

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF  
POLARIZATION IN POLICE AND  
COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN  
TWO MICHIGAN CITIES

Thesis for the Degree of M. S.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
JAMES MICHAEL POLAND  
1972





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A THESIS

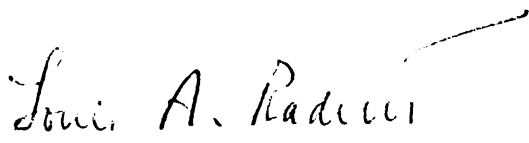
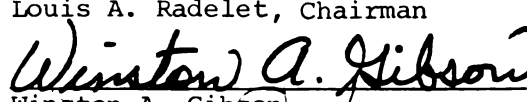
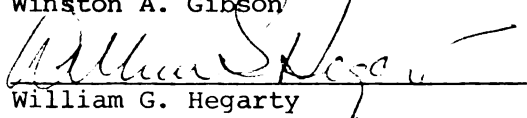
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in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

School of Criminal Justice

1972

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## ABSTRACT

# A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLARIZATION IN POLICE AND COMMUNITY RELATIONS IN TWO MICHIGAN CITIES

By

James Michael Poland

This thesis identifies and examines areas of polarization in police-community relations that emerge from the contra-cultural conflict between the police subculture and certain subcultures of the larger society and become manifest in the role-conceptions of police officers.

The thesis is based on two primary hypotheses. First: most police officers perceive their role in the community as primarily one of law-enforcement rather than peace-keeping. Secondly: polarization in police-community relations is greatly aggravated by the dissonant relationship between the police and various segments of the larger community.

To test the validity of the two primary hypotheses, a questionnaire was administered to representative police officers in two Michigan cities. In addition, an industrial city and a college town were observed during a two-week field study.

The data acquired from the questionnaire and the information collected through the field study supported and validated the two primary hypotheses. Therefore, it has been concluded that the role-conception of the police officer does not support police-community relations simply

because the police officer defines his role only in terms of law-enforcement and fails to see the significance of his role as a "peace officer."

Moreover, from the standpoint of establishing police policy, one of the most pressing problems facing police officers will be the minimizing of role-conflict situations. For as long as the police are caught between contradictory elements, police-community relations will suffer.

The data of this research also revealed that polarization in police-community relations often emanated in the form of role-distance. For example, although police officers admitted the significance of police-community relations in improving relations with minority groups, they simply did not conceive of this responsibility as part of their role. In fact, police officers resisted this aspect of their role by disassociating themselves from the demands of simply sound police-community relations programs.

It was also concluded that there will be no lasting and significant improvements in police-community relations programming until there is a redefinition of the police role; the role as defined and practiced in urban police agencies today promotes social tensions and therefore is self-defeating.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this study has been that of the police officer's perception of danger. Police-community relations programs might be more effective if the existence of danger were openly admitted, for as this research reveals, the element of danger appreciably affects the performance of the police role.

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Most of all the author wishes to express his deepest gratitude and sincere appreciation to his wife, Barbara, for her editorial and analytical assistance, guidance and typing that this project required; for without her and the many sacrifices she made, this thesis would not have been possible.

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## INTRODUCTION

The most crucial area confronting our police agencies today is that of police-community relations. A major problem facing most urban police agencies is the polarization of police and various segments of the community. What are the underlying causes of this phenomenon? Certainly, it is ludicrous to suggest that the police would prefer to remain an entity separate from the community. To the contrary, police agencies today more than ever consistently plead for citizen involvement and for participation and understanding of the increased problems they face in contemporary society.

The President's Crime Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice emphatically subscribes to the development and importance of good police-community relations.

Police-community relations have a direct bearing on the character of life in our cities and on the community's ability to maintain stability and to solve its problems. At the same time the police department's capacity to deal with crime depends to a large extent upon its relationship with the citizenry. Indeed, no lasting improvement in law enforcement is likely in this country unless police-community relations are substantially improved.<sup>1</sup>

What then has polarized the police and the community when it is obvious that the police need the cooperation of the public and that the public needs the police? This is the problem that this research will attempt to clarify.

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<sup>1</sup>President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 144.

A large degree of the polarization that exists between the police and community can be traced to the role concept of police. The relationship between the police and the community grows out of their daily interaction. It is during these police-citizen encounters that confusion over role relationships becomes apparent. In fact, James Q. Wilson states that this confusion is further intensified when "the patrolman's role is defined more by his responsibility for maintaining order than his responsibility for enforcing the law."<sup>2</sup> Yet police agencies emphasize the importance of apprehending criminals, and not the maintenance of order which accounts for the bulk of police services.<sup>3</sup>

Another authority on police systems has suggested that:

A fundamental matter for every police officer is coming to grips with his role in the community, arriving at a self-concept. If a man persists in identifying himself as primarily a crime fighter when in fact his function has never been more than 20 percent crime fighting and when his daily experience does not support this self-concept, it is inevitable that he will experience what is technically called cognitive dissonance....<sup>4</sup>

The point is that the situations in which police officers most frequently find themselves do not require the expertise necessary for "crook catching." Instead, their role demands knowledge and understanding of human beings. It becomes increasingly evident that the incongruent nature of the role expectation of the police officer manifests itself in the polarization of police and community relations.

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<sup>2</sup>James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>James Q. Wilson, "Dilemmas of Police Administration," Public Administration Review, XXVIII, 5 (1968), 412.

<sup>4</sup>Victor G. Strecher, The Environment of Law Enforcement: A Community Relations Guide (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 96.

For our purpose, police and community relations indicate that the police are an important part of, and not apart from, the communities they serve.<sup>5</sup> It also must be emphasized that the general public consists of many different communities, each with its own problems, and each affecting the role expectation of the police officer which in turn causes polarization. What then is polarization of behavior?

According to Folsom, when the differentiation of behavior is toward two opposite poles rather than toward several varied patterns, polarization results.<sup>6</sup> Most police officers are on duty 24 hours a day and they seldom forget that they are police officers. Consequently, their role is quite pervasive. A great majority of them do not accept that portion of their role defined as "maintenance of order," preferring instead the "Jack Webb image" of catching criminals and enforcing laws. It becomes apparent that such conceptionalizing of their role moves them toward one polar extreme.

It is important that the police officer recognize the need to establish a number of roles in order to minimize conflict in the varied community. Sarbin and Allen have stated "it is obvious that the more roles in an actor's repertoire, the better prepared he is to meet the exigencies of social life."<sup>7</sup> They further illustrate this concept:

The member of any organized society must develop more than a single role, or role behavior, if he is to reciprocate and

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<sup>5</sup>Louis Radelet, Graduate Seminar in Police Community Relations, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, October 12, 1971.

<sup>6</sup>Joseph Folsom, Social Psychology (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931), p. 388.

<sup>7</sup>Theodore R. Sarbin and Vernon Allen, "Role Theory," The Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (2d ed.; Menlo Park, Calif.: Addison-Westley Pub. Co., 1968), p. 491.



co-operate effectively with his fellows. To the behavior pathologist, this implies further, that the person whose repertory includes a variety of well practiced, realistic social roles is better equipped to meet new and critical situations than the person whose repertory is meager, relatively unpracticed and socially unrealistic. The skilled role-taker, like the skilled motorist, has a better chance than the unskilled of withstanding the sudden, unforeseen stress and the effects of prolonged unremitting strain.<sup>8</sup>

It follows that the essential question is "Can the police react in only one role without polarizing relations in various police-citizen encounters?" If the answer is yes, there should be little doubt that a strain exists between the police and the community.

Superficially, it appears that the role of the police is an easy one to play, since citizens most often meet police officers on an unequal basis, "with helplessness implicit in every encounter."<sup>9</sup> Thus, the police officer becomes conscious of the fact that he represents a source of power. The application of sanctions becomes his principle "tool" in dealing with the community, and the typical contact between police officers and citizens remains one in which there is essentially one-way communication against a display of latent power.<sup>10</sup>

This type of contact is not only detrimental to police-community relations, but also polarizes the actions of the police officer. He begins to lose his feeling of communality with the public. He exaggerates public apathy and sees hostility even where it is non-existent. He interprets public resentment as an indication that the police should

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Hans H. Toch, "Psychological Consequences of the Police Role," Police, X(September-October, 1965), 23.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

be separated from the rest of society. William Westley, who has extensively studied police attitudes, sums up the views of the typical police officer:

He regards the public as his enemy, feels his occupation to be in conflict with the community and regards himself to be a pariah. The experience and the feeling give rise to a collective emphasis on secrecy, an attempt to coerce respect from the public, and a belief that almost any means are legitimate in completing an important arrest. These are for the policeman basic occupational values. They arise from his experience, take precedence over his legal responsibilities, are central to an understanding of his conduct and form the occupational contexts within which violence gains its meaning.<sup>11</sup>

Supporting the assumption that police officers perceive their role as one of crime fighting is the fact that police often use the power of the law to support their actions. Very often, in the case of order maintenance, laws to resolve police-citizen encounters do not exist. Therefore, although the police officer needs discretion to counteract the role ambiguity that develops, he often attempts to define most citizen encounters as a violation of some rule or regulation. In other words, impartial police service is an ideal, and it is obvious from the results of this study that this value is shared by most policemen today. Robert Merton has delineated this concept and his conclusions have tremendous relevance to the entire problem of the polarization that exists in police-community relations. Essentially, what Merton suggests is that the official is oriented toward formal and impersonal treatment, while the expectations of the client are directed toward individualized and personal treatment.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>11</sup>William A. Westley, "Violence and the Police," American Journal of Sociology, LIX (July, 1953), 35.

<sup>12</sup>Robert K. Merton, "Occupational Roles: Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," Personality and Social Systems, ed. Neil J. Smelser and William T. Smelser (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), p. 262.

since the group is oriented toward secondary norms of impersonality, any failure to conform to these norms will arouse antagonisms from those who have identified themselves with the legitimacy of these rules.<sup>13</sup>

This concept is very significant to police-community relations programming today, because current programs attempt to reduce or eliminate the impersonality that exists in police-citizen encounters. Until police-community relations programming addresses this problem, we can expect continued polarization of the police and the communities they serve.

Consequently, we find the police officer occupying two incompatible roles. He either comes to redefine his role and function as a police officer, or he believes that he is not really performing "real" police work.<sup>14</sup> In the former case the police officer then defines most encounters with the community as a violation of some existing law. The result that is the outcome of such incongruent expectations has been defined by one author as a "polarity of social contract."<sup>15</sup>

Another salient problem confronting the police in urban areas is the daily interactions with communities composed of different cultural backgrounds, i.e., blacks, chicanos, and students. As a result, police-community relations are greatly aggravated by the contra-cultural conflict that exists between the police subculture and these subcultures. Technically, this concept is known as cognitive dissonance. Leon Festinger was the first to propose and elaborate on the theory of cognitive dissonance, "the notion that the human organism tries to

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Strecher, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>15</sup>Floyd Henry Allport, Social Psychology (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 160.



establish internal harmony, consistency, or congruity among his opinions, attitudes, knowledge and values. There is in short a drive toward consonance among cognitions."<sup>16</sup>

The concept of contra-cultural conflict and the concept of cognitive dissonance are closely related, the former being an example of the latter. This concept will be examined further in the review of the literature.

More importantly, what does this have to do with the polarization of police-citizen interactions? Or conversely, the conflict that exists between two diametrically opposed subcultures?

Dr. Strecher's analysis of this problem is of significant importance. It begins by defining the concept of "cultural shock" so familiar to young people preparing for overseas assignment in organizations such as the Peace Corps. He continues by describing police interactions with lower-class blacks, depicting black behavior patterns as clearly dissonant from the conventional norms of the larger society. The result, of course, is a distinctive lower-class black subculture.<sup>17</sup>

Dr. Strecher summarizes his analysis by noting:

Lower-class Negro behavior is dissonant with the police view of social order, morality and propriety; the implicitly moralistic evaluation of lower-class Negro lifestyle by policemen reactivates for the Negro dissonance between behavior and conventional ideals, up to then reduced by his subcultural solution.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957), p. 260.

<sup>17</sup>Victor Strecher, "When Sub-Cultures Meet: Police-Negro Relations," Law Enforcement Science and Technology, ed. Sheldon Yefsky, (Washington: Thompson and Company, 1967), pp. 701-707.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.



While Dr. Strecher's theory is primarily concerned with police-lower-class black relations, it is also relevant to police interactions with certain other so-called disaffected or culturally disadvantaged groups such as chicanos and students.

Finally, we find within this context of the urban community and its various patterns of cultural conflict stands the law enforcement officer, or more significantly the peace officer. What is his role? What is expected of him? What should be expected of him? What should be expected of the community? Why does role conflict develop? These are just a few of the questions this research will attempt to answer and clarify.

## CHAPTER I

### STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This thesis will examine police officer role perceptions and the effects thereof in police-citizen interrelations in two Michigan cities. It is suggested that the incongruence of perceptions of the role by both police officers and various segments of the community has contributed to the polarization of the police and the community. This polarization is one formidable cause of the breakdown in police-community relations.

We will undertake to test two primary hypotheses:

1) Most police officers perceive their role as primarily one of law enforcement rather than the maintenance of order; this tends to place them in conflict with community factions perceiving the role as primarily one of order maintenance.

2) Polarization in police and community relations is aggravated by contra-cultural conflict (cognitive dissonance) existing between the police subculture and certain subcultures of the larger community.

The central question is that of conflicting role perceptions: if police officers perceive their role as one chiefly of law enforcement as opposed to the maintenance of order, what relationship, if any, is there between this role perception and the polarization of police-community relations?

If the police officer and various segments of the community have conflicting perceptions of the function and role of the police in today's society, then it follows that the police and significant portions of the community be to this extent polarized. Police-community relations programs will be correspondingly ineffective as they fail to deal with this central dilemma. Thus, the basic importance of this study lies in identifying the role conflict situations that polarize police-community relations.

Perhaps until a relationship is drawn between the police and various segments of its clientele, the role expectations of each for the other will be somewhat incongruent.

#### SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope and goals of this research are disclosed in the following four objectives of the thesis; also listed are its limitations.

##### Analytical Objectives of the Thesis

- 1) Procedure of role enactment in two municipal police departments, and its relationship to the polarization of police-community relations.
- 2) Role expectations of various subcultures of the community when interacting with the police.
- 3) Extent to which contra-cultural conflict effects polarizing of the police and the community.
- 4) Extent to which the police officer utilizes his discretion to resolve conflicts in police-citizen encounters.

Limitation of the Thesis

The scope of this research will be limited by the following factors:

- 1) The literature reviewed for the study has been chosen from two essential categories:
  - a) Police-community relations
  - b) Professional opinions of police role
- 2) The empirical correlates and situations are taken from observations and interviews of police officers, police command personnel and citizens, on the basis of police-citizen encounters in two urban areas.
- 3) The information and data gathered from the questionnaire was limited to a random sampling of police officers in one of the cities studied, and to all the police officers employed by the other city surveyed.
- 4) Acknowledgment is made of the limitation of solitary research; the formidable problems relevant to number, area and quality of police-citizen interactions when working alone.
- 5) It is recognized that the researcher lacks certain training and expertise of a qualified role theorist in examining the complexities of the role-enactment process.

## POPULATION AND SAMPLE TO BE USED

This research was conducted with the concurrence and participation of two urban police departments in the State of Michigan.

College Park has a police department with less than fifty sworn officers. A nearby college campus allowed the researcher to observe the nature and tone of police-community relations in a community dominated by a subculture of college-age students. College Park also contains a sizable population of the so-called "drug culture" comprized of both students and non-students. The researcher was thus afforded the opportunity to observe empirically the interactions of two diametrically opposed subcultures--the police and the drug advocates.

Uniontown is an industrial city in central Michigan with a police department of over 400 sworn personnel; it is the primary focus of this research. Uniontown contains a sizable minority population of both blacks and chicanos. The research was confined primarily to the Department's uniform division, since they most often come into conflict with the various minority groups of the community. Representative time, equal to that of College Park, was spent with the patrol section of the Uniontown Police Department in order to develop a comparative analysis of the two urban agencies.

In addition, interviews were conducted with police officers at the Recruit and In-Service Training Academy sponsored by the Uniontown Police Department for contiguous police agencies.

## PROCEDURES AND METHODOLOGY USED IN THE STUDY

### Review of the Literature

Review of the literature appears in Chapter II. The particular areas reviewed were examined for basic concepts and principles. Further, it was anticipated that areas of subsequent research would be discovered.



### Questionnaire

The questionnaire which addressed the aspect of the role-enactment and the role-conflict process was distributed to the police departments of College Park and Uniontown.

The questionnaire was pretested by a group of graduate students at Michigan State University in an effort to eliminate any ambiguities contained in the questionnaire. All of those who participated in the pretest had had experience with a variety of police agencies throughout the country. The data obtained in this manner was not used in the final analysis of this research study.

In addition, a comparative analysis of data gathered from the questionnaires was included in order to compare the perceptions of police officers in a community of college students to those of a much larger urban city. The questionnaire itself makes it possible to broaden the base of the data beyond what is possible by personal observation and interviewing.

To obtain the fullest cooperation of the police officers in completing the questionnaire, officers of the local Fraternal Order of Police were invited to lend credence to the filling out of the questionnaire.

### Field Study

The field study aspect of this research was designed to determine whether there is, in fact, a direct relationship between the role perception of the police officer and the polarization of police and community, keeping clearly in mind that this is only a single variant among several bearing on the problem.

The central purpose of this study, then, is to determine empirically if and how role-related polarization develops in police-community relations. The field observation aspect of the study provided the researcher with an opportunity to examine the validity of the two essential hypotheses of this thesis mentioned earlier.

In an effort to ensure objectivity in the field study, empirical observations were made of police-citizen encounters; the observer also participated in community activities and observed the police in their daily activities. Approximately one week was spent in each city gathering data to be correlated with personal experience. The two cities involved in the research were selected because each has a history of conflict between subculture and police.

The actual participant observation took place between March 26, 1972, and April 19, 1972. In order to obtain a more representative sample of police-citizen interactions, it was necessary to observe the functioning of police on all three tours of duty. However, this research was confined to those particular scout cars working in predominately minority neighborhoods, since one of the primary hypotheses of this study is contra-cultural conflict and the resulting polarization.

#### Independent Variables

The three independent variables of this thesis are as follows:

##### a) Role Expectation

The role expectation of a police officer's behavior while engaged in various police-citizen encounters was measured by the questionnaire, and where possible, during the field survey. During the field research, a number of questions were asked concerning how

the police officer should act in a given situation. These questions appear in Appendix A.

It is hypothesized that polarization in police-community relations is due, in part, to the role conception of police officers concerning what constitutes so-called "real" police work. Similarly there is a lack of consensus among various segments of the community as to what the function or role of the police officer should be.

b) Multiple-Role Appearance of the Police Officer

Due to the complex nature of police-citizen interactions, the police officer is manifestly faced with role conflict, role ambiguity, and role strain. The essential point of this variable is the extensiveness of the effect of the role conflict, ambiguity and strain on the actions of the police officer. It is hypothesized that these elements are apparent, to varying degrees, in police behavior during the performance of non-criminal services.

c) Method of Resolving Role Conflict

This variable involves defining whether the police officer enacts his role according to the expectations of his agency, the expectations of the client, arrives at a compromise between the two, or simply avoids both sets of expectations.

The data were gathered by empirical observations during the field survey and from the questionnaire.

It is hypothesized that police officers resolve role conflicts arising out of police-citizen encounters by relying upon the unlimited amount of discretion at their disposal.

### Dependent Variable

The dependent variable of this thesis will be the role enactment of the police officer, specifically as this role enactment appears to manifest itself in the polarization of police-community relations.

One noted author has suggested that a reasonable starting point for an examination of police-community relations is in the conflict that exists in the role enactment of the police officer engaged in citizen interactions.<sup>19</sup> This stipulation of the process of role enactment is a logical place to begin a description of polarization in police-community relations.

Information for assessing the casual relationship between dependent and independent variables was extricated from the questionnaire and empirical observations during the field study.

### TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

To ensure clear understanding of this thesis, terms used throughout the study are here defined.

Police-Community Relations - the structure of this thesis necessitates that police-community relations be considered as that relationship which exists between the police and the various subcultures who have an occasion to interact with them.

Subculture - a group of people that has its own values and behavior patterns distinct from those of the larger group of which they are a part.

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<sup>19</sup>Michael Banton, The Policeman and the Community (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1964), p. 188.

Norm - any standard or rule that dictates to the individual what he should or should not think, say, or do, under a set of given circumstances.<sup>20</sup>

Position - the individual's "situation" in the social structure.<sup>21</sup>

Polarization - the differentiation of behavior toward two opposite poles rather than toward a spectrum of varied patterns.<sup>22</sup>

Cognitive Dissonance or Contra-Cultural Conflict - the discontent and tension that exists between two points of understanding, two opinions, values or attitudes.<sup>23</sup>

Role - the dynamics or behavioral aspects of the conduct of a person or his position in society.<sup>24</sup>

Role Expectation - specifications for adherence to group norms.<sup>25</sup>

Role Behavior - actual performance in a role.<sup>26</sup>

Role Skills - those characteristics possessed by the individual for effective role enactment, e.g., specialized training, expertise in a certain field, intelligence.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Judith Blake and Kingsley Davis, "Norms, Values and Sanctions," Handbook of Modern Sociology, ed. Robert L. Faris (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964), p. 456.

<sup>21</sup>Bruce J. Biddle and Edwin J. Thomas, Role Theory: Concepts and Research (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 11-12.

<sup>22</sup>Folsom, loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup>Festinger, op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>24</sup>Biddle and Thomas, loc. cit.

<sup>25</sup>Sarbin and Allen, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>26</sup>Biddle and Thomas, loc. cit.

<sup>27</sup>Sarbin and Allen, op. cit., pp. 506-507.

Role Ambiguity - the doubtfulness or uncertainty that exists when available information is insufficient for adequate job performance.<sup>28</sup>

Role Strain - the consequence of unfulfilled attempts to meet expectations.<sup>29</sup>

Role Conflict - a situation in which a person finds that his proper enactment of one role results in falling below expectations in another; no matter what he does he develops certain guilt feelings from failure to meet expectations.<sup>30</sup>

Police Discretion - the unregulated means by which the police officer resolves conflict situations in police-citizen encounters.

#### ORGANIZATION OF REMAINDER OF THESIS

Chapter II features a broad review of the literature in the areas of police-community relations and professional opinions of the police role.

Chapter III reveals the results of the questionnaire that was administered to police officers of two urban police agencies. In addition, the results of the field study in which a participant observation methodology was used to acquire information relating to police-citizen interactions and its effect upon the role of the police officer are presented.

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<sup>28</sup>Theodore M. Newcomb and others, Social Psychology (New York: Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), pp. 399-401.

<sup>29</sup>William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," American Sociological Review, XXV (1960), 483-486.

<sup>30</sup>Newcomb, op. cit., pp. 417-428.

Chapter IV summarizes the research findings and presents the conclusions drawn from this study.

Appendix A contains a list of prepared questions that this researcher used as a guideline in determining police-citizen expectations of the nature of police service.

Appendix B contains the questionnaire used to gather data for this research.

Appendix C contains the responses to the questionnaire.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This Chapter will concentrate on a broad review of the literature in the areas of police-community relations, and the contributions made by various sociologists and criminologists in their efforts to define the role of the police officer. These two facets of the literature have direct relevance to the problem of polarization in police and community relations since polarization of the police and the community appears to be proportional to conflict in perceptions of the role of the police officer. However, it must be understood that the role of the police officer does not exist in a vacuum. There are a number of variables that suggest and influence the role concept of the police officer, one of which is the nature of police-citizen encounters within which role conflict develops. To adequately explore the problem of polarization in police-community relations requires examination beyond simply the concept of police-community relations. Any inquiry of this nature must also inspect subcultural differences specifically relevant to polarization, as well as studies of police officer role perceptions.

### POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The primary focus in reviewing the appropriate literature pertaining to police-community relations will concentrate on four basic



areas: police-citizen interactions, police subculture, existing programs and cognitive dissonance. Perhaps no other introduction to the problems confronting the police and the community could more cogently describe the ramifications of poor police-community relations and the resulting polarization than the United States Riot Commission's statement: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, as the complexities of urban society increase, there is a concomitant demand of the government in general and the police in particular to ameliorate and address these needs. Since the police are the most visible governmental agency, it is within their purview to develop a strong relationship with the community. This can only be accomplished when existing role ambiguity of police role conception is corrected.

#### Police-Citizen Interaction

The relations that exist between the police and the community have been described by Bayley and Mendelsohn as the actual encounters that occur between citizens and the police officer.<sup>2</sup> It is within these interactions of police and citizen that role ambiguity manifests itself. The citizen reveals his expectations for requests of police service and the police officer in turn reveals his expectations by

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<sup>1</sup>United States Riot Commission, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1968), p. 1. Hereafter referred to as the Kerner Commission Report.

<sup>2</sup>David H. Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police: Confrontation in America (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 57.

responding to the particular needs of the citizen. Significantly, it is within this context that the police officer is exposed to conflicting demands by both the citizen and the police agency. The implications of this role conflict and how the police officer resolves it is of fundamental importance to the development of sound police-community relations. If the police officer fails to properly delineate his role, polarization may result.

This section will focus on the behavior of police-citizen interactions by analyzing the police officers' conception of role, citizens' expectations for police service, and the resulting conflict that emerges when the police officer is faced with role ambiguity. The logical assumption is that certain cultural factors play an important part in shaping attitudes concerning police-community relations.

Police concept of role. The police officer's conception of his role is, to say the least, not that of maintaining order or keeping the peace. Instead, to the policeman, real police work consists of acting out the very important symbolic acts of search, arrest and the "big pinch."<sup>3</sup> Skolnick goes one step further and describes police work as such:

Where the police perceive the menace of the criminal as great, morale among policemen tends to be high. In the absence of menacing attributes on the part of the pursued, the policeman feels cheated. He cannot properly play the police role because the criminal and the victim do not play the proper supporting and complimentary roles. There is no suspense, no chase, no investigation, no danger.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Jerome H. Skolnick and J. Richard Woodworth. "Bureaucracy, Information and Social Control," The Police: Six Sociological Essays, ed. David J. Bordua (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 129.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 130.

However, it is important to draw a distinction and to specify the level or rank with which the role analysis is concerned--patrolman, detective, lieutenant or chief. Each level of police work entails different functions, and role behavior will change accordingly. The police, as other bureaucracies, have various role conceptions for rank and specialization of services provided. In fact, as Skolnick intimates, there is a significant difference between role requirements for detectives, patrolmen and vice officers.<sup>5</sup> In many ways these differences are so pervasive that they constitute almost separate occupations.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, it is also necessary to specify whether the police role under investigation is local, state or federal.

Traditionally, the police have been quite successful in convincing the general public that "whenever crime is discussed, the role of the police is conspicuously identified."<sup>7</sup> Perhaps it is because of the detective story and the "cops and robbers" saga, that the police tend to see themselves as spending the majority of their time investigating felons and arresting them, often after a gun battle.<sup>8</sup> The fact is that most police officers can serve the community for years without resorting to the use of weapons, and "are rarely involved in a major crime of

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<sup>5</sup>Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966), pp. 112-163.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>O. W. Wilson and Roy Clinton McLaren, Police Administration (3d ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>Bruce J. Terris, "The Role of the Police," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCCLXXIV (November, 1967), p. 67.

any sort."<sup>9</sup>

Paul Jacobs offers an interesting commentary on the Los Angeles Police Department and the development of a police role oriented toward and stressing the law enforcement aspect of "real" police work.

The LAPD like all police departments believes it is engaged in a never-ending war against crime, a war in which it can function best as a para-military force. Its famous head, now deceased, Chief William H. Parker, who stamped his own imprint indelibly on the department, wore four stars on the shoulders of his dress uniform; his deputy chiefs, with two stars, were called "the general staff," he issued "general orders"; his subordinates called the internal phones connecting them directly to him "the panic phones," and when they rang, the men at the other end jumped....<sup>10</sup>

This military feeling is quite pervasive and extends deeply into the lives of police officers. The LAPD and the philosophy of Chief Parker are typical of most urban police agencies today. In fact, it is considered a model which other cities throughout the country seek to emulate. With a philosophy of this nature, it is no wonder the police see their primary function as the protection of life and property and the active repression of crime.<sup>11</sup>

Aristotle once noted that only a beast or a god can live outside the community. Conversely, those who are outside the community may become beasts or gods. The repressiveness of the police may, and often does, cause them to assume the qualities of both. However, the makeup of today's society providing for neither beasts nor gods, the societal

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<sup>9</sup>James Q. Wilson, "Movie Cops--Romantic v. Real," The Ambivalent Force: Perspectives on the Police, ed. Arthur Niederhoffer and Abraham S. Blumberg (Mass.: Ginn and Company, 1970), p. 64.

<sup>10</sup>Paul Jacobs, Prelude to Riot: A View of Urban America From the Bottom (New York: Random House, 1967), p. 19.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-22.

integration of police is of paramount concern and may well be the central problem in police-community relations. The abandonment of the quasi-military organization might be a step towards ameliorating the polarization that presently exists in police-community relations.

Jerome Skolnick notes similar characteristics within police agencies that greatly influence the role conception of the police officer in his daily interactions with society. He concludes:

To the degree that police are organized on a military model, there is likely to be generated a martial conception of order. ... The presence of an explicit hierarchy, with an associated chain of command and a strong sense of obedience, is therefore likely to induce an attachment to social uniformity and routine and a somewhat rigid conception of order. ... As this process occurs, police are more likely to lean toward the arbitrary invocation of authority to achieve what they perceive to be the aims of substantive criminal law. Along with these effects is an elevation of crime control to a position where it is valued more than the principle of accountability to the rule of law.<sup>12</sup>

Herbert L. Packer in The Limits of the Criminal Sanction further elaborates on this concept by developing what he calls the crime control model. He notes that crime control is a necessary reaction to the real or fancied breakdown of social control and crime in the streets, and suggests that the police are the foremost actors in the development of his crime control model. The model tends to de-emphasize the adversary nature of the criminal process, portraying the police officer as an agent to invoke criminal law. In other words the police see themselves as enforcing the "letter" of the law.<sup>13</sup>

The enforcement of criminal law is obviously inherently coercive. Therefore the confrontation between police and citizen is bound to be

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<sup>12</sup>Skolnick, Justice Without Trial, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>13</sup>Herbert L. Packer, The Limits of the Criminal Sanction (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1968), pp. 149-173.

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abrasive, especially in the case of urban minority groups who see the police as the enemy. The strict enforcement of criminal laws can only lead to further polarization.

Another noted authority on police systems illustrates the idea of organization based primarily on administrative efficiency as having profound implications on the role conception of the individual police officer. Bruce Smith writes:

The policeman's art ... consists in applying and enforcing a multitude of laws and ordinances in such degree or proportion and in such manner that the greatest degree of protection will be secured. The degree of enforcement and the method of application will vary with each neighborhood and community. There are no set rules, nor even general principles, to the policy to be applied. Each policeman must, in a sense, determine the standard to be set in the area for which he is responsible.<sup>14</sup>

James Q. Wilson implies that "real police work" to the police officer is catching "real" criminals or making the "big case" and preferably while the crime is in the act of being committed. In addition, a part of this "real police work" includes interrogating various individuals at the scene of a crime, keeping business establishments that have been frequently robbed under surveillance, or just being on the alert for any unusual circumstances that may suggest a criminal act is being planned. The police officer becomes frustrated when his desire to do "real police work" is stymied, since he must respond to calls for "service" or "information." This is, of course, one of the most discontenting dilemmas the police officer encounters.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Bruce Smith, Police Systems in the United States (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), p. 19.

<sup>15</sup>James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 68.

Also, Wilson suggests that the patrolman's role is defined "more by his responsibility for maintaining order than by his responsibility for enforcing the law."<sup>16</sup> Herman Goldstein points out that this distinction of the police officer's role has profound effects upon the individual officer, since he is playing his part in one of two worlds. The first world is that of law enforcement activities which provides the police officer with a structured role based upon legal statutes. The second world entails those police functions which are totally unrelated to criminal procedure, which subsequently defines the police role in very ambiguous terms.<sup>17</sup>

The Task Force Report illustrates the duties of the typical police officer which correspond to that of James Q. Wilson.

A police officer assigned to patrol duties in a large city is typically confronted with at most a few serious crimes in the course of a single tour of duty. He tends to view such involvement, particularly if there is some degree of danger, as constituting real police work. But it is apparent that he spends considerably more time keeping order. ... he performs a wide range of other functions which are of a highly complex nature and which often involve difficult social, behavioral and political problems.<sup>18</sup>

For the most part, the activities of the police are concerned with service calls and not enforcement of laws and sanctions.

Finally, Skolnick suggests that the qualities of "real police work" can be found in the work of the narcotics officer. It is within

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>17</sup>Herman Goldstein, "Full Enforcement vs. Police Discretion Not to Invoke Criminal Process," Police Community Relations: A Sourcebook, ed. A. F. Brandstatter and Louis A. Radelet (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Glencoe Press, 1968), pp. 381-388.

<sup>18</sup>President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 13.



this framework that police officers see themselves as performing a function that requires not only all of the general training of a patrolman, but also special training and ability.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore Skolnick describes the aspect of "real police work" found in the narcotics division:

The narcotic specialist must have a network of informers and know how to stay on good terms with them, while at the same time maintaining the strength of his bargaining position. At times, he must be able to pretend convincingly to be an addict. He must be inventive in circumventing search and seizure restrictions. He should have some knowledge of the various drugs in use and the legal consequences of their illegal use. Finally, he must be a skilled interrogator.<sup>20</sup>

It is quite evident that police officers perceive their role as one of "fighting crime." So what the policeman does is often perceived as what the law is, a not inaccurate perception although police become involved in providing community services. However, the community also influences the role behavior of the police officer.

Police audience perceptions of police role. The community's concept of the police role does not only extend to enforcement of criminal laws. Much that the public expects is relatively simple and does not require extensive training or expertise. Included are such routine matters as guarding school crossings, directing traffic, freeing children locked in bathrooms, and resolving a multitude of citizen complaints that occur daily.

However, it must be recognized that the concept of community is often erroneously thought of as a monolithic entity. It is misleading

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<sup>19</sup>Skolnick, Justice Without Trial, op. cit., pp. 117-119.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

to define the collective nature of the community as a whole. For the police officer this is a serious hazard. It means that he is attempting to deal with a single entity instead of the heterogeneity that exists in today's society. It therefore becomes increasingly clear that the police must provide services for distinct and varied needs, and very often conflicting "publics." From the viewpoint of police and community relations then, it is necessary for the police to sharpen their social awareness and realize that the community is not a monolithic entity.<sup>21</sup>

The primary focus of this review will center on the concept of police role from the viewpoint of minority communities and the specific areas that influence this conception. There is no better place to begin than James Baldwin's portrayal of the social isolation of the police officer in the black ghetto:

The only way to police a ghetto is to be oppressive. None of the Police Commissioner's men, even with the best will in the world, have any way of understanding the lives led by the people; they swagger about in twos and threes patrolling. Their very presence is an insult, and it would be, even if they spent their entire day feeding gumdrops to children. They present the force of the white world, and that world's real intentions are, simply, for the world's criminal population and ease, to keep the black man corralled up here, in his place. The badge, the gun in the holster, and the swinging club, make vivid what will happen should his rebellion become overt....<sup>22</sup>

According to Baldwin, the black community in general perceives the police officer as being part of an "occupying army in a bitterly

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<sup>21</sup>Nelson A. Watson, "Community Development for Better Police and Community Relations," Police Community Relations: A Sourcebook, ed. A. F. Brandstatter and Louis A. Radelet (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Glencoe Press, 1968), pp. 197-198.

<sup>22</sup>James Baldwin, Nobody Knows My Name (New York: Dell Books, 1962), p. 62.

hostile country."<sup>23</sup>

Ghetto residents very often see a criminal justice system that exhibits dual standards of law enforcement. They are keenly aware that a much less rigorous standard of law response is prevalent in the ghetto. Often included in the minority residents' criticism of the police is the casualness of police response to serious offenses committed in the ghetto.<sup>24</sup>

Paul Jacobs graphically illustrates the concept of the occupying army that has a profound effect upon the ghetto residents' conception of the police role. Mr. Jacobs writes:

In the two and a half years immediately preceding the Los Angeles revolt 60 people were killed by police and 4 by security guards protecting public institutions. ... The police shot 27 in the back or the side. Of the 64, 25 had been completely unarmed; 23 had been suspected only of burglary or theft; 4 had not committed any crime when they were killed. Nevertheless, in 62 of the 64 cases the coroner's juries returned verdicts of "justifiable" homicide.

In addition to those shot dead by the police, others were shot and survived. ... between January 1, 1964, and April 20, 1965, the Los Angeles police were involved in 178 shootings, some of which were completely senseless.<sup>25</sup>

The essential point is that the black community's expectations for police service are not founded on the basic premise that the presence of the police is for "their" protection. In fact, many ghetto residents feel that they should be protected from instead of protected by the police. As one recent study suggests, the greater the respondent's fear of crime, the more likely he would support increases in police

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>24</sup>Kerner Commission Report, op. cit., pp. 308-309.

<sup>25</sup>Jacobs, op. cit., p. 31.

power. The results of this survey demonstrated that when extreme fear of crime becomes widespread, it may become the dominant cause for police support; however, in the black community fear of the police was far more significant than the fear of crime.<sup>26</sup> It is paradoxical that the people who are victimized most by crime are most hostile toward the police.

Another survey, conducted by Burton Levy, suggests that the police system itself is the cause of black hostility toward the police, since it recruits a significant number of bigots. He notes that the recruits' bigotry is reinforced through the agency's value system and socialization with more experienced officers. Then, the worst officers are placed on duty in the ghetto where the opportunity to act out their prejudice is always available. More importantly, Mr. Levy suggests that black hostility toward the police is not confined to the poor or those engaged in illegal activity in the black community. Black doctors, lawyers, and even police officers share the condition of the non-professionals. Clearly white police serve as provocative agents of black anger and hostility.<sup>27</sup>

Ramsey Clark suggests that one of the clearest indications of poor police-community relations is the fact that most crime today is not even reported.<sup>28</sup> This is especially true in ghetto neighborhoods. Consequently, the police officer is always searching for the elusive

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<sup>26</sup>Richard L. Block, "Fear of Crime and Fear of the Police," Social Problems, XIX (Summer, 1971), 91-101.

<sup>27</sup>Burton Levy, "Cops in the Ghetto: A Problem of the Police System," American Behavioral Scientist, XI, 4 (March-April, 1968) 31-35.

<sup>28</sup>Ramsey Clark, Crime in America (New York: Pocket Books, 1971), p. 137.

criminal, and his role concept of ferreting out crime in the ghetto is reinforced. In the eyes of the policemen, the ghetto becomes a refuge for criminals and a nursery for criminal activity. Perhaps the reason crimes are not reported is in the hostile attitude of ghetto residents to the police.

The ghetto community further complicates the police role by depending on the police as a social referral agency. As McNamara suggests, it is this combination of enforcement and service functions that creates uncertainties and conflicts that are resolved only partly by separating the two functions.<sup>29</sup> Much of the uncertainty stems from the conflicting demands that police provide services other than enforcing the law.

Gunnar Myrdal illustrates the ideal concept of the police role in his classic work, An American Dilemma. "Ideally the policeman should be something of an educator and a social worker at the same time he is the arm of the law."<sup>30</sup> The fact that the police officer is not, in addition to the narrow conception of the police role held by the community and the police, results in the officer's not being trusted as much as his position in society demands.<sup>31</sup>

In fact, as the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice further points out:

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<sup>29</sup>John H. McNamara, "Uncertainties in Police Work: The Relevance of Police Recruits Backgrounds and Training," The Police: Six Sociological Essays, ed. David J. Bordua (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 164.

<sup>30</sup>Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 545.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

In city slums and ghettos, the very neighborhoods that need and want effective policing the most, the situation is quite different. There is much distrust of the police, especially among boys and young men, among the people the police most often deal with. It is common in those neighborhoods for citizens to fail to report crimes or refuse to cooperate in investigations. Often policemen are sneered at or insulted on the street. Sometimes they are violently assaulted. Indeed, every day police encounters in such neighborhoods can set off riots, as many police departments have learned.<sup>32</sup>

The significant aspect of citizen expectations have been virtually ignored by police departments. The community not only needs the services of the police, but demands that certain services be provided. The rapidly changing nature of society is beginning to challenge the role requirements of the police. Therefore, in order to improve conditions in ghetto areas, the police must adapt themselves and their role to meet not only traditional demands for police service, but the more innovative requests that emanate from ghetto neighborhoods.<sup>33</sup>

Police corruption does more than protect illegal gambling, prostitution and narcotics enterprises. It helps to breed and intensify each of these evils. When those sworn to uphold the law themselves break it, society is left defenseless against its predatory elements.

Numerous authorities on police corruption have noted that the major reason for suppressing corruption is to improve police-community relations. If many ghetto residents are convinced that the police are involved in crime, it will be difficult to gain their support to fight other kinds of crime. This may be one reason why ghetto street crime goes unreported.

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<sup>32</sup>The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 99.

<sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 100.

In addition, police corruption is not confined to violations of moral laws. It often extends through a vast spectrum of practices, ranging from cadging free meals, discounts, admissions and tips, to shakedowns and outright burglary. As for the former category of practices, one ghetto resident remarked that "the black community not only regards the police as being on the take but also considers policemen as the world's greatest moochers."

However, this is not to suggest that all policemen are corrupt or that most of them are corrupt or even that many of them are corrupt. What it does suggest is that the cloud of suspicion that hangs over the entire police department be removed. The integrity of police officers must be above question if police-community relations is to become a reality.

This frequent oscillation between ethical law enforcement and periods of police graft and corruption may well be the central issue in improvement of police-community relations.

One researcher suggests that the police role for service should begin by examining "calls for police assistance." The author suggests that the first step in understanding certain "societal characteristics" begins by transforming calls for assistance into a profile of "customers' demands for service." This profile can then be used to identify the services required by the community and begin to recognize the essential needs of the community. "Crime prevention and control" would then be recognized as only one of many services provided by police, and could contribute to the realization that both service functions and crime fighting have the same objective or objectives. It was discovered that only 16 percent of all calls were crime related. Therefore, due to the

broad interpretation of police services and the ease with which they may be contacted, the police have the unique ability to determine the "needs" of the community they serve.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps if the findings of this research were implemented in ghetto neighborhoods, the role ambiguity and role strain that currently exist between police and black residents could be altered. It is important that the police officer recognize that the ghetto is not only a place of criminal activity, but also a place where numerous social needs exist--bad housing, unemployment, broken families, etc. As Gordon Misner suggests, part of the reason for the popularity in enforcing laws among police is due primarily to the image police convey to the public--"that law enforcement per se is the primary and highest goal of American policemen."<sup>35</sup> The central dilemma that results from this concept is that both the police and residents of the black community view the police officer as an agent of the law, when in reality the services the police officer provides are oriented toward ameliorating social conflicts that arise out of a need for social services. The entire conflict between police and blacks is ironic because the police, far from being agents of the majority (which represents the law), are a minority themselves.<sup>36</sup>

The "abrasive relationship" that exists between the police and minority groups is the consequence of a continuing series of negative

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<sup>34</sup>Thomas E. Bercal, "Calls for Police Assistance," American Behavioral Scientist, XIII, 5 (May-August, 1970), 681-691.

<sup>35</sup>Gordon E. Misner, "Enforcement: Illusion of Security," The Nation, April 21, 1969, p. 488.

<sup>36</sup>Hans Toch, "Cops and Blacks: Warring Minorities," The Nation, April 21, 1969, p. 491.



contacts. These negative contacts have been defined as situations in which minority group members perceive they have been treated unfairly. The result of such contacts has the possible implicit dimension of reinforcing negative stereotyping of one group by the other. This dual stereotyping causes polarization in police-community relations, since the police and minority group members are sensitized to each other.<sup>37</sup> The results of this sensitizing effect have been described as follows:

When the officer enters a threatening situation he is likely to employ some form of abuse, especially if the actor(s) is a minority group member. The power maintenance role of the police and the extensive and social disorganization in the minority culture create numerous stressful situations. When a patrolman enters this kind of situation, and it is not quickly structured to minimize personal danger, he will employ the strategies needed to control the situation. These strategies may be in accord with the officer's personal values and not those of the law. Often his response is perceived as inequitable, and frequently that perception is justified.<sup>38</sup>

The Spanish-American community has similar perceptions of the police. "Chicano power" is becoming an outcry for Hispanos throughout the United States. Chicanos live in segregated areas and speak a different language. These segregated areas are typically disadvantaged and present the police officer with the difficult task of defining the law. Due to the great variance in cultures, the police perceive the "barrio" as a place of great danger and chicanos perceive the police as the Gestapo.<sup>39</sup>

Finally, the perceptions of the police by minority groups seem

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<sup>37</sup>Jack L. Kuykendall, "Police and Minority Groups: Toward a Theory of Negative Contacts," Police XV (Sept.-Oct., 1970), 47-49.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>39</sup>Bayley and Mendelsohn, op. cit., pp. 87-108.

to be based on the negative contact situations which result from police interpretation of enforcing the law. These negative perceptions of the police are a function of the non-responsiveness of police to minority needs and grievances. The frequency of negative contact situations leads to individual and collective polarization of police and minority groups. Therefore, police-community relations programs are for the most part ineffective.

Conflicting demands made upon the police officer. Much of the conflict experienced by the police officer has been explained by Richard Blum.

Perhaps the most serious of all problems that plague the policeman is public acceptance. Here is the root of much of his uncertainty and job-caused conflict. The public has not yet made up its mind that it really wants a policeman. ... Part of the public's uncertainty is because of this American rebellion against authority. ... The public knows it needs policemen, but actually wanting them is a different matter.<sup>40</sup>

Moreover, the policeman himself is the object of conflicting standards. James Q. Wilson writes, "Society wants policemen who cannot be bribed but it also wants to bribe policemen."<sup>41</sup>

The police officer is also confronted with a dilemma while patrolling the ghetto. Since he wants to maintain peace and order in the ghetto, he carries out the normal functions of his duties. However, he is painfully aware that his presence may provide the spark necessary to ignite a riot, for which the police will ultimately receive

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<sup>40</sup>Richard H. Blum, "The Problems of Being a Police Officer," Police Patrol Readings, ed. Samuel Chapman (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1964), pp. 44-45.

<sup>41</sup>James Q. Wilson, "The Police and Their Problems: A Theory," Public Policy, XII (Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University, 1963), 204.

much of the blame. The Kerner Commission's Report vividly portrays the results of police patrol techniques in the ghetto. The Commission describes the riots of the late 1960's which for the most part began after the arrest by a white policeman of a ghetto resident for a minor violation.

Many disturbances studied by the Commission began with a police incident. But these incidents were not, for the most part, the crude acts of an earlier time. They were routine, proper police actions such as stopping a motorist or raiding an illegal business. Indeed, many of the serious disturbances took place in cities whose police are among the best led, best organized, best trained and most professional in the country.<sup>42</sup>

The predicament of the police in America today can scarcely be overstated, caught as they are between two contradictory developments. On the one hand, their job is becoming more difficult, while at the same time their resources are deteriorating. As Skolnick notes, "no recent observer doubts that the police are under increasing strain largely because they are increasingly being given tasks well beyond their resources."<sup>43</sup>

James Baldwin's characterization, cited earlier, depicting the police as an army of occupation deserves some consideration. The police are set against the hatred and violence that generates from the ghetto, and at the same time are delegated by the larger white society to contain and confine ghetto residents keeping them in their "place." Notably, no one knows this better than the police since it is they who must perform this unmanageable and dangerous task.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Kerner Commission Report, op. cit., p. 301.

<sup>43</sup>Jerome H. Skolnick, The Politics of Protest: Violent Aspects of Protest and Confrontation (A Staff Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 1968), p. 189.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

Similarly, the police can do little to ameliorate the conditions that cause student protest movements. Many demands of student protesters lie outside the purview of police authority, i.e., peace, reform of the university, the war in Vietnam. However, when protesters confront the police, their protest becomes a problem for the police.<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, protest movements, whether civil rights or student, present an unfamiliar problem for the police. As we have seen from an earlier review of literature, police officers have been characterized as law enforcement officers, albeit their role is primarily one of peace-keeping. However, in protest situations, the police frequently find themselves in the "impossible position of acting as substitutes for necessary political and social reform"<sup>46</sup> If they vent their rage on the protesters--black or student--they are oftentimes criticized by the mass media. If they fail to contain the protest demonstration, they are criticized by the larger dominant society for failure to do their duty. As Skolnick concludes, "Under such pressures and provocations the police themselves can pose serious social problems."<sup>47</sup>

The enforcement of certain criminal laws is yet another area that places the police officer in a dilemma and tends to polarize relations with the community. This country has one of the most moralistic criminal law systems that the world has produced. It is enforceable only in a sporadic, uneven and discriminatory fashion. As Packer notes, "The aggressively interventionist character of much of our criminal law

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

thrusts the police into the role of snoopers."<sup>48</sup> Very often criminal laws are so blatantly ineffective and unenforceable that conflicting demands are made upon the police officer. For example, there is simply no way for the police to provide effective enforcement of laws against prostitution, gambling, narcotics, sexual deviance and other so-called crimes without victims.<sup>49</sup>

Edwin Schur explains what causes criminal law in the area of victimless crime to be so ineffective, placing the police officer in a compromising position:

The absence of complaints lies at the heart of the unenforceability of these laws, and very strongly colors the entire enforcement process. It places law enforcement authorities in a particularly difficult, indeed highly untenable situation, often driving them to adopt harshly punitive or ethically (and legally) questionable enforcement techniques.<sup>50</sup>

This absence of complaints forces the police to develop aggressive, intrusive and coercive methods in order to obtain evidence that may be used against the wrongdoer. Packer describes three generic types of police investigatory conduct that are so at odds with the values of privacy and human dignity that they should be used only in exigent circumstances. They are physical intrusion, electronic surveillance, and the use of decoys.<sup>51</sup> Packer further emphasizes the results of such police practices which have significant implications regarding police-community relations:

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<sup>48</sup>Packer, op. cit., p. 283.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Edwin M. Schur, Our Criminal Society (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969), p. 196.

<sup>51</sup>Packer, op. cit., pp. 284-286.

Physical intrusion ... prostitution and narcotics offenses are examples of crimes in which this mode of enforcement predominates. They share with each other, and with other offenses as well, the characteristic that it takes intrusive tactics by the police to discover whether a crime has been or is being committed. Quite without regard to the niceties of the constitutional law of search and seizure....

A physical intrusion by the police is abrasive. An unnoticed intrusion, accomplished through electronic surveillance, ... if the practice is thought to be generalized, is that people will feel constraint in their words and actions in the very place where they should feel most free. This is a very high price to pay for law enforcement; and one must ask what law enforcement uses are thereby advanced....

The use of decoys in police work raises two related problems. One is that people will be tempted into criminal conduct that they would otherwise be less likely to engage in: the problem of entrapment. The other is the degrading effect that putting oneself in the position of a shopper for illegal drugs or sex is bound to have on law enforcement officers.<sup>52</sup>

Morris and Hawkins, in their authoritative text The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control, illustrate the duties of the police officer as that of upholding the community morals and enforcing its system of morality, and police must not abandon this responsibility. Yet the community and the political leaders are so irresponsibly ambivalent in their expectations of the police, that they want them to be both firm but not too firm while enforcing the moral values of society. How many of us would succeed in meeting the superhuman demands of this role?<sup>53</sup>

In a fundamental sense, however, it may be wrong to define the problem of the police and the community solely as resultant of the ambiguous nature of the police's position in society. In many ways, the

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Norval Morris and Gordon Hawkins, The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 88-90.

police officer only symbolizes much deeper problems. Responsibility for citizen apathy and disrespect for the law may be attributed to the total social system that permits inequities to exist in the law, stimulates the growth of poverty, and assigns the problems of the lower socio-economic group to the police while concomitantly giving them more extraneous non-police duties than they can possibly perform.

In today's American society there is a tendency to make anything and everything a crime. There is increasing recognition that the most expedient way to solve social problems is to make the deviant act a crime, even though these acts might be more appropriately dealt with through expanded social services or informal controls. Again, the result of such conduct further complicates the dilemma of the police officer's role in society, for many new laws often invite trouble and produce new and greatly expanded social problems. In short, what American society has done is to make the police officer its scapegoat.<sup>54</sup>

Furthermore, the police officer has unfortunately become a symbol not only of law, but of the entire system of criminal justice. As such, he becomes the tangible target for grievances against faults throughout the system.

When a suspect is held for long periods in jail prior to trial because he cannot make bail, when he is given inadequate counsel or none at all, when he is assigned counsel that attempts to extract money from him or his family even though he is indigent, when he is paraded through the courtroom in a group or is tried in a few minutes, when he is sent to jail because he has no money to pay a fine, when the jail or prison is physically dilapidated or its personnel brutal or incompetent, or when the probation or parole officer has little time to give him, the offender will probably blame, at least in part, the police

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<sup>54</sup>Schur, op. cit., pp. 194-197.

officers who have arrested him and started the process.<sup>55</sup>

As Paul Chevigny states, "the police are a godsend, because all the acts of oppression that must be performed in this society to keep it running smoothly are pushed upon the police."<sup>56</sup>

Also, another conflict manifests itself in the changing nature of democratic society. Frederick Routh suggests that "hopefully, part of the role of the police department is to see that change remains orderly, and to see, too, that there is no interference with orderly change as it takes place."<sup>57</sup> However, by the very nature of his job, this becomes a very difficult task for the police officer to accomplish. For the primary function of the police is to maintain the status-quo. "His job is not to lead social revolutions or to militate new laws. A person interested in vigorous social innovation would hardly adopt police work as a career."<sup>58</sup>

George Berkley suggests two very important hypotheses concerning police democratization that have direct relevance to improvement of police-community relations.

1. Democratization will be furthered if the police patrol singly rather than in pairs or groups.
2. Democratization will be furthered if the police patrol on foot rather than in cars.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Task Force Report: The Police, op. cit., p. 150.

<sup>56</sup>Paul Chevigny, Police Power: Police Abuses in New York City (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 280.

<sup>57</sup>Frederick Routh, "The Police Role in a Democratic Society," Police and Community Relations: A Sourcebook, ed. A. F. Brandstatter and Louis A. Radelet (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Glencoe Press, 1968), p. 277.

<sup>58</sup>Bayley and Mendelsohn, op. cit., p. 28.

<sup>59</sup>George Berkley, The Democratic Policeman (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), pp. 169-170.



This concept, if implemented in ghetto areas, may reduce tensions and help to eliminate the "occupying army" syndrome described by Baldwin. As to the first proposition, the ghetto resident may find one police officer more approachable than two. In turn, a single police officer may be more amenable to the grievances of the citizen. Thus, the conflict that exists between police and minorities might be reduced to some extent since the police officer who patrols alone often must rely upon tact and persuasion, not upon his authority which is frequently incompatible with the methods the police utilize to guarantee the peace of the community.

In summarizing this section on police-citizen interaction, possibly the persuasive statement of Colin MacInnes best describes and illustrates the policeman's position in contemporary American society:

They are doing the difficult and dangerous job society demands without any understanding by society of what their moral and professional problems are. The public uses the police as a scapegoat for its neurotic attitude toward crime. Janus-like, we have always turned two faces toward a policeman. We expect him to be human and yet inhuman. We employ him to administer the law, and yet ask him to waive it. We resent him when he enforces a law in our own case, yet demand his dismissal when he does not elsewhere. We offer him bribes, yet denounce corruption. We expect him to be a member of society, yet not share its values. We admire violence, even against society itself, but condemn force by the police on our behalf. We tell the police that they are entitled to information from the public, yet we ostracize informers. We ask for crime to be eradicated but only by the use of sporting methods.<sup>60</sup>

### Police Subculture

There are many characteristics typical of the growth of subcultures. These include:

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<sup>60</sup>Ben Whitaker, The Police (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1964), pp. 170-171.

1. Shop talk, slang or anecdotes which have meaning only to their members. For example, in police jargon "bagman" is the policeman that accepts various forms of graft and delivers it to a central location for distribution among his peers.

2. The general community's stereotypes of members of a subculture. In the case of the police officer, the citizens' concept of policemen often varies with personal experiences, e.g., dumb cop, protector, the enemy.

3. Organized sub-groups which in most cases constitute subcultures in themselves. The patrolman subculture is the largest subculture within a police agency, and is large enough to influence the character of the overall police agency.

4. Frequent changes in meanings, values and behavior patterns. After the riots of the 1960's, it was necessary for police organizations to re-evaluate their procedures of policing the ghetto.

5. Role playing that ultimately affects and reflects the occupational role of members of an occupational sub-group. Traditionally police officers share the same values off duty as well as on duty.

6. "Shared fate and isolation."<sup>61</sup>

One author defines a subculture as the outgrowth of power, a definition which has significant implications in describing the polarization of police and community relations. His comments are:

Differentiation, stratification and constraint lead to the creation of subcultures. In other words, subcultures arise from the exercise of power. Subcultures stem from isolation and shared fates. Hence power also contributes to the

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<sup>61</sup>Louis A. Radelet, Police and the Community (In Press) (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1972 or 1973).

potential for conflict both a field for ethnocentrism and a basis through style of life, for visible difference between groups.<sup>62</sup>

In light of the above, by the term police subculture we mean the body of collective understanding among policemen about matters directly related to their roles as police officers.<sup>63</sup>

This section will examine several of the police subcultural perspectives which are relevant to the shaping of role behavior of the police officer. The areas that will be analyzed are: morale, solidarity among police officers, police cynicism, and police discretion. There are, of course, a number of other perspectives that influence the role conception of the police officer. However, this author feels those listed above the most important in the polarity of relations with the community. It is assumed that certain subcultural factors play a significant part in defining attitudes regarding police-community relations.

Isolation of the police and its affects upon morale. Police officer morale is thought to be severely damaged by feelings of isolation, yet high morale is considered to be a major factor in aggressive police work.<sup>64</sup> One prominent police chief often reprimanded his officers for their retreat into "minoritism" and their "near fatal inability to recognize police dependence on public opinion" and

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<sup>62</sup>Raymond W. Mack, "The Components of Social Conflict," Social Problems, XII, 4 (Spring, 1965), 395.

<sup>63</sup>Victor G. Strecher, The Environment of Law Enforcement: A Community Relations Guide (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), pp. 79-83.

<sup>64</sup>Wilson, "The Police and Their Problems," pp. 191-192.

cooperation.<sup>65</sup> Gourley suggests that the lack of a "spirit of free cooperation" between the public and the police diminishes police morale and cripples community relations. He further points out that without the support of the public, the conviction of criminals, which is most important to police officers, becomes virtually impossible, a condition which tends to regenerate poor morale on the part of the police as well as reinforce the public's negative attitudes toward the police.<sup>66</sup> It is quite evident that the negative consequences of the isolation of the police greatly effect polarization of police and community relations.

William Westley published one of the earlier reports on police isolation, maintaining that much of the rationale for police violence and secrecy is due to the police officer's perceived isolation from the community he serves. According to Westley, the police officer regards the public as his enemy which further complicates the role expectations of both the police officer and the community. This conflict leaves the police officer little choice but to think of himself as a "pariah."<sup>67</sup>

Westley's interpretation of the role of the police suggests that the most difficult problem confronting the police is the maintenance of a consistent relationship with the community. This same relationship causes a more serious problem, since the police officer must act as a disciplinarian in the community he serves. The police are therefore faced with the task of justifying themselves to the public, both as

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<sup>65</sup>William H. Parker, "The Police Challenge in Our Great Cities," Annals, CCXCI, 5 (1954),

<sup>66</sup>G. Douglas Gourley, "Police Public Relations," Annals, CCXCI, 5 (1954), 135.

<sup>67</sup>William Westley, "Violence and the Police," American Journal of Sociology, LIX (July, 1953), 35.

individuals and as a group.<sup>68</sup> As a result, minority relations are further strained and tensions mount when the police are called to answer a call for service.

Wilson suggests that there are two salient aspects of the police officer's role that further isolate the police officer from the citizen and create additional morale problems. He notes:

First, the "pariah feeling" implies not only that the individual (or his occupation) is given low esteem, but more particularly that the esteem accorded is much lower than the ostensible importance of the goals he is to serve. The individual (in this case the policeman) is obliged to perform a social function of the highest importance but is told that he will not be given an appropriately high status even if he is successful. Second, the problem of serving incompatible ends implies that society has so defined the policeman's situation that he can never act in accord with that definition. Stated another way, the inconsistent expectations of society imply that the policeman will be called upon either to use socially unapproved behavior to attain socially approved goals or vice versa.<sup>69</sup>

What Wilson assumes then is that police agencies can address morale problems by providing a basis of self-respect independent of community perceptions of the police.<sup>70</sup> The International Management Series concurs with Wilson's evaluation, concluding that there is a need for developing pride in the police occupation, along with a feeling of being accepted by one's associates and the community served.<sup>71</sup>

Another explanation of police isolation has been described by Richard Quinney. Many of the requirements of law enforcement involve

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-41.

<sup>69</sup>Wilson, "The Police and Their Problems," p. 193.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 200.

<sup>71</sup>International City Managers' Association, Municipal Police Administration, ed. George D. Eastman (6t ed.; Washington: International City Managers' Association, 1969), p. 191.

the intrusion of the police into the private affairs of the citizen. The image that results from such an intrusion reinforces the public's fear and mistrust of the police. Additionally, the police provide the community with a constant reminder that they are present to prevent violations of current norms. Since most of the operating policies of the police are beyond public scrutiny and are secretive, the community is forced to isolate the police. Again, this affects police morale and strains police-community relations.<sup>72</sup>

There is an overpowering suggestion that the police are isolated by the manner in which they perform their duties. This can only be resolved by redefining the role of the police officer. The police "become dismayed by the fact that they are compelled to 'save' a public that does not want to be saved."<sup>73</sup>

However, in Merton's discussion of role set, he alludes to another possible function of police isolation and morale problems. He suggests that the "mechanism of insulating role-activities from observability by members of the role-set" may contribute to social stability by permitting those in the same role-set who are differently located in the social structure to play their individual roles without overt conflict.<sup>74</sup> If this is the case, police isolation may be said to permit the "peaceful co-existence" of police activities and certain anti-police sentiments

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<sup>72</sup>Richard Quinney, The Social Reality of Crime (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970), pp. 113-114.

<sup>73</sup>Michigan State University, A National Survey of Police and Community Relations, Report to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (Field Survey V), (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 21

<sup>74</sup>Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 374-376.

and factions. The detachment from certain segments of the larger community may be a necessary pre-condition to increase police professionalism.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that whether the community remains alienated or isolated from the police because of either mistrust or disrespect, both are equally painful.<sup>75</sup>

Solidarity among police officers. Skolnick's detailed study of two urban police departments suggests two principal variables that solidify the policeman's role--danger and authority, both of which tend to separate the police officer from society. "Set apart from the conventional world, the policeman experiences an exceptionally strong tendency to find his social identity within his occupational milieu."<sup>76</sup>

Authority, of course, draws police officers together by placing them in a position of power. The dangers of police work not only draw policemen together as a group, but for the most part separate them from the rest of society. Danger makes the police officer continually suspicious and on edge. As a result he develops resources within his own world to combat social rejection and isolation.<sup>77</sup> Banton, for example, illustrates this need for solidarity:

The need for support in situations of danger and the feeling of common identity arising from public pressure have important consequences for police organization. The demand for solidarity is extended to cover matters which have nothing to do with danger from criminals.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Whitaker, op. cit., p. 126.

<sup>76</sup>Skolnick, Justice Without Trial, pp. 52-67.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>Michael Banton, The Policeman and the Community (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1964), p. 114.

Furthermore, Banton maintains that in a heterogeneous society where different views of proper conduct are held by various classes and sub-cultures, a uniform and a badge may be insufficient symbols of authority.<sup>79</sup> To control the deviant acts of society it is necessary for the police officer to assert his authority. As Wilson states, to the police officer, this means his personal authority.<sup>80</sup>

Numerous authorities on the police have noted the importance of danger to the police role:

The exposure to danger and potential violence is one of the most important ingredients separating the policeman from the civilian.<sup>81</sup>

Even though statistics show that police work is less dangerous than occupations in mining, agriculture, construction and transportation, many police officers worry constantly about danger to their lives and limbs.<sup>82</sup>

... The element of danger is so integral to policeman's work that explicit recognition might induce emotional barriers to work performance. ... the police are the only peacetime occupational group with a systematic record of death and injury from gunfire and other weaponry.<sup>83</sup>

... the risk of danger in order maintenance patrol work, though statistically less than the danger involved in enforcing traffic laws or apprehending felons, has a disproportionate effect on the officer partly because its unexpected nature makes him more apprehensive and partly because he tends to communicate his apprehension to the citizen.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., pp. 168-169.

<sup>80</sup>Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, pp. 32-34.

<sup>81</sup>Marvin E. Wolfgang, "The Police and Their Problems," Police X, 4 (1966), 54.

<sup>82</sup>Terris, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>83</sup>Skolnick, Justice Without Trial, p. 47.

<sup>84</sup>Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, p. 20.



Perhaps the relationship between the policeman's perception of danger and his role can best be described by comparison with the combat soldier's experience. Janowitz equates the dangers of the two, and the resulting solidarity:

... any profession which is continually preoccupied with the threat of danger requires a strong sense of solidarity if it is to operate effectively. Detailed regulation of the military style of life is expected to enhance group cohesion, professional loyalty, and to maintain the martial spirit.<sup>85</sup>

Grinker and Spiegel suggest that when military personnel are faced with a stressful situation they may be "... thrown back into a state of less differentiated response."<sup>86</sup> Stouffer maintains that the usual fear reaction to a dangerous situation is most "... apt to interfere so seriously that the men are unable to exercise good judgment or to carry out skillfully an action they have been trained to perform."<sup>87</sup>

Many observers of contemporary police have drawn a corollary between the combat soldier and the police officer who patrols in a high crime area. Black and Lubes suggest that the police consider themselves at war in certain high-crime areas. Consider the following:

... the great majority of the police consider high-crime areas of a city to be enemy territory; they feel that they are at war with the criminal elements within it. ... Being at war and in enemy territory, the individual policeman feels that

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<sup>85</sup>Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier: A Social and Political Portrait (New York: The Free Press, Glencoe, 1964), p. 175.

<sup>86</sup>Roy R. Grinker and John P. Spiegel, Men Under Stress (Philadelphia: Blakiston Publishing Company, 1945), p. 144.

<sup>87</sup>Samuel A. Stouffer and others, The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath, Vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 223.

his life is in danger. He employs the psychology of "it's either him or me" or "if I don't get him now, he may get me later."<sup>88</sup>

If this analogy is accepted, or at least the equivalent responses to perception of danger, then the findings that pertain to the soldier may indeed be applicable to the police officer. Danger may well be the one variable that causes an increase in polarization between police and community; it is not surprising that police display a resistance to any community involvement.

Skolnick also observed that the enactment of the police role is greatly modified whenever a police officer considers himself or someone else to be in immediate danger. In such encounters, police act more out of expediency than by ascribed role perceptions or role conceptions.<sup>89</sup> In short, a police officer who defines a situation as dangerous might well feel that he must resolve the conflict by any means possible.

Finally, if we consider the above comments of Stouffer, that perception of danger affects sound judgment, then it may be said that the perception of danger can drastically alter the role enactment of the police officer. The earlier observations of Baldwin seem to be more fact than fiction.

The police officer's idea of authority is another curious aspect of the role worthy of additional comment. For example, often police officers will treat someone caught in the act of committing a crime quite differentially, when both officer and citizen acknowledge

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<sup>88</sup>Harold Black and Marvin J. Labes, "Guerrilla Warfare: An Analogy to Police-Criminal Interaction," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXXVII, 4 (July, 1967), 666.

<sup>89</sup>Skolnick, Justice Without Trial, pp. 42-70.

the legitimacy of the arrest.<sup>90</sup> Many observers have noted that police officers can and do become rather friendly and personable with a clear-cut offender; yet the same officer may be quite menacing to the unwilling suspect, which suggests that when his authority is challenged, his interaction with the citizenry is not very amicable.

Authority to the police officer, and in general to the police subculture, is quite important since it expresses his ability to gain respect from the community in which he serves. As Wertham and Piliavin further point out, "a patrolman's capacity to gain respect is his greatest source of pride as well as his greatest area of vulnerability."<sup>91</sup>

If he is forced to make too many weak arrests, he stands to lose prestige among his peers and superiors on the police force and to suffer humiliation at the hands of his permanent audience of tormentors on the beat.<sup>92</sup>

Chevigny maintains that policemen view themselves as personifying authority; a challenge to one officer is a challenge to the whole system of law enforcement.<sup>93</sup> However, it should be stressed that the public shares the burden of confusing the police officer's perception of authority. In fact, the general public is constantly adding to this confusion. The following is a perfect example:

The policeman is called upon to direct ordinary citizens, and therefore to restrain their freedom of action. Resenting this restraint, the average citizen in such a situation typically thinks something along the lines of, "He is supposed

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<sup>90</sup>Carl Wertham and Irving Piliavin, "Gang Members and the Police," The Police: Six Sociological Essays, ed. David J. Bordua (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 86.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

<sup>93</sup>Chevigny, op. cit., p. 139.

to catch crooks; why is he bothering me?" Thus, the citizen stresses the "dangerous" portion of the policeman's role while belittling his authority.<sup>94</sup>

The future of sound police-community relations programs may well begin by defining the police officer's authority and the unexpected nature of public responses. Another area that also has profound implications on the polarization of police and community is that of police cynicism.

Police cynicism. Many observers of the police have noted that police officers very often tend to be quite cynical. Much of the data collected on police cynicism suggests that when new recruits enter the police academy, they are quite idealistic about entering the police service, and in general, the criminal justice system. However, as the recruit's training comes to a close and he is sent out to the local precinct, his cynicism increases markedly. It appears that the increase is the direct result of "reality-confrontation" or at least that part of reality visible to the recruit from his position in the police bureaucracy.<sup>95</sup>

To date the most comprehensive study of police cynicism was conducted by Niederhoffer. He describes police cynicism in the following:

When a group feels that it is being threatened or treated unfairly, it falls back on its code of values. Cynicism is an ideological plank deeply entrenched in the ethos of the police world, and it serves equally well for attack or defense. For many reasons the police are particularly

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<sup>94</sup>Skolnick, Justice Without Trial, p. 56.

<sup>95</sup>Alexander B. Smith and Harriet Pollack, Crime and Justice In a Mass Society (Waltham, Mass.: Xerox College Publishing, 1972), pp. 111-112.

vulnerable to cynicism. When they succumb, they lost faith in people, society and eventually in themselves. In their Hobbesian view the world becomes a jungle in which crime, corruption, and brutality are normal features of the terrain.<sup>96</sup>

It follows that cynicism becomes a defense mechanism employed by policemen to combat the "pariah" complex illustrated in the theories of Wilson and Westley. In fact, this cynicism may well be the genesis of unproductive police-community relations programs.

Niederhoffer suggests four possible sources of police cynicism that affect police-citizen interactions.

The young policeman may learn it as a part of the socialization process, or absorb it through contact with an established police subculture. Or it may be that cynicism is a product of occupational "anomie." ... Finally, there may be something about the personalities of policemen that prepares the ground.<sup>97</sup>

The importance of Niederhoffer's observations is that he identifies police subculture and occupational anomie as sources of cynicism. It follows that if police agencies could develop training programs to combat this in-group cynicism, improved police-community relations might become a reality.

In addition, Niederhoffer suggests eleven hypotheses that are directly related to police cynicism. The results and findings of the study indicate that the hypotheses, for the most part, are supported by the data. As Niederhoffer observes, "cynicism is at the very core of police problems."<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup>Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1967), p. 9.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

The use of discretion is yet another facet of the police sub-culture that affects the polarization of police and community.

The use of discretion by police officers. The fourth aspect that has a significant impact on the state of police-community relations is the low visibility of police-citizen encounters.

One of the fundamental problems facing the police is to determine to what extent the criminal law should be enforced, or conversely, how much discretion should be allowed the police officer. The review of the literature on the discretion of police revealed that this subject is scarcely discussed in law books and for the most part it is seldom recognized by the average citizen. The fact is that law enforcement policy is made on the street. Wilson describes the role of the police officer as one in which, "sub-professionals, working alone, exercise wide discretion in matters of utmost importance (life and death, honor and dishonor) in an environment that is apprehensive and perhaps hostile."<sup>99</sup>

The point is that the lowest-ranking member of the police bureaucracy, the patrolman, has the greatest opportunity to exercise discretion. The patrolman is in charge of enforcing those laws that are the most ambiguous, the least explicit, and whose application is by far the most sensitive in certain communities.<sup>100</sup>

Technically, the police officer has no discretionary power; his role is to enforce all laws all the time. In reality, however, this is virtually impossible for a number of reasons. The most prevalent, of

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<sup>99</sup>Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, p. 30.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-8.

course, is that the community would regard total enforcement as intolerable. One of the most noted police administrators, New York City Police Commissioner Patrick Murphy, recognizes the problem as follows:

The police, of course, exercise very broad discretion and although in many states the law says or implies that all law must be enforced and although the manuals of many police departments state every officer is responsible for the enforcement of all laws, as a practical matter, it is impossible for the police to enforce all the laws and as a result they exercise very broad discretion.<sup>101</sup>

The ramifications this entails for police-community relations are of astounding proportions. Minority communities especially suffer from the use and abuse of police discretion. As the Kerner Commission exemplified, this may well be the most critical area in police relations with the community.

How a policeman handles day-to-day contacts with citizens will to a large extent shape the relationships between the police and the community. These contacts involve considerable discretion. Improper exercise of such discretion can needlessly create tension and contribute to community grievances.<sup>102</sup>

There are several inherent problems in the exercise of police discretion. First, a policy of discretion would manifestly contradict a police goal of impartial law enforcement. Obviously, if the police were to acknowledge the practice of discretion, it would indicate that the law is not uniformly administered. This would no doubt raise questions of racial prejudice and further invoke distrust of the police agency.<sup>103</sup>

Second, it is extremely difficult to prepare workable criteria for uniform action in individual uses of discretion. In effect, a

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<sup>101</sup>Kerner Commission Report, op. cit., p. 312.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

<sup>103</sup>Municipal Police Administration, op. cit., p. 13.

written modification of a particular law abrogates that law and makes the function of the legislature unnecessary. In any event, a police officer could not be forced to exercise discretion since he takes an oath that requires him to enforce all laws impartially.<sup>104</sup>

Third, the abuse of discretionary power serves as a breeding ground for corruption of individual police officers. The integrity of the police service can more readily be observed if there is an exact scale that can measure their actions. In short, "police discretion is a useful tool in modifying laws which serve primarily to annoy individuals."<sup>105</sup>

Closely related to the inherent problems of discretion are certain techniques utilized in situations not calling for arrest or prosecution. Most notable is police harassment which often appears to those involved as a continuing pressure put upon them as individuals rather than as law breakers. The most important area involving police harassment is in interactions with minority groups, especially blacks. Many blacks are firmly convinced that police harassment occurs repeatedly in their neighborhoods, unquestionably one of the major reasons for intense black resentment against the police. The Kerner Commission reports that in nearly every city surveyed, they heard complaints such as

... the harassment of interracial couples, dispersal of social street gatherings, and the stopping of Negroes on foot or in cars without obvious basis. These, together with contemptuous and degrading verbal abuse, have great impact in the ghetto.

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.



As one Commission witness said, these strip the Negro of the one thing that he may have left--his dignity, "the question of being a man."<sup>106</sup>

Police harassment in the ghetto is particularly directed at youths, creating special tensions in the ghetto. The breaking up of street groups and indiscriminate stops and searches are two methods the police continually use to harass black youths. Since juveniles and young adults are responsible for a large proportion of crime in the ghetto, police are under growing pressure from their supervisors and from the community to deal with them forcefully. Therefore, the harassment of young blacks is perceived by the police as a legitimate crime prevention technique. The latitude of such procedures only widens the gap of polarization between the police and the community.

According to Wilson, not only the type of citizen but also the nature of the call can have a significant effect upon the police officer's exercise of discretion. Wilson suggests two kinds of discretionary situations encompassing two sets of circumstances: first, the nature of the situation--law enforcement oriented or order maintenance; second, the basis for the police response--citizen request or police initiation.<sup>107</sup>

Wilson further maintains that the police officer is guided by the following type of questions in his decision on how to utilize his discretion.

Has anyone been hurt or deprived? Will anyone be hurt or deprived if I do nothing? Will an arrest improve the situation or only make matters worse? Is a complaint more likely if there is no arrest or if there is an arrest? What does the

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<sup>106</sup>Kerner Commission Report, op. cit., p. 303.

<sup>107</sup>Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, p. 85.

sergeant expect of me? Am I getting near the end of my tour of duty? Will I have to go to court on my day off? If I do appear in court, will the charge stand up or will it be withdrawn or dismissed by the prosecutor? Will my partner think that an arrest shows I can handle things or that I can't handle things? What will the guy do if I let him go?<sup>108</sup>

The impact these questions have on community relations cannot be overemphasized, for police policy is indeed made on the street.

Finally, Skolnick suggests that the police officer has the opportunity to behave inconsistently with the rule of law as a result of the low visibility of much of his conduct. The police officer may use his discretion for his own benefit and not the benefit of the community.<sup>109</sup>

#### Existing Police-Community Relations Programs

One of the fundamental problems in police-community relations is consensus on the proper role of police-community relations in contemporary society. On the one hand the law enforcement view is basically one of good public relations, while on the other hand there is the demand of minority groups for more police responsiveness and sensitivity to ghetto needs. This dichotomy has been well described by the Michigan State University Survey of Police and Community Relations:

Community relations is the two-way communication process focusing community resources on problem solving. It involves a recognition of two viewpoints, that of police and that of community. Public relations, on the other hand, is basically a one-way communication process aimed at gathering support for police procedures and informing the public of department

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<sup>108</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

<sup>109</sup>Skolnick, Justice Without Trial, pp. 231-232.

activities. We have found that if distrust among segments of the public is prevalent, the public relations activity will do little to garner public support.<sup>110</sup>

The Michigan State Survey goes on to argue that:

Where public relations activity becomes an end in itself, the department runs the risk of falling victim to "image preoccupation" wherein they emphasize "looking good" rather than "being good."<sup>111</sup>

This section will explore the status of police-community relations by briefly analyzing current deficiencies in police-community relations, the police-community relations unit and police leadership in the field of community relations. The logical assumption is that there are certain inherent factors that contribute to the polarization of the police and the community.

Current deficiencies. In recent years many police organizations have introduced community relations units into their departments. There are, of course, advantages and disadvantages to such a unit. One of the hazards is the possibility of becoming a meaningless superstructure, an empty gesture or an inactive and unco-ordinated effort to appease various groups within the community. Many observers of the police recognize that it is virtually impossible to develop sound police-community relations programs without the aid of every member of the department. The hard fact is that every single member of the police agency must be a community relations officer if any real and lasting progress is to be made.

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<sup>110</sup>Michigan State University, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid.

The President's Crime Commission is quite clear on this issue, recommending in the Kerner Report total orientation of every facet of police service.

A really meaningful police and community relations program in a police agency saturates the entire organization at every level. Ideally, it is a total orientation, permeating every facet of police operations: policy, supervision, personnel, practices, training and education, planning and research, complaint machinery, and of course, the community relations unit itself, whatever it may be called. A police administrator does not establish a community relations program merely by activating a special unit, or by adding a few hours of special instruction in police training courses. Community relations must permeate the entire fabric of the organization and in a meaningful manner, not merely as "the current kick" in the department or as a matter of "window dressing."<sup>112</sup>

In its survey of various cities throughout the country, the Commission found that the "hard core, the unreachables, the truly marginal persons in the minority group communities are simply unaware that a community relations program even exists."<sup>113</sup> For example, in one particular city which has had a Police-Community Relations Unit since 1956, the Commission noted that:

... subcultural enclaves which should be most directly engaged by the unit do not even know of its existence. For a variety of reasons, it appears, the Police-Community Relations Unit has been unwilling or unable to establish even the beginnings of a relationship with these enclaves.<sup>114</sup>

The Kerner Commission suggested a number of programs so far of only potential benefit. It has become quite evident that these

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<sup>112</sup>Joseph D. Lohman and Gordon E. Misner, The Police and the Community, Report submitted by the School of Criminology, University of California, Berkeley, to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice. (Field Survey IV, Vol. II) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966), 304.

<sup>113</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 58.

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 286.

programs have very little support from the rank and file officers; they are not co-ordinated by police leadership, or participated in by ghetto residents. In fact a number of cities have ignored recommendations made by the Kerner Commission.<sup>115</sup>

Current community relations programs ... have most often developed into honeymoons with "respectable" groups already sympathetic to the police side rather than magnanimous attempts to communicate with the more hostile elements.<sup>116</sup>

It is quite evident that it is easier for the police officer to relate to the so-called "nice" people in the community, and to be suspicious of and at times frightened by non-conforming members of the community. Consequently while he has good liaison with the "power structure" he remains adamantly aloof from the very individuals who need him most. In the end, role ambiguity, role strain and role conflict develop.

Another area earlier alluded to deserves additional comment: the confusion between police-community relations and public relations. The University of California Survey delineates the distinction between public relations and police-community relations:

The strongest caution should be directed toward the police assumption that police-community relations is equated with, or is a function of, police public relations. The latter stresses one-way communication; the former, two-way. This study has shown that a constant request of those who are alienated from the general community is that they be "understood." Their assumption is that they are not heard and thus not understood. "Hearing" requires that the police listen to varying viewpoints as well as present their own.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>Kerner Commission Report, op. cit., pp. 319-320.

<sup>116</sup>William W. Turner, The Police Establishment (New York: Putnam's Books, Inc., 1968), p. 305.

<sup>117</sup>Lohman and Misner, The Police and the Community, Vol. II, 304.

This dilemma demonstrates the complications of formulating police-community relations programs, the necessity of striking a proper balance between the police and the community. What is an appropriate posture for the police in their everyday interactions with the community?

The late Chief William Parker of the Los Angeles Police Department cites a typical view taken by most police administrators in the "good old days." Consider the ramifications of Parker's thesis:

In those days many excellent police administrators held that public relations activity was highly impractical--almost a criminal waste of government funds. They took the attitude that they were paid to be policemen, not salesmen, and that the public was going to get old fashioned police work pure and simple--no frills, no information, no explanation. ... The police consider themselves and the public to be separate entities. It was a case of police versus the public--the police department decided what was good for the community and delivered just that and nothing else.<sup>118</sup>

Despite this simplistic view, police-community relations is one aspect of the police function that deserves considerable attention. If police-community relations programs lack official support, any attempt to enlist the backing of the individual police officer is doomed to failure. Parker's further statement that "community relations is a question of human weakness and society's failure to control that weakness,"<sup>119</sup> emphasizes the 'crook catching' and the return of service functions to another social agency.

Another authority on police systems reinforces the views of Chief Parker: "... the almost palpable fact remains that city police

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<sup>118</sup>O. W. Wilson (ed.), Parker on Police (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1957), p. 135.

<sup>119</sup>William H. Parker, "The Police Role in Community Relations," Police and Community Relations: A Sourcebook, ed. A. F. Brandstatter and Louis A. Radelet (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1968), p. 335.

forces waste a part and sometimes a considerable part of their available manpower on performance of unnecessary or so-called 'public relations' assignments."<sup>120</sup> This despite the fact that many observers have documented police resistance to so-called public relations programs.

As G. Douglas Gourley points out:

The term "public relations" is often confused with "publicity." Public relations is the sum total of the relationship which exists between the police and the public. Publicity is one way of creating these relationships. It is, however, not the best way.<sup>121</sup>

This is not just a problem in semantics. If leading authorities among the police are confused about police-community relations, it becomes abundantly clear that line officers will fail to do any better.

Review of the literature on this subject indicates that many observers see two reasons for the increasing difficulty of enlisting police effort in improvement of community relations. First and foremost is the feeling that police-community relations should not be included in the role of the police officer. Second, the police hierarchy is prone to view the community relations as a threat to the law enforcement function of their agency.

Police-community relations units. This embroilment is very evident in the police-community relations unit. The organization of such units is a very recent event. Many of these divisions are poorly organized, lack real constructive programs for constructive improvement, and are merely "eye wash" to impress city officials and the public in

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<sup>120</sup>Bruce Smith, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>121</sup>G. Douglas Gourley and Allen P. Bristow, Patrol Administration (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publishers, 1961), p. 271.

general. In fact, as the Michigan State Survey illustrates:

A number of units have come into existence only after a major incident or collective pressure made the establishment of such a unit necessary. The Los Angeles program only took shape after the Watts riots. In another Western city, a unit was only established after a Negro was shot and killed by an off-duty police officer and things became quite tense.<sup>122</sup>

The implication here is that police-community relations units are deemed necessary only after the event of a disturbance. The community, too, appears to be interested in police activities only after an abortive confrontation with them.

Skolnick has suggested that the police-community relations unit should serve as a means of democratizing the police service. The personnel of such units should assist in developing ways of reshaping the police role.<sup>123</sup> The hazard is that

... they will have to bear not only the initial mistrust and hostility of minority groups in their role as representatives of the police; more seriously as they begin to understand and communicate the perspective of minority groups to their fellow policemen, they will be regarded by many as turncoats, or worse.<sup>124</sup>

The prevalent need then becomes independence of police-community relations units from certain established, overall police norms. This is the major dilemma in organization of a viable police-community relations unit.

O. W. Wilson suggests a number of responsibilities that should be assigned to the police-community relations unit, maintaining that they may clarify the distinction between public and community relations.

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<sup>122</sup>Michigan State University, op. cit., p. 65.

<sup>123</sup>Jerome H. Skolnick, Professional Policemen in a Free Society (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1967), p. 14 (pamphlet)

<sup>124</sup>Ibid.



He cited the following necessities:

- 1) Acting as liaison with formal community organizations such as the police-citizen council or other neighborhood groups.
- 2) Establishing a working relationship with other community relations organizations in the region.
- 3) Participating in the development of community relations programs for the department as a whole.
- 4) Publicizing police objectives, problems and successes.
- 5) Acting as the communications link for information transmitted from citizen organizations to the police department.
- 6) Suggesting improvements in practices by police officers which have a bearing on police-community relations.
- 7) Identifying training needs through interviews with citizen representatives, consultation with the internal investigations unit, and conferences with superiors.<sup>125</sup>

The quality of the activity is more important than the placement of the unit. Wilson's suggestions illustrate that if certain responsibilities are delegated to a police-community relations unit, the activities of such a unit will be readily acceptable to both the police subculture and certain segments of the community.

The Task Force Report: The Police takes the position that probably one of the most useful functions for a police-community relations unit is to explain the ground rules of police-public street encounters. What exactly can the police officer do or not do, what can the community do in the event of police abuses? It may be possible for the unit to work with the human rights office or with civil liberties groups in preparation of jointly prepared informational guides. More than ever, it is necessary for the police to inform the public of the legal limits of police authority, for if it appears that they deliberately misinform the public, fear and lack of confidence develop. On the other hand, public confidence in police protestations of professional motives will be vindicated when police officers are precise in dealing

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<sup>125</sup>Wilson and McLaren, op. cit., p. 241.

with the public, and most of all, conscious of the limits of their authority.<sup>126</sup>

It follows that the responsibility for community relations should be appropriately placed in order to reduce role ambiguity among line police officers. The Task Force Report: The Police illustrates the confusion that results when responsibility is dissipated among more than one unit.

Community relations programs cannot be effective if responsibility is split between various police units. In one large city, for instance, a public information division handles press releases, speeches, tours and citizen crime prevention programs; a human relations section working out of field services division investigates incidents with religious, racial or ethnic overtones and gives advise concerning high-tension situations; and a community relations co-ordinator in the office of the Chief of Patrol co-ordinates neighborhood police-community workshops.<sup>127</sup>

It is necessary, therefore, to establish lines of responsibility within the organizational framework of each police agency. From an organizational perspective, community relations may be a staff function which necessitates placing responsibility in a separate unit. But all police officers are responsible for public relations and must share equally in this responsibility.<sup>128</sup>

Another area that causes role ambiguity, role strain and role conflict among line officers is the lack of proper leadership in community relations.

Lack of leadership. In order to gain an insight into the attitudes that have shaped the police officers' conception of community

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<sup>126</sup>Task Force Report: The Police, pp. 150-156.

<sup>127</sup>Ibid.

<sup>128</sup>Municipal Police Administration, op. cit., pp. 233-235.

relations it is necessary to briefly examine police organizational concepts. Many police administrators today imply or say that you can either accept or reject police-community relations. This has a profound impact on the individual police officer, for if one of the top administrators fails to delineate the concepts of community relations, why should he be expected to do so?

Many police executives have recently taken the tough law-and-order line and find that it is only at their own risk that officers can enter some parts of town. These are, however, precisely those parts of town they most need to visit if they are to do their job properly. For example, Chief Walter Headley of Miami launched one of the most widely publicized get-tough policies in this decade. He had special forces stationed in ghetto areas with orders to strictly enforce the law. This sort of policy may have been a nominal comfort to some people, but it created intense bitterness where the real problems existed. The central question is, of course, what were the police doing yesterday that necessitates their getting tough today?<sup>129</sup>

Unfortunately, the philosophy of Parker and Headley has acted as a guide to the more "progressive," i.e. those who think, police administrators, and police-community relations have suffered. Many police executives have noted increasing belligerence and arrogance on the part of the general public. Attitudes such as that of Chief Parker and Chief Headley have left deep scars upon the community, especially minority communities. In addition, there has been a growing resistance to overtures to friendly communication on police beats in minority areas.

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<sup>129</sup>Clark, op. cit., p. 144.

Some police administrators have pointed out that even though police officers have tried to establish friendly relationships in the interest of harmony and good police service, they have been unable to do so because the "people" react to them with coldness and remain aloof.

The commitment of the Chief of Police is essential if line officers are expected to take an active part in improving community relations. If the Chief is not "unequivocally convinced that the primary police responsibilities of law enforcement can be made easier by an active police-community relations program, all the orders and goals are useless."<sup>130</sup>

A community that fully believes their chief is sincere in preparing for leadership in that community will give him additional respect and consideration. He must convince both the men of his department and the citizens of his jurisdiction that he will work with devotion and dedication to achieve his community relations goals.<sup>131</sup>

In summary, Harry Fox identifies four factors that are most important in preparing for police leadership in community relations. Consider the following standards:

1. Select his goals
2. Train for leadership
3. Commit his men and department to work in this area
4. Demonstrate by words and actions his firm personal belief in the importance of good community relations.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup>Harry G. Fox, "Preparing for Police Leadership in Community Relations," Police and Community Relations: A Sourcebook, ed. A. F. Brandstatter and Louis A. Radelet (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1968), p. 373.

<sup>131</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>132</sup>*Ibid.*

### Cognitive Dissonance

Perhaps the greatest amount of data gathered in the realm of cognitive dissonance has been submitted by Leon Festinger. According to Festinger the basic premise of the dissonance theory is quite simple. Two elements of knowledge "are in dissonant relation if, considering these two alone the obverse of one element would follow from the other."<sup>133</sup> Further, dissonance "... being psychologically uncomfortable, will motivate the person to try to reduce dissonance and achieve consonance ... in addition to trying to reduce it, the person will actively avoid situations and information which would likely increase the dissonance."<sup>134</sup> Dissonance generates in the discontent and tension between two opposing points of knowledge, two opinions, values or attitudes.

Another consequence of the theory of dissonance deals with exposure to information. The principle of dissonance may have a close relationship to an individual's commence with information, since information may lead to a change in cognitive elements. In particular, the assumption that dissonance reflects a psychologically uncomfortable state leads to the prediction that individuals will seek out information which reduces dissonance, and will avoid information which increases it.

Festinger suggests five general conditions under which cognitive dissonance occurs:

1. Dissonance almost always exists after a decision has been made between two or more alternatives.

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<sup>133</sup>Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957), p. 13.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

2. Dissonance almost always exists after an attempt has been made, by offering rewards or threatening punishment, to elicit overt behavior at variance with private conviction.
3. Forced or accidental exposure to new information may create cognitive elements that are dissonant with existing cognition.
4. The open expression of disagreement in a group leads to the existence of cognitive dissonance in the members.
5. Identical dissonance may be created in a large number of people when an event occurs which is so compelling as to produce a uniform reaction in everyone.<sup>135</sup>

The central issue involved in the theory of cognitive dissonance is that "the presence of dissonance gives rise to pressures to reduce that dissonance."<sup>136</sup> Brehm predicted that when forced to engage in an unpleasant activity, a person's liking for this activity will increase more when he receives information essentially berating the activity than when he receives information supporting it.<sup>137</sup>

The results of Brehm's study tend to support his predictions. For example, negative information is said to increase dissonance, increased dissonance leads to an increased tendency to reduce it, and the only means of reduction is increasing the attractiveness of the dissonant activity. Such an increase could indeed be anticipated.<sup>138</sup>

Significantly, what does the theory of cognitive dissonance have to do with the polarization of police-community relations, or more importantly police-black relations? The concept of cognitive dissonance

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<sup>135</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., p. 263.

<sup>137</sup>J. W. Brehm, "Attitudinal Consequences of Commitment to Unpleasant Behavior," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LX (1960), 379-383.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid.

and contra-cultural conflict are closely related and may well be a variable of polarization in police-community relations.

Strecher's analysis of this problem is of considerable importance in improving community relations. He begins by defining the concept of "cultural shock," which is most familiar to people who have been suddenly transplanted to a foreign land, e.g., the Peace Corps, AID, etc. Strecher continues by suggesting two discernible stages in the cultural shock syndrome:

The first is a kind of honeymoon period, lasting anywhere from a few days to several months, depending on the circumstances. During this time the individual is fascinated by the novelty of the strange culture. ... The second stage begins when the individual settles down to a long-run confrontation with the real conditions of life in the strange culture, and he realizes fully that he needs to function effectively there. He becomes hostile and aggressive toward the culture and its people. He criticizes their way of life and attributes his difficulties to deliberate trouble making on their part; he seeks out others suffering from cultural shock, and with them endlessly belabors the customs and "shortcomings" of the local people. This is the critical period. Some never do adjust to the strange culture; they either leave the environment--voluntarily or involuntarily--or suffer debilitating emotional problems and consequently become ineffective in their relations with the local population.<sup>139</sup>

Strecher proceeds with his analysis by illustrating that police officers suffer "cultural shock" during their early exposure to the lower-class black subculture. First, there was the exodus of millions of black people from the rural South into the urban areas of the North and the West. This exodus produced patterns of social adaptation that might be called "survival techniques," and it created black behavior patterns clearly dissonant to the conventional norms of the dominant society. Thus, the result is a distinctive black subculture. Cognitive

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<sup>139</sup>Strecher, op. cit., p. 86.

dissonance, therefore, exists in the lower-class black's simultaneous awareness of the standard norms of social behavior and the substituted norms by which he actually lives. He thus begins to realize that his way of life does not work out nearly as well as those unfamiliar with it say it does. Consequently, he rejects the conventional goals and the responsible means of achieving them, and allies himself with goals that bring his behavior and norms into consonance in his own world.<sup>140</sup>

Strecher summarizes his analysis by describing the effects of dissonance and cultural shock upon the police officer:

Enter the policeman who has problems of his own. He is recruited from the middle and working classes, and as a result of historical racial segregation patterns, knows almost nothing of the Negro poverty subculture. His occupational socialization produces a self-concept centered upon crime fighting and life protection, and also a set of subcultural perspectives which tend to reject roles dissonant with his self concept. ... In addition to the initial surprises about the nature of his work, the policeman who is assigned to a predominately lower-class Negro neighborhood experiences a cultural shock reaction to the social strangeness, the loss of familiar cues and symbols, and his inability to interact spontaneously with the Negro residents. ... It is natural for the officer to react aggressively to this frustrating experience. This becomes his stage two of cultural shock; he welcomes any opportunity to gripe about slum dwellers, ... he holds these people responsible for his new problems.<sup>141</sup>

In the final analysis two additions may be made to Strecher's theory. First, if the analysis of his concepts contains any validity, then it has provocative implications for programs directed at improving police-minority relations. Secondly, while Strecher's theory pertains particularly to police-lower class black relations, with certain minor adjustments, it may be applicable to police interactions with other

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<sup>140</sup>Ibid., pp. 87-89.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid., pp. 89-90.



disaffected groups. In fact, Strecher's theory may well indicate the primary cause of the polarization that exists in police-community relations.

#### SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO EXAMINATION OF THE POLICE ROLE

This section of the review of the literature will examine the more academic and scholarly contributions to explanation of the police role. The main contributors are: James Sterling, Assistant Director, Professional Standards Division, International Association of Chiefs of Police; Dr. Thomas A. Johnson, Professor of Criminal Justice, University of Indiana; Jack Priess and Howard Ehrlich; Richard A Myren and finally Michael Banton. These are in addition to James Q. Wilson and Jerome Skolnick whose considerable work heavily footnotes the earlier sections of this review.

#### Sterling

Sterling's study of role behavior in police recruits is not only the most sophisticated study to date, but it is also the only research effort in the area written specifically for police administrators and trainers. The author's approach was to examine the magnitude of selected changes in role concepts as they occurred over a 21-month period among a group of police recruits.<sup>142</sup> To accomplish this, Mr. Sterling extensively analyzed the socialization process of the police recruit.

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<sup>142</sup>James W. Sterling, Changes in Role Concepts of Police Officers (Washington: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1972), p. xi.

Role concepts also encompass the qualities which are expected of patrolmen. Such attributes result from the collective role concepts of the occupation. For example, if police work is considered a primarily physical activity--active patrol, chasing felons, subduing prisoners, and crowd control--then logically the necessary attributes for work of this kind would be physical strength, certain motor skills and stamina. If, on the other hand, police work is seen largely as a service function, then such attributes as verbal skills, interpersonal skills, the ability to empathize, compassion, and abstract intelligence may be more appropriate.<sup>143</sup>

This is a statement of why this thesis places so great an emphasis on role expectations, particularly role expectations of the individual police officer. It also defines the incongruence of a police training based on "crook catching" and a reality needful of the service functions of the police officer.

Sterling suggests six significant factors that directly affect changes in role concepts among police officers. They include: role conflict, perception of reference groups, aggregate role, role attributes, perception of danger and attitudinal orientations to role.

Perhaps the most important finding of Sterling's study was in the area of role conflict. It was discovered that a primary source of role conflict for the patrolman is the necessity of exercising personal discretion.<sup>144</sup>

Another significant finding of Sterling's inquiry revealed a number of intriguing aspects of police perceptions of danger. Essentially, the tested group exhibited the sharpest perception of job-related danger upon completion of recruit training. This is apparently due to anticipation of entry into the role of a police officer. In addition,

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<sup>143</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., p. 284.

Sterling found a very high consistency of perceived danger in the ranking of assignments among the new recruits. Furthermore, those recruits who were high perceivers of danger at the start of training tended to be high perceivers after patrol experience.<sup>145</sup>

These findings directly correspond with the findings of this thesis, for it was discovered in the field study observations that police perceptions of danger may be one variable inhibiting the growth of police-community relations.

In final commentary on the focus of inquiry into the patrolman's ability to cope with change, consider the following:

The subjects of this research have been pictured as taking on a complex vocational role which is beset by ambiguities, conflicts and strains. Men with modest education and limited vocational backgrounds were given a modicum of training and placed in a personally demanding role which, in many respects, is discontinuous with their backgrounds, their interests and their formal job training. ... The socialization process exposed them to forces which affected their emergent personality needs, increased their awareness of conflicting behavioral expectations, exposed them to problems of role ambiguity, changed their concept of essential role attitudes, altered their perceptions of people and modified their job-related attitudes.<sup>146</sup>

#### Priess and Ehrlich

Another major contribution to the clarification of the role behavior of policemen was made by Jack Priess and Howard Ehrlich in their monumental study: An Examination of Role Theory: The Case of the State Police. Besides the Sterling project, this is the only study focusing directly on role theory.

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<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 291.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

The authors began the study by examining role behavior in a state police organization. They analyzed the role acquisition process in order to determine the relationship between perceived role expectations and overt role behavior. As did Sterling, the authors analyzed the socialization process of the police recruit extensively.

Priess and Ehrlich suggest that the role of the policeman is characterized by considerable fluidity and by a lack of clarity and precision. Therefore, examination of the role of the policeman necessitates not only field observation techniques, but also questionnaires, test protocols, and police records. Comparison with materials gathered through empirical observations is then possible.<sup>147</sup> It is for this reason that this thesis places so great an emphasis on the importance of the questionnaires. The use of the questionnaire adds another dimension to data gathering permitting presentation of issues in both substantive and theoretical forms.

Another significant observation made by Priess and Ehrlich concerns audience perception of the police role. Consider the following overview:

Inaccuracy of perception can be laid at either the door of the perceiver himself or of the system which produces the role definitions. We have already presented considerable evidence that the several rank groups, as audiences, held different perceptions of the policeman's role. At present we are not sure of the importance of these differences in terms of their consequences both for actual behavior and for the evaluation of such behavior.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>147</sup>Jack J. Priess and Howard J. Ehrlich, An Examination of Role Theory: The Case of the State Police (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), pp. 36-37.

<sup>148</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

However, instead of analyzing formal role requirements which are often clearly outlined in the organizational goals and regulations of police officers, Priess and Ehrlich explored the non-instrumental aspects of the police role, aspects generally developed and transmitted in less formal ways. Moreover, the authors chose to examine areas which had never been rigorously studied in a role theory framework of any police agency before.<sup>149</sup>

These non-instrumental areas of police role are as follows:

1. Advancement opportunity, the extent to which the job offers satisfactory career goals and adequate, impartial procedures for achieving them.
2. Social value and prestige, the extent to which the job fulfills important public services and the degree to which the public recognizes and values such service.
3. Freedom to express feelings, the degree to which the job permits the incumbent to convey his attitudes and emotions to others without incurring negative questions and responses from them.
4. Self-realization, the degree to which the job provides the incumbent with opportunities to use initiative and develop his talents.
5. Job-family compatibility, the extent to which job requirements can be met without sacrificing family interests and obligations.<sup>150</sup>

Also of significant importance were the authors' findings regarding the public image of the policeman as viewed by minority group members. To most people, the state police occupy a prestigious, well-paid, desirable job that requires the discipline of a well-run organization.<sup>151</sup> However, minority group members have a completely different perception of the policeman.

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<sup>149</sup>Ibid., pp. 38-39.

<sup>150</sup>Ibid.

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., p. 137.

... the policeman, in general, is seen as tense, suspicious, and overbearing in his relationships with the public, as being likely to disregard constitutional rights, as using convenient methods without conscience, and as a man selected on the basis of political considerations or physical qualities. There can be little doubt ... that the minority group members sampled are significantly more likely to view the police in a relatively negative manner.<sup>152</sup>

Similarly, the authors discovered that police perception of minority groups is also generally negative. This is due, according to the authors, to the contact that police have with the "bottom" of minority groups. White police officers have little contact with the majority of law-abiding blacks and chicanos. It is little wonder that stereotypes develop between the two factions.<sup>153</sup>

Another cause of polarization in police-community relations.

#### Johnson

Perhaps one of the major contributions to understanding the patrolman's role was made by Thomas A. Johnson when he observed that patrolmen enact their role more in response to the emergency nature of a situation than to classification of the situation as criminal or non-criminal.<sup>154</sup>

Johnson also made three very significant discoveries that may be of considerable importance in further research directed toward improving police-community relations. These findings are as follows:

First, the patrolman subculture was identified within the larger subculture of the police. This discovery has relevance

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<sup>152</sup>Ibid.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid., pp. 138-142.

<sup>154</sup>Thomas A. Johnson, A Study of Police Resistance to Police Community Relations in a Municipal Police Department, Unpublished Dissertation (Berkeley: University of California, 1970), p. 1.

and application not only to police resistance of police-community relations, but also to police resistance to organizational change.

Secondly, many patrolmen accommodate to police-community relations considerations or demands by a process of role distance, in which the officer acknowledges the importance of improving police-community relations, but by disaffecting the virtual self that is implied in the other roles, the officer is in effect resisting the role that police-community relations structures for him, irrespective of the validity of the perceived role expectations.

Thirdly ... that there are, in fact, structural and organizational defects within our police system, that not only have built-in police-community relations strains implicit within the system but that any expectation or approach of attempting to modify individual officer behavior will not be successful until the very design of the organizational structure is itself modified.<sup>155</sup>

The above second proposition directly corresponds to the findings of this thesis. Role distance does play a considerable part in polarizing relationships between the police and the community. In short, Johnson is emphasizing that there are a combination of factors, both organizational and personal, that cause police officers to resist community relations perspectives.

One final comment concerning Johnson's inquiry into the emergence of a patrolman subculture:

The patrolman subculture gives the individual patrolman membership in a distinct subculture within the more over-riding police subculture. Of essential importance within this area is the normative value structure of the patrolman subculture and its capacity for manifesting resistance to administrative policies, norms, and other value structures.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>155</sup>Ibid., p. 321.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid., pp. 309-310.

Banton

Another outstanding contribution to interpretation of the police role has been made by Michael Banton. Banton perceives the policeman's role as one of two possibilities: involvement or detachment.

If the policeman is too much involved in community affairs and loyalties, he lacks the impartiality required of an authority figure. If, on the other hand, he is detached too much from the community, he no longer has the understanding of people's feelings which he needs if he is to exercise his discretion effectively. If the policeman is too involved, he forfeits respect. If he is too detached, people resent his implied claim to be their moral superior.<sup>157</sup>

Banton further suggests that if public confidence is to be acquired by the police, it is paramount that the police role be exercised in a manner to prevent conflicts. To prevent conflict situations from arising, policemen must not engage in activities which compromise them as policemen. For instance, they may not identify with any controversial group in politics or religion. In short, the public must be confident that policemen will not succumb to the temptations surrounding their job.<sup>158</sup>

Moreover, Banton maintains that a policeman's occupation follows him into social contracts of complex consequence. The policeman is required to be a bit better than everyone else. His role requires that he be more "moral" than others, "as someone slightly sacred and at the same time dangerous."<sup>159</sup> This inhibits his social relationships with the community, since his very presence may threaten another individual's

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<sup>157</sup>Banton, op. cit., p. 188.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid., p. 189.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid., p. 190.



social standing.<sup>160</sup>

Another area to which Banton has contributed is the study of police solidarity.

The need for support in situations of danger and the feeling of common identity arising from public pressures have important consequences for police organization. The demand for solidarity is extended to cover matters which have nothing to do with danger from criminals.<sup>161</sup>

Solidarity is an important variable of the police role. It is a force materially affecting role performance and to some extent role acquisition. In addition, police-community relations are appreciably affected by it, since solidarity actually permeates role conception of the police officer, which in turn causes polarizing behavior.

Banton also recognizes the importance of police discretion and how this discretion is utilized by the individual police officer. At certain times and in some neighborhoods police enforce the law more strictly than in others. In the more "crime ridden" blocks they will disperse social street gatherings to prevent disturbances, while in middle-class neighborhoods such a gathering would be left undisturbed. Minor offenses are seen as law violations to be used by the police to frustrate activities that seem likely to cause trouble.<sup>162</sup>

It is quite evident that discretion plays a significant role in the polarization of police and community.

Banton also suggests that responsibility for sound police-community relations should not be ascribed solely to police. The police

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<sup>160</sup>Ibid.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., pp. 131-132.

are products of society, and unless that society is willing to initiate changes in their conceptions, police antagonisms will be continued. Banton concludes:

... the over-identification of the police with responsibility for the maintenance of public order distracts attention from the public's responsibility. It would be advisable to investigate, more carefully than anyone else has yet done, what the barriers are to increased public participation in the maintenance of order, and the ways in which other social institutions might be modified to facilitate such participation.<sup>163</sup>

### Myren

Perhaps the most significant paper favoring an extreme change of the police role conception has been submitted by Richard A. Myren. Myren begins by identifying four primary bases of police role definition: citizen, judge, legislator and executive officer. He explains that it seems abundantly clear that this number cannot be reduced, and that efforts to limit any one base would no doubt be effectively circumvented. In short, any meaningful discussion of police role must recognize the multi-faceted nature of the police role.<sup>164</sup>

Myren suggests a redefinition of the police role in a democratic society: first, the elimination of service functions; these functions should be assigned to an agency completely divorced from police activities. One of the advantages of such a change would be the elimination of inflated police budgets which have distorted the true picture of crime control. In addition, police professionalism would be greatly increased,

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<sup>163</sup>Ibid., pp. 267-268.

<sup>164</sup>Richard A. Myren, The Role of the Police, Unpublished paper submitted to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 7.

since police agencies could concentrate on enforcement of the traditional criminal law.<sup>165</sup>

Secondly, Myren maintains that the elimination of the enforcement of certain convenience norms could reduce tensions between the police and the public. For example, careful attention should be given to the possibility of assigning the direction and control of traffic enforcement to a separate department of inspections.<sup>166</sup>

Enforcement of traffic regulations is not necessarily "police" work. Some countries that have a considerable volume of vehicular traffic do not assign municipal police any responsibility for its control. A separate city department regulates traffic, using enforcement officers wearing uniforms entirely different from those of the police charged with enforcement of the traditional criminal law. This idea is worth a trial in the United States as well.<sup>167</sup>

Thirdly, Myren suggests that the elimination of certain social problems from the purview of criminal law would improve the status of police-community relations. Other alternatives should be sought to cope with certain social ills, rather than repeated use of the criminal law.<sup>168</sup> Criminal law appears to have become a "trash bin" for all the social ills confronting contemporary society.

Finally, the author maintains that police organizations must modify their role in terms of defining the responsibilities of the individual police officer. In other words, the central dilemma facing police organizations today is whether they are primarily peace-keeping agencies

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<sup>165</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>166</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>168</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

or law enforcement agencies.<sup>169</sup>

In effect, Myren proposes the creation of additional bureaucracies to deal with the various social problems that exist. This author suggests that many police-community relations problems may be a direct result of inefficient bureaucracy. As a result, police officers are often used as scapegoats by both social service agencies and the public in general. The community must learn to accept a share of the responsibilities in maintaining social order and improving relations with the police.

In summary, this writer felt that many of the concepts related to police role perception were clarified by analyzing these two facets of the literature.

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<sup>169</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-35.

## CHAPTER III

### ANALYSIS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND FIELD STUDY OBSERVATIONS

This chapter will present the results of the questionnaire completed individually by police officers of Uniontown and College Park. The focus of the field study was to observe empirically if and how polarization exists in police-community relations. Moreover, the field observation study provided the researcher the opportunity to examine the four essential objectives of this thesis.

#### QUESTIONNAIRE

The overall objective of the questionnaire was to provide basic data concerning how the police officer conceptualizes his role in the community. Implicit within the questionnaire were questions directed at measuring a police officer's role-expectations, role-conflict, role-strain and role-ambiguity.

The questionnaire was randomly distributed to 150 members of the Uniontown Police Department. Of the 150 questionnaires distributed, 111, or 74%, were returned.

It was anticipated by this researcher that a far lower percentage of questionnaires would be returned. Prior to the study, the Fraternal Order of Police Chapter of the Uniontown Police Department had ordered

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all its members to refrain from filling out questionnaires pertaining to community relations problems and racial areas. In order to gain the co-operation necessary to complete this research effort then, contact was effected with the Chief of Police, Training Officer and Watch Commanders on each tour of duty. This solicited the co-operation of top police officials and demonstrated that the research was not intended to degrade any particular police officer or police department. Once this was established, police officials of Uniontown guaranteed the fullest co-operation of the men in their commands. The result was an unusually high return of the questionnaires.

Conversely, the questionnaire was administered to the entire complement of personnel of the College Park Police Department, excluding the Chief of Police and three of his top officials. The questionnaire was, therefore, distributed to a total of 40 members of the College Park Police Department. Of the 40 questionnaires distributed, 22, or 55%, were returned.

The analysis of the data gathered through the questionnaire can be summarized by the following general points.

#### Implications of Responses

Over 60 percent of the police officers tested view their most important function as the protection of life and property. Equally significant was that out of 133 respondents answering Question One, only one considered the apprehension of criminals to be of any importance. The greatest single difference in Question One can be found in a comparative analysis of the responses of Uniontown and College Park officers. Table I clearly portrays this difference. In College Park there is an equal number of responses for both the maintenance of order and the

protection of life and property. There are, of course, a number of variables involved in explanation of this phenomenon.

Perhaps one explanation for the smaller police agency's orientation toward order maintenance can be found in the circumstances of police work in a smaller city. Theoretically, in a smaller community, police-citizen interactions would be handled on a less formal basis, thus decreasing the police officer's tendency to interpret duty as the ferreting out crime.

Another variable may well be generally different styles of policing between the two cities.

TABLE I<sup>1</sup>

## Responses to Question One

Police Definition of Duty	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Maintain order	8	7.2	10	45.5	18	13.6
B. Protect life and property	74	66.7	10	45.5	84	63.1

These data further support the proposition that urban police officers are oriented more toward the emergency nature of a situation than to criminal classification. There is, however, the possibility that this response is due to the police officer's belief that a crime is in progress.

Questions Four through Nine pertain to the establishment of a police-community relations unit and its acceptance by police officers. Question Four reveals that the largest percentage of the respondents would not request assignment to a police-community relations unit if the

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix C for further information regarding Question One.



opportunity arose, even if it had the same status as a detective unit. As Question Six reveals, 70.7 percent of the officers felt that they would be criticized by their fellow officers if an assignment in a police-community relations unit were accepted. Yet in Question Nine, 72.9 percent agreed that the establishment of a police-community relations unit would be in the best interests of the police, and in Question Five, 69.9 percent felt that a police-community relations unit is necessary to maintain good relations with the community. Moreover, in Question Eight, 71.4 percent agreed that there is a great need for strengthening the relationship between minority groups and the police officer. TABLE II illustrates these differences.

TABLE II<sup>2</sup>

## Responses to Questions Four through Nine

Total			Total		
Question	No.	%	Question	No.	%
4	59	44.4	5	93	69.9
7	63	47.4	8	95	71.4
6	94	70.7	9	97	72.9

This dichotomy aptly represents the dilemma of the police officer. Most policemen would like to improve relations with the community but it becomes apparent that the police subculture controls their actions and motivation. These results correspond to the review of the literature on police subcultures. The significance of these data is that they reveal similar response from both Uniontown police officers and College Park police officers.

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<sup>2</sup>See Appendix C for complete list of responses for Questions Four through Nine.

The implications of this analysis then suggest that if police-community relations can be strained by the degree of involvement of the police officer, then perhaps a redefinition of the police role is necessary to improve police-community relations. The strength of the police subculture may well be the determining factor for developing future police-community relations programs, since acceptance by police officers is the first prerequisite of sound police-community relations.

The data of Question Nineteen indicates that officers of the Uniontown Police Department perceived their role as more law enforcement oriented (59.5 percent) than service oriented (40.5 percent), while police officers in the College Park police agency perceived their role as more service oriented (63.6 percent) than law enforcement oriented (36.4 percent). The total population revealed that 55.6 percent favored law enforcement while 44.4 percent decided that service functions were more important. TABLE III indicates these differences.

TABLE III<sup>3</sup>

## Responses to Question Nineteen

	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Law Enforcement	66	59.5	8	36.4	74	55.6
Service Oriented	45	40.5	14	63.6	59	44.4
Total	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

This very significant discovery was not anticipated. Perhaps the explanation for this difference in role perception can best be attributed to the different styles of policing employed by each agency. For example, the College Park police organization is more of a watchman

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<sup>3</sup>See Appendix C.

style agency; while the Uniontown police administrator may induce his police officers to handle commonplace situations as if they were matters of significant law enforcement.<sup>4</sup> Another explanation may lie in the definitions of law enforcement orientation and service orientation. In addition, the size of the police department may influence the perceived role of the police officer. In the larger organization there is a greater exposure to law enforcement oriented situations than in a smaller police organization. Consequently, police officers of the larger agency have their expectations somewhat consistently fulfilled. It may also be concluded that police officers of the larger agency perceive their role more realistically than their contemporaries of the smaller organization. In any event, the results of this question should have a significant impact on police-community relations planning.

Question Twenty revealed that law enforcement orientation was important, 64.8 percent of the respondents perceiving that the community expected police officers to enforce the law. However, this displays an inconsistency since other data revealed the community (especially minority communities) had much different expectations of police services.

Questions Ten through Fifteen were designed generally to determine the community's expectations of the police role. Question Ten indicates that both Uniontown (62.2 percent) and College Park (54.5 percent) police officers perceive their role as one in which an equal amount of time should be spent on service functions and law enforcement, as opposed to criminal investigation. This may be due to the response of Question Eleven which indicates 82.9 percent of the Uniontown police

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<sup>4</sup>James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 172.

officers and 54.5 percent of the College Park police officers felt that the general public expects a policeman to be on duty 24 hours a day. However, a breakdown of the population reveals a significant difference in responses. Only 9.9 percent of the Uniontown officers felt the public could not care less what they do, while 36.4 percent of the College Park officers had similar feelings. This difference may be attributed to type of clientele each agency serves. College Park represents a "bedroom" community and not requiring the services of the police as much as the working-class blue collar community of Uniontown.

Question Twelve reveals that virtually all of the police officers feel that the community expects them to be "model citizens" always setting an example for the community to follow. The breakdown of the total population shows 94.6 percent of the Uniontown officers and 81.8 percent of the College Park officers displaying similar feelings about community expectations. This may be the result of general police orientation and training programs that emphasize the importance of being ready for duty at any hour of the day or night.

Question Fifteen elicited some interesting responses. Police officers in both Uniontown (98.6 percent) and College Park (88.8 percent) best describe the police officer as being friendly, cooperative, courteous, and suspicious. However, these characteristics are in direct conflict with the community's perception of the police as cocky, highly excitable, and brutal. Thus role perception reflects incompatible expectations, and widens the polarity between police and community. Not until this incongruity is eliminated will police-community relations programs become viable.

Question Twenty-two indicates data suggesting that a police officer does not think blacks or other minority groups require stricter enforcement procedures. In fact, over 59 percent of the general population considered all people to be alike, whether black or white. This is a significant recognition of the value of impartiality in exchanges between police and community.

Question Twenty-three pertaining to the degree of danger involved in response to service calls in minority communities, revealed that over 50 percent of the total population described minority communities as a place of danger. This is significant because it directly corresponds to the police officer's feeling of isolation when he enters a minority neighborhood. The theoretical framework developed in the review of the literature supports the policeman's perceptions of danger.

Question Twenty-five elicited some very interesting results. The respondent was directed to list three things he found particularly annoying when dealing with minority groups. The responses listed the most often by officers of the Uniontown police department are revealed in TABLE IV. TABLE V lists responses of officers from the College Park police department.

TABLE IV

Responses of Uniontown Police Officers  
to Question Twenty-five

Areas of Annoyance Most Commonly Listed	Frequency of Responses
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1. Attitudes of minorities concerning prejudice of whites, value system of minorities, etc.	26
2. Life style of minorities: late hours, drinking, environment, cockiness	19
3. Respect for law and authority	18
4. Co-operation with the police	16
5. Dislike and hatred of police officers, especially white police officers	10
6. The language of minorities: abusive and crude	7
7. Incidents involving police viewed as "just picking on me because I'm black"	6
8. Lack of education	4
9. Charges of racism	4
10. Stereotyping of police officers	4
11. Violence that exists in minority areas	4
12. Do not want police there (in ghetto)	3
13. Cannot handle their own problems	3
14. Ability to reason with	2
15. Police are there to help minorities	2
16. No response	33
<hr/>	

TABLE V

Responses of College Park Police Officers  
to Question Twenty-five

<u>Listed in Order of Frequency</u>
1. Lack of co-operation
2. Attitudes toward police
3. Distrust and disrespect of police and authority
4. Never look at total picture
5. Offensive and abusive language
6. Think someone owes them something
7. Play the ghetto role
8. Unfair treatment of police circumstances
9. Discrimination against whites
10. No response (4)

Perhaps the most salient point emerging from Question Twenty-five is indication of the validity of the primary hypothesis of this thesis: contra-cultural conflict between the police subculture and certain subcultures of the larger community. For example, the responses of the Uniontown police officers suggest the things that annoyed them most about minority groups are life style, value system, hostility towards white police officers and lack of respect for authority. This may indicate the conflict between police officers and minority group members, since similar responses were recorded when the same question was asked of blacks and chicanos. The overall review of the literature also maintains that blacks, and to a lesser degree chicanos, think policemen are: brutal and hostile towards them, fail to respect their values, and unwilling to acknowledge the prejudiced attitude of most white police officers. Another cause for the polarization of police-community relations.

In College Park, police officers identified characteristics (TABLE V) similar to those of Uniontown police officers. Throughout the years, the police of College Park and the student population have frequently conflicted over issues outside the purview of police authority, e.g., peace and the political and social climate. The result of confrontations of this nature usually is increased dissonance among both police officers and students, the central question one of conflicting role perceptions.

Another significant aspect of Question Twenty-five is that a total of 38 police officers failed to answer it. This may be due to the nature of the question, for some people do not want their individual prejudices to be exposed.



The overall results of the questionnaire suggest that the attributed expectations of various segments of the community and the perceived expectations of the police officer are clearly contradictory. In short, perhaps the public, as well as the police, lack and need information about the role of the police officer. It makes no difference whether the police officer's perceptions of the community are real or imagined; this perception must be addressed in order to reduce the polarization extant in police-community relations.

#### FIELD STUDY OBSERVATIONS

The results of the empirical observations will be discussed as previously outlined according to dependent and independent variables. The individual cases observed by this researcher will be analyzed for impact on the police officer of the role enactment process. To ensure objectivity in the analysis, the role enactment process of the police-man as examined within the body of literature already developed by sociologists and criminologists is used as a theoretical framework for this research.

Role enactment as the dependent variable should serve as a systematic means of observing manifestations of polarization in police-community relations. In short, the role enactment process of the police officer will become the forum for discussion of the polarization of police and community.

This researcher recognizes that there are a number of intervening variables which may effect the dependent variable of role enactment. It is not the purpose of this research to identify all of the variables but only those conflicting with community expectations of police officers.

### Role Expectations

In considering the first independent variable of role expectation several general observations were made. The data analysis of the questionnaire revealed that police officers are quite confused about community expectations, especially in minority neighborhoods. Empirical observations of numerous police-citizen encounters indicates a similar confusion in citizen expectations of police, the two conditions undoubtedly feeding each other. It should be noted again that most of the empirical observations were of police interaction with blacks, chicanos, and students.

Very often when this researcher asked the citizen why he called the police and what he expected once the police arrived, the response was, "He gets paid for answering citizens' calls." In the event of a domestic quarrel, the expectations were even more ambiguous, the most frequent response being, "I need protection." The fact that upon arriving at the scene of such a disturbance, the police officer usually finds everything quite peaceful suggests that certain segments of the community use the threat of police action to resolve inter-family conflicts. The immediate dilemma for the police officer is that he feels the presence of danger because of incongruent role expectations.

Frequently, police officers are summoned for a particular service which turns out to be citizen manipulation of police power. A classic case was observed in Uniontown when an elderly black woman called the police to evict a roomer for non-payment of rent. Subsequent investigation showed that the lodger had paid his rent, and that the landlady was using the threat of police to extort additional money.

Also observed were numerous calls requesting police officers to perform illegal acts. This researcher observed the following encounter at a police-community relations team meeting: when the meeting ended, two black members of the team approached a police officer and suggested that it might be a good idea if he dropped by a local half-way house frequented by drug users and harass them a bit. The officer informed them that he did not have the right to harass anyone and instructed the two citizens to call the police in the event of a violation. This angered the citizens because they thought all drug addicts should be in jail and not on the streets; and it angered the police officer who felt that his integrity had been impugned. The situation was further complicated by the obvious fact that the police-community relations team had been organized to develop better understanding between the two, new, protagonists.

Innumerable situations were observed in which citizens called the police to break up a fight either on the street or in a barroom. This irritated many of the officers because they did not regard their role as that of a referee. Many officers stated that "they only received calls from people reporting a fight where they want the police to act as referee, and if an arrest is made, police are then expected to be a punching bag for the combatants." Similar responses were made by police officers concerning citizen expectations of reports made only for insurance purposes. The officers did not consider themselves a secretary or a liaison agent for an insurance company. Calls of this nature added to the confusion of the police role because police officers do not consider them "real police work."

One particularly significant case in which citizen expectations greatly confused the role behavior of the police officer occurred in College Park. At about 10 p.m. the police received a call about a loud party in an apartment building occupied mainly by students. The complainant lived in an apartment above. Upon arriving at the scene, the police officers and this observer noted that there was indeed a party but at this time it appeared to be very orderly. Officers then pointed out to the complainant that the party was "not loud and disorderly, and besides it is only 10 o'clock and Saturday night."

Calls of this nature confirm the police officer's expectation that he is truly the "man in the middle." There is no way in which the officer could adequately resolve the party situation. In this particular situation everyone was upset with everyone else; the complainant because the police would not break up the party; the police for the incongruence of their position; the party-goers for what they thought was a false accusation.

In the chapter on review of the literature, this researcher suggested that for the most part police officers were law enforcement oriented and therefore only interested in "real police work." This characteristic attitude was observed time and again by this writer. For example, after answering several insignificant calls, the scout car in which this observer was riding received one about a "man with a gun." This immediately elicited the response that "now we can start doing some real police work." The fact is that calls of this sort usually turn out to be false, not supporting such perceptions of "real police work."

Another significant phenomenon that was observed concerns the police officer's perception of danger. The review of the literature

maintained that the danger involved when responding to calls for citizen assistance is one variable that solidifies the role of the police officer. However, in response to this researcher's question, "What do you dislike most about your job as a police officer?" the most frequent response was "the danger involved in this line of work." There is, of course, a basic inconsistency here that deserves further research. On the one hand, the young men join the police force because of the danger and excitement, while on the other hand the one thing they dislike the most about police work is the danger involved.

A further significant observation of empirical study is that the community is frequently confused about what to expect from a police officer for some "specific" type of service. In the last analysis, what is called confusion over the role behavior of the police may be more understandable when both the police and the community are examined. These incongruent role expectations are one factor that cause a polarization of police and community relations.

#### Multiple Role Appearance of the Police Officer

The independent variable delineated as multiple role appearance involves such areas as role-conflict, role-ambiguity and role-strain. These items will be described in terms of what was empirically observed of officers on duty.

Role conflict has been defined as a situation in which a police officer finds that proper enactment of one role results in falling below expectations in another. In other words, the police officer encounters two sets of expectations, a dual obligation impossible to fulfill. The beginnings of role conflict thus present themselves, the officer

expected by his peers to behave in one way, by the clientele he serves in another.

The most significant examples of role conflict were observed between the lower-class black subculture and white police officers. The white police officer knows almost nothing about the black subculture. He usually is recruited from middle and working-class areas, and as a result of historical segregation patterns has had very little or no contact with the largest American minority group. The review of the literature suggested that his occupational socialization produces a self concept centered in the protection of life and property and a set of subcultural perspectives which reject roles dissonant with that self concept.

The field study observations revealed the dissonant actions of the police officer time and again. In fact the results of the questionnaire correspond exactly to the empirical observations. Frequently police officers stated "the life style of blacks should be changed if they ever expect to be accepted by the larger white society. They are going to have to learn how to obey the law."

Consequently, when police are called into a black neighborhood for any reason, conflict is generated before the facts are known. This may be called a conflict of roles since the police officer as citizen has internalized the universalistic values of the larger white society, and as a police officer the necessity of crime fighting.

Related to role conflict are situations of role ambiguity of considerable importance in the role enactment process of the police officer. The most salient observations were made when police were called to quiet a family disturbance. The following responses were

recorded by this observer in conversations with police officers after they had "handled" a call of domestic trouble:

It is probably the one area that a policeman is least capable of handling. In such cases, an officer is dealing with a marital problem which probably has been present for years, yet he's called and expected to solve the problem in maybe five, ten or fifteen minutes.

The real problem is that the officer is in someone else's house. When he arrives, he doesn't know who is in the house or whether there is a gun. I think it is the worst call a policeman can get.

It's a hell of a situation to contend with. Sometimes both parties will jump you before you know it.

Investigating such disputes gives you one of the most uncomfortable feelings you can have. One party often objects to your being there and you usually don't want to be there either.

Our policy is that no man goes by himself. Another man must be present if only to be a witness. These are very explosive situations.

When a policeman has to physically separate couples or other family members, he could end up with the whole family on his back.

On any of these calls you are apt to face a gun, knife or both. And you find yourself in the unenviable position of being called an intruder.

Family trouble calls are the most distasteful calls for me. You never know what to expect. I would rather be in a gun battle with a stick-up than respond on some of these family quarrels.

The most significant factor involved in these responses is the explicit danger. Perhaps the unknown danger described by the police officers contributes to the ambiguity of the situation. One officer indicated "he would rather be in a gun battle"; this suggests that this particular officer equates real danger with so-called "real police work." In any event, there are a number of calls for police service that are implicit and ambiguous, and tend to confuse the role of the police officer, further polarizing police and community relations.

Perhaps the best example of role strain this researcher encountered involved an elderly black man who had been repeatedly threatened and harassed by a group of young thugs. It appeared that the citizen would sign a complaint and appear in court if necessary. However, the police officer indicated that after the court appearance chances were that the young gang members would come looking for him. The citizen obviously did not know what to do. The officer then suggested maybe it would be a good idea for the citizen to move to another neighborhood. This was impossible because the man was on a fixed income and all his ties were in his present neighborhood. The officer felt that a reprisal would be a certainty over the position he had to take.

This particular case produced frustration both for the citizen and the police officer. The officer felt there was little he could do to improve the lot of the citizen. The elderly man fully expected the officer to take some affirmative action.

#### Method of Resolving Role Conflict Situations

The most prevalent method observed for resolving role conflict situations was the use of discretion by police officers. In fact, the use of discretion may have prevented many conflict situations from occurring.

A good example of the use of discretion occurred during an altercation between two brothers who were disputing over some money. The fight began as a heated argument inside the house of one of the brothers, and later spilled out onto the street. When the police arrived, a small crowd had gathered and was taunting the combatants. The police officers then attempted to separate the pair. Seeing the police restraining the two, the crowd began to increase and insult the police officers.



Both officers were fully aware that their primary duty is to enforce the law while also bearing in mind the importance of maintaining good police-community relations in this neighborhood. They were thus faced with a conflict situation.

The conflict was resolved by escorting one brother back to his home and requesting that the second brother retire to the local taproom. The crowd dispersed and peace was restored to the neighborhood.

The significant fact in this case is that the police could very easily have arrested the two brothers. This action would no doubt have irritated the crowd and caused an overt confrontation between police and citizens. Instead, the officers employed discretion to quell the disturbance, reducing the conflict of having to arrest someone before the hostility reflected in the crowd. Of the most significant importance is that the officers resolved their conflict through the use of discretion on the basis of citizens' attitudes.

The empirical observations of this study consistently revealed that police officers quite pervasively relate to citizen attitudes before emanating their role. Numerous police-citizen encounters suggested that there is a definite relationship between the officer's use of discretion and the attitude conveyed by the citizenry. To this extent, when police officers state that "people get treated the way they act," it is no doubt quite accurate.

Also illustrative of challenge to police discretion are situations which challenge police authority. Very often it was observed that the pettiness of personal affront to the police officer became, because of his uniform, an attack upon the authority he represents. Typically, such scenes observed several times during the course of this research,

involved disorders where crowds had gathered, as in the following situation.

The police were called to quell the disorder of a barroom brawl. When they arrived at the scene, a large crowd had already gathered. The police began ordering the crowd to "move on," and attempting to determine who the participants were. Many police officers believe that the proper way to avoid escalating such an incident into a serious disturbance is to take suspected participants out of the area as quickly as possible and move the crowd from the scene. In this particular case, the suspects refused to submit to police authority. At this point the police officer faces two conflicting alternatives: he can publicly hazard an arrest, or publicly "back down" from both the crowd and the suspect.

In the above case, a number of people were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct because the police officers involved considered the reactions of the suspects and the crowd as a blatant affront to their authority. In the words of one of the officers: "If you let them get away with it, other people might try the same thing. This doesn't only reflect on the department's authority, but I'll be considered an easy mark the next time I come into this neighborhood. I'm here every day and I can't afford to let these people get away with this kind of bullshit." Alternative to such "I will show them who the boss is," would be the discretion of verbal warning or some other extempore remedy to reduce the threat of the situation, rather than involve criminal law in image protection.

By far, the most interesting discovery of this research concerns the manifest fear that exists among white police officers when interacting

with minority communities. The most routine calls would elicit police remarks such as: "You never know what to expect"; "You have to be ready for anything in this neighborhood"; "These people are the most violent people on earth"; "They're all animals and would jump you in a second"; "I don't care what the call is, when I go in I have my hand on my gun."

Subsequently, most encounters with minorities result in a conflict situation. The role enactment process of the police officer becomes confused and the unneutralized fear exhibited by white police officers becomes of considerable importance in provoking more of the polarization between police and the minority.

In conclusion, the impact of the independent variables on the dependent variable of role enactment is not only dependent upon such factors as type of clientele, location of police agency and size of the city, but also to a great extent on the type of calls the officer must respond to.

It appears that there are two distinct types of polarization to police-community relations, the first emerging from individual officers' expectations, and the second from community expectations. In observing the role enactment process of police officers both in field situations and at community relations team meetings, the fundamental cause of polarization seems to be simply that police-community relations do not fit the role expectations of urban police officers. There is today a conflict among police officers themselves between impartiality or uninvolvedness, and the traditional viewpoint that police-community relations can only be accomplished through a sense of involvement with the community.

Empirical observations also indicate that police officers often use the concept of police-community relations as a scapegoat for all their grievances and complaints about both the community and police bureaucracy.

Police officers of Uniontown were of the opinion that the newly created police-community relations team was responsible for an increased number of complaints against police officers. While it is possible that police officers just as citizens need scapegoats to support a basic conviction that the "community is always to blame," such an attitude suggests gross oversimplification of the facts, an emotional hazard that is not productive.

One veteran police officer described his contempt for police-community relations; it is prevalent among the majority of police officers.

Don't be a fool, most citizens think police-community relations is a bunch of bullshit, because they could care less if they ever see a policeman. In my opinion police should be feared and respected; police-community relations diminishes the fear people should have of police officers.

In other words, the police view the community with role distance. The consequence, which is beyond the scope of this study, should be of significant importance to future researchers.

## CHAPTER IV

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

#### SUMMARY

This research effort has focused on two basic factors contributing to polarization of police-community relations: the role perceptions of the individual police officer, and the community's expectations for police service. The following areas have been identified as having a considerable impact on the polarization.

#### Areas of Police Perceptions

1) The results of the questionnaire, review of the literature, and empirical observation all reveal the fact that police officers view their role as one of protection of life and property. Of prime importance, however, are those areas contrary to the police officer's role perceptions or that appear to underrate the preferred role, such as the social worker syndrome or the so-called peace officer syndrome.

2) It has been established that most police-citizen encounters occur in areas where the police officer is consistently exposed to conflicting demands by both the citizen and the police agency itself. Of fundamental importance is the minority group member's desire to be treated with respect by the police, while at the same time police officers expect their authority to be unchallenged in any way by the citizen.

3) The individual officer has the ability to define his role as law enforcement rather than order maintenance. This is illustrated by the police officer's tendency to define most citizen interactions as "crook catching," which increases the professional status of the policeman in the community. Such an inclination becomes frustrated when the community wants less law enforcement and more peacekeeping. As a result, the police officer has a difficult time reconciling his role in the community.

4) Individual police officers enact a role distance that inhibits police-community relations; police-community relations is perceived as somewhat important, "but not really my job." Moreover, police-community relations is perceived as something originated by the community and overlooking the best interests of the police.

5) There is a contra-cultural conflict between police and various minority groups, but particularly between police and blacks. Police officers perceive the black population as fearful, and they anticipate danger in every encounter. This causes the police officer considerable role strain and role conflict.

6) This point underscores the basic confusion between involvement and detachment of police officers. Of special interest is the police officer's use of personal discretion. For example, in many cases police officers display a high degree of impersonality when dealing with the citizenry and utilize their discretion to avoid involvement. If police-community relations are to be made more viable, police officers must develop an attitude of involvement in community problems instead of the traditional premise of "my job is to enforce the law."

### Areas of Community Expectations

1) The community very often views the police officer as a "pariah." This is of prime importance to police-community relations. On the one hand, the job of the police is identified as important in the community, while on the other hand, the community withholds the necessary status, prestige and esteem so important for job satisfaction. This suggests that the community must share in the responsibility for improving police-community relations.

2) The community also shares with the police a responsibility for the maintenance of social order. Until the community acknowledges this responsibility there can be little hope that police agencies will co-operate with them.

3) In many cases, minority communities rely too heavily upon police officers to solve the social ills that exist in their neighborhoods. This causes role conflict to develop because of incongruent expectations; the police are expected to act as agents for the larger society which, of course, is virtually an impossible expectation.

4) The police officer is the victim of conflicting standards; the community wants policemen "who cannot be bribed but it also wants to bribe policemen."

5) Perhaps the most salient dimension concerning police officers and also the general attitude of the community, is that many of the community's demands lie outside the purview of police authority. For example, such issues as peace, reform of university policies, or the war in Vietnam are clearly issues that the police have no power over.

6) Finally, the community fails to be completely honest with police officers in their daily encounters. This becomes quite evident

in the community's (especially the minority community) efforts to subvert police efforts in containing certain areas of sumptuary legislation.

These, of course, are but a small number of areas where the polarization of police and community relations can become manifest. Above all, it is anticipated that this research provides some degree of insight into the complexity of the relationship between the police and the community.

The problems of the polarization of police-community relations cannot be defined in terms of a group of individuals who are prejudiced toward minority groups, albeit this may be one dimension of the problem. The identification of incongruent role expectations clearly suggests that this is one variable that causes polarization in police-community relations and one which merits a total re-evaluation of the police role in today's contemporary society. Above all the community must be educated to accept a share of the responsibility not only in redefining the role of the police officer, but more importantly in ameliorating the social conditions that play significantly in the polarity of social contact between police and certain segments of the community.

## CONCLUSIONS

### Hypotheses

In light of the data gathered from the questionnaire and the discoveries made in the field observation study, it is concluded that the two primary hypotheses of this study have been validated.

The first hypothesis, that most police officers perceive their role as one of law enforcement rather than order maintenance, was



documented both in the empirical observations and in analysis of data acquired by the questionnaire. It is generally assumed, by both the community and police officers, that the primary role of the police is to enforce the law. However, this research clearly demonstrates that the role of the police is to a great extent one of order maintenance rather than law enforcement. Essentially there are two explanations for this phenomenon. The first is suggested in Chapter II and III, wherein it is established that police officers spend a considerable amount of time engaged in routine patrol work. This patrol routine is interrupted only occasionally, depending on the events that require police services; the events most often consist of a fight, between friends or family, a loud party or a social street gathering. They require understanding and delicate judgments about how the officer should relieve rather than authoritatively control the situation.

However, many police officers still cling to an outmoded view that the role of the police is one of crime control. Contemporary observers have noted the prestige and status attached to detective positions. More importantly, certain inherent characteristics have made the investigator's position more desirable. This desirability is often completely apart from realistic performance of the police mission, often causing a measure of role strain among police officers.

Until such distortions can be modified, role strain will continue to exert a deleterious effect on the role of the police officer in contemporary society. Efforts should be undertaken immediately to clarify the police role, to give suitable recognition to the ordinary patrolman's role, and to develop police training courses that portray more realistically the mission of the police. Not until this is accomplished will the

polarization of the police and the community be reduced.

Secondly, many problems which the police experience can be traced to misconceptions of other people or certain groups of people. Discussions are typically set in terms of "we" and "they" or "us" v. "them." In other words, the dual stereotyping that exists between the police and certain segments of the community has profound implications on the role of the police and the scope of polarity between the two factions. It appears that barriers to the operation of sound police-community relations programs are often conceptualized in terms of stereotypes.

On the basis of the data acquired in the questionnaire and field study observations, it appears that the police officer's perceptions after police service indoctrination generally shift toward a more unfavorable dimension of the people he serves. As is the case with other problems that confront the police, the solution calls for a greater understanding of human behavior by the police officer. Specific attention should be directed to his role as an observer. The entire process of police perceptions of various segments of the community, including such areas as behavioral expectations and the shaping of emotional attitudes, should be inculcated within police-community relations programming.

The second hypothesis of this study stated that polarization in police-community relations is aggravated by contra-cultural conflict that exists between the police subculture and various minority subcultures. This hypothesis was clearly supported as a result of the information gathered through the questionnaire and reported in Chapter III.<sup>1</sup>

The significance of this validated hypothesis is that there is an important distinction between subcultures and contra-cultures. The

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<sup>1</sup>See Table IV for results, p. 96.

values of most subcultures probably conflict in some measure with the larger culture. In a contra-culture, however, the conflict element is central, for many of the values, indeed, are specifically contradictions of the values of the dominant culture. Also, the contra-culture expresses the tendencies of the persons who compose it, e.g., the influence of certain personality variables in the development of the contra-culture. Moreover, a contra-culture can be understood only by giving full attention to the interaction of the group. In short, to empirically analyze police-minority relations the entire interaction process must be examined, not just the study of the police, or conversely, the study of various minority groups.

It might be hypothesized that under conditions of deprivation and frustration of major values (in a context where the deprivation is obvious, as in the case of blacks) and where value confusion and weak social controls exist, contra-cultural norms will appear. Nonetheless, one unanticipated consequence of subcultural concepts may be that we exaggerate the normative isolation and solidarity of these two (police and minority group) worlds. An important empirical question for the development of police-community relations programs concerns the extent and results of police-minority interaction.

### Objectives

The four objectives of this thesis were:

- 1) To analyze the procedure of role enactment in two municipal police agencies and its relationship to the polarization of police-community relations.
- 2) To analyze the role expectations of various subcultures of the community in interaction with the police.

3) To analyze the extent to which contra-cultural conflict contributes to polarizing of the police and the total community.

4) To analyze the extent to which the police officer utilizes his discretion to resolve conflicts in police-citizen encounters.

With respect to the first objective, the role enactment process of police officers has a very specific relationship to the polarization of police-community relations. Only a redefinition of the police role will improve current police-community relations programs, for the police role as it is defined and practiced in urban police agencies today promotes social tensions and is therefore self-defeating.

Considering the second objective, the actual expectations that various minority groups have for police service is, indeed, diametrically opposed to police expectations. Police-community relations objectives can never be attained as long as incompatible expectations exist over the role of the police. Ultimately the police officer must decide for himself which of the confusing and often conflicting expectations he will abide by.

Therefore, the identification of potential sources of role conflict becomes a very necessary ingredient in the improvement of police-community relations.

The third objective of the thesis is perhaps the most significant. One of the primary problems with which the police are confronted is in dealing with peoples of various cultural backgrounds. As yet, police have not developed standards or guidelines to improve police-community relations among certain segments of the community. It appears from the results of this study that police organizations fail to recognize the distinctive differences among the various "communities" within the

larger society. As a result, police organizations fail to address the needs of specific groups which in turn causes a polarization of their behavior.

Furthermore, police officers become frustrated because they "can't understand these people." Police officers in turn are then judged as the "blue-eyed brutes in blue" by minority group members. This diverse interpretation of the police officer's role only impedes the development of sound police-community relations programs.

Finally, the fourth objective of the study is summarized by the following comments. In practice a set of laws and statutes is not a set of definite orders to police officers, but rather a rough blueprint of the area in which the policeman works. Thus, it becomes absolutely necessary for the police officer to use his discretion. However, there are many variables that complicate the police officers' use of discretion, the most significant being the lack of policy guidelines, the ambiguity of sumptuary legislation, and the ambivalent nature of society.

As Wilson stated, the average policeman renders far more judgments of guilty and not guilty than does the average judge. The important question for society to ask itself is "Do we want to extend this power of police discretion to uneducated, untrained and most often unsensitive members of our society?" Until specific guidelines are developed by administrators to control police discretion, efforts at improving police-community relations will suffer.

### Findings

Throughout this thesis, a number of theoretical findings have been noted. Many of these findings simply confirm what is already known about the subject of police role. However, other findings may demonstrate

somewhat of a new meaning to the police experience. As such, they no doubt should be examined. In any event, the findings may provide additional support for existing police-community relations programs, or they may suggest the need to develop new programs.

In conclusion, the three most significant discoveries made by this research effort are:

First, the police officer's perception of danger was identified. Overall, the police officer's perception of job-related danger apparently is anticipated before entry into the police role. Also of considerable importance was the finding that the amount of crime in the area where the police officer worked had little relationship to his job-related perceptions of danger. Perhaps police-community relations programs would be more effective if the existence of danger were openly admitted by police administrators, for it appears that the element of danger appreciably affects the performance of the police role.

Secondly, many police officers exhibit implicit tendencies of fear when confronted by certain minority group members, especially blacks. This fear is clearly distinguishable from danger. It may be that this fear is a result of certain cultural perspectives that the dominant society has of minority groups. To this extent police-community relations training should consider fostering an attitude which will permit fear to be openly acknowledged in the police environment.

Thirdly, many police officers conform to police-community relations perspectives by a process of role distance. In other words, the officer may acknowledge the need for improving police-community relations, but does not consider community relations as a part of his role. In effect this concept may well be the primary cause of polarization. This

proposition was clearly delineated in the review of the literature and the results of the data acquired from analysis of the questionnaire.

Therefore, any meaningful changes in the scope of police-community relations must recognize the individual officer's behavior patterns as well as organizational perspectives. Until these conditions are addressed, polarization will continue to widen between police and community.

#### NEED FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This thesis, through the review of the literature and the analysis of data acquired from the questionnaire, has identified several areas conducive to poor police-community relations. This research has also suggested that future projects of this nature survey the community to determine what they actually expect from police services. To date most research has concentrated on what police officers think the community expects.

Another area of concern to police-community relations could be the identification of changes in role perception as the police officer advances through his career. Recently it has been hypothesized that cynicism is strongly related to increased role distance. This may be one important variable in changes of role perceptions among police officers.

It is further recommended that future research address the perception of danger involved in police-citizen encounters in minority communities. Is the perceived danger real or imagined? Or is it the result of current political attitudes among minority groups? In what ways does the danger of police work polarize police and community by

propagating personal fear of police interaction with various other segments of society?

In the last analysis, research in the area of police-community relations should consider ways and means of transferring back to the community many of the responsibilities now delegated to the police. More importantly, the relationship between civil disorders and poor police-community relations should be addressed, for numerous commissions have theorized that police confrontations cause disorders and riots. However, to date nothing has been done to prevent further disorders. The symptoms have been addressed but the causes continue to exist. Responsibility and resources must be developed within the community, instead of the current attitude assigning the responsibility of police-community relations solely to police agencies.



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## APPENDIX A

### Interview Guide

## INTERVIEW GUIDE

### Citizens

1. Why did you call the police?
2. What particular service were you requesting?
3. What did you expect the police to do upon arrival?
4. Did the officers satisfactorily meet your expectations?
5. Did any new problems arise after the arrival of the officers?
6. Was your problem resolved in your favor?
7. How would you suggest police handle similar situations?
8. How would you describe a police officer?
9. Do you think the community expects too much of its police officers?
10. What do you know about the community relations programs of your police department?

### Police Officers

1. Why did you take the action you did?
2. What do you think the citizen expected you to do?
3. What do you think your partner expected on this particular call?
4. Does your immediate supervisor influence the way you handle a particular call?
5. Was everyone satisfied with the results?
6. What problems, if any, were resolved?
7. Do you think the complainant was satisfied?
8. What calls do you consider more important--service calls or calls relating to criminal activity?



9. Do you think that community relations is your function?
10. What changes would you recommend in police-community relations?
11. Do you think the minority community uses police services like middle-class people use the doctor?
12. What is your honest opinion of police relations with minority groups?

## APPENDIX B

### Questionnaire Used in the Study

QUESTIONNAIRE USED IN THE STUDY

1. What is the most important function performed by the police officer?
  - A. Maintain order
  - B. Protect life and property
  - C. Prevent crime
  - D. Direct traffic
  - E. Apprehend criminals
  - F. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
2. Some so-called experts have said that police work actually involves from 70-90% service calls as opposed to real police work. What is your response to this statement?
  - A. It may be accurate
  - B. If this is the case, I may as well have entered the clergy
  - C. I have never thought of it before
  - D. Of course, it is a ridiculous statement
  - E. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
3. What is your reaction to this statement? Social work is not the function of the police officer. I became a policeman to do "real" police work.
  - A. Strongly agree
  - B. Agree
  - C. Maybe
  - D. Disagree
  - E. Strongly disagree
4. If the opportunity arose, would you request assignment to the Police-Community Relations unit?
  - A. Yes, immediately
  - B. Yes
  - C. Maybe
  - D. No
  - E. Emphatically, no

NOTE: Portions of this questionnaire have been adapted from Dr. Thomas A. Johnson's dissertation cited earlier in this thesis.

5. Do you think a Police-Community Relations unit is necessary to maintain good relations with the community?
  - A. Strongly agree
  - B. Agree
  - C. Maybe
  - D. Disagree
  - E. Strongly disagree
6. If you were assigned to a Police-Community Relations unit, what do you think the reaction of your peers would be?
  - A. Still love me
  - B. Constructive criticism
  - C. Destructive criticism
  - D. Ostracize me
  - E. Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_
7. If a Police-Community Relations unit had the same status as a detective unit, would you be more receptive to working in a PCR unit?
  - A. Yes
  - B. Maybe
  - C. No
8. Do you feel there is a need for strengthening the relationship between minority groups and your police department?
  - A. Yes
  - B. Could be
  - C. No
9. Do you feel it would be in the best interest of the police department to support a Police-Community Relations unit?
  - A. Yes, absolutely
  - B. Yes
  - C. Maybe
  - D. No
  - E. Emphatically, no
10. What do you think the community at large expects of you?
  - A. To be concerned with traffic and service calls
  - B. To be mainly concerned with criminal investigation and apprehension
  - C. To spend equal time on both service and law enforcement.
11. Do you think the general public expects you to be
  - A. A policeman 24 hours a day
  - B. Forget about police work when off duty
  - C. Couldn't care less what you do

12. How do you respond to this statement? The community expects me to be a "model citizen" always setting an example for everyone.
- A. Strongly agree
  - B. Agree
  - C. Maybe
  - D. Disagree
  - E. Strongly disagree
13. What do you think most groups in the community expect you to do?
- A. Follow the rules and regulations to the letter
  - B. Occasionally overlook rules and regulations
  - C. Have no expectation on this matter
14. Compared with other occupations, how would you rate police work in terms of importance to your community?
- A. Much more important than other professions
  - B. Somewhat more important
  - C. About as important as most occupations
  - D. Somewhat less important
  - E. Much less important
15. Which of the below listed characteristics best describe a police officer?
- A. Dictatorial
  - B. Friendly
  - C. Suspicious
  - D. Excitable
  - E. Cooperative
  - F. Cold and impassive
  - G. Courteous
  - H. Cocky
16. How would you handle a family disturbance in a minority household:
- A. Care about the results of such a confrontation
  - B. Avoid involvement
  - C. Go along with what my partner says
  - D. Seek a personal responsibility to bring peace
  - E. Couldn't care less about this type of call

17. Do you feel as if you are caught in the middle and consequently are not clear on just what your duties are?
- A. Always know where I stand
  - B. Usually know
  - C. Sometimes
  - D. Normally duties are defined
  - E. Often in the dark
18. When responding to a family disturbance involving black members of the community, would you handle the situation the same as if a similar disturbance occurred in a white neighborhood?
- A. Most definitely, yes
  - B. Yes
  - C. It depends
  - D. No
  - E. Are you crazy
19. Would you say that your job is more toward law enforcement orientation or service orientation?
- A. Law enforcement
  - B. Service oriented
20. If your job is more law enforcement oriented, how can you tell this?
- A. The department goals stress it
  - B. That's what the community wants
  - C. My immediate supervisor expects me to enforce laws
  - D. Because that's what I was hired to do
  - E. That's what I am expected to say
  - F. I think so, but I don't know how to tell this
21. Would you say that most police officers are being called to perform certain services in the community that are irrelevant and have nothing to do with police work?
- A. Most certainly, yes
  - B. Yes
  - C. On occasion
  - D. No
  - E. Emphatically, no

22. Based on your experience, do you think blacks and other minorities require stricter enforcement procedures than the rest of the population?
- A. Absolutely
  - B. I consider all people alike
  - C. My experience is limited
  - D. I don't know
23. Do you consider minority communities a place of danger when responding there on a call?
- A. Yes
  - B. No
  - C. That's a dumb question; of course it's dangerous
24. Do you think the minority community recognizes the value of police services?
- A. Most do
  - B. Only a small percentage do
  - C. Very few
25. List three things you have found particularly annoying when dealing with minority groups?
- 1. \_\_\_\_\_
  - 2. \_\_\_\_\_
  - 3. \_\_\_\_\_
26. Have you ever received instruction in handling situations of a social nature since you became a police officer?
- A. Yes
  - B. No
27. Do you feel it is necessary to see things from other points of view?
- A. Yes
  - B. No
  - C. Maybe
28. How long have you been a police officer? \_\_\_\_\_
29. What improvements would you recommend in the area of police community relations?

## APPENDIX C

### Analysis of Responses to Questionnaire



1. What is the most important function performed by the police officer?

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Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Maintain order	8	7.2	10	45.5	18	13.6
B. Protect life and property	74	66.7	10	45.5	84	63.1
C. Prevent crime	19	17.1	1	4.5	20	15.0
D. Direct traffic	0	0	0	0	0	0
E. Apprehend criminals	1	.9	0	0	1	.8
F. Other	9	8.1	1	4.5	10	7.5
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

2. Some so-called experts have said that police work actually involves from 70-90% service calls as opposed to real police work. What is your response to this statement?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. It may be accurate	79	71.1	18	82.0	97	73.0
B. If this is the case, I may as well have entered the clergy	1	.9	0	0	1	.7
C. I have never thought of it before	12	10.9	1	4.5	13	9.7
D. Of course, it is a ridiculous statement	2	1.8	0	0	2	1.5
E. Other	16	14.4	1	4.5	17	12.8
No response	1	.9	2	9.0	3	2.3
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

3. What is your reaction to this statement? Social work is not the function of the police officer.  
I became a policeman to do "real" police work.

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Strongly agree	7	6.3	0	0	7	5.2
B. Agree	18	16.2	2	9.1	20	15.0
C. Maybe	15	13.5	4	18.1	19	14.2
D. Disagree	54	48.6	8	36.4	62	46.8
E. Strongly disagree	17	15.4	8	36.4	25	18.8
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

4. If the opportunity arose, would you request assignment to the Police-Community Relations unit?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Yes, immediately	11	9.9	3	13.6	14	10.5
B. Yes	18	16.2	7	31.9	25	18.8
C. Maybe	29	26.1	6	27.3	35	26.3
D. No	44	39.6	5	22.7	49	36.9
E. Emphatically, no	9	8.2	1	4.5	10	7.5
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

5. Do you think a Police-Community Relations unit is necessary to maintain good relations with the community?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Strongly agree	39	35.1	5	22.7	44	33.1
B. Agree	39	35.1	10	45.5	49	36.8
C. Maybe	13	11.8	4	18.2	17	12.8
D. Disagree	15	13.5	3	13.6	18	13.5
E. Strongly disagree	5	4.5	0	0	5	3.8
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

6. If you were assigned to a Police-Community Relations unit, what do you think the reaction of your peers would be?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Still love me	18	16.2	5	22.7	23	17.3
B. Constructive criticism	50	45.1	11	50.0	61	45.9
C. Destructive criticism	19	17.1	3	13.6	22	16.5
D. Ostracize me	10	9.0	1	4.6	11	8.3
E. Other	14	12.6	0	0	14	10.5
No response	0	0	2	9.1	2	1.5
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

7. If a Police-Community Relations unit had the same status as a detective unit, would you be more receptive to working in a PCR unit?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Yes	34	30.6	6	27.3	40	30.1
B. Maybe	26	23.4	4	18.2	30	22.5
C. No	51	46.0	12	54.5	63	47.4
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

8. Do you feel there is a need for strengthening the relationship between minority groups and your police department?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Yes	81	73.0	14	63.6	95	71.4
B. Could be	22	19.8	7	31.8	29	21.8
C. No	8	7.2	1	4.6	9	6.8
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0



9. Do you feel it would be in the best interest of the police department to support a Police-Community Relations unit?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Yes, absolutely	44	39.7	10	45.5	54	40.6
B. Yes	35	31.5	8	36.4	43	32.3
C. Maybe	21	18.9	3	13.6	24	18.0
D. No	10	9.0	1	4.5	11	8.3
E. Emphatically, no	1	.9	0	0	1	.8
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

10. What do you think the community at large expects of you?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. To be concerned with traffic and service calls	8	7.2	2	9.1	10	7.5
B. To be mainly concerned with criminal investigation and apprehension	33	29.7	8	36.4	41	30.8
C. To spend equal time on both service and law enforcement.	69	62.2	12	54.5	81	60.9
No response	1	.9	0	0	1	.8
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

11. Do you think the general public expects you to be:

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. A policeman 24 hours a day	92	82.9	12	54.5	104	78.2
B. Forget about police work when off duty	8	7.2	2	9.1	10	7.5
C. Couldn't care less what you do	11	9.9	8	36.4	19	14.3
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

12. How do you respond to this statement? The community expects me to be a "model citizen" always setting an example for everyone.

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Strongly agree	49	44.1	6	27.3	55	41.4
B. Agree	56	50.5	12	54.5	68	51.2
C. Maybe	4	3.6	4	18.2	8	6.0
D. Disagree	1	.9	0	0	1	.7
E. Strongly disagree	1	.9	0	0	1	.7
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

13. What do you think most groups in the community expect you to do?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Follow the rules and regulations to the letter	61	55.0	5	22.8	66	49.6
B. Occasionally overlook rules and regulations	47	42.3	16	72.7	63	47.4
C. Have no expectation on this matter	3	2.7	1	4.5	4	3.0
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

14. Compared with other occupations, how would you rate police work in terms of importance to your community?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Much more important than other professions	35	31.5	5	22.7	40	30.1
B. Somewhat more important	54	48.7	10	45.5	64	48.1
C. About as important as most occupations	22	19.8	7	31.8	29	21.8
D. Somewhat less important	0	0	0	0	0	0
E. Much less important	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

15. Which of the below listed characteristics best describe a police officer?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Dictatorial	0	0	0	0	0	0
B. Friendly	37	26.1	5	18.5	42	24.9
C. Suspicious	38	26.8	7	25.9	45	26.6
D. Excitable	0	0	1	3.7	1	.6
E. Cooperative	29	20.4	4	14.9	33	19.5
F. Cold and impassive	2	1.4	1	3.7	3	1.8
G. Courteous	36	25.3	8	29.6	44	26.0
H. Cocky	0	0	1	3.7	1	.6
TOTAL	142	100.0	27	100.0	169	100.0

## 16. How would you handle a family disturbance in a minority household?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Care about the results of such a confrontation	46	41.5	7	31.8	53	39.8
B. Avoid involvement	28	25.2	6	27.3	34	25.7
C. Go along with what my partner says	3	2.7	0	0	3	2.2
D. Seek a personal responsibility to bring peace	30	27.0	8	36.4	38	28.6
E. Couldn't care less about this type of call	2	1.8	1	4.5	3	2.2
No response	2	1.8	0	0	2	1.5
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0



17. Do you feel as if you are caught in the middle and consequently are not clear on just what your duties are?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Always know where I stand	16	14.4	3	13.6	19	14.3
B. Usually know	60	54.1	11	50.0	71	53.4
C. Sometimes	27	24.3	6	27.3	33	24.8
D. Normally duties are defined	8	7.2	2	9.0	10	7.5
E. Often in the dark	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

18. When responding to a family disturbance involving black members of the community, would you handle the situation the same as if a similar disturbance occurred in a white neighborhood?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Most definitely, yes	25	22.5	3	13.6	28	21.1
B. Yes	45	40.6	5	22.8	50	37.6
C. It depends	30	27.0	11	50.0	41	30.8
D. No	7	6.3	3	13.6	10	7.5
E. Are you crazy	4	3.6	0	0	4	3.0
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

19. Would you say that your job is more toward law enforcement orientation or service orientation?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Law enforcement	66	59.5	8	36.4	74	55.6
B. Service oriented	45	40.5	14	63.6	59	44.4
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

20. If your job is more law enforcement oriented, how can you tell this?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. The department goals stress it	16	24.3	3	37.5	19	25.7
B. That's what the community wants	20	30.3	4	50.0	24	32.4
C. My immediate supervisor expects me to enforce laws	5	7.6	0	0	5	6.8
D. Because that's what I was hired to do	23	34.8	1	12.5	24	32.4
E. That's what I am expected to say	2	3.0	0	0	2	2.7
F. I think so, but I don't know how to tell this	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	66	100.0	8	100.0	74	100.0

21. Would you say that most police officers are being called to perform certain services in the community that are irrelevant and have nothing to do with police work?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Most certainly, yes	18	16.3	4	18.2	22	16.6
B. Yes	32	28.8	8	36.4	40	30.1
C. On occasion	53	47.7	5	22.7	58	43.6
D. No	7	6.3	5	22.7	12	9.0
E. Emphatically, no	1	.9	0	0	1	.7
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

22. Based on your experience, do you think blacks and other minorities require stricter enforcement procedures than the rest of the population?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Absolutely	21	18.9	1	4.5	22	16.6
B. I consider all people alike	66	59.5	13	60.0	79	59.4
C. My experience is limited	17	15.3	5	22.8	22	16.5
D. I don't know	5	4.5	3	13.6	8	6.0
No response	2	1.8	0	0	2	1.5
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

23. Do you consider minority communities a place of danger when responding there on a call?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Yes	58	52.3	11	50.0	69	51.9
B. No	43	38.7	8	36.4	51	38.3
C. That's a dumb question; of course it's dangerous	10	9.0	3	13.6	13	9.8
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

24. Do you think the minority community recognizes the value of police services?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Most do	61	55.0	14	63.6	75	56.4
B. Only a small percentage do	39	35.1	6	27.3	45	33.8
C. Very few	11	9.9	2	9.1	13	9.8
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0



26. Have you ever received instruction in handling situations of a social nature since you became a police officer?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Yes	84	75.7	12	54.5	96	72.1
B. No	27	24.3	10	45.5	37	27.8
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

27. Do you feel it is necessary to see things from other points of view?

Responses	Uniontown		College Park		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A. Yes	107	96.4	18	81.8	125	94.0
B. No	1	.9	0	0	1	.7
C. Maybe	3	2.7	4	18.2	7	5.2
TOTAL	111	100.0	22	100.0	133	100.0

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