basis, it is apparent that communities with poorer and less educated residents are likely to experience more police brutality of this sort than communities with more fortunate residents. Just as interesting is the minimal or non-existent (and certainly non-monotonic) association with variables, like the proportion of juveniles and non-whites and the crime rate, that might be expected to have an effect

*Only the change in direction is noteworthy; since favor requests was dichotomized into a binary variable, the actual sign is entirely dependent on how the binary was coded.

on police practices of this sort. In fact, this pattern of associations is consistent with Reiss' findings on police violence - "the most likely victim of excessive force is a lower-class man of either race" (Reiss, 1968:328), although the data examined here refers to characteristics of the municipality rather than of the victim. On the other hand, belief that "one effect of being a policeman for a number of years is the development of suspiciousness about things and people" varies within categories of SES variables, but climbs as the percentage of juveniles climbs, and drops as the percentage of tenants rises. This latter finding is partially explainable by the fact that communities with many tenants tend to have fewer juveniles (r = -.45).

One measure of both morale and, to some extent, isolation from civilians is the extent to which officers feel strong bonds of solidarity with fellow officers. Suburban officers were asked to agree or disagree that "the police department is really a big brotherhood with each policeman doing his best to help all other policemen." Like Savitz's Philadelphia sample, responding officers split on the truth or falsity of the statement. This suggests that these feelings of solidarity are most strongly determined by idiosyncratic personal experience, including relationships with supervisors. Rubinstein points out (1973:99) that "patrolmen take careful notice of who comes in on emergency calls, which men tend to be first most often, who does not show up at all, and which men seem to arrive just a little bit late." However, a nearly monotonic positive relationship occurs between population density and feelings of solidarity. This seems to be largely due to density being negatively correlated with educational attainment (r = -.59) and positively with population stability (r = .55), since the relationship between density and agreement (r = .13) disappears when these two variables are controlled. As noted above, SES indicators seems to account for much of the effect of density

on desire for a son to join the police; a tentative conclusion, which will be explored at somewhat greater length in the next chapter, is that population density is a shorthand for a number of other community differences. Certainly, SES indicators have a very clear, direct effect on father's attitude to son's joining the police, although not in the direction expected. On the basis of the hypotheses guiding this study, police work would be seen as "easier" and therefore presumably more desirable, in communities with high-status residents. One possibility is that, with many officers oriented to the action aspects of police work, higher SES communities may be too tame to make a police career alluring. Yet when orientation (trichotomized into security, action and service) was introduced as a control, the relationship barely changed at all. Failing any explanation flowing from the inherent differences, if any, between police work in wealthy communities and less wealthy communities, it may be assumed that there is something about being in a wealthy community every day that inspires distaste for passing one's police job to a son. Presumably, surrounded with evidence of what affluence means, the officer in the wealthy community has a more concrete conception of the rewards of upward mobility, while the officer in the lower income, less well-educated community may be presented every day with evidence of his own personal upward mobility relative to much of the population he polices. In short, a version of relative deprivation may be operating here (as it has historically done since Stouffer's army days) to reverse the expected finding. In fact, much the same sort of logic probably accounts for the discovery that as a community's crime rate increases, fewer and fewer officers believe that their department is giving them "a chance to show what I can do." Presumably, the more crime there is, the more challenge the policeman feels, and the more he can show his mettle. But one interpretation of these findings is that to

the extent a department is kept busy by crime, each officer's efforts are puny relative to the total problem; where the workload is lower, more effort can be applied per crime, and the officer has greater scope for the pro-active (and, one could argue, more creative) aspects of his work such as crime prevention and community relations activities. It is possibly this desire to do more police work that accounts for the consistent rise in belief that "some agency other than the police should handle citizen requests for non-emergency services" as community wealth rises.

RECAPITULATION OF HYPOTHESES

1. Police isolation varies inversely with community socio-economic status, community stability and community homogeneity, and directly with community size, population density and danger.

Table 3-12 shows that several of the indicators of police isolation are mildly correlated with two measures of socio-economic status (mean family income and educational attainment) and with population density. Only one item in the battery showed the sort of monotonic relationship to an independent variable that the hypothesis assumes, and the other independent variables mentioned in the hypothesis are substantially uncorrelated with the items indexing isolation. On this basis, the hypothesis must be considered not supported.

2. Police hostility to civilians varies inversely with community socio-economic status, community stability and community homogeneity, and directly with community size, population density and danger.

Only two items in Table 3-13 show any consistent pattern of relationships to the variables named in the hypothesis, and these correlations are miniscule and for the most part non-monotonic. There is reason to believe that police hostility to civilians was poorly measured

in this research; however, no single indicator in the battery showed the monotonic direct and inverse pattern of relationships to the independent variables which the hypothesis predicts, and on that basis it must be considered not supported.

3. Police perception of civilian hostility varies inversely with community socio-economic status, community stability and community homogeneity, and directly with community size, population density and danger.

Questions on perception of local citizen respect for respondent's department and on local citizens' willingness to aid respondents in a tight situation showed slight correlations with socio-economic status variables and with danger, as measured by the community's crime rate. However, in no case were the monotonic patterns predicted by the hypothesis found, and therefore this hypothesis must be considered not supported.

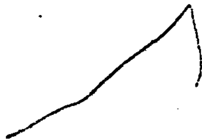
4. Police morale varies directly with community socio-economic status, community stability and community homogeneity, and inversely with community size, population density and danger.

Several indicators of police morale showed weak correlations with socio-economic status variables, but not in the direction predicted; similar correlations with population density also ran counter to expectation, and seem to be an effect of socio-economic status. Thus, this hypothesis is not only not supported, but appears to be controverted.

5. The recruitment pool and training procedure for suburan police departments will show significant differences from those of metropolitan departments.

Although suburban police officers are less likely to be second-generation policemen than city officers (Table 3-1, in other respects

the recruitment pool appears to be similar. Training procedures in the larger suburban departments are similar to those of metropolitan departments, but in the smaller departments, recruit training is typically shorter, more informal or entirely non-existent. This hypothesis is thus partially supported.



IV. Conclusions

> "If, then, Socrates, in many respects concerning many things - the gods and the generation of the universe - we prove unable to render an account at all points entirely consistent with itself and exact, you must not be surprised. If we can furnish accounts no less likely than any other, we must be content." - Plato (The Timaeus)

The narrowest task of this study is completed; a series of hypotheses have been developed, tested and disconfirmed. A specified set of demographic and socio-economic indicators, varying separately and together across 27 municipalities, has been shown to make no difference to a specified set of police officer attitudes and behaviors.

A broader task remains, because a broader view of the data was taken. Instead of confining data analysis strictly to the specified research population of suburban police officers, data from other research was introduced for comparative purposes. And in spite of the usual obstacles which plague such comparative secondary analysis, the broad shape of the data is unmistakeable: central city policemen differ in several respects from their suburban counterparts.

The data are thus baffling and obstinate. On the one hand, the location where work is carried out seems to make no difference to the workers' attitude toward his job and the people with whom he must interact. On the other hand, one particular type of location seems to make a very real difference to the worker's attitudes and experiences. Clearly, then, the question of location has not been resolved, but merely sharpened; it is now possible to specify a condition under which location makes a difference. Some distinction between city and suburban

policing seems to exist that does not exist between even the most divergent types of suburbs. Two possibilities suggest themselves:

1. Given a sufficiently large range, some or all of the SES or demographic variables undergo qualitative change, and in doing so, effect changes in police attitudes.
2. There exist one or more characteristics of cities which are independent of the SES and demographic indicators examined here, and which effect changes in police attitudes.

The first possibility is essentially the dialectical proposition that quantitative change ultimately becomes qualitative change. Engels refers to this as "the law of transformation of quantity into quality and *vice versa*" and illustrates it with a variety of examples from the physical sciences of which the simplest is the transformation of water into ice when its temperature drops past a certain point. (Engels, 1882:26-34). If cities tend to take extreme values on certain of the indicators used here, it is possible that they become very different sorts of places to police as a result. And of course, cities do differ from suburbs on at least four gross characteristics: population size, population density, extent of poverty and proportion of non-white population. Moreover, because any city statistic summarizes across the inner city and the outer areas that Gans sees as indistinguishable from the suburbs, cities typically have considerable areas which are even more extreme than Census figures suggest. These areas are part of the consciousness of the city officer. In the course of his police career, he will be shifted around from area to area within the city, and it is likely that his first assignment will be in an unusually populous, dense, poor and black area. Even when his patrol area is in

the quasi-suburban outer fringe, his radio constantly reminds him of the nature of these other areas, and an injury or death to an officer there underlines his own linkage not just to a patrol area, but to a city. Because comparable statistics for suburban areas are summarized across a smaller territory, there is less chance for a suburban department to have such an extreme territory. In fact, when police chiefs were asked about areas of their jurisdiction that presented special problems, the answer was invariably couched in terms of a particularly fractious family, a certain taproom or at most, a troublesome shopping center or apartment house.

Looking more specifically at the differences between Philadelphia and the suburban areas studied here, the four gross characteristics just mentioned take on extreme values for the city. The population difference is obvious. Philadelphia also has a higher population density than any of the suburban towns studied, although three tiny Delaware County boroughs approach it, with these three excluded, population density is almost double that of the next most dense town. Philadelphia has almost twice the proportion of families living in poverty as the next-poorest suburban town, and has more than twice the proportion of non-whites than the next-most-heterogeneous suburban town. On all the other indicators of SES and demographic structure, the Philadelphia values fall within the range established by the twenty-seven communities studied, although it is clear that the city has unusually low family income and educational levels, and unusually high residential tenancy levels as compared to most suburbs.

Size, density heterogeneity... the classic characteristics of the city, and here carried to extreme values. But do they make a difference, and if so, how? In a neo-Wirthian evaluation of "the experience of living in cities," Milgram (1973) suggests that these characteristics of city life retain their importance in shaping people's lives, and offers the concept of "overload" as the mediating process between demographics and behavior. "This term, drawn from systems analysis, refers to a system's inability to process inputs from the environment because there are too many inputs for the system to cope with, or because successive inputs come so fast that input A cannot be processed when input B is presented" (Milgram, 1973:403). Overload in this sense is clearly a function of juxtaposed population (i.e., density), and a forthcoming article by Mayhew and Levinger (1976) argues that is a multiplicative function of size alone; that is, the expected number of interactions in an aggregate rises more sharply than the aggregate's size. Milgram sees urban heterogeneity as fostering a tolerance for deviant behavior that is itself an adaptation to overload, and he reviews a number of experiments on bystander intervention to support this. Finally, he discusses one element of city life not dealt with by Wirth but highly relevant to this study: vulnerability. After showing that suburbanites were more than twice as willing as New Yorkers to let someone into their homes to use the telephone, Milgram discusses the conclusions drawn by one of the researchers:

> In seeking to explain the reasons for the greater sense of psychological vulnerability city dwellers feel, above and beyond the differences in crime statistics, Villena points out that, if a crime is committed in a village, a resident of a neighboring village may not perceive the crime as personally relevant, though the geographic distance may be small, whereas a criminal act

> committed anywhere in the city, though miles from the city-dweller's home is still verbally located within the city; thus, Villena says, 'the inhabitant of the city possesses a larger vulnerable space.' (Milgram, 1973:407)

This is essentially the line of reasoning just used regarding police injuries.

If, because of the radically larger size of the city, the urban officer has a higher "interaction density" (the term is from Mayhew and Levinger, 1976) than his suburban counterpart, he is subject to overload which radically higher urban population density can only exacerbate. Most of the six "adaptive responses" to overload that Milgram hypothesizes are observable in large city police departments, and they have the effect of depersonalizing citizen contacts. This, in turn, may well lead to the hostility to civilians and (with the larger "vulnerable space" of city officers) lower morale characteristic of big-city policemen.

Milgram's discussion of city life, and the contribution made by Mayhew and Levinger (even though in some respects critical of Milgram), show how extreme values on some of the variables examined here may lead to a qualitative difference in experience. It is interesting to note that many of the suburban respondents spontaneously stressed the demographic and socio-economic differences between city and suburb in answering the question, "What do you see as the major differences between being a policeman in a large city like Philadelphia, and being a policeman here?" For example: "More respect for police officers in a smaller area rather than a large city... Chance of knowing the people you work for (public)" (61002; respondents will hereinafter be

cited by their questionnaire code number). "... Police get to know people in community better because of less population diversity" (97002). "More people in a confined area - there is more chance of trouble in Philadelphia. Row homes, etc." (04014). "Philadelphia, due to its size and concentration of population, has many more different types of people and as a result, more racial tension, more socio-economic barriers to overcome. Because of its size, it must be hard to get to know people in your area personally" (61057).

The second possibility is that there exist one or more characteristics of cities which are essentially independent of their socio-economic status or demographic configurations, and that these characteristics are relevant to the experience of being a patrolman. If this is so, than it would be perfectly reasonable for wide variations in the variables studied to produce no concomitant effects on the officers studied; the city-suburban differences are being caused by something else that can, for the moment, be called "citiness." All sorts of characteristics have been proposed as examples of citiness since Wirth's famous essay delineating the qualities of urban life. But while an observer may sense that a city is more sophisticated, more diverse, or moves at a faster pace as compared to other urban units, citiness must be defined here in terms directly relevant to the police experience if it is to prove useful. The most logical approach is to examine the kinds of characteristics that patrolmen impute to cities and suburbs, to see if any such independent quality of citiness emerges from their own views of differences in police work between city and suburb. As noted above, many of them couch discussions of differences

in socio-economic or demographic terms. Even when these characteristics are highlighted, they are often linked to a more fundamental moral difference between city-dweller and suburbanite: "A large city has more criminals walking the streets, due mainly to overpopulation and lack of work" (55014); "The presence of ghetto areas in the city and the larger amount of crime associated with these areas" (90012). Sometimes the moral distinction is highlighted, as by the officer who sees suburban policemen having "a better class of people to work with" (57005) than city police. Unadorned moral distinctions like this are rare; the educational level of the suburban officers is reflected in the often sophisticated analyses they offer:

> In my area there is no large group of disadvantaged people (ethnic minority). The people are well-educated and cope with society by using middle class values whereby they value individual rights to property and privacy. They have a rather stiff moral code as an ideal and, while most waver from it, they still attempt to follow it. This makes my job easier due to the respect for right and wrong ways of doing things according to laws. They more or less expect to pay the penalty when doing wrong. In Philadelphia the large ethnic minority group has been deprived of middle class values and education (upon which the law is based) and do not expect to live up to the same code. They do not have the same value system. (57004)

Nevertheless, the moral distinction being made is unmistakeable, even if the less moral city-dweller can hardly be blamed for his parlous state (William Ryan (1971) has a lot of fun with this line of reasoning in his "Blaming the Victim"). Thus one possible indicator of "citiness" is immorality, particularly proneness to violence (many officers stressed the lower suburban rate of violent crime while admitting that crimes like burglary are growing). In point of fact, only one of the suburban communities studied has a rate of violent crime that is more

than a third of Philadelphia's rate, and even that community's violent crime rate is less than half of Philadelphia's. The same sort of dialectical transformation discussed earlier may be operating here as well, so that the discontinuity between city and suburban violent crime rates symbolizes the moral gulf that many officers perceive between city and suburban residents. Certainly, within suburbs, the considerable differences in violent crime rates from one community to another are not accompanied by any significant shifts in police evaluation of community residents. With communities broken by violent crime rate quintiles, only three items show even a near monotonic relationship with rates that range from 16.3 to 352.8 violent crimes per 100,000 population. (352.8 is an outlier; the next highest rate is 239.9. Philadelphia's rate is 783.58, computed on 1973 FBI statistics on murder, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault).

Another distinction that patrolmen often made had more to do with the differences in working conditions between city officers and suburban officers. Sometimes the distinction was made on purely technical grounds: city departments are more specialized, while the suburban man has to be more well-rounded, or suburban patrolmen are more exposed to danger because they are less likely to have a back-up unit on car stops or building checks, or because they ride solo. Other officers stressed the suburban policeman's greater knowledge of his patrol area and the people within it, sometimes tying this to community demography:

> People are closer in the suburbs. They know most police personally and are friendly... In Philadelphia, because of the density of population, anonymity makes everyone indifferent, almost hostile to police authority (really their duties) and friendship, respect and cooperation are much more difficult. (28002)

This officer's unstated assumption, that knowing people somehow leads to mutual sympathy, is shared by others: "Public and police are closer together due to my living in area. Generally know large percent of those I am dealing with and feel it makes my job more enjoyable and easier" (82008). Thus, statements about "closer relationships" with suburban residents also take on an element of moral evaluation. Still, differences in police working conditions is another possible candidate for the meaning of "citiness." A considerable number of officers thought that the major difference between city and suburban police work is that the latter is less dangerous; indeed, two thirds of the group agreed with that sentiment in answering another question. This may be an aspect of working conditions, or perhaps a comment on the moral character of suburban citizenry against city folk; considering the manpower, equipment and training advantages of the city officer over the typical suburban policeman, the latter is probably more likely. Other city-suburban differences were cited by members of the suburban research group, but few in any number.

Thus, from the suburban policeman's point of view, "citiness" has some content: it means that city people are nastier, and that city police work differently. And if the former is true, doesn't the latter necessarily follow? The limited resources of the average suburban police department reflect most immediately the parsimony of the municipal leadership, but isn't that parsimony in turn a reflection of a judgement that has been made about who the suburban officer is likely to come up against in the course of a shift? Again, dimly, a moral judgement infuses even the political decisions that ultimately define the officer's working experience.

More directly, the differences in work routine that city and suburban police experience are most likely to be linked with one of the two areas of difference between them, morale. That suburban police have higher morale than city police may be due in part to officers' moral evaluations of their respective constituencies, but a more parsimonious explanation links high suburban morale to relative lack of specialization. Again, this is a difference between city and suburban police work that is recognized by the officers themselves: "You get involved in more fields of police work as one patrolman, i.e., follow-up on accident reports, fingerprints" (01010); "Here you are more on your own. You have to make all decisions on your own" (14005); "More opportunity here to work methods you feel are good with good supervision and good resources within our own department" (55007); "Here I can act more independently and can become more involved in the investigation of all matters, while there they call in a specialist right away and an individual's potential may never be seen" (61012).

Another working condition conducive to higher morale is the lower pressure on the individual officer and his consequent ability to personalize his approach to patrol. While to some extent this is dependent on a relatively non-hostile population, and thus linked with the perceived moral differences discussed above, in another sense it is the police equivalent of hand craftsmanship as against mass production. Some examples of this orientation: "The amount of calls that I receive during a tour is probably much smaller than Philadelphia would receive. This allows time to 'develop' my beat and 'socialize' with its inhabitants" (40016); "Being an officer in Philadelphia you are a badge number not

a human being. That city is a farce" (55001); "Here you can get closer to the people and can take more time with them compared to Philadelphia, you don't have the time to do this, because of the difference in populations, mainly" (57015); "In my smaller township, I can become closer to the residents. Also aware of their problems" (73003). There is a considerable literature in the sociology of occupations to support the argument that the more a task is subdivided, the lower the morale of the workers doing it (see, for example, Mills, 1956 (ch. 10); MacGregor, 1960; Friedmann, 1961; Walker, 1962; Marcson, 1970, and Shepard, 1972; for dissenting viewpoints, see McKinney et. al., 1972 and Hulin, 1972). The findings reported here are analogous to those of Blauner (1964), whose research links, albeit tentatively, technology and the social organization that flows from it with worker alienation. Under this analogy, the police officer who is able to follow through a task to completion functions like a craftsman, while the officer who turns a task over to specialists (and who therefore specializes himself in initiating work for others) is closer to the mass production worker. Not only does the latter officer have his task taken over by another, but also the responsibility for task moves to the person or unit who will complete it. The officer who completes an investigation that he has started accepts undivided responsibility for the investigation; Blauner sees this sort of responsibility as a critical defining characteristic of continuous process workers who, like craftsmen, show little alienation from their work. In fact, Blauner points out (1964:13) that his categories are not to be taken as either exhaustive or mutually exclusive; police work in suburban departments has elements of both craft and continuous process work (Blauner would have said "industry," not work, although it is clear that his focus is on tasks rather than products).

The two broad areas of difference between city and suburban policemen seem to be explainable in two different fashions. Higher suburban police morale is likely, on the basis of previous research in occupational sociology, to be linked with the more fraftsmanlike way in which the suburban officer carries out his tasks. Lower suburban police hostility to civilians seems to be linked to a more positive moral evaluation of the suburban citizenry, or to a lack of perceptual overload and its stereotyping, perception-screening consequences. These conclusions are tentative; it is also possible, for example, that high morale is a function of positive moral evaluation of one's constituency. To test this possibility, it would be necessary to examine morale among police officers in a diverse metropolis so that department procedures could be held constant while comparisons are made between officers working in, say, western Staten Island, as against Bedford-Stuyvesant. Similarly, the linkage between extreme values on demographic and socio-economic indicators, the experience of overload, and the moral evaluation of a population needs to be sorted out, probably by researchers with a social-psychological orientation. What is it like, for example, to patrol in New York's 19th Precinct, a densely-populated area east of Central Park that includes many of New York's most affluent neighborhoods?

This analysis in no way exhausts the differences between city and suburban police departments. Because the focus of this research is police attitudes toward the job itself and the people they meet while doing it, certain issues were not pursued. Some of these, like the linkage between the police department and the local political structure,

involve characteristics that seem to distinguish larger departments from smaller ones. Many suburban officers complained bitterly about political interference with police work, and in the case of one department, it became a research obstacle when it became impossible to predict which of two men would be chief during any given week. For a vivid journalistic account of political influence in a suburban New Jersey department, see Hinkle and Anastasia (1973); another account of the same department, emphasizing the issue of corruption (which was also omitted from this research) is Fonzi and Riggio (1972).

If these tentative conclusions are accepted, certain policy implications follow. The first is that there is a place for job enlargement in police work just as much as on the factory floor. Organizing police work in such a way that officers follow through on investigations and retain responsibility for tasks that they initiate should boost morale. Some recognition of this emerges from the growing number of communities that have adopted some form of neighborhood team policing (see Bloch and Specht, 1973b), but this is only one method of which such changes may be introduced.

Secondly, if city-suburban differences lead to differences in police attitudes toward civilians, then it is possible that these attitude and experience differences lead to different approaches to the job, to different patrol styles, etc. Should this be true, patrolmen may, over a period of time, become so adapted to one kind of work environment as not to be able to function effectively in any other. This disabling effect of work environment was first noted by Becker (1952) in his discussion of the careers of Chicago public school teachers. He makes

the point that teachers initially assigned to "slum" schools may, over a period of time, learn the teaching and disciplinary techniques that permit them to function most effectively in that environment. Having done so, movement to a "better" school becomes both less desirable and less possible." This complete adjustment to a particular work situation thus acts as a brake on further mobility through the system" (1952:475). Essentially the same point is made in somewhat more general terms by Merton in his consideration of the "trained incapacity" of bureaucrats (1957).

The policy implications of this point become clearer when placed in the context of a growing interest in police consolidation among leaders of the American law enforcement community. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, as well as other commentators, have pointed out that small departments simply cannot provide the minimal level of service necessary to provide 24-hour protection, particularly in suburban areas where crime is growing (for an analysis of levels of service associated with specific personnel figures, see Kapsch, 1970. For a general overview, see President's Commission, (1967) and Pock,. (1962). Aside from direct consolidation of departments (such as the Nashville-Davidson County department, and the police departments of Metropolitan Toronto, the Montreal Urban Community and the Windsor, Ontario region), reduction of the number of jurisdictions can occur through special or county police districts (Nassau and Suffolk Counties, New York) and through provision of contract police services by another jurisdiction (Los Angeles County Sheriff's Office). Whenever such jurisdictional consolidation results

in one police department providing basic patrol services in both suburban and inner-city areas, the research findings presented above suggest that attitudes developed in one patrol environment may be inappropriate in the other. Obviously, the same problem may develop in a large metropolitan area like New York with diverse, homogeneous patrol divisions. Similarly, the research findings also suggest that jurisdictional consolidation that does not cross the city line should create no such problem. (On the other hand, inter-suburban consolidation can lead to greater functional specialization and bureaucratization, both of which tend to reduce the craftsmanlike elements of the suburban officer's work.)

While "trained incapacity" has not been identified as a problem in the literature on consolidation, many of the police chiefs interviewed for this study doubted that their officers and Philadelphia police officers were interchangeable, although all nominally carry out the same duties. Most stressed the greater versatility of the suburban officer, and their belief that, as one chief put it, "City officers handle people differently." Some other comments: "We could put a Philadelphia police officer on the street here if he had less than five years with them" (chief, Delaware County township); "We are more personal than city police; we know everybody, and we have to be more diplomatic" (chief, Delaware County borough); "There is no question that there are differences between the two. A Philadelphia officer would have to recondition himself to work here. After six months away from the city, his attitude would be entirely different." (chief, Montgomery County township); "I'd be afraid to work in Philadelphia" (chief, another Montgomery County township); First officer: "How long has he

been on in the city? Say, five years. He'd be less successful out here. We've had men from Philadelphia. Some have made out OK, some have had problems and left. Handling of individuals is different in the city. We've found that city men are bored - not enough action." Second officer: "The city man overemphasizes the racial angle; he doesn't know how to handle people with kid gloves. Some of our officers have quit to go to the city and have come back, but in general, our man adjusts more easily to the city than vice-versa." (two senior officers of another Montgomery County township). Not all chiefs accepted this line of reasoning: "Police work is police work." (chief, Montgomery County township); "The city and suburban police missions are not really that different." (chief, another Montgomery County township); "An officer could move either way." (chief, another Montgomery County township). But it is clear that the difference in attitudes brought out here is meaningful to many experienced police professionals. If the trend toward jurisdictional consolidation continues, it would be prudent to examine the problem more thoroughly in order to avoid problems that might surface after a few years, when intra-departmental transfers begin moving people out of familiar patrol environments. If central city and suburban work environments pose different kinds of challenges, it is also possible that they require different kinds of training, as well as some attention to work location in planning the career lines of individual officers. Though differences in work environment are largely unrecognized as a problem for law enforcement, they are no less real; and though police fragmentation in this country makes the problem irrelevant for most police administrators today, this could change in the coming years.

Appendix 1

TABLES

CROSSTABULATION OF CIVFAVOR CIVILIAN ASKS FAVOR WHEN I AM OFF DUTY BY POPULATN 1970 CENSUS POPULATION PAGE

CIVFAVOR (COUNT / COL PCT)	POPULATN LOWEST 1	2	3	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
OCCSNLY 2	62 66.7	51 56.0	11 55.0	47 47.9	167 55.3
RARE 3	31 33.3	40 44.0	9 45.0	51 56.1	135 44.7
COLUMN TOTAL	93 30.8	91 30.1	20 6.6	98 32.5	302 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 10.05455 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0181
CRAMER'S V = .18246
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .08889 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = .09314 WITH POPULATN DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .09145
GAMMA = .28712
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .14050 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = .20527 WITH POPULATN DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .16514
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

CROSSTABULATION OF CIVFAVOR CIVILIAN ASKS FAVOR WHEN I AM OFF DUTY BY MEANFAMI MEAN FAMILY INCOME 1970

CIVFAVOR (COUNT / COL PCT)	MEANFAMI LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
OCCSNLY 2	49 70.0	46 61.3	42 60.0	14 46.7	16 28.1	167 55.3
RARE 3	21 30.0	29 38.7	28 40.0	16 53.3	41 71.9	135 44.7
COLUMN TOTAL	70 23.2	75 24.8	70 23.2	30 9.9	57 18.9	302 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 25.85110 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0000
CRAMER'S V = .29257
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .23000 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = .06608 WITH MEANFAMI DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .11602
GAMMA = .37526
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .18992 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = .30171 WITH MEANFAMI DEPENDENT
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .23310
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

CROSSTABULATION OF CIVFAVOR CIVILIAN ASKS FAVOR WHEN I AM OFF DUTY BY RICHPCT PCT FAMILIES EARNING OVER $25,000 IN 1970

CIVFAVOR (COUNT / COL PCT)	RICHPCT LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
OCCSNLY 2	76 66.1	46 64.8	18 47.4	11 52.4	16 28.1	167 55.3
RARE 3	39 33.9	25 35.2	20 52.6	10 47.6	41 71.9	135 44.7
COLUMN TOTAL	115 38.1	71 23.5	38 12.6	21 7.0	57 18.9	302 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 26.13613 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0000
CRAMER'S V = .29418
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .20000 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = .01070 WITH RICHPCT DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .09006
GAMMA = [illegible]
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .19341 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = .29084 WITH RICHPCT DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .23232
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

CROSSTABULATION OF CIVFAVOR CIVILIAN ASKS FAVOR WHEN I AM OFF DUTY BY HSORBETR PCT POP 25+ W AT LEAST HIGH SCHOOL EDUC

CIVFAVOR (COUNT / COL PCT)	HSORBETR LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
OCCSNLY 2	15 88.2	25 62.5	19 54.3	70 64.2	38 37.6	167 55.3
RARE 3	2 11.8	15 37.5	16 45.7	39 35.8	63 62.4	135 44.7
COLUMN TOTAL	17 5.6	40 13.2	35 11.6	109 36.1	101 33.4	302 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 24.58829 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0001
CRAMER'S V = .28534
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .18519 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = .12435 WITH HSORBETR DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .14929
GAMMA = [illegible]
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .17798 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = .26055 WITH HSORBETR DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .2[illegible]149
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

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* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * CIVFAVOR  CIVILIAN ASKS FAVOR WHEN I AM OFF DUTY          BY  SAMEIN65  PCT POP LIVING IN SAME
                                                                                    HOUSE IN 1965

            COUNT   I SAMEIN65
           COL PCT  ILOWEST                                    HIGHEST     ROW
                    I                                                      TOTAL
                    I     1   I     2   I     3   I     4   I     5   I
CIVFAVOR   ---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I
                 2  I    22   I    32   I    48   I    44   I    21   I   167
  OCCSNLY           I  46.8   I  56.1   I  45.3   I  69.8   I  72.4   I  55.3
                   -I---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I
                 3  I    25   I    25   I    58   I    19   I     8   I   135
  RARE              I  53.2   I  43.9   I  54.7   I  30.2   I  27.6   I  44.7
                   -I---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I
            COLUMN       47        57       106        63        29       302
            TOTAL      15.6      18.9      35.1      20.9       9.6     100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE =     14.51500 WITH     4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.  SIGNIFICANCE =    .0058
CRAMER'S V =    .21923
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =    .09630 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT.          =        0 WITH SAMEIN65 DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =    .03927
GAMMA =   -.22008
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) =   -.10993 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT.      =   -.16993 WITH SAMEIN65 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) =   -.13350
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS =     2

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N   O F * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* * CIVFAVOR  CIVILIAN ASKS FAVOR WHEN I AM OFF DUTY          BY  RENTPCT   PCT OF POP LIVING IN RENTED
                                                                                        QUARTERS

            COUNT   I RENTPCT
           COL PCT  ILOWEST                                    HIGHEST     ROW
                    I                                                      TOTAL
                    I     1   I     2   I     3   I     4   I     5   I
CIVFAVOR   ---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I
                 2  I    13   I    46   I    27   I    39   I    37   I   162
  OCCSNLY           I  52.0   I  67.6   I  60.0   I  60.0   I  40.2   I  54.9
                   -I---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I
                 3  I    12   I    22   I    18   I    26   I    55   I   133
  RARE              I  48.0   I  32.4   I  40.0   I  40.0   I  59.8   I  45.1
                   -I---------I---------I---------I---------I---------I
            COLUMN       25        68        45        65        92       295
            TOTAL       8.5      23.1      15.3      22.0      31.2     100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE =     13.71401 WITH     4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM.  SIGNIFICANCE =    .0083
CRAMER'S V =    .21561
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) =    .13534 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT.          =   .04433 WITH RENTPCT  DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) =    .08036
GAMMA =    .24194
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) =    .12153 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT.      =   .18913 WITH RENTPCT  DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) =    .14797
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS =     9
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CIVFAVOR CIVILIAN ASKS FAVOR WHEN I AM OFF DUTY BY DENSITY POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE

CIVFAVOR	COUNT / COL PCT	DENSITY LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
OCCSNLY	2	90 46.9	41 64.1	16 69.6	8 80.0	12 92.3	167 55.3
RARE	3	102 53.1	23 35.9	7 30.4	2 20.0	1 7.7	135 44.7
	COLUMN TOTAL	192 63.6	64 21.2	23 7.6	10 3.3	13 4.3	302 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 19.06526 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0008
CRAMER'S V = .25126
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .02885 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = 0 WITH DENSITY DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .04898
GAMMA = -.44048
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -.21882 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = -.23996 WITH DENSITY DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -.22891
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

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CIVFAVOR CIVILIAN ASKS FAVOR WHEN I AM OFF DUTY BY GOVTYPE

CIVFAVOR	COUNT / COL PCT	GOVTYPE BORO 1	TWP 2	ROW TOTAL
OCCSNLY	2	36 78.3	131 51.2	167 55.3
RARE	3	10 21.7	125 48.8	135 44.7
	COLUMN TOTAL	46 15.2	256 84.8	302 100.0

NOTE: This can also be read as another measure of population density; all boroughs are above the mean population density for the communities studied, and all townships are below the mean.

CORRECTED CHI SQUARE = 10.50559 WITH 1 DEGREE OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0012
PHI = .19573
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = 0 WITH GOVTYPE DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0
GAMMA = .54965
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .27089 WITH CIVFAVOR DEPENDENT. = .14149 WITH GOVTYPE DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .18589
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 2

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VAR025 HARD TO GET PEOPLE TO HELP BY POPULATN 1970 CENSUS POPULATION

VAR025	COUNT / COL PCT	POPULATN LOWEST 1	2	3	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
AGREE	2	63 67.7	37 50.7	10 50.0	49 50.0	159 56.0
DISAGREE	3	30 32.3	36 49.3	10 50.0	49 50.0	125 44.0
COLUMN TOTAL		93 32.7	73 25.7	20 7.0	98 34.5	284 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 7.76423 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0511
CRAMER*S V = .16534
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH VAR025 DEPENDENT. = .07527 WITH POPULATN DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .04502
GAMMA = .22757
SOMERS*S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .11166 WITH VAR025 DEPENDENT. = .15919 WITH POPULATN DEPENDENT.
SOMERS*S D (SYMMETRIC) = .13125
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 20

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VAR016 ROUGH UP INSULTER BY MEANFAMI MEAN FAMILY INCOME 1970

VAR016	COUNT / COL PCT	MEANFAMI LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
AGREE	2	11 15.7	3 4.0	7 9.7	1 8.3	0 0	22 7.7
DISAGREE	3	59 84.3	72 96.0	65 90.3	11 91.7	56 100.0	263 92.3
COLUMN TOTAL		70 24.6	75 26.3	72 25.3	12 4.2	56 19.6	285 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 12.83392 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0121
CRAMER*S V = .21221
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH VAR016 DEPENDENT. = .03810 WITH MEANFAMI DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .03448
GAMMA = .42088
SOMERS*S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .06025 WITH VAR016 DEPENDENT. = .32406 WITH MEANFAMI DEPENDENT.
SOMERS*S D (SYMMETRIC) = .10162
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 19

CROSSTABULATION OF VAR016 ROUGH UP INSULTER BY HSORBETR PCT POP 25+ W AT LEAST HIGH SCHOOL EDUC

VAR016 (COUNT / COL PCT)	HSORBETR LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
2 AGREE	5 29.4	5 12.5	1 2.9	10 9.0	1 1.2	22 7.7
3 DISAGREE	12 70.6	35 87.5	34 97.1	101 91.0	81 98.8	263 92.3
COLUMN TOTAL	17 6.0	40 14.0	35 12.3	111 38.9	82 28.8	285 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 18.79729 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0009
CRAMER'S V = .25682
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH VAR016 DEPENDENT. = 0 WITH HSORBETR DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0
GAMMA = .50339
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .07544 WITH VAR016 DEPENDENT. = .38507 WITH HSORBETR DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .12616
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 19

CROSSTABULATION OF VAR016 ROUGH UP INSULTER BY POORPCT PCT FAMILIES IN POVERTY, 1970

VAR016 (COUNT / COL PCT)	POORPCT LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
2 AGREE	5 5.4	7 4.9	4 11.8	2 18.2	4 80.0	22 7.7
3 DISAGREE	88 94.6	135 95.1	30 88.2	9 81.8	1 20.0	263 92.3
COLUMN TOTAL	93 32.6	142 49.8	34 11.9	11 3.9	5 1.8	285 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 41.41080 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0000
CRAMER'S V = .38118
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .13636 WITH VAR016 DEPENDENT. = 0 WITH POORPCT DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .01818
GAMMA = -.43793
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -.07298 WITH VAR016 DEPENDENT. = -.32237 WITH POORPCT DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -.11901
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 19

CROSSTABULATION OF VAR023 COPS BECOME SUSPICIOUS BY RENTPCT PCT OF POP LIVING IN RENTED QUARTERS

VAR023	COUNT / COL PCT	RENTPCT LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
AGREE	2	25 100.0	68 97.1	43 95.6	41 87.2	78 86.7	255 92.1
DISAGREE	3	0 0	2 2.9	2 4.4	6 12.8	12 13.3	22 7.9
COLUMN TOTAL		25 9.0	70 25.3	45 16.2	47 17.0	90 32.5	277 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 10.45890 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0334
CRAMER'S V = .19431
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH VAR023 DEPENDENT. = 0 WITH RENTPCT DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0
GAMMA = .51122
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .07291 WITH VAR023 DEPENDENT. = .38257 WITH RENTPCT DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .12247
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 27

CROSSTABULATION OF VAR023 COPS BECOME SUSPICIOUS BY LES18 PCT OF POPULATION UNDER 18

VAR023	COUNT / COL PCT	LES18 LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
AGREE	2	46 78.0	13 92.9	85 95.5	56 98.2	61 95.3	261 92.2
DISAGREE	3	13 22.0	1 7.1	4 4.5	1 1.8	3 4.7	22 7.8
COLUMN TOTAL		59 20.8	14 4.9	89 31.4	57 20.1	64 22.6	283 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 21.80803 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0002
CRAMER'S V = .27760
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH VAR023 DEPENDENT. = .04639 WITH LES18 DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .04167
GAMMA = -.54921
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -.08177 WITH VAR023 DEPENDENT. = -.43539 WITH LES18 DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -.13768
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 21

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VAR023 COPS BECOME SUSPICIOUS BY MINORITY NONWHITE POPULATION PERCENTAGE

VAR023	COUNT / COL PCT	MINORITY LOWEST 1	2	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
AGREE	2	144 95.4	112 89.6	3 75.0	2 66.7	261 92.2
DISAGREE	3	7 4.6	13 10.4	1 25.0	1 33.3	22 7.8
COLUMN TOTAL		151 53.4	125 44.2	4 1.4	3 1.1	283 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 7.66563 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0535
CRAMER'S V = .16458
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH VAR023 DEPENDENT. = .04545 WITH MINORITY DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = .03896
GAMMA = .45860
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .07213 WITH VAR023 DEPENDENT. = .26141 WITH MINORITY DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .11332
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 21

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SONCOP WOULD I WANT A SON TO BE POLICEMAN BY MEANFAMI MEAN FAMILY INCOME 1970

SONCOP	COUNT / COL PCT	MEANFAMI LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
YES	1	58 82.9	51 68.0	43 60.6	12 42.9	30 54.5	194 64.9
NO	2	10 14.3	16 21.3	22 23.2	12 42.9	24 43.6	82 27.4
QUALIFY	7	2 2.9	8 10.7	8 11.3	4 14.3	1 1.8	23 7.7
COLUMN TOTAL		70 23.4	75 25.1	71 23.7	28 9.4	55 18.4	299 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 28.15864 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0004
CRAMER'S V = .21700
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH SONCOP DEPENDENT. = .06696 WITH MEANFAMI DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = .04559
GAMMA = .29226
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .14857 WITH SONCOP DEPENDENT. = .23373 WITH MEANFAMI DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .18167
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

CROSSTABULATION OF SONCOP WOULD I WANT A SON TO BE POLICEMAN BY HSORBETR PCT POP 25+ W AT LEAST HIGH SCHOOL EDUC

SONCOP	COUNT / COL PCT	HSORBETR LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
YES	1	16 94.1	29 72.5	28 80.0	59 52.7	52 57.6	194 64.9
NO	2	1 5.9	9 22.5	4 11.4	29 25.4	39 40.2	82 27.4
QUALIFY	7	0 0	2 5.0	3 8.6	12 10.9	6 6.2	23 7.7
COLUMN TOTAL		17 5.7	40 13.4	35 11.7	112 36.9	97 32.4	299 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 21.61401 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0057
CRAMER'S V = .19012
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH SONCOP DEPENDENT. = .05291 WITH HSORBETR DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = .03401
GAMMA = [illegible]
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .14573 WITH SONCOP DEPENDENT. = .21208 WITH HSORBETR DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .17275
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

CROSSTABULATION OF SONCOP WOULD I WANT A SON TO BE POLICEMAN BY DENSITY POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE

SONCOP	COUNT / COL PCT	DENSITY LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
YES	1	111 59.0	41 63.1	19 82.6	10 100.0	13 100.0	194 64.9
NO	2	64 34.0	14 21.5	4 17.4	0 0	0 0	82 27.4
QUALIFY	7	13 6.9	10 15.4	0 0	0 0	0 0	23 7.7
COLUMN TOTAL		188 62.9	65 21.7	23 7.7	10 3.3	13 4.3	299 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 26.16797 WITH 8 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0010
CRAMER'S V = .20919
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH SONCOP DEPENDENT. = 0 WITH DENSITY DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0
GAMMA = -.32956
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -.15716 WITH SONCOP DEPENDENT. = -.17312 WITH DENSITY DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -.16475
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 5

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

VAR014 DEPT A BROTHERHOOD BY DENSITY POPULATION PER SQUARE MILE

VAR014 (COUNT / COL PCT)	DENSITY LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
2 AGREE	79 45.9	38 57.6	14 63.6	3 30.0	11 84.6	145 51.2
3 DISAGREE	93 54.1	28 42.4	8 36.4	7 70.0	2 15.4	138 48.8
COLUMN TOTAL	172 60.8	66 23.3	22 7.8	10 3.5	13 4.6	283 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 11.95599 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0177
CRAMER'S V = .20554
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .13043 WITH VAR014 DEPENDENT. = 0 WITH DENSITY DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .07229
GAMMA = -.24275
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -.12239 WITH VAR014 DEPENDENT. = -.13883 WITH DENSITY DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -.13009
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 21

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

VAR012 GETTING CHANCE TO SHOW WHAT I CAN DO BY CRIMES INDEX CRIMES PER 100,000 POP, 1973

VAR012 (COUNT / COL PCT)	CRIMES LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
2 AGREE	53 79.1	83 69.2	46 60.5	9 50.0	10 50.0	201 66.8
3 DISAGREE	14 20.9	37 30.8	30 39.5	9 50.0	10 50.0	100 33.2
COLUMN TOTAL	67 22.3	120 39.9	76 25.2	18 6.0	20 6.6	301 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 11.05792 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0259
CRAMER'S V = .19167
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = 0 WITH VAR012 DEPENDENT. = 0 WITH CRIMES DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = 0
GAMMA = .2[illegible]2[illegible]2
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = .17094 WITH VAR012 DEPENDENT. = .22149 WITH CRIMES DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = .18094
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = [illegible]

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VAR007 NON-EMERGENCY AGENCY BY POPULATN 1970 CENSUS POPULATION

VAR007	COUNT / COL PCT	POPULATN LOWEST 1	2	3	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
AGREE	2	35 38.5	25 34.7	9 45.0	64 64.0	133 47.0
DISAGREE	3	56 61.5	47 65.3	11 55.0	36 36.0	150 53.0
COLUMN TOTAL		91 32.2	72 25.4	20 7.1	100 35.3	283 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 19.65449 WITH 3 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0003
CRAMER'S V = .25674
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .21053 WITH VAR007 DEPENDENT. = .10929 WITH POPULATN DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = .15190
GAMMA = -.33541
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -.17196 WITH VAR007 DEPENDENT. = -.24231 WITH POPULATN DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -.20126
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 21

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VAR007 NON-EMERGENCY AGENCY BY MEANFAMI MEAN FAMILY INCOME 1970

VAR007	COUNT / COL PCT	MEANFAMI LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
AGREE	2	23 32.9	25 34.7	38 52.8	6 50.0	41 71.9	133 47.0
DISAGREE	3	47 67.1	47 65.3	34 47.2	6 50.0	16 28.1	150 53.0
COLUMN TOTAL		70 24.7	72 25.4	72 25.4	12 4.2	57 20.1	283 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 25.23769 WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0000
CRAMER'S V = .29845
LAMBDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .21805 WITH VAR007 DEPENDENT. = .07583 WITH MEANFAMI DEPENDENT.
LAMBDA (SYMMETRIC) = .13031
GAMMA = -.40153
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -.20578 WITH VAR007 DEPENDENT. = -.31619 WITH MEANFAMI DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -.24931
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 21

CROSSTABULATION OF VAR007 NON-EMERGENCY AGENCY BY RICHPCT PCT FAMILIES EARNING OVER $25,000 IN 1970

VAR007 / COUNT / COL PCT	RICHPCT LOWEST 1	2	3	4	HIGHEST 5	ROW TOTAL
AGREE 2	35 31.0	36 50.0	19 50.0	2 66.7	41 71.9	133 47.0
DISAGREE 3	78 69.0	36 50.0	19 50.0	1 33.3	[illegible] 28.1	150 53.0
COLUMN TOTAL	113 39.9	72 25.4	38 13.4	3 1.1	57 20.1	283 100.0

RAW CHI SQUARE = 26.7363[illegible] WITH 4 DEGREES OF FREEDOM. SIGNIFICANCE = .0000
CRAMER'S V = .30737
LAMDA (ASYMMETRIC) = .19549 WITH VAR007 DEPENDENT. = .03529 WITH RICHPCT DEPENDENT.
LAMDA (SYMMETRIC) = .10561
GAMMA = -.44032
SOMERS'S D (ASYMMETRIC) = -.22[illegible] WITH VAR007 DEPENDENT. = -.32897 WITH RICHPCT DEPENDENT.
SOMERS'S D (SYMMETRIC) = -.269
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 21

Appendix 2

COVER LETTER AND FIRST VERSION QUESTIONNAIRE

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19122

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Reply to:
Police Research Project
University Box 306

We invite you to participate in a study of the human side of police work which we are conducting in a number of Delaware Valley municipalities. While there is growing public interest in law enforcement, there are some surprising gaps in our knowledge about how the police job is actually done, especially outside the central cities. That's why we are asking for your help.

The next few pages are a questionnaire about your job and some of your reactions to it. It should take you about 15 minutes to fill out, and we think you will find it interesting. Your answers will be statistically combined with the answers of other uniformed patrolmen in your department and in other departments participating in the study. In order to guarantee your anonymity without qualification, we ask that you do not write your name anywhere on this questionnaire. When you have completed the questionnaire, return it directly to us at Temple University in the postpaid envelope. Please do not discuss your questionnaire with anyone else until after you have mailed it back; this will enable us to obtain the most accurate information.

If you have any questions about the Project or suggestions for future law enforcement research, please write to me at Box 306, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122. We appreciate your taking time to help us, and we hope that our efforts in increasing knowledge about police work will result in making your job a little easier.

Sincerely,

Robert Kernish
Project Director

RK:jma

Enclosure

DATE________________

Please do <u>not</u> put your name on this page or on any page after it.

If you hold a rank other than patrolman, or if you work out of uniform for more than four hours a week, please check here ( ) and mail back without filling in the rest of the questionnaire.

1-2. How old were you on your last birthday?________________

3. In what community did you live during most of your childhood?

____

4-5. By which police department are you employed?________________

6. Do you now live in the township or borough for which you work? YES NO (circle one)

7-8. If the answer to question 6 is YES, how long have you lived there?

__________ years.

9. Please circle your marital status: SINGLE MARRIED DIVORCED OR SEPARATED WIDOWER

10. Do you have any children? YES NO (circle one)

11. What was your last full-time job (excluding military service) before you joined the police department?________________

12. Briefly describe what this work primarily consisted of?

____

13-14. What is, or was, your father's main occupation (that is, the type of work he did, not his employer)?

____

15. What is the last level of school you completed?

circle one

1 less than High School

2 some High School

3 High School graduate

4 Vocational School or apprenticeship

5 some College

6 College graduate

16. Before you joined the department, did you have any relatives who were policemen? YES NO (circle one)

17. Before you joined the department, did you have any friends who were policemen? YES NO (circle one)

18-19. Think about your best male friend - what is his occupation?________________

20-21. What are the occupations of your next closest male friends?________________

____

22. Did you ever have any previous experience in police work before joining this department? YES NO (circle one)

23-24. How many years have you been a member of this police department?

____________ years

25. Your present duty is primarily performed . . .

circle one

1 in the station house

2 on foot

3 in a car

4 other (explain)____

26-28. It is often said that a policeman and his family have unusual problems of adjustment to make. Which of the following do you think have been difficult for you or your family to adjust to? (Check all items, as to whether they presented Difficulty or No Difficulty to you or your family)

	DIFFICULTY for me	DIFFICULTY for family	NO DIFFICULTY
Night shift	____	____	____
Long hours	____	____	____
Uncertain hours	____	____	____
Shifts in schedule	____	____	____
Dangerousness	____	____	____
Living up to the police ideal	____	____	____
Low esteem of police by public	____	____	____
Lack of family life	____	____	____
Changes in friends	____	____	____
Changes in social activities	____	____	____
Family alone at night	____	____	____
Low salary	____	____	____
Low increases in salary	____	____	____
Public image of the policeman as a brute	____	____	____
Rigid discipline	____	____	____
Close supervision	____	____	____
Working outdoors in all kind of weather	____	____	____
Boredom	____	____	____

29. Which shift do you like best? Why?

30. About how many times in the past year have you had to draw your revolver?_____

31. How many times in the past year did you fire it (other than practice)?_____

32-33. All of the following may have been important in keeping you in police work. Read the list carefully, and then circle the two most important factors keeping you in police work.

1 Good pay

2 Service to the Public (Helping people)

3 The job has prestige and respect

4 The job is a secure one

5 Good chance for advancement

6 Clean work

7 Good retirement pay

8 Interesting, not boring work

9 Active, outdoor work

10 The job gives you authority

Any factors that we left out?

_____

34. What do you think are the major differences between being a policeman in a large city like Philadelphia, and being a policeman here?

35. Would you want your son to become a policeman? YES NO (circle one)

36. Would you want your son to become a policeman on this force?
YES NO (circle one)

37. Would you want your son to become a policeman on a large city force, like the Philadelphia Police Department? YES NO (circle one)

38. If you were offered a job today paying $4,000 a year more than your present salary, would you leave the police force? YES NO (circle one)

39. If you were offered a job which paid the same as your present salary, with regular 9 to 5 hours, 5 days a week, would you leave the force?
YES NO (circle one)

40. If you were offered a job with the same salary as you are now getting, but with more respect from the public, would you leave the police force? YES NO (circle one)

41. If you were offered a job with which your family would be much happier than they are with your present job, would you leave the police force? YES NO (circle one)

42. If everything goes well, what do you honestly feel will be the highest rank you will ever reach on the police force?

____

43-44. During the last shift you worked, what percentage of your time on duty would you estimate that you actually spent on non-Law Enforcement tasks like providing information or emergency services, or settling minor citizen disputes?

Percentage:____________________%

45-46. Instead of how much time you actually spent on non-Law Enforcement duties, what percentage of your time should be spent on such tasks?

Percentage:____________________%

47. Have you taken any courses in Law Enforcement or allied fields within the past two years? YES NO (circle one)

48. On the whole, do you think the police department is giving you a chance to show what you can do?

circle one

1 Very good chance

2 Fairly good chance

3 Not much chance

49. How well do you like being a police officer?

circle one

1 Like it very much

2 Like it fairly well

3 Indifferent

4 Dislike it

50. Being a policeman tends to make you cynical.

circle one

1 Strongly agree

2 Agree

3 Disagree

4 Strongly disagree

51. If you were starting all over again, would you still join the police department?

circle one

1 Certainly Yes

2 Probably Yes

3 Probably No

4 Certainly No

52. How often do you feel you've really helped people?

circle one

1 Quite often

2 Often

3 Sometimes

4. Rarely

53. How dangerous would you rate the patrolman's job in your community?

circle one

1 Among the most dangerous

2 Above average in dangerousness

3 Average in dangerousness

4 Below average in dangerousness

54. How dangerous is the patrolman's job in your community when compared to a large city, like Philadelphia?

circle one

1 More Dangerous

2 About the same amount of danger

3 Less Dangerous

55. If you were in a situation in which your life was in danger, how much help do you think you would get from people in your patrol area?

circle one

1 A great deal of help

2 A fair amount of help

3 Very little help

4 No help

56-57. How often have you been involved in each of the following enforcement activities during the past year? Circle the number under the answer that applies for each.

	VERY OFTEN	FAIRLY OFTEN	NOT TOO OFTEN	NOT AT ALL
Felonies	1	2	3	4
Misdemeanors	1	2	3	4
Patrol, no contact with citizens	1	2	3	4
Patrol, contact with citizens	1	2	3	4
Assisting citizens, where no crime is involved	1	2	3	4
Traffic violations	1	2	3	4

58. How much disrespect for the police (ranging from resisting arrest to being surly or sarcastic) do you run into personally?

circle one

1 A great deal
2 A fair amount
3 Very little
4 None at all

59. How would you define the income level of the people in your patrol area?

circle one

1 Fairly high income
2 Upper Middle income
3 Lower Middle income
4 Fairly low income

60. Sometimes a policeman can appeal to a person's judgement or respect for the law. But with some people, the policeman has to establish who's the boss right away. This second type of person, about what percentage of your citizen contacts are with him?

_______________%

61. Aside from the hardened criminal or felon, what type of people give you the most trouble?

____

62. Aside from the hardened criminal or felon, what type of people give you the least respect?

____

63. Do you find that most violations of the law that you come in contact with are . . .

circle one

1 The result of the violator's ignorance of the law
2 The result of negligence on the part of the violator
3 Deliberately intended by the violator

64-65. What kinds of problems, if any, do you get from the good citizens, respectable local residents?

66. Maintaining citizen respect for the police

circle one

1 is a problem around here

2 could be a problem if we didn't keep it under control

3 is not a problem with local people, but can be with people from other areas

4 is a very slight problem

5 is no problem at all

67. Do most of your nearby neighbors know that you are a policeman?
YES NO (circle one)

68. Has being a policeman made any difference in your relationships with relatives, friends or neighbors?

YES NO (circle one) If YES, how?

69. How about your wife or children, if any - have they been affected by your occupation?

YES NO (circle one) If YES, how?

70. Do you think that the police department has the respect of most citizens of this township or borough?

circle one

1 Yes, of most

2 Of some but not most

3 Of very few

71. Do any of your civilian friends ever criticize the police department to your face?

circle one

1 Many do

2 A few do

3 Hardly anyone does

72. Civilians generally cooperate with police officers in their work.

circle one

1 Strongly Agree

2 Agree

3 Disagree

4 Strongly Disagree

73. Most civilians think you are a policeman because you were not good enough to get a better job.

circle one

1 Strongly Agree

2 Agree

3 Disagree

4 Strongly Disagree

74. Most people obey laws simply from fear of getting caught

circle one

1 Strongly Agree

2 Agree

3 Disagree

4 Strongly Disagree

75. It is important that a policeman be liked by the citizens with whom he comes in contact

circle one

1 Strongly Agree
2 Agree
3 Disagree
4 Strongly Disagree

1a. How do you feel about strangers knowing that you are a police officer? For example, you are on vacation, and you meet some pleasant people and have good times with them - which of these is closest to the way you would feel about telling them you are a policeman?

circle one

1 I'd try to avoid revealing my occupation
2 I wouldn't conceal my occupation, but I'd prefer that it not become known
3 I wouldn't care one way or the other
4 I'd feel pleased if they found out my occupation
5 I'd tell them my occupation as soon as the opportunity arose

2a. Do you find that civilians act differently toward you when they know you are a policeman, even when you're not on duty and out of uniform?

circle one

1 Almost always
2 Most of the time
3 A fair amount of the time
4 Not too often
5 Almost never

3a. How often do you go out socially, or have others over to your house?

circle one

1 Once a month or less
2 Two or three times a month
3 Once a week or more often

4a. When you go out to enjoy yourself for an evening - going to a party, for example - do you usually socialize with mostly other police officers?

circle one

1 Almost always

2 Usually

3 About 50-50, policemen and civilians

4 Mostly non-policemen

5 Almost always with non-policemen

5a. How often do civilians approach you when you are off duty and out of uniform with requests for favors or police assistance?

circle one

1 Happens very often

2 Happens occasionally

3 Rarely happens

4 Never happens

6a. How often do civilians approach you when you are off duty and out of uniform with complaints about other policemen?

circle one

1 Happens very often

2 Happens occasionally

3 Rarely happens

4 Never happens

Thank you again for your cooperation. If you have any comments on this questionnaire, or police work in general, please use the space below.

Appendix 3

SECOND VERSION QUESTIONNAIRE

Date ________

Please do not put your name on this page or on any page after it.

▶ First, we'd like some general information about your background . . .

1-1. How old were you on your last birthday?

_______ years

1-2. Where did you live during most of your childhood?

____

1-3. Do you now live in the municipality for which you work? YES NO (circle one)

3a. If YES, for how long? _______ years

1-4. Please circle your present marital status:
SINGLE MARRIED SEPARATED DIVORCED WIDOWER

1-5. What was your last full-time job (excluding military service) before you joined the police?

____

1-6. What is, or was, your father's main occupation (the type of work he did, not his employer)?

____

1-7. Circle the last level of school that you have completed

circle one
1 Did not complete High School
2 High School Graduate
3 Technical School or Apprentice
4 Less than two years of College
5 Two Year College Graduate
6 Three years of College
7 Four Year College Graduate

1-8. Think about your best male friend — what is his occupation?

____

1-9. What are the occupations of your next closest male friends?

____

____

▶ Now we'd like some information on your police duties. . . .

2-1. What is your present rank? You work... ☐ Full-time ☐ Part-time

____

1a. Do you usually work in uniform? YES NO (circle one)

2-2. By which municipality are you employed?

____

2-3. For how long have you been a police officer in this department?

________________ years

2-4. Before you joined the department, did you have any relatives who were police officers? YES NO (circle one)

2-5. Before you joined the department, did you have any friends who were police officers? YES NO (circle one)

2-6. Did you have any experience in police-type work before joining this department?

circle one
1 No
2 Yes - military police
3 Yes - other police dept.
4 Yes - security guard
5 Yes - correctional officer
6 Yes - other ________

2-7. About how many times in the past year have you had to draw your revolver?

_______ times

2-8. How many times in the past year did you fire it (other than for practice)?

_______ times

2-9. It is often said that a policeman and his family have unusual problems of adjustment to make. What aspect of your job has caused the most difficulty for you:

____

for your family:

____

2-10. If everything goes well, what do you honestly feel will be the highest rank you will ever reach on the police force?

____

2-11. During the last shift that you worked, what percentage of your time on duty would you estimate that you actually spent on non-Law Enforcement tasks like providing information or evergency services, or settling minor citizen disputes?

______________%

2-12. Instead of how much time you actually spent on non-Law Enforcement duties, what percentage of your time should be spent on such tasks?

______________%

2-13. Have you taken any courses in Law Enforcement or allied fields within the past two years? YES NO (circle one)

2-14. All of the following may have been important in keeping you in police work. Read the list carefully, and then circle the most important factor keeping you in police work.

circle one
1 Good pay
2 Service to the public
3 Job has prestige and respect
4 Job is a secure one
5 Good chance for advancement
6 Clean work
7 Good retirement pay
8 Interesting, not boring work
9 Active, outdoor work
10 Job gives you authority

Any factors we left out?

2-15. Which shift do you like best? ______________________________

Why?

2-16. How much disrespect for the police (ranging from resisting arrest to being surly or sarcastic) do you run into personally?

circle one
1 A great deal
2 A fair amount
3 Very little
4 None at all

2-17. How would you define the typical income level of the people in your patrol area?

circle one
1 Fairly High
2 Upper Middle
3 Lower Middle
4 Fairly Low
5 No typical level - mixed

2-18. How dangerous is the patrolman's job in your community when compared to the same job in a large city like Philadelphia?

circle one
1 More dangerous
2 About the same amount of danger
3 Less dangerous

2-19. What do you see as the major differences between being a policeman in a large city like Philadelphia, and being a policeman here?

2-20. Sometimes a policeman can appeal to a person's judgement or respect for the law. But with some people, the policeman has to establish who's the boss right away. This second type of person, about what percent of your citizen contacts are with him?

____________%

2-21. Do you find that most violations of the law that you come in contact with are:

circle one
1 the result of the violator's ignorance of the law
2 the result of negligence on the part of the violator
3 deliberately intended by the violator

2-22. What kinds of problems, if any, do you get from the good citizens, respectable local residents?

▶ A police officer's job may affect his private life in various ways. How and to what extent is what we are trying to find out here . . .

3-1. Do most of your nearby neighbors know that you are a policeman?

YES NO (circle one)

3-2. Has being a policeman made any difference in your relationships with relatives, friends or neighbors?

YES NO (circle one)

if YES, how?

3-3. How about your wife or children, if any - have they been affected by your occupation?

YES NO (circle one)

if YES, how?

3-4. How do you feel about strangers knowing that you are a police officer? For example, you are on vacation, and you meet some pleasant people and have good times with them - which of these is closest to the way you would feel about telling them you are a policeman?

circle one

1 I'd try to avoid revealing my occupation
2 I wouldn't conceal my occupation but I'd prefer it not become known
3 I wouldn't care one way or the other
4 I'd feel pleased if they found out my occupation
5 I'd tell them my occupation as soon as the opportunity arose

3-5. Do you find that civilians act differently toward you when they know you are a policeman, even when you're not on duty and out of uniform?

circle one

1 Almost always
2 Most of the time
3 A fair amount of the time
4 Not too often
5 Almost never

3-6. When you go out to relax with friends (going out to bowl, or going hunting, for example) do you usually socialize with other police officers?

circle one

1 almost always with other police
2 usually with police
3 about 50-50, police and civilians
4 mostly with civilians
5 almost always with civilians

3-7. When you go out as a couple, with other couples (going to a party, or the movies, for example) do you usually socialize with other "police couples?"

circle one

1 almost always
2 usually
3 about 50-50
4 mostly with civilians
5 almost always with civilians

▶ Thanks for staying with it so far; only two more pages to go....

3-8. How often do civilians approach you when you are off duty and out of uniform with requests for favors or police assistance?

circle one
1 happens very often
2 happens occasionally
3 rarely happens
4 never happens

3-9. How often do civilians approach you when you are off duty and out of uniform with complaints about other policemen?

circle one
1 happens very often
2 happens occasionally
3 rarely happens
4 never happens

▶ As an experienced police officer, you've probably formed some opinions about police work, and people's attitudes to police officers. For each of the statements below, please indicate whether you STRONGLY AGREE (SA)
AGREE (A)
DISAGREE (D)
STRONGLY DISAGREE (SD)
(circle one)

a. Civilians generally cooperate with police officers in their work — SA A D SD

b. Most civilians think you are a policeman because you were not good enough to get a better job — SA A D SD

c. The essential part of police work is catching criminals — SA A D SD

d. Most people obey laws simply from fear of getting caught — SA A D SD

e. It is important that a policeman be liked by the citizens with whom he comes in contact — SA A D SD

f. Local residents give the police less trouble than outsiders when stopped for minor traffic violations — SA A D SD

g. Some agency other than the police should handle citizen requests for non-emergency services (opening locked doors, etc.) — SA A D SD

h. I like being a police officer — SA A D SD

i. Our citizens would get better service if many small police departments were combined into regional or county agencies — SA A D SD

j. My police department has the respect of most local citizens — SA A D SD

k. You can tell by someone's personal appearance or dress if he will give you trouble or become belligerent — SA A D SD

l. On the whole, the police department is giving me a chance to show what I can do — SA A D SD

m. Respect that citizens have for patrolmen has decreased over recent years — SA A D SD

n. The police department is really a big brotherhood with each policeman doing his best to help all other policemen — SA A D SD

o. Policemen have a special view of human nature because of the misery and cruelty they see every day — SA A D SD

p. The average policeman is likely to rough up someone who calls him a fascist pig — SA A D SD

q. New patrolmen learn more from older patrolmen than from supervisors SA A D SD

r. Quite often I feel that I've really helped people in my job SA A D SD

s. If I were in a situation in which my life was in danger, I would get little or no help from people in my patrol area SA A D SD

t. The average arrest is made because the officer could not avoid it without getting into trouble SA A D SD

u. If I had to do it all over again, I would again join the police force SA A D SD

v. A policeman gets along better if he doesn't go looking for situations requiring police action, but handles situations as they arise SA A D SD

w. One effect of being a policeman for a number of years is the development of suspiciousness about things and people SA A D SD

x. Most people don't really understand the policeman's job SA A D SD

y. It is usually difficult to persuade people to give patrolmen the information they need SA A D SD

z. Most people will try somehow to help patrolmen who are being attacked SA A D SD

aa. Being a policeman tends to make you cynical SA A D SD

▶ As a sort of summary . . .

4-1. Would you want a son of yours to become a policeman: YES NO (circle one)

4-2. Would you want a son of yours to become a policeman on this police force? YES NO (circle one)

4-3. Would you want a son of yours to become a policeman on a large city police force, like the Philadelphia PD? YES NO (circle one)

Thank you again for your cooperation. If you have any comments on this questionnaire, or on police work in general, please use the space below.

Appendix 4

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