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RACE, GENDER, PATTERNS OF INTERACTION, ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT AND ATTITUDES TOWARD OCCUPATIONAL DEVIANCE IN A MIDWEST POLICE DEPARTMENT

By

Robin N. Haarr

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
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1994

ABSTRACT

RACE, GENDER, PATTERNS OF INTERACTION, ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT AND ATTITUDES TOWARD OCCUPATIONAL DEVIANCE IN A MIDWEST POLICE DEPARTMENT

By

Robin N. Haarr

Guided by a theory of social organization of policing that advances diversity, variation, and contrast in the police occupational culture (Fielding, 1988; Manning, 1987, 1993) this dissertation examines: (a) how the police occupational culture shapes patterns of interpersonal interaction between patrol officer, and how those interactions vary with the race and gender of the patrol officer; (b) how patterns of interpersonal interaction affect patrol officers' commitment to the police organization, and how levels of organizational commitment vary with the race and gender of the officer; and (c) how patterns of interpersonal interaction and level of organizational commitment shape patrol officers' attitudes towards occupational deviance. A final question is whether differences in attitudes towards occupational deviance can be explained by an officer's race and gender.

Based on both qualitative and quantitative data gathered during 580 hours of field observations and from 48 unstructured interviews with a variety of patrol officers in one Midwest police department, the study demonstrates that the police organization, as it is racially formed and gender organized, is experienced differently by each of the four race-gender groups. Findings reveal that each of the four race-gender groups under study engage in different patterns of interpersonal interaction both on- and off-duty. Also

white males continue to exclude each of the other three race-gender groups from primary interactions and access to the white male group solidarity that characterizes the traditional police occupational culture; in addition, black police officers have established a very separate and distinct fraternal organization for black police officers. Data analysis also shows that when each of the four race-gender groups are compared on their relative strength, identification with, and involvement in the police organization, differences emerge across and within each of the four race-gender groups. Employees' behavioral acts and attitudes of organizational commitment are very closely linked; but ultimately, patrol officers differ on their individual conceptualization of ethics, 'good' and 'bad' police work, and patterns of occupational deviance.

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ROBIN NANCY HAARR

1994

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents,

who taught me that you can achieve anything

you want out of life with a lot of hard work

and a positive attitude.

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I would like to extend my deep appreciation to Dr. Merry Morash and Dr. Peter K. Manning, who have both been wonderful teachers and mentors to me for my six years at Michigan State University. Both Merry and Peter provided me with endless support and guidance throughout my entire doctoral program. I would especially like to thank Dr. Merry Morash for always being there whenever I questioned my abilities. She always told me, "don't worry, you can do it." I cannot thank the two of them enough.

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I am deeply indebted to the patrol officers of the Midwest Police Department for their cooperation in this research endeavor. Not only did they make this research project possible, but enjoyable as well.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE	PAGE
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I. THE PROBLEM OF POLICE OCCUPATIONAL DEVIANCE	5
What is Police Occupational Deviance?	5
The "Academic" Construction of Police Occupational Deviance	5
The "Social" Construction of Police Occupational Deviance	10
Extent and Nature of Police Occupational Deviance	14
Alternate Explanations of Police Occupational Deviance	18
Opportunity Structure	20
The Occupational Culture	22
Occupational Socialization	24
Individual Characteristics	27
Gender	28
Race	31
Interactive Model: Intersections of Gender and Race	34
Conclusion	35
CHAPTER II. REVIEW OF THE THEORY OF POLICE ORGANIZATION LITERATURE	38
Toward a Theory of the Social Organization of Police	38
Theory of the Social Organization of the Police	39
Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction	43
Organizational Commitment	45
Patterns of Interaction, Organizational Commitment, and Police Occupational Deviance	51
Summary	52

TITLE	PAGE
CHAPTER III. RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS AND METHODOLOGY	54
Propositions	54
Methodology	58
Research Procedures	62
Site Selection	62
Field Observations	63
In-depth Interviews	67
Confronting Problems in the Field	71
Gender Issues in the Field	77
CHAPTER IV. RESEARCH SETTING: MIDWEST CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT	80
Characteristics of Midwest City	80
Characteristics of Midwest Police Department	85
Descriptive Analysis of Sample Characteristics	96
Race-Gender Distribution	96
Age of the Sample	97
Number of Years in Policing	98
Why Did You Choose to Enter into Law Enforcement?	99
Level of Education	100
Previous Employment With Other Police Agencies	102
Residency: Are You Originally From the Local Area?	104
CHAPTER V. SPATIAL PARAMETERS AND PATTERNS OF INTERPERSONAL INTERACTION	105
The Dynamics of the Organization of the Midwest Police Department	105
Duties Performed Since Hired	107
How Officers Get Their Assignments	109
How Far in the Department Do You Think You Can Go?	114
Division of Space within the Police Organization	122
Women and Racial Minorities: Mediators of Space in the Police Organization	126
On-Duty Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction	128
On-Duty Interactions: The Main Groups	129
Different Types of Interactions On-Duty	139
Frequency of Interactions On-Duty	142
Segmentation of Race and Gender in On-Duty Patterns of Interaction	145

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

TITLE	PAGE
CHAPTER V. (Continued)	
Off-Duty Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction	154
Off-Duty Interactions: The Main Groups	155
Different Types of Off-Duty Interactions	163
Frequency of Interactions Off-Duty	167
Segmentation of Race and Gender Groups in Off-Duty Patterns of Interaction	169
Divisions of Race and Gender in Police Departments	175
The Reality of the Racial Division	176
The Racial Division: Some Implications	184
The Reality of the Gender Division	187
Summary	194
CHAPTER VI. OFFICER COMMITMENT TO THE ORGANIZATION	195
The Effect of Interactions on Organizational Commitment	196
A Descriptive Interpretation of Organizational Commitment	198
Policing: A Job or a Career	198
Committed or Not Committed?	202
Strong Belief In and Acceptance of the Organization's Goals and Values	218
A Willingness to Exert Considerable Effort on Behalf of the Organization	225
A Definite Desire to Maintain Organizational Membership	233
Summary	242
CHAPTER VII. POLICE OCCUPATIONAL DEVIANCE: CONDUCT UNBECOMING	245
A Descriptive Interpretation of Ethics in Police Work	246
"Good" Police Work versus "Bad" Police Work	253
A Descriptive Interpretation of the Patterns of Police Occupational Deviance in the Midwest Police Department	260
Occupational Deviance in the Midwest Police Department	260
Officers' Responses to Deviant Activities by Fellow Patrol Officers	292
Linkages Between Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction, Organizational Commitment and Attitudes Towards Occupational Deviance	294

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued)

TITLE	PAGE
CHAPTER VII. (Continued)	
Race and Gender: Do They Explain the Differences in Patrol Officers Attitudes Toward and Possible Propensity to Participate in Occupational Deviance	306
Model of the Linkages: How are the Variables Connected?	308
CHAPTER VIII. DISCUSSION AND POLICE IMPLICATIONS	311
Discussion	311
How to Promotes Cooperative Relations Between the Races and Genders	316
How to Promotes Organizational Commitment	319
Police Occupational Deviance: Everything But Temptations	323
APPENDIX A: Interview Questions	326
APPENDIX B. Letters	331
LIST OF REFERENCES	334

LIST OF TABLES

TITLE		PAGE
3-1.	Midwest Police Department's Total Patrol Bureau (Population)	63
3-2.	Midwest Police Department's Total Patrol Bureau (Population) and Sample of Patrol Bureau	65
4-1.	Midwest City Census Information: Income and Poverty	83
4-2.	Annual Average Unemployment Rate for Midwest City (1989-1993)	84
4-3.	Midwest Police Department Sworn Personnel for 1994: Raw Numbers and Percentages for Gender and Race by Rank	87
4-4.	Midwest Police Department's Total Sworn Personnel (1980-1994)	88
4-5.	Assignments of Midwest Police Department's Patrol Officers, 1993	90
4-6.	Operational Expenditures for the Midwest Police Department and Total Expenditures by the Midwest City (Fiscal Year 1989 to 1993)	91
4-7.	Patrol Operations Costs (1989-1993)	91
4-8.	Calls Dispatched and Calls Screened by the Midwest Police Department (1988-1993)	93
4-9.	Total Number of Part I Crimes for Midwest City (1988-1993)	94
4-10.	Total for Types of Part I Offenses (1988-1993)	95
4-11.	Race-Gender Distribution of the Sample of Patrol Officers	96
4-12.	Age Range for Four Race-Gender Groups of Patrol Officers	97
4-13.	Level of Seniority for Four Race-Gender Groups of Patrol Officers	98
4-14.	Why Did You Choose Law Enforcement?	100
4-15.	Level of Education for Each Race-Gender Group	101

LIST OF TABLES (continued)

TITLE		PAGE
5-1.	How Far Do You Want to Go in Regard to Rank?	116
5-2.	Who Do You Interact With On-duty? Are They Mostly Men or Women?	149
5-3.	Who Do You Interact With On-duty? Are They of a Particular Race or Culture?	150
5-4.	Who Do You Interact With Off-duty? Are They Mostly Men or Women?	171
5-5.	Who Do You Interact With Off-duty? Are They of a Particular Race or Culture?	172
5-6.	Is There a Racial Division in the Midwest Police Department? . . .	177
5-7.	Is There a Gender Division in the Midwest Police Department? . .	188
6-1.	For You, is Policing a Job or a Career?	199
6-2.	Do You Feel You Are Committed to the Department?	203
6-3.	Policing as a Job or a Career by Commitment to the Department . .	204
6-4.	Do You Think Your Commitment to the Department Has Increased, Decreased, or Remained the Same Since You First Came to the Department?	206
6-5.	Do You Find That Your Values and the Department's Values are Similar?	219
6-6.	Do You Find That Your Goals and the Department's Goals are Similar?	219
6-7.	Relationship Between Commitment and Whether Officers Share the Same Values or Goals as the Department	220
6-8.	Level of Effort Patrol Officers Exert to Make the Police Department Successful	226

LIST OF TABLES (continued)

TITLE		PAGE
6-9.	Does the Department Inspire the Very Best in You in the Way of Job Performance?	231
6-10.	Do You Feel This is the Best of All Possible Departments to Work For?	235
6-11.	Is There Much to be Gained by Sticking With the Department Indefinitely?	235
6-12.	Would You Accept Almost Any Type of Job Assignment in Order to Keep Working for this Department?	236
6-13.	Whether Officers Will Take Any Job Assignment In Order to Continue Working for the Department by Whether an Officer Sees Policing as a Job or a Career	239
6-14.	Are You Glad that You Choose This Department to Work for Over Others You Were Considering at the Time You Joined?	239
6-15.	Do You Feel Your Decision to Work for this Department was a Mistake on Your Part?	240
6-16.	Could You Just as Well be Working For a Different Police Department?	241
7-1.	Tell Me What You do to Help Yourself Respond to Conduct by Coworkers That You See as Deviant?	293

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
5-1.	The Roll Call Room	126
5-2.	On-Duty: Primary and Secondary Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction	153
5-3.	Off-Duty: Primary and Secondary Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction	173
7-1.	Level of Organizational Commitment and the Types of Deviant Activities Patrol Officers Engage In	301
8-1.	Model of the Linkages between the Variables	309

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is threefold. First, it examines how the police occupational culture shapes patterns of interpersonal interaction between patrol officers, and how those interactions vary with the gender and race of the officer. Second, it examines how patterns of interpersonal interaction affect patrol officers' commitment to the police organization, and how levels of organizational commitment vary with the race and gender of the officer. Third, it demonstrates how patterns of interpersonal interaction and level of organizational commitment shape patrol officers' attitudes toward occupational deviance, and how race and gender of the officer affects their attitudes toward and propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities (e.g., police misconduct and corruption). Other potential independent variables that are examined (which may be predictive of officers attitudes toward police occupational deviance) include the various background characteristics of officers that research suggests may be relevant to the determination of work-related attitudes and deviance.

The literature on police deviance is diverse. Studies conducted within different police organizations have considered not only the various factors that influence police occupational deviance, but also the extent and support for various forms of occupational deviance within the police organization. Despite the generally

abundant literature on police attitudes and behavior (discussed in the literature section), there are no studies that examine how the police organizational culture shapes patrol officers' patterns of interpersonal interaction and organizational commitment, and how both patterns of interpersonal interaction and organizational commitment shape officers' attitudes toward occupational deviance. Also, prior research does not put race and gender at the center of study. This study is unique in that it places race and gender at the center of study and analyses, to examine how race and gender affect both patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and attitudes toward and propensity to participate in occupational deviance.

This study is being undertaken because of the theoretical and practical importance of conducting a specialized study of police occupational deviance, including a comparison between gender and racial groupings of officers. The dissertation is based upon the premise that there will be a substantial variance between the different gender and racial groupings in their participation in the police culture(s), patterns of interpersonal interaction, level of commitment to the organization, and attitudes toward various forms of police occupational deviance. The tasks are to determine how much of a variance exists between the different race and gender groupings on each of the variables, and to what extent attitudes toward and propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities can be explained by patterns of interaction and level of organizational commitment.

The qualitative research methods utilized in this research project include field observations and on-site interviews. Such methods allowed me to observe how

officers of different races and genders experience the police organization and culture, how patterns of interpersonal interaction develop and vary within the police occupational culture, what commitment to the organization and policing means to patrol officers, and officer's attitudes toward and propensity to participate in various forms and degrees of occupational deviance (i.e., police misconduct and corruption). Because it is possible that the concept of police occupational deviance and the factors causing it might vary by race and gender, observations and data were compared between and across the different gender and race groupings. To determine which factors are the best predictors of variations of officers' attitudes towards occupational deviance, varying measurements that contrast the importance of subjective impression with objective factors (officer background and inclusion and participation in the occupational culture) were developed.

In sum, I undertake a socio-structural analysis of the police organizational and occupational cultures in order to contribute both to the sociological understanding of organizations and to theories of the social organization of policing. I examine patrol officers constructions of images and facts about their patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment and occupational deviance. In Chapter I, "The Problem of Occupational Deviance", I define police occupational deviance, identify the extent and nature of police occupational deviance, and explain why the causes of police occupational deviance are worthy of study. In Chapter II, I introduce a theory of social organization of policing that recognizes diversity and variation in the police occupational culture; diversity and variation that exists in patrol officers' patterns of interpersonal interaction, level of organizational

commitment, and attitudes toward police occupational deviance.

In chapter III, "Research Propositions and Methodology", I describe the research propositions, and the research design and procedures. Chapter IV considers the external environment (i.e., Midwest City) and the internal occupational environment of patrol work. I provide descriptive data of sample patrol officer's demographic and attitudinal characteristics. In subsequent chapters, I examine specific attitudes of patrol officers and explore the influences and accounts which form these attitudes. Chapter V focuses on the division of space and patterns of interpersonal interaction in the police occupational culture, as they develop along race-gender lines; chapter VI includes an analysis of the variation in patrol officer's levels of organizational commitment; and in chapter VII, I study the variation and diversity in patrol officers attitudes toward occupational deviance. In chapter VIII, I return to the general issues discussed in the previous chapters. I examine, in light of previously discussed empirical findings, the relationship between each of the variables and advance the development of a theory of social organization of police that promotes diversity and variation in the police occupational culture. I also examine several policy implications of the research findings.

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF POLICE OCCUPATIONAL DEVIANCE

What is Police Occupational Deviance?

An inquiry into "police occupational deviance" appropriately begins with a search for a working definition of police occupational deviance. Much of the controversy in the literature on police occupational deviance is centered on how to define police corruption and misconduct. On the one hand, researchers such as Barker and Carter (1986, 1990), Lynch and Diamond (1983), and Plitt (1983) have applied an "academic" construction of police deviance that coincides very closely with the formal definitions of misconduct and corruption that are outlined within the formal rules and regulations of police organizations. On the other hand, scholars and researchers such as Manning (1977) and Punch (1985) contend that police occupational deviance is "socially" constructed within the police organization's occupational culture. According to Manning (1994), police occupational deviance remains to be a "slippery concept," difficult to define and measure, because it exists alongside legitimate organizational activities, and frequently functions to advance organizational goals. The debate between scholars that adopt an "academic" construction and those that adopt a "social" construction definition of police deviance is played out in the following sections in the effort to develop a working definition of police occupational deviance.

The "Academic" Construction of Police Occupational Deviance

In Barker and Carter's first (1986) and second editions (1990) of Police Deviance, the editors grapple with the diversity of deviant police behavior, including developing an understanding of both the functional and causal dynamics of corruption, misconduct, use of force, and lying and deception. They conceptualized these behaviors into a concise, comprehensible typology, and evaluated the ramifications of these behaviors on the police organization.

Barker and Carter (1990, p. 4) contend that "*police deviance* is simply a generic description of police officer activities which are inconsistent with the officers' official authority, organizational authority, values, and standards of ethical conduct (which are usually implied, rather than stated)." Plitt (1983) cited additional behaviors that he considered to be different possible types of police deviant behavior: abuse of sick leave, failure to complete reports, failure to obey a direct order, failure to enforce traffic laws, perjury, recommending an attorney to an accident victim, lying about the drug use of a friend, failure to investigate a crime when off-duty, misuse of firearms, commission of a crime, accepting gratuities, unauthorized release of police records, threatening another police officer, unexcused absences from work, falsifying overtime records, use of excessive force, failure to report misconduct of fellow officers, unacceptable job performance, failure to inventory confiscated property, use of offensive language, sleeping on duty, cheating on a promotional examination, sexual improprieties with co-workers or citizens, off-duty drunkenness, excessive parking tickets, patronizing a bar while on sick leave, leaving duty to conduct personal business, refusing to take a polygraph exam, inappropriate use of firearm off-duty.

Barker and Carter (1986, 1990) divided police deviance into two categories: occupational deviance and abuse of authority (see Figure 1-1). As mentioned above, this study focuses exclusively on occupational deviance; therefore, abuse of authority will not be discussed here. Drawing on Barker's (1977) earlier work, Barker and Carter (1990) define police occupational deviance as "the deviant behavior--criminal and non-criminal--committed during the course of normal work activities or committed under the guise of the police officer's authority (p. 6)."

According to Barker and Carter (1990, p. 6) there are two subcategories of occupational deviance, police misconduct and police corruption, both specifically apply to the officer's role as an employee rather than to the practice of policing, per se. Barker and Carter (1990) defined *police misconduct* as behavior which is related to the violation of organizational standards, policies, procedures, rules and regulations. Likewise, Lynch and Diamond (1983) define police misconduct as police officers' violations of (a) formally written normative rules, (b) traditional operating procedures, (c) regulations and procedures of both the police and other public service agencies, and (d) the criminal and civil laws. Geller (1984) classified police misconduct in a broader context, including brutality, harassment, corruption, violation of constitutional rights, and the failure to take required or appropriate action. There are many examples of police misconduct--for example, sleeping on duty, failing to complete reports, and misuse of firearms (Barker & Carter, 1990). One of the most common and controversial forms of police misconduct is the acceptance of gratuities. A gratuity is accepting something of value, such as coffee, meals, discount buying privileges, free admission to athletic or recreational events or movies, gifts, small

rewards, or any item of value (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993, p. 187).

The acceptance of gratuities is a common practice in many police departments across the United States despite the explicit policies police departments have that preclude accepting gratuities. Roberg and Kuykendall (1993) contend that such policies are frequently ignored by officers because police managers, if they consider it to be a problem at all, think it is minor. However, the International Association of Chiefs of Police considers this practice to be professionally unethical. Some police experts go so far as to believe that accepting gratuities is the first step on a developmental ladder that may lead to more serious forms of abuse of police authority, which creates an organizational climate that may result in the development of more serious problems with police corruption (Sherman, 1985, p. 259).

Experts debate: if an officer accepts free meals and then gives the restaurant owner or employee a warning instead of a traffic violation, is that equivalent to accepting a payment of money to allow a sale of illegal drugs to take place? While both are abuses of police authority, only one is illegal--accepting money to allow the drug sale to take place (Barker & Carter, 1990). The fact is that many police officers are given gratuities, and regardless of the motivation of the person who provides the gratuity, the very act sets the police apart from the rest of the community. Even more so, if enough officers share the view that accepting gratuities is the norm, the organizational culture can easily become tolerant of other minor deviant acts, and even more serious types of problems will develop. Thus, the problem is not the gratuity itself, rather it is the attitude about what is and is not appropriate police behavior (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993).

The second subcategory of occupational deviance that Barker and Carter (1990) identify is police corruption. Within the writing on police corruption, a wide variety of definitions and conceptualizations have been used. Barker and Carter (1990, p. 5) maintained that the definitions of corruption are influenced by the values and orientations of the researcher, the reactive measures of officers in their research projects, police department policy definitions, and criminal statutes dealing with corruption as an offense. Barker (1977) identified police corruption as but one form of police occupational deviance--a particularly unique and serious form of misconduct that is committed during the course of normal work activities or under the guise of the police officer's authority. Likewise, Goldtsein (1977, p. 188) viewed police corruption as "the misuse of authority by a police officer in a manner designed to produce personal gain for the officer or for others". The broadest definition of police corruption is any forbidden act which involves the misuse of the officer's official position for actual or expected material reward or gain (Barker & Roebuck, 1973).

Much of the controversy in the literature on police corruption is centered on how to define police corruption and where to draw the line which divides corrupt behavior from non-corrupt behavior (Barker & Roebuck, 1973; Barker & Carter, 1986, 1990). Is accepting a free cup of coffee or a free meal corruption? If not, does the expectation of reciprocity by the business person who provides that free cup of coffee or free meal to the officer make it corruption? Is it corrupt for an officer to give the money taken off a street drug dealer to an unknown kid passing by on the street? These questions have long been debated and are not easily resolved.

According to Carter and Stephens (1990, p. 102), police corruption is usually a series of minor acts of misconduct which may be tacitly condoned and grow into a pervasive pattern of actions for personal gain. Barker and Carter (1990, p. 6) contend that no matter what variations in the wording are used to define corruption, corrupt acts contain three elements: (a) they are forbidden by law, regulation, or ethical standard; (b) they involve the misuse of the officer's position, in circumstances which are or are not drug-related; and (c) they involve some actual or expected material reward or gain that can be in the form of money, goods, drugs, services, and/or discounts.

The "Social" Construction of Police Deviance

Scholars and researchers such as Manning (1977), Punch (1985) and Sherman (1974) explore the values, beliefs, and norms of the police organization and its occupational culture to demonstrate that deviance is constructed within the police organization's occupational culture. Day-in and day-out police officers negotiate and violate internal rules and regulations of the organization in order to manage the police job or to perform specific police duties (Manning, 1977; Punch, 1985; Skolnick, 1966). Even more important, Punch (1985) indicated that the demands made on the police are so ambiguous and conflicting, based on a set of legal laws and rules and regulations that are laid out in training but that often do not work in practice. Under such circumstances, police officers are expected to negotiate and violate internal rules and regulations in order to manage the police job or to perform specific police duties (Manning, 1977; Punch, 1985; Skolnick, 1966). This leads to an atmosphere of deception and dishonesty and the use of methods bordering on

"trickery and stealth" (Punch, 1985).

Both Ditton (1977) and Henry (1978) analyzed how people engage in "part-time crime" (i.e. occupational crime at work which is tolerated and legitimated within certain limits), but manage to maintain an image of themselves as non-deviant. This often takes place through processes of defining, rationalizing, and justifying certain forms of deviance as a part of the normal, everyday conduct which is acceptable and/or harmless.

In a systematic study of patrolmen in three American cities, Reiss (1971) came to the conclusion that, "During any year a substantial minority of all police officers violate the criminal law, a majority misbehave towards citizens in an encounter, and most engage in serious violations of the rules and regulations of the department" (Punch, 1985). The work of Reiss (1971), as well as Punch (1985) revealed the extent to which rule-breaking is commonly accepted in police organizations. Punch's basic proposition was that there is not one but many analytical types of police deviance, and some types of occupationally deviant activities are designed to enhance the effectiveness of the organization and law enforcement.

In an effort to overcome some of the difficulties of defining police deviance, Punch (1985) and Manning (1977) advanced a closer examination of the intentions of deviant practices. When the focus is shifted to the intentions, researchers encounter an extremely wide range of activities that may be carried out for a multiplicity of motives. This approach assists in categorizing or developing the spectrum to include 'ordinary,' 'normal,' and 'day-to-day' deviance--which may also involve lying, deception, violence, and management of appearances--to the criminal

activities which tend to dominate the literature (Punch, 1985, p. 11)." Using this approach, Punch (1985, pp. 11-12) identified four types of general deviance in police organizations. These included:

1. Work avoidance and work manipulation. These include "skiving" (e.g., overlooking a crime that occurs at the end of the shift in order to avoid extra paper work and overtime, turning off the personal radio while out of the car, extending lunch/dinner time beyond 45 minutes in an 8 hour shift, or reporting in as sick when not), "cooping" (sleeping on the job), "gimmicks" (ways of obtaining legitimate days off with pay, getting time off to attend court or training, or to participate in a special function), and "easing" (a job that allows them to take it easy, to be out of sight, to enjoy the comfort of the station--especially on rainy or cold days) (Manning, 1977, pp. 151-55). These are relatively routine practices--activities that are designed to make work or working conditions more comfortable and acceptable. In police circles they may even be seen as partially accepted ways of avoiding the rigors of patrol work or of keeping up the officers' morale (Punch, 1985, p. 11).

2. Employee deviance--against the organization. This includes pilfering, sabotage (refusing to write tickets), absenteeism (the "blue flue"), and neglect (Rubenstien, 1973). These are ways that employees undermine the goals of the organization or strike back at the organization for numerous reasons. These forms of deviance are often, but not exclusively, confined to the lower levels of the organization, and are seen as negative and damaging by administration (Punch, 1985).

3. Employee deviance--for the organization. This includes bending rules to achieve quotas, cutting administrative corners, 'flaking' and 'padding' (e.g., lying,

planting of, or adding to, evidence--particularly in drug cases), and making informal deals to bypass formal obstacles. These activities consist of the ways in which people try to get their jobs done, frequently with the intention of promoting organizational ends and effectiveness, but which deviate from the formal rules and regulations. Often these deviations are seen as minor and unavoidable, but they may involve the development of an informal system that promotes neglect, inefficiency, incompetence, conspiracy, and even crime (Punch, 1985).

4. Informal reward. On a day-to-day basis, police officers also seek a number of compensations which have traditionally been an integral aspect of the job. These compensation include perks, fiddling, private telephone calls, tipping, discounts, services, and presents (Punch, 1985; Manning, 1977; Rubenstien, 1973). Some organizations provide for or condone informal rewards which may increase as one moves up the organization's hierarchical structure. These rewards may be widespread, but are rarely acknowledged (Punch, 1985).

These four general types of police deviance reveal that there are many deviant police practices that occur in the daily organizational and occupational life of policing, and successful achievement of organizational goals through unlawful conduct tends to reinforce the occurrence of so-labeled deviant behavior. In the continual achievement of organizational goals, unlawful behavior may receive structural and normative support, and officers may face minimal risk of detection and sanction[1].

---

[1] The degree to which an organization experiences pressures to act unlawfully, and the ability and willingness of members to act illegally in the organization's behalf may vary by subunit, by position in the information system, time, and the weighing of rewards and punishments (Manning, 1977; Punch, 1985).

So what society defines as illegal may actually come to be defined within the organization and the occupation as acceptable practice, normative and nondeviant (Manning, 1977; Punch, 1985; Vaughan, 1983). However, these same factors create a realm in which individuals may engage in misconduct and corruption that is in their own interest, separate and distinct from the interests of the organization.

Too often, "academic" constructions of police deviance do not give close consideration to the intentions of deviant practices, or to the fact that in the course of a day a police officers will pass through innumerable setting where the rules of one will not be the rules of another (Downes & Rock, 1988, p. 176; Punch, 1985). Thus, thinking about police occupational deviance from a "social" constructionist perspective, thinking in terms of the social, structural and political pressures to engage in unlawful behavior to achieve success or to meet organizational goals explains a great deal about the phenomenon of police deviance (Vaughan, 1983, p. 68). In keeping with the objectives of the research, which includes focusing on the social organization of the police occupational culture, I agree with Manning and Punch that researchers need to explore the way in which police occupational deviance is "socially" constructed within the police occupational culture.

Extent and Nature of Police Occupational Deviance

A review of the literature related to police deviance, including literature and research that relies on "academic constructions" and "social constructions" of police deviance, reveals that the main problem with determining the extent (frequency) and

nature of police engagement in occupational deviance is that deviant behavior is difficult to study. Rarely are people willing to admit to or even reveal the inappropriate behavior in which they engage.

In 1973, the Knapp Commission, through the use of undercover surveillance, uncovered widespread corruption in the New York City Police Department. The corruption took various forms (including accepting gratuities and payoffs) depending upon the activity involved (i.e., gambling, drugs, prostitution), appearing at its most sophisticated among plainclothesmen assigned to enforcing gambling laws. Corruption in the narcotics area was less organized but also extensive; many of the payments came from "shakedowns" of narcotic dealers. Uniformed patrol officers participated in small gambling "pads" and often collected money from construction sites, bars, grocery stores, parking lots, and other business establishments. Patrol officers could also get money from traffic violators, tow truck drivers, prostitutes, and defendants who wanted court cases "fixed." Ranking officers, sergeants, lieutenants and others above this level also participated in corrupt activities, but the evidence concerning these officers was more difficult to obtain (Knapp Commission, 1973).

What the Knapp Commission did was divide corrupt police officers into two types: "grass-eaters" and "meat-eaters." The "meat-eater" is the officer who aggressively seeks out the corruption opportunities, while the "grass-eater" is less aggressive but will accept payoffs if they come his or her way. The Commission investigated so many grass-eaters that it made the acceptance of payoffs seem respectable. The Commission noted that it was easier for a new officer to become corrupt than to remain honest because corrupt behavior was so widely practiced that

dishonesty was a "norm" of the department.

In one of the early empirical studies of patterns of police deviance (defined in this study as rule or norm violating behavior, i.e., perjury, brutality, sex on duty, sleeping on duty, drinking on duty) Barker (1977) measured the perceived extent and peer support for five patterns of police deviance. Perceived peer support for each pattern of police deviance was measured in two ways: on the basis of "wrongness" and on the basis of how often police officers in the department would report another police officer for engaging in the various forms of behavior. What Barker uncovered in one southern police organization was that the extent of each deviant pattern was almost a direct function of how "wrong" the police peer group perceived the act to be and the perception of how often the men thought it would be reported.

In a later study, Barker and Wells (1982) surveyed 115 police administrators in a southern state to determine their attitudes toward the definition and control of two forms of police occupational deviance, police corruption and misconduct. The researcher found that a significant number of police agencies had no formal departmental rules and regulations, and those who had rules and regulations did not specifically mention the patterns of police deviance. Also, the manner in which chiefs reported they would react to police corruption and misconduct was through in-house or departmental action, in efforts to keep the activities secret or to keep the "lid on" a serious problem. Barker and Wells associate such reactions to the scandal-reform-scandal syndrome observed in many police organizations.

Much of the recent research on police occupational deviance has shifted toward an examination of police drug corruption. The drug problem that began in

the 1960s has significantly increased the opportunities for drug-related police occupational deviance (Carter and Stephens, 1990; Dombrink, 1988; Haarr, 1993; Langer, 1986a, 1986b). The contemporary illicit drug market--characterized by widespread availability of illicit drugs, abundant cocaine and crack consumption, and large amounts of money--has changed the nature of police corruption. Police corruption has taken on more "nontraditional" forms as police have been exposed to increased opportunities and temptations (Carter, 1990; Dombrink, 1988; Haarr, 1993). "Drugs-for-money" transactions, drug usage and drug dealing, and excessive use of violence by police officers are primary examples of corrupt practices occurring in United States police departments (including New York City PD, Flint, Michigan PD, Detroit, Michigan PD, MI, and Miami, Florida PD, as well as the lesser known cases in a number of other cities).

The most recent phenomenon police departments have witnessed is abuse of illicit drugs by police officers. Recreational drug use (i.e., drug use that does not involve corruption, and where use is initially a product of the desire to experience exhilaration, psychoactive effects, and/or mood changes associated with drug use) is a significant issue because of the greater numbers of officers apparently involved in this form of use (Carter & Stephens, 1990). In a one shot case study, Kraska and Kappeler (1987), through the use of unstructured self-report interviews, departmental records, and research observations, found that in one southwestern police department of about 50 officers, 20% of the officers in the department used marijuana twice a month or more while on-duty. Another 4% had used marijuana at least once while on-duty, and 10% of the officers reported they had used non-prescribed controlled

substances (defined as including hallucinogens, stimulants, or barbiturates) while on-duty. Despite some methodological limitations of the study discussed by Kraska and Kappeler, Carter and Stephens (1990) maintained that the implications of drug abuse by police officers (both on-duty and off-duty) are such that a serious problem exists.

While no published research exists to specifically document the extent of substance abuse by police officers, it does appear that only a small portion of the problem is actually visible. New forms of police occupational deviance associated with the illicit international drug trade are emerging. Covert trafficking of drugs by police officers is just one example of this new form of police occupational deviance, as indicated by the publicized investigations in New York City, New York and Miami, Florida (Carter & Stephens, 1990; Dombrink, 1988; Haarr, 1993). Other growing symptoms of this form of "nontraditional" police corruption are increased violence by officers, including murder, extortion, and brutal assaults. Currently, very little is known about these more recent "nontraditional" forms of police corruption; however, it is evident that these forms of occupational deviance exist and are widespread.

Despite the fact that police occupational deviance is not simply defined or studied, given the pervasiveness of police occupational deviance I want to study the social context of police occupational deviance as it exists and is defined within the patrol occupational culture.

Alternate Explanations of Police Occupational Deviance

This section identifies the various types of causative factors to police occupational deviance, including those factors that have been examined in previous

studies and those that remain unexamined. Four elements important to understanding the etiology of occupational deviance include: (a) The opportunity structure and its accompanying techniques of rule violations; (b) the occupational culture (i.e., participation in, commitment to and reinforcement and encouragement from the occupational peer group); (c) socialization of police officers; and (d) characteristics of the individual officer (pertaining primarily to the race, gender, and rank of officers and the effects upon overall level of commitment to the organization and attitudes toward occupational deviance). It should initially be noted that no research was found that studied how race and gender as independent variables affect employee's attitudes toward occupational deviance. Therefore, literature in other areas has been used to illustrate the importance of race and gender as predictor variables.

Police occupational deviance has been studied in efforts to identify the factors that influence police corruption and misconduct (Dombrink, 1988; Haarr, 1993; Knapp Commission, 1973; Langer, 1986a, 1986b; Sherman, 1974), to develop a typology of police occupational deviance (Barker & Roebuck, 1973; Barker & Carter, 1986, 1990), and to examine the extent and support for police occupational deviance (Barker, 1977). Many theoretical perspectives have been examined and developed, including: (a) The occupational setting and its opportunity structure provide the police officer with ample opportunity for participation in a wide range of deviant activities; and (b) the peer group indoctrinates and socializes the rookie into the occupational culture in which patterns of acceptable corrupt activities are engaged. The practical reason for making the connection between the occupational culture,

occupational socialization, and occupational deviance has been to enable police administrators to move toward controlling occupational deviance.

It was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that researchers such as Fogelson (1977), Rubenstien (1972), Smith (1965) and Westley (1970) began to make a systematic study of the phenomenon of police occupational deviance--specifically police corruption. One reason for neglect of the phenomenon prior to the late 1960s is that criminologists were indifferent to the study of law enforcement agencies, and sociologists who investigated law enforcement agencies concentrated their efforts in areas of occupational performance of the police role, police systems organization, and police community relations (Gunether, 1970).

Opportunity Structure

Structural theories of police occupational deviance advanced by Clinard and Quinney (1967), the Knapp Commission (1973), Sherman (1974), Manning and Redlinger (1977), and Barker (1977) related the occupational setting and its accompanying opportunity structure to the occurrence of police occupational deviance. One thesis set forth was that the occupational structure provides the police officer with more than ample opportunity to engage in a wide range of deviant activities. Barker (1977) observed that the opportunity structure provides the police with many situations to observe and/or participate in a wide range of activities. During the normal work routine, under conditions of little or no supervision, the police come in contact with a variety of deviant actors, many of whom are willing to pay considerable sums of money to avoid arrest (Knapp Commission, 1973).

The Knapp Commission (1973) found that the police officers' position as regulators of vice activities presents them with the opportunity to collect systematic and regular payoffs from illegal operators. Even during routine investigative duties, officers have the opportunity to take items from burglary scenes and unsecured businesses on the pretext of looking for a name and number to call and notify of a disturbance at the business. Sherman (1974) identified the various aspects of the police role that make corruption and police deviance possible. These aspects include: the extraordinary discretion inherent in police work, the code of secrecy inherent in the police subculture, police managers' membership in the police subculture (sharing in the code of secrecy and loyalty), and the perceived low status (low pay) of the police occupation. All of these factors inherent to policing combine to create an opportunity structure that is favorable to corruption and deviance.

In the area of "victimless crimes," Manning and Redlinger (1977) used the term "grey area" of law enforcement to describe the position of narcotic officers, who possess significant amount of discretionary power in what are primarily police-invoked actions (i.e., whatever action is taken comes about through his or her own initiative). Manning and Redlinger concluded that many forms of police corruption come about through vice enforcement as a result of the significant amount of discretionary power, the internally and externally generated pressures on police to produce visible evidence of their activity and achievements, and the conflicts of organizational strategies and tactics. Increasingly, studies have arrived at consistent findings that the concepts of police occupational deviance and the occupational opportunity structure are linked (Carter and Stephens, 1990; Dombrink, 1988; Haarr,

1993; Langer 1986a, 1986b).

The Occupational Culture

A second approach to the explanation of occupational deviance is based on the occupational culture. Manning (1987) defined occupational culture as:

> "that is shaped by and shapes the socially relevant worlds of the occupation. Occupational cultures contain accepted practices, rules, and principles of conduct that are situationally applied, and generalized rationales and beliefs...(such) cultures highlight selectively the contours of an environment, granting meaning to some facts and not others, and linking modes of seeing, doing, and believing (p. 360)."

According to Manning (1993), the occupational culture is a product of both social structure and the evolution of the police organization; it shapes how people think, feel, and act within an occupational field. It also produces a set of attitudes and an explanatory structure of belief or ideology.

Westley (1953, 1970), in the first American social science study of the police, relied on the police culture as a primary explanatory concept. Westley found that because the police perceive the public as violent, nonsupportive, and not to be trusted, the occupational culture emphasizes themes of self-protection in the forms of secrecy, in-group solidarity, violence, and maintenance of respect for officers (Manning, 1987).

Rubenstein (1972) and Skolnick (1966) echoed Westley's themes of violence, secrecy, distrust, and dependency among American urban police. In a detailed ethnography, Rubenstein identified the tactics of the urban police--the lies, the violence, the deception, and self-deception--and the importance of the organizational culture in shaping police behavior (see Manning, 1987). Skolnick posed a

contradiction between features of the occupational culture and the resultant 'working personality.'

Manning's (1977, 1987) view of the police occupational culture rests on the proposition that life is uncertain. For Manning, it is the uncertainty of police work, as well as the need to control information to sustain public fronts, that increases police teamwork and in turn creates unity, in-group solidarity, and secrecy. In Narc's Game (1980), Manning illustrated the occupational culture and exposed the degree to which it can be in conflict with the organization's strategies and tactics for narcotics enforcement. Manning's (1987, p. 362) work presented the occupational culture as it stands in a dialectical relationship to the law, the organization, and other aspects of the social structure (i.e., race, class, sex, age). On the one hand, the occupational culture mediates the environment; and on the other, it mediates actions. To Manning, the occupational culture becomes a kind of symbolic mediator.

In his most recent work, Manning (1993, p. 9) drew upon Erickson's (1976) work to argue that diversity, variation, and contrast is built into the police occupational culture. Unfortunately, virtually no other work on the police occupational culture reflects this notion of diversity or variation in values (Fielding, 1988); rather, research on the police occupational culture and its subcultures is disproportionately influenced by only a few dozen studies of American or English patrol officers in large urban areas (Manning, 1993). Even more important, to date no systematic study has been carried out on the actual cultural continuum that exists within policing.

Occupational Socialization

A third approach to the explanation of occupational deviance involves an inquiry into the socialization of police officers through common occupational experiences. This concept should be recognized as being connected to the occupational culture. It has been proposed that a typical police organization represents a form of social organization in which a continuing collectivity of individuals share a significant activity (police duties); the individuals have a history of continuing interaction based on that activity; they acquire a major portion of their identity from the closeness of this interaction (police solidarity); and they share special norms and values (Barker, 1977; Bennett, 1984; Fielding, 1988; Van Maanen, 1977). In short, Skolnick (1966), Strecher (1967), and Barker (1977) maintain that most police organizations possess the qualities of a subculture, with subcultural mechanisms of informal control through occupational socialization.

A number of authors have conducted studies which support the theory of occupational socialization of police officers (i.e., that officers learn on the job from other officers about what is important and what is not, and how to respond). Westley (1953, 1970) was the first to identify the importance of socialization as a significant factor in police behavior (i.e., that "old timers" indoctrinated "rookies" into policing). Westley's research and analysis underscores the importance of in-group solidarity, or closeness among officers, which results from a perception that the public cannot be trusted. This in-group solidarity can result in the development of a "code of silence" in which officers will not even discuss inappropriate police behavior, and may actually lie about such behavior in order to protect another officer.

Skolnick (1966) and Rubenstein (1972) echoed Westley's themes of social isolation of the police from the community and in-group solidarity. Skolnick found it is because of the social isolation and withdrawal into their own group for support and approval that police officers become subject to intense subcultural, peer group mechanisms of influence and informal control. Rubenstein's ethnography detailed the importance of an officer's environment as a critical factor in police behavior, including how officers learn from other officers what is important and what is not, the types of situations and people that are potentially dangerous and, more importantly, what to do in responding to these types of situations and people. Rubenstein provided support for the socialization theory of police behavior.

Since the writings of Westley (1953) and Skolnick (1966), researchers have continually documented the existence of an occupationally located police "working personality"--a unique set of attitudinal and behavioral expectations or working norms that are learned through a pattern of organizational and subcultural influence or socialization process. One socialization hypothesis focuses upon both the structure of the occupation and the process by which recruits are drawn from the general public and become experienced officers with a police "personality" (Balch, 1972; Skolnick, 1966; Van Maanen, 1975; Westley, 1970). In a longitudinal study of police recruits, Van Maanen (1975) documented changes in the attitudes of police recruits moving through the series of experiences associated with their early careers. The analysis concentrated on the motivation, commitment, and need satisfaction of patrol officers. Findings indicated that recruits entered the department highly motivated and committed to their newly-adopted organization; however, over time their

motivational and commitment attitudes tended to decline. Although the particulars of these findings varied somewhat from department to department, the general findings were most useful to begin a general theory of organizational socialization.

Neiderhoffer (1967), on the other hand, attempted to determine how police officers' "working personality" changed as a result of their police experiences through four stages of development--commitment, frustration, disenchantment, and cynicism. Neiderhoffer's research has been controversial since it was first published because of criticism regarding the validity of the questionnaire he used to measure cynicism (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993); nevertheless, this research remains important because it contributed to the development of the socialization theory of police behavior, and it underscored the importance of the changes that take place in the attitudes and values of individuals in law enforcement (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993).

In a 1971 study, Savitz applied the theory of occupational socialization in a longitudinal analysis of recruits permissiveness toward police corruption at three different time periods. Findings revealed that the more the recruits progressed in the work group the more permissive toward corrupt police conduct they became. Savitz concluded that once patterns of corrupt conduct become entrenched in a police organization, they may be passed from one generation of officers to the next through occupational socialization (Barker, 1977).

On the one hand, Skolnick (1966), Neiderhoffer (1967), and others argued that the organization's demands and the nature of the occupation lead to the uniqueness that has been observed by researchers; and on the other hand, Van Maanen (1975) maintained that motivation, commitment, and need satisfaction

determine an individual officer's attitudinal orientation. These theories of organizational socialization basically relate processes by which an organizational member learns the required behaviors and supportive attitudes necessary to participate as a member of an organization and applies them to the wide range of larger organizationally relevant attitudes and behaviors (Manning, 1970; Schein, 1968; Van Maanen, 1975, 1976, 1977).

While previous studies have found support for a theory of occupational socialization in the development of a police "working personality" and occupational deviance, other researchers have suggested the limited influence of occupational socialization to officers. Fielding (1988) and Manning (1993) identified a cultural continuum of diversity and contrast within the police occupational and organizational culture (i.e. differential group organization and association), which provided varying socialization experiences in which varying police subgroups can emerge.

Individual Characteristics

The final element of importance to an understanding of occupational deviance is the individual differences between officers (e.g., officer's race and/or gender, the rank of the officer, and the number of years the officer has been on the force). Fielding (1988) maintained that the formal and informal models of socialization into occupations remain only partial unless account is taken of the individual differences between recruits (demographic and biographical variations), individuals' mediation of socializing influences, and individuals' attempts to make their own sense of their experience and make adaptations to construct an organizational reality special to

themselves from these various sources of influence. "Research data reveals the flexibility of recruits and their ability to resist as well as embrace the influences arising from formal and informal sources" (Fielding, 1988, p. 9; Reuss-Ianni, 1983).

"Although all officers are members of the 'police fraternity,' the occupation is increasingly composed of a small percentage of minority, female and ethnically diverse people . . . (whose) life styles and ambitions differ significantly across and within the three segments" (Manning, 1993, p. 15). Both Manning (1993) and Fielding (1988) agree that individual officers remain the mediator of socializing influences, they make their own adaptations, and construct an organizational reality.

Two mediating variables--race and gender--have been proposed and analyzed in subsequent literature. The hypothesized influence of gender and race as mediating variables rests in the existing predictions about gender and race and attitudes derived from theory about gender and race differences and occupational socialization.

Gender

Pressure to hire female police officers in the 1970s encouraged considerable interest in the study of gender differences; however, much of the research focused on behavior rather than on attitudes. Despite the fact that study after study has revealed no consistent differences in the quality of men's and women's performance on the street (Bloch & Anderson, 1974; Morash & Green, 1986; Price, 1974; Sherman, 1975, Townsey, 1982), many police officers, supervisors, and scholars, nevertheless, believe that men and women bring to the job differences in attitudes, values, and perceptions that influence the way they do their work. Unfortunately, the

attitudinal differences attributed to gender remain only partially specified in the literature (e.g., in officers' definition of the police role, their perceptions of citizens, and their attitudes toward their work and colleagues).

Martin's (1980) pioneering study on the first large cohort of policewomen in Washington, D.C. is an in-depth account of the variation in both men's and women's adaptation to sexual integration in police patrol. Martin traced women's job dissatisfaction and in some cases lack of commitment to sex-related issues, most of which she found revolved around male officers' day-to-day treatment of female officers. In fact, overt ridiculing of female officers by male officers and negative attitudes of policemen towards policewomen has been well-documented in training academies (Johns, 1979; Martin, 1990; Pike, 1985), on the street (Martin, 1980), and in surveys of police officers (Morash & Haarr, 1993; Worden, 1993). This study contributed significantly to the development of a research agenda on gender and policing; however, Worden (1993) contended that there have been few rigorous attempts to test the hypotheses Martin generated. Instead, a considerable amount of the research on gender in policing has been atheoretical, developing not from theories of gender difference or similarity, but rather from a narrow empirical focus on finding out whether women resemble men (Heidensohn, 1993; Worden, 1993).

Apart from empirical evidence suggesting both differences and similarities in attitudes, some sociologists maintain that individual differences have diminishing effects on work-related attitudes as people are similarly socialized into their tasks and organizational environments. One skeptical author stated "the theoretical work on gender and on police attitudes does not clearly lead one to expect men and women

to exhibit the differences that some have presumed" (Worden, 1993, p. 204). Worden (1993) used the 1977 Police Services Study to examine the conflicting predictions about gender and attitudes derived from theory about gender differences and sociological theory about occupational socialization. Her results suggested that although women and men may not be equally integrated into their jobs as police officers, there are few differences in the ways men and women see their role, their clientele, or their departments.

Apart from empirical evidence suggesting this relationship, other authors assumed that women's views about proper police behavior will differ from men's if only because traditional role orientations originate in the police subculture, a subculture to which women are often denied access (as are other "outsiders," such as racial and ethnic minorities). Much of the research on female workers in criminal justice settings, as in other professional settings, emphasizes the difficulties that women encounter in fitting into the well-established cultures that are dominated by traditional masculine values (Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1980, 1990). The stereotypical police culture symbolizes such values insofar as it supports displays of aggression, accepts violence as a means of resolving disputes, and promotes competition to establish formal and informal hierarchies of authority and dominance (Martin, 1980, 1990; Worden, 1993).

Acceptance into the police culture often determines how well and how quickly one learns the job, how much one can rely upon partners, and how much confidence and self-esteem one can take onto the street (Bennett, 1984). Exclusion from the informal support network of the police culture and its various subcultures can explain

why women may differ from men in their perceptions of their work environment, their place in the occupational culture, their commitment to the organization (Martin, 1980; Poole & Pogrebin, 1988). Worden (1993) argued,

> "women are likely to differ in their perceptions and attitudes in a variety of contexts because the experiences of exclusion and oppression renders them more critical of dominant group norms and values, specifically when those norms and values appear to protect predominantly male interests . . . This may be especially true in police departments where the formal culture and informal subcultures play an important role in socializing, supporting, and controlling officers' attitudes and behavior (p. 207)."

To the extent that women routinely experience exclusion, discrimination, and hostility from male supervisors and colleagues, their attitudes toward work--their satisfaction, commitment, integration, and aspirations--may be compromised (Flynn, 1982). Although there is no inherent assurance that the chief divisions within the police organization and occupational culture coincide with gender, this remains to be a central question.

Race

Very little has been written about the racial formation of police organizations, or the experiences of racial minorities in policing and police organizations. The limited literature on racial minorities in policing focuses on blacks in policing, specifically black males in policing. Recently, Felkenes and Schroedel (1993) and Martin (1994) have examined the work experiences of non-white female police officers. Although the literature is severely restricted, the accounts that are available make it clear that blacks and other racial minority groups have had limited access to the law enforcement field, until the early 1970s, until Affirmative Action. In recent

years, the number of racial minorities in policing has grown in many cities as a direct result of Affirmative Action and pressure from racial and ethnic minority communities. In 1990, among sworn personnel in local police departments 10.5% were black (non-Hispanic), 5.2% Hispanic, and 1.3% were members of other minority groups (i.e., Asians, Native Americans).

Even though racial minorities have been increasingly hired into police organizations, racial minorities still face problems with respect to equal treatment from colleagues and supervisors, equal opportunities for work assignments and promotions, and unprejudiced evaluations (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993). It is not uncommon to find that black officers are still restricted in the type and location of assignments they receive, and performance ratings and evaluations are negatively manipulated by superior officers or coworkers.

In the general literature, some research has focused on the differences in attitudes and performances between racial minority and white employees; yet such analysis has received relatively little attention in police literature. One reason for the lack of emphasis on race in policing rests in Nicholas Alex's (1969) pioneering study of black police officers in the early and mid-1960s, in which he proclaimed that black officers did not significantly differ in attitudes, working personalities, or role performance from their white cohorts (Buzawa, 1981). This lack of disparity in performance did not encourage further research into differential attitudes. Not until the late 1970s and early 1980s was attention again paid to the attitudes of racial minorities in police organizations. To date, however, in-depth analysis of the racial formation of policing and the police organization, and comparisons between the

attitudes and experiences of racial minorities and white males in police organizations remains rare (Buzawa, 1981; Felkenes and Schroedel, 1993).

Research that does exist, however, indicates that black males (Buzawa, 1981; Milutinovich, 1977; Weaver, 1975) and black females (Felkenes and Schroedel, 1993) identify differing attitudes, behaviors, and experiences (e.g., officer's perceptions of citizens, and their attitudes toward their work and colleagues) from white males when working in traditional racially formed organizations and occupations. Buzawa (1991) examined the differences in selected work-related attitudes of black and white patrol officers in Detroit, Michigan and Oakland, California. Buzawa's results indicated significant differences in work-related attitudes, including feelings of social isolation by black officers, optimistic feelings for career prospects by blacks, yet higher levels of job satisfaction by black officers than white officers.

In the general literature, Milutinovich (1977) suggests that job dissatisfaction among blacks is directly related to supervision, performance, and coworkers relations. Milutinovich suggested that racism or lack of common experiences may lead white supervisors to be psychologically or socially more distant from black subordinates, thereby transmitting less encouragement and/or support to blacks. Also white supervisors may not be in tune and/or responsive to the specific needs and goals of black employees, and this in turn is reflected as differential treatment.

The discrepancy between the findings in Alex (1969), Buzawa (1981) and Milutinovich (1977) suggests that future research needs to focus upon attitudinal and behavioral differences, and organization experiences of racial minorities, both male and female. Although there is no assurance that the chief divisions within the police

organization and occupational culture coincide with race, this is a central question.

The Interactive Model: Intersections of Gender and Race

One of the newest and most important trends in research analysis, especially in the study of social inequality, has been to link gender with race. This interactive approach offers new understandings of both race and gender, as well as where the two intersect. What scholars have found in using this approach is that hierarchies of race and gender are simultaneous and interlocking systems that continually operate within and through each other to produce differing experiences and realities (see Eitzen & Baca-Zinn, 1992; Morash & Haarr, 1993).

More recent research of female and racial minority police officers and their experiences in police organizations (Felkenes & Schroedel, 1993; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1994; Morash & Haarr, 1993) has used the interactive model to reveal not only how it is that race and gender are located separately within the structure of police organizations, but how race and gender together can account for new forms of attitudinal and behavioral differences. In other words, under certain conditions the forms of racism directed at black men and black women may sometimes differ even if the attitudes, acts, or outcomes are the same, because black men and black women may experience and/or respond to them differently (Smith & Stewart, 1983). Similarly, the forms of sexism vary as a function of a woman's race, as may her response to the sexism. Black women encounter a combination of both race and sex discrimination that white women never experience. Thus, Smith and Stewart (1983) insisted that racism and sexism must be understood not simply as independent

parallel processes, but as processes that stand in a dynamic relation to each other.

Smith and Stewart (1983) argued that by applying an interactive model for studying race and gender one need not exclude the possibility of independent effects of racism and sexism. Such a model allows the common experiences or shared effects to be identified and understood; at the same time, an interactive model allows the researcher to look at those aspects of sexism that are experienced only by black women or white women, and those aspects of racism that are experienced only by black males or black females (Smith & Stewart, 1983). The shift in much of the recent research on gender and race is towards utilizing this interactive research methodology that examines the experiences of multiple gender-race groups (e.g., black males, black females, white females, white males, Asian females and Asian males) and allows the researcher to identify those aspects of experience that distinctly define each group (Eitzen & Baca-Zinn, 1992; Felkenes & Schroedel, 1993; Smith & Stewart, 1983).

In this research project, such an interactive model will be used to link race and gender to reveal the experiences of black women, white women, black men and white men in the police organization and police occupational culture. Analysis will be conducted to reveal the differences and similarities across each of the race-gender groups in their patterns of interpersonal interaction, levels of organizational commitment, and attitudes toward police occupational deviance.

Conclusion

A review of the literature of police occupational deviance and the social

organization of policing supports several conclusions. One, the literature on police occupational deviance is divided between those (Barker and Carter, 1986, 1990; Lynch and Diamond, 1983; Plitt, 1983) that define police occupational deviance using a formal "academic" construction of police deviance that coincides very closely with the formal definitions of misconduct and corruption that are outlined within the rules and regulations of police organizations; and those (Manning, 1977; Punch, 1985; Sherman, 1974) that recognize that police deviance is "socially" constructed within the police organization's occupational culture. Scholars that are guided by a theory of the "social" construction of police deviance criticize scholars that adopt an atheoretical, "academic" construction of police deviance on the grounds that they do not give consideration to the intentions or motives of deviant practices, or to the fact that deviance practices exist alongside legitimate organizational activities and frequently functions to advance organization goals and effectiveness.

Two, there are many studies that have examined police occupational deviance and the social organization of police organization. The police literature thus far has examined police occupational deviance as it has traditionally been placed within the structural framework of the police organization--the opportunity structure for participation, the "monolithic" occupational culture and its subculture, and the process of formal occupational socialization into the occupational culture.

Several studies have examined separately and interactively the experiences and attitudes of women and racial minorities in policing. However, no study has been devoted to an examination of the different and similar experiences and attitudes of white male, white female, black male, and black female patrol officers in their

patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and attitudes towards and possible propensity to participate in police occupational deviance. This study will seek to identify the social organization of the police occupational culture as it is shaped by and shapes the experiences of differing race-gender groups within it.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE THEORY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF POLICING LITERATURE

In this chapter I examine the literature on the social organization of policing. This research is guided by a theory of social organization of policing that advances diversity and variation in the police occupational culture (Fielding, 1988; Manning, 1993; Reuss-Ianni, 1983). In this chapter I will identify and examine the variables--patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and attitudes towards occupational deviance--that will be used in this research project to reveal the structure and organization of the police occupational culture. This chapter provides a broad rationale for the examination of these variables, and presents the general questions to which the research will be directed.

Toward a Theory of the Social Organization of Policing

To understand police occupational deviance, one must first understand the structure of policing and features of its occupational culture (Manning, 1993). Structure is defined as "the position and parts of the organizations and their systematic and relatively enduring relationships to each other (Porter and Lawler, 1965, p.24)." In over 30 years of police research and theorizing on the social organization of police organizations, the initial conception of a single, unified occupational culture and formal socialization is now being replaced by an alternative conception of informal socialization influences and diversity and variation within the occupational culture (Manning, 1993). This alternative conception criticizes the

characterization of police as people of similar disposition, and embraces Bittner's (1965, p. 15) acknowledgement that "members will bring different biographical experiences, different levels of technical skill, and different cross-cutting commitments to this task." In other words, this alternative conception proclaims that officers will alter their behavior and adjust their actions in accordance with their reading of social situations, personal interest, and organizational rules (Fielding, 1988; Manning, 1993). Fielding (1988) contends that in order to assess the degree to which officers actually mediate the formal and informal organizational influences, one needs to understand the functions and character of the occupational culture[2].

Theory of the Social Organization of the Police

The police organization provides an operating ideology (occupational culture) of values, beliefs, and norms that guides the discretion of both the organization and its officers (Manning, 1987, 1993; Christopher Commission Report, 1992)[3]. Manning (1987) defines the "occupational culture" as,

> " . . . a reduced, selective, and task-based version of culture that is shaped by and shapes the socially relevant worlds of the occupation. Embedded in traditions and a history, occupational cultures contain accepted practices, rules, and principles of conduct that are situationally applied, and generalized rationales and beliefs. Such cultures highlight selectively the contours of an

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[2] The strength of the occupational culture in policing has been explained as a response to police officers working situation.

[3]The Christopher Commission (1992), established to examine the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) after the Rodney King incident, an incident that involved the beating of a black male in the presence of thirteen police officer. According to the Commission, the culture of an organization is an important factor in police behavior. The LAPD had an organizational culture that emphasized abuse of police authority in the form of excessive use of force (i.e., racially motivated beatings and shootings).

> environment, granting meaning to some facts and not others, and linking modes of seeing, doing, and believing" (p. 360).

In other words, the occupational culture shapes how people will think, feel, and act within the occupation (Manning, 1993).

Although the concept of police occupational culture has achieved popularity since it was advanced by Westley in 1951 (Westley, 1970), considerable disagreement remains concerning the specific content and function of the culture (Manning, 1993). Oftentimes, the occupational culture has been characterized as being so extraordinarily uniform and powerful as to exercise a monolithic authority over officers and their actions (Fielding, 1988). In fact, much of the analyses of the police culture has centered on the rigidity of the occupational culture and the cohesiveness of the police, as well as on the coherence of organizational socialization--the means by which attitudes about the organization, its system of authority, and its work are imparted on officers--as the method by which uniformity is established (Fielding, 1988; Harris, 1973; Teahan, 1975). Occupational socialization is a complex process of social learning that provides new officers with a set of rules, perspectives, techniques, and tools necessary for their participation in the group or organization (Van Maanen, 1972). Acceptance into the group may determine how well and how quickly an officer learns the job, how much one can rely upon partners, and how much confidence and self-esteem one can take onto the street. Alternatively, exclusion from the culture can affect officers' perceptions of themselves as police officers (Bennett, 1984).

The occupational culture, as it has been presented as preserving a collective set of values, is, however, a resource available more so to some groups

within the ranks than to others (Fielding, 1988). Fielding pointed out that powerful socializing influencers of the informal culture do not welcome alternative or diverse groups--women, blacks, Hispanics, Asians--and their values (Bennett, 1984; Fielding, 1988). Thus, two traditional strategies open to minority groups that enter this formerly closed occupation has been to either seek to transform the organization to better fit their qualities, or to transform themselves to better fit the organization (Fielding, 1988; Martin, 1980).

Many of the analyses of police culture have failed to recognize that there could be another reading of the culture, one of diversity and variation. In 1983, Reuss-Ianni provided evidence of several bases for intra-cultural divisions--based on age, sex, length of service, race, ethnicity, specialized expertise, connections and behavior--from which constables may draw upon to support an image of work, an image of the self as it is perceived and constructed in and through the work, or decisions to follow a particular course of action. "Other scholars (Skolnick, 1966; Van Maanen, 1974) have argued that the state of intra-cultural division that Reuss-Ianni identifies eventually subsides into what Becker et al. (1961) has called the 'final perspective'" (Fielding, 1988, p. 203).

Manning (1993) and Fielding (1988), like Reuss-Ianni (1983), recognized the diversity and contrast built into the police culture. Manning identified the diversity and contrast as organizational, because it is based in distinctive social spaces or ranks within the organizational hierarchy. Manning (1993) identified three subcultures based on rank--command, middle management, and line officers--that produce different perspectives (nature of the perceived environment) and emphasize different

themes in the work (tasks). He drew on Erickson's (1976) work to begin to identify a continuum of values that include opposing as well as sustaining values within the culture. Fielding (1988), in a 1980 longitudinal study of recruits at England's Derbyshire Police Training Establishment, provided data to show support for a number of competing value positions in circulation within the occupational culture. For Fielding, the occupational culture is actually many subcultures with variations that arise from regional differences, differences of ambition, conflicting perceptions of the police mission, and varying experiences of the organization.

Manning (1987, 1993) insisted that if the occupational culture is to continue to function as an empirically acceptable concept, its internal diversity and variation must be better understood. While the present state of theory of the social organization of policing is just beginning to reflect the notion of diversity and variation in values and culture, no real systematic study has been carried out on the differences that exist within the occupational culture (especially differences based on race and gender), on the differences within the occupational segments or units, or the relationships between them (Manning, 1993, p. 9-10; Reuss-Ianni, 1983). What is also missing from research and literature are detailed studies and analysis of the informal networks based on race and gender that determine patterns of interpersonal interaction within the organization, degrees of organizational commitment, and attitudes and propensity toward participation in occupational deviance. Although there is no inherent assurance that the chief divisions within the occupational culture coincide with gender and race, this is a central question for social scientists who study police organization and culture (Fielding, 1988).

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Patterns of Interpersonal Interactions

Some aspects of the police occupation divide police officers and some unite them. On one level, the police are internally differentiated by patterns of interpersonal interaction, also referred to as patterns of differential association, inside and outside of the police organization. The principle of differential association asserts that a person's associations are determined in a general context of social organization, focusing attention on the interaction in which choice of role models occurs (Sutherland & Cressey, 1970). In the course of researching the police occupational culture, however, scholars have overlooked these patterns of interpersonal interactions or differential relationships within and between organizational levels and members to aid in explaining officer behavior. Often, these patterns of interaction have been implied in the police literature under the heading of occupational socialization or peer group support, but have not been developed as a factor to be examined.

In the organizational psychology literature, Porter and Lawler (1965) identified four different types of patterns of job-based interpersonal interaction. These four different types of behavior include interactions (Burns, 1954; Dubin & Spray, 1964), functional activities performed on the job by the individual (Burns, 1954; Dubin & Spray, 1964; Shartle, 1956), communications (Davis, 1953), and types of decision making (Martin, 1959). Four major types of interpersonal interaction examined include: (a) the ratio of upward (or superior) contacts to downward (or subordinate) contacts, (b) percentage of peer contacts, (c) percentage of contacts with individuals outside the organizational unit (department, officer, or unit), and (d) percentage of

direct (fact-to-face) contacts. Porter and Lawler's (1965) review of the relevant general literature demonstrates that patterns of interpersonal interaction within the organization are strongly related to both attitudes and behavior.

Recent research in policing that examines the effects of sex and race on one's participation and/or acceptance into the police occupational culture has begun to reveal the opportunities, or lack thereof, that minority officers have to participate in a wide range of interactions or activities within the police organization. What researchers (Hunt, 1984; Martin, 1980, 1990; Remmington, 1981; Roos & Reskin, 1986; Reskin & Roos, 1990) have found is that women and racial minorities that enter into policing face various degrees of sexual and racial discrimination and harassment (e.g., sexual and racial jokes, sex- and race-role stereotyping) (Morash & Haarr, 1993; Hunt, 1990), as well as outright exclusion from informal cultures and interactions (Martin, 1980, 1990). These barriers and hurdles affect the patterns of interpersonal interaction in which female and black officers engage.

Martin (1980) found that frequent sexual jokes and other forms of harassment may cause many female police officers to avoid interactions with male police officers that might be viewed as having sexual connotations; and in order to maintain their moral standing within the organization, female officers may in fact sacrifice the opportunity to build close interpersonal relationships with other officers. In line with Martin's findings, Milutinovich (1977) found that blacks, too, feel they are an isolated minority; therefore, they communicate or interact less with the white members. Thus, female and black officers often times may remain outside of the informal network or the police culture.

For many white male officers, while the job of policing and the police culture may become a way of life; for female and black officers who may face ostracism, the silent treatment, and/or outright rejection from white male officers, the occupational peer groups or police cultures may be off limits or unattractive. In fact, the exclusion from participation in interactions and informal cultures is more likely to leave female and black officers excluded from participation in occupational deviant activities.

The intentions of this study are to examine how the occupational culture shapes patrol officers' patterns of interpersonal interaction, both on- and off-duty, inside and outside of the police organization; and how those patterns of interaction vary with the race and gender of the officer. Who do white female, white male, black female, and black male patrol officers interact with on-duty? Who do they interact with off-duty? Are those they interact with of a particular race and/or culture? Are they mostly men or women? What do patrol officers do when they interact on-duty? What do they do when they interact off-duty? How often do they get together on-duty? How often do they get together off-duty?

Organizational Commitment

At another level, the police are internally differentiated by the degree of commitment they have to the organization. Previous studies have repeatedly shown commitment to be an important factor in understanding the work behavior--turnover and performance--of employees (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982; Porter, Steers, Mowday & Boulian, 1974). Despite the popularity organizational commitment has received since the 1970s, little attention has been directed toward locating the concept within the current theories concerned with individual behavior in the

organizational setting (Mowday et al., 1982; Porter et al., 1974; Van Maanen, 1972).

Porter et al. (1974) provided a working definition of "organizational commitment" as "the strength of an individual's identification with and involvement in a particular organization. Such commitment can be characterized by at least three factors: (a) a strong belief in and acceptance of the organization's goals and values; (b) a willingness to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization; and (c) a definite desire to maintain organizational membership (p. 604)."

Organizational commitment has been used not only as a descriptive variable to indicate a form of behavior, but as an independent variable to account for certain kinds of individual or group behavior, and as a dependent variable resulting from various structural or independent characteristics (Mowday et al., 1982). In this study, the term organizational commitment is used to describe both an attitudinal state, a mind set, a process by which people come to think about their relationship with the organization (i.e., the extent to which their own values and goals are congruent with those of the organization); and a behavioral state, a process by which individuals become locked into a certain organization, and how they define and deal with this experience (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982, p. 26). Undoubtedly, the theory underlying commitment suggests that attitudinal and behavioral commitment are closely related (i.e., officer commitment should be a reliable predictor of behavior); at times it is difficult to separate the two. In this study, both attitudinal and behavioral commitment, as they relate to each other and to the broader issue of organizational behavior, are examined to further advance the understanding of officer commitment to the police organization (Mowday, Porter & Steer, 1982).

Very broadly, commitment "implies that a person gives something extra to the organization--above and beyond that which is required for participation" (Van Maanen, 1972, p. 26). It is a process by which individual interests become linked to carrying out patterns of work-related behavior (Mowday et al., 1982). Simon et al. (1950) noted that commitment to the organization may be based upon policies, values, goals, or interpersonal attachments. As such, those persons who are committed to the organization will share the goals and values of the organization and act in a consistent fashion to work towards goal attainment--rejecting behavioral alternatives that do not correspond to the norms and expectations of the organization (Mowday et al., 1982; Van Maanen, 1972). Individuals committed to the Organization are also inclined to express feelings of loyalty, dedication, devotion, or Oneness with the organization (Van Maanen, 1972).

In Van Maanen's longitudinal study of the socialization of police recruits (1975), he emphasized that commitment to the organization is a process, and he examined the process by which organizational commitment revolves around the situational adjustment of individuals to their organizational setting. Van Maanen identified a three-stage process new police recruits go through upon entrance into the police organization. First, the recruit is emersed in an environment or police community where various groups compete for his or her loyalty. Next, it is up to the individual to select a reference group (which serves as a role model or behavioral guide) from among the available alternatives. Third, the individual embraces the definitions and interpretations of his or her specific organizational role as set forth by the reference group. Within this process, a recruit may choose a reference group

which either does or does not adopt the values of the employing organization. Van Maanen concluded that an individual's selection of a reference group (or several reference groups) is important to the development of organizational commitment. As conceptualized in this manner, it is apparent that organizational commitment is closely related to the patterns of interpersonal interaction discussed previously.

Two issues being debated in more recent literature is whether women or men have higher rates of job commitment, and what factors affect the differences in levels of commitment. Research findings consistently reveal that gender is related to commitment. In studies by Angle and Perry (1982), Gould (1975), Grusky (1966), and Hrebiniak and Alutto (1972), women as a group were found to have higher rates of job commitment than men. Grusky (1966) explained this relationship by arguing that women generally had to overcome more barriers to attain their positions within the organization, thereby making organizational membership more important to them.

Three other studies (Lauer, 1982; Massenberg, 1982; Rosenthal, 1982) measured potential gender differences, but the results were mixed. Massenberg (1982) found no significant variation in job commitment among male and female professionals in scientific disciplines, and Lauer (1982) reported that gender was not a reliable predictor of job involvement when various other factors were statistically controlled. The results of Rosenthal's (1982) study indicated that male workers were more committed to the job than female workers.

Martin (1980) traced women's job dissatisfaction, weak commitment, and weak identification with the job of policing to male officers' day-to-day treatment and/or

rejection of them, blocked opportunities, constant pressure to prove oneself, and competing commitments to family and external social networks (see also, Worden, 1993; Poole & Pogrebin, 1988). Martin (1980) argued that

> "women are likely to differ in their perceptions and attitudes in a variety of contexts because the experiences of exclusion and even oppression (from the occupational culture and subcultures) renders them more critical of dominant group norms and values, particularly when those norms and values appear to protect predominantly male interests (p. 87)."

Race may also condition workers' perceptions of their jobs. Mulutinovich's (1977) examination of black and white, blue-collar and white-collar, male and female workers in three organizations reveals that minority group members may approach their jobs with different frames of reference, especially with respect to specific determinants of job satisfaction and group cohesiveness. Milutinovich revealed a very complex relationship between race and job attitudes, from which he claims no broad stereotypical assumptions can be made for all blacks, since differences may be partially attributed to the interacting effects of gender and race (i.e., because members of minority groups may be socialized into sex and work roles somewhat differently than are whites).

Nevertheless, some existing evidence does suggest that organizational commitment should not always be viewed as a necessary condition for one's effective participation in an organization (Mowday et al., 1982; Van Maanen, 1972). A person can work at a career or job without ever being committed to the employing organization. For example, Dubin (1956) concluded that for three out of four industrial workers, the workplace was not a central life interest. He argued that for many workers, appropriate social behaviors occur in the workplace because it is

required.

For the purpose of this study, the term occupational commitment (i.e., to police work) is a large element of organizational commitment (i.e., to the department), because one must first join an organization in order to be located within the police community. Without organizational membership, a person is not even part of the police occupation. Van Maanen maintained that "to some degree then, one would expect any police officer to exhibit some commitment to the occupation regardless of their commitment to the specific police department he or she works for" (1972, p. 234). For this reason, in policing, occupational commitment probably represents a measurement or comparison for the development of organizational commitment. In other words, Van Maanen (1972) declared

> "if an officer does not exhibit some degree of attachment to the occupation (i.e., the desire to continue in his or her role and a basic belief in the occupational values), the term organizational commitment is meaningless in the context of the police organization since police work is essentially the same task regardless of one's department--especially at the patrol level (p. 34)."

While the dividing line between the two is ambiguous in this case, the use of the term organizational commitment presumes that an officer may or may not convey positive feelings toward his or her employing organization, independently of his or her feelings toward the police role (Van Maanen, 1972).

One of the purposes of this study is to examine how patterns of interpersonal interaction affect officers' commitment to the organization, and how levels of organizational commitment vary with the race and gender of the patrol officer. How do those one interacts with off-duty affect an officer's level of organizational commitment? Do white female, black female, white male and black male patrol

officers express similar levels of organizational commitment? If not, why?

Patterns of Interaction, Organizational Commitment, and Police Occupational Deviance

There is a lack of consensus as to what factors influence the occurrence of occupationally deviant activities in police organizations. Although many researchers rely on single indicators, such as the opportunity structure, the police culture, or occupational socialization and peer group support, there seems to be a general agreement that the interaction of multiple internal and external factors or forces need to be examined for a more comprehensive evaluation of police occupational deviance (Manning, 1977; Manning and Redlinger, 1977; Punch, 1985; Sherman, 1974).

In this study, the social organization of the police occupational culture(s) as revealed through patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and attitudes towards occupational deviance is predicted to substantially influence police methods, behavior, and attitudes (i.e., attitudes toward and/or participation in police occupational deviance, attitudes of organizational commitment, patterns of interaction, and attitudes of sexism and racism that are directed toward minority individuals working within the police organization). Based on the work of organizational theorists (Mowday et al., 1982; Porter & Lawler, 1965; Porter et al., 1974) and social organizational theorists (Manning, 1987, 1993; Punch, 1986; Van Maanen, 1972), I propose that diversity and variation will emerge in patrol officers attitudes towards occupational deviance, some patrol officers will be willing to participate in occupational deviant activities while others will not. I also propose that

patterns of interpersonal interaction and levels of organizational commitment will shape patrol officers attitudes towards occupational deviance. I assume that those persons who are committed to the organization will share the same goals and values of the organization, and will seek out interactions with other officers that share the same goals and values; and together those officers will act in a consistent fashion to work towards goal attainment--rejecting behavioral alternatives that do not correspond to the norms and expectations of the organization.

Ultimately, I assume as Manning (1987, 1993) and Fielding (1988) have identified, that a continuum of values, beliefs, norms, and ambitions will emerge; thus, revealing that the occupational culture is actually multiple cultures with variations that arise from differences in patterns of interpersonal interactions, levels of organizational commitment, and attitudes towards occupational deviance.

Summary

Fielding (1985), Manning (1993) and Reuss-Ianni (1983) contend that to understand the police occupational culture one must understand the social organization of policing; and to understand the social organization of policing one must examine variation in values, beliefs, norms and ambitions within the occupational culture that arise from assignment and race differences, differences of ambition and commitment, conflicting perceptions of the police mission, and varying experiences within the organization.

In the general organization literature, scholars have examined various aspects of employee attitudes and behavior. Several studies have, in fact examined factors which impact officers' commitment to the organization and occupational socialization.

However, no study has devoted itself to an overall examination of the relationship between gender and race, patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and police occupational deviance. As I outlined above, this study seeks to analyze both the separate and combined of these variables in efforts to furthering the theory of social organization of policing.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS AND METHODOLOGY

It is the intention of this chapter is to advance six propositions that were developed apriori based on the logical interrelationship among the concepts, and to outline the methodology for research.

Propositions

Proposition I: Because police organizations are gendered organizations, female patrol officers', both black and white, will engage in different patterns of interpersonal interaction, both on- and off-duty, in comparison to white male patrol officers.

Proposition II: Because police organizations are racially formed organizations, black patrol officers', both male and female, will engage in different patterns of interpersonal interaction, both on- and off-duty, in comparison to white male patrol officers.

Propositions I and II advance that patterns of interpersonal interaction are associated with an officer's race and gender. Race and gender are examined in this dissertation since the literature suggests that policing is gendered work and police organizations are both racially formed and gendered organizations (Hunt, 1990; Heidensohn, 1992; Martin, 1980, 1990) in which women and racial minorities are ascribed a minority or "token" status. In 1990, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that among sworn personnel in local police departments 83% were white

(non-Hispanic), 10.5% were black (non-Hispanic), 5.2% were Hispanic, 1.3% were members of other minority groups, and 8.1% were women.

Both Martin (1980, 1990) and Heidensohn (1992) found that gender and race impact one's acceptance into the police occupational culture, including one's opportunities to participate in a wide range of interactions or activities within the police organization. Alternately, efforts made by women and blacks to overcome political, structural and social barriers to attain their position within the organization may draw them closer together, making interactions with other minority officers important. Today there are various nationwide and local associations and support groups for women and racial minority officers, including Afro-American Police Leagues and Women's Police Officer Associations. The effect of these tendencies is unclear at this time.

Proposition III: Patrol officers' level of commitment to the organization is shaped by the patterns of interpersonal interaction patrol officers engage in both on- and off-duty.

Proposition IV: Female and racial minority patrol officers' level of commitment to the organization will differ in comparison to white male patrol officers, because of the differing experiences each group has within the police occupational culture and the different patterns of interpersonal interaction they engage in both on- and off-duty.

Proposition III assumes that police officers are internally differentiated by the level of commitment they have to the organization. Not only am I interested in explaining variation in levels of commitment to the organization, but also how

patterns of interpersonal interaction shape levels of organizational commitment. Very broadly, commitment implies that a person gives something extra to the organization, above and beyond what is required for participation.

Adding to Propositions I and II, Proposition IV assumes that level of organizational commitment will vary with the race and gender of the patrol officer. The direction of this association is difficult to predict since it is subject to two factors that counterbalance each other. On the one hand, empirical evidence (Acker, 1990; Heidensohn, 1992; Martin, 1980, 1990) suggests that women and racial minorities will bring to the job differences in attitudes, values and perceptions that influence the way they do their work and their attitudes toward work. Furthermore, within police organizations, women and racial minorities routinely experience exclusion, discrimination, and hostility from white male supervisors and colleagues; as a result, their attitudes towards work--their satisfaction, commitment integration, and aspirations--may be compromised. On the other hand, affirmative action programs have resulted in policies that are favorable to women and racial minorities job advancement.

Proposition V: Patrol officers' attitudes towards occupational deviance and possible propensity to participate in occupationally deviant activities are shaped by the patterns of interpersonal interaction officers engage in, both on- and off-duty, and the level of commitment they express towards the organization.

Proposition VI: The attitudes that female and racial minority patrol officers hold towards occupational deviance, and their possible propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities, will differ from those of white male patrol officers

because of differing patterns of interpersonal interaction and levels of organizational commitment.

Previous studies (Porter & Lawler, 1965; Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1970) have established that patterns of interpersonal interaction within the organization and level of organizational commitment are both important factors in understanding the attitudes and work behavior of employees. Persons who are committed to the organization will share the goals and values of the organization, and act consistently to work towards goal attainment, rejecting behavioral alternatives that do not correspond to the norms and expectations of the organization. Proposition V suggests that the combined effects of these variables shape patrol officers' attitudes towards participation in occupational deviant activities.

Building on the Propositions I, II and IV, Proposition VI maintains that an officer's race and gender will help to explain different attitudes towards occupational deviance and the propensity to participate in occupationally deviant activities. Women and racial minorities' isolation from the organization can result in their exclusion from various subgroups or subcultures that have the opportunities to participate in occupationally deviant activities. Likewise, the efforts made by women and racial minorities to overcome barriers to attain their position within the organization may make their organizational membership more important to them, not to be sacrificed by participation in corrupt activities. It is difficult at this time, however, to determine whether female and black officers will express more negative or the same attitudes towards occupational deviant activities, in comparison to their white male co-workers.

Methodology

Because of the interest in studying occupational deviance, the operational framework of the study utilized qualitative research methods, including both field observations and in-depth interviews, to generate detailed empirical data and attitudinal data from patrol officers. The data were analyzed to bring forth the similarities and differences between the gender and racial groups in patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and attitudes towards, and possible propensity to participate in, occupational deviant activities.

A qualitative approach to this study was chosen for several reasons. First, patterns of interpersonal interaction have not been examined in any other studies as it is examined in this study; therefore, there are no existing survey instruments that will allow an empirical or quantitative measurement of this variable. Second, there are no existing survey instruments that will allow me an empirical or quantitative measurement of officers' attitudes towards occupational deviance. In addition, there is considerable debate among scholars about whether one can measure police occupational deviance quantitatively. Since there are no empirical or quantitative measurements available, I have chosen to explore the dimensions of these two variables qualitatively.

An approach of this type has been used by a number of researchers studying police work (Ericson, 1982; Fielding, 1988; Manning, 1977; Rubenstein, 1972; Van Maanen, 1978). This approach is in keeping with a sociological tradition that emphasizes the need to understand organizational life through firsthand contact with the actors who comprise it (Ericson, 1982, p. 33). According to Downes and Rock

(1988, p. 66), "without such participation, knowledge is not experience but an uncertain judgment of experience." Goffman (1961, p. ix-x) advances the idea that people develop a life of their own, and that becomes meaningful, reasonable, and normal once one gets close to it. A good way to learn about a person's world is to submit oneself to the daily round of 'petty contingencies' to which they are subject.

Since police deviance is unusually difficult to observe, and its very obscurity has complicated problems of exploration, it requires a patient, cautious and attentive methodology. The researcher must remain skeptical, assuming all is not as it seems. Rubenstien (1972), Ditton (1977), Manning (1977), and Henry (1978) contended that organizations and their employees work in a selective fashion, concealing and revealing their aims, practices and private conduct. Even more so, organizations and their employees may not be fully aware of the extent and nature of their own deviant activity (Manning, 1977; Rubenstien, 1972; Skolnick, 1986). In policing, many officers are segregated spatially, temporally, and geographically from one another such that they may not know their fellow officers or what they are doing, and hidden deviation is not easily discovered (Downes & Rock, 1988).

Manning (1977) asserted that there is a front, or public, aspect of all police organizations, just as there is a back, or a private aspect. Manning used Goffman's backstage/frontstage distinction to distinguish between types of performances. The front region is "the place where the performance is given . . . the performance of an individual or group of officers in a front region may be seen as an effort to give the appearance that the activity engaged in maintains and embodies certain standards" (Goffman, 1959, p. 107). The back region, on the other hand, is "a place, relative to

a given performance, where the impression fostered by the performance is knowingly contradicted, it is where the organizational secrets, plans, and the less than flattering features of organizational life are played out (Manning, 1977, p. 32-33)." In the back regions, the officers can drop their fronts and step out of character; however, the back region is kept closed or hidden from the public, or those who are not police officers (Manning, 1977).

In order to penetrate the back region and get a more accurate and complete account of the patterns of interaction, organizational commitment and attitudes toward police deviance--what deviant activities officers participate in, how often those activities take place, and what the patterns of association are between officers as a part of the process of deviation--researchers must spend time observing and interacting with police officers as they go about their daily routines in their natural environment. This means that the researcher must keep the hours of the officers (shift work), and at times keep unusual hours. At times the researcher may find him or herself staying up nights and sleeping days, because that is what those being studied do. These may be difficult hours. Using participant observation, a researcher can perform the very complicated feat of reaching the difficult to attain state of one who is both an "insider" and an "outsider" to the police organization and occupation. As an insider, the researcher moves as the officer moves, learns responses, definitions, and actions that officers use. Officers' gestures and responses become so familiar that they can be reproduced and described to others. The researcher can see the organization, the occupation, the coworkers and the community from within the manner of a member. As an outsider, the researcher can

stand apart and analyze these details in the manner of a stranger. Ideas and practices can be regarded as both natural and unnatural, and gestures as problematic and uncertain (Downes & Rock, 1988, p. 41).

The researcher's task is to compile and substantiate social meanings by seeking extensive time in the field, discovering various social contexts, practices, and familiarity with language (Bryun, 1966). Ericson (1982, p. 33) contended that if a researcher can grasp the meanings and the processes that are constructed, the researcher can begin to understand and explain the reality under investigation using the members' framework as an essential tool. According to Lofland (1971, p. 24), "meanings tend to be transbehavioral in the sense that they define, justify, and otherwise refer to behavior and are not simply a description of it. Meanings interpret behavior among participants in a social world, even though they may also describe it."

A major aspect of this approach is the discovery of data and attendant ideas that would otherwise remain hidden (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This approach is necessary in any research on police work, because of the tendency police have to keep their activities at a low level of visibility (Goldstein, 1960; Manning, 1977; Rubinstien, 1972). In efforts to reveal the deviance, researchers such as Manning (1977), Rubenstien (1972) and Ericson (1983) attended to the small, detailed, practical features of the organization and the interactions between officers. These features and interactions are keys to deeper "mysteries" of social structure and deviation within the organization and the occupation. Simple appearances are treated as symbols of something deeper, as expressions of underlying patterns of

structures and deviations (Phfol, 1994, p. 358). By direct dealings with members in their daily rounds, the researcher can begin to understand the recipe knowledge of those studies and the nature of their social relations. Through this process, the researcher engages with the subjects in the social construction of reality' (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Ericson, 1982, p. 33-34).

Research Procedures

Site Selection

To obtain firsthand observation I had to find a police department that would permit my inquisitive presence over an extended period of time. I chose to focus on one police department so that I could seek to understand the structure of the department, its culture(s), and its patrol officers. This particular Midwestern Police Department was selected for several reasons. First, as Table 3-1 demonstrates, with a police force of 285 full-time sworn personnel, its patrol bureau of approximately 97 patrol officers has a varied representative sample of 61.8% white male, 15.4% black male, 11.3% white female, 5.2% black female patrol officers, and 6.3% Hispanic male patrol officers.

Second, the police department was of a manageable size in terms of research, compared to large metropolitan police departments with many more precincts, mini-stations and police divisions. Third, a department of this size, with a varied demographic makeup, is less likely to be dominated by the personality of one police culture. Last, I was interested in a police department that serves a multi-racial, multi-class city of at least 150,000 or more residents.

Table 3-1. Midwest Police Department's Total Patrol Bureau (Population)

Race/Gender	N	Percent
White male	60	61.8%
Black male	15	15.4%
White female	11	11.3%
Black female	5	5.2%
Hispanic male	6	6.3%
Total	97	100.0%

Field Observations

The field observations consisted of on-site observations and participant observations, including patrol unit ride alongs, with the Midwest Police Department (see Appendix A for a timetable of the fieldwork). Initials meetings were held with the Captain of the Police Operations Bureau, who granted general permission to conduct the project and provided me with the patrol operations roster (the race and gender for each officer was identified on the roster) and seniority list of patrol officers. The Captain provided each of the three Patrol Bureau Lieutenants and the fourth shift Sergeant with a memo that outlined the research project.

My first task was to randomly select a disproportionate stratified sample of patrol officers by race and gender from the police operations roster. The process of selection involved selecting all black male, all black female and all white female patrol officers, and then 26 white male patrol officers with a wide range of seniority levels. Fifty-six patrol officers were identified. Next, I set up meetings with both the

first and second shift Lieutenants to provide them with the names of officers on their shifts that I selected for my sample. It was the Lieutenants' responsibility to provide each of the selected patrol officers with a brief summary of the research project, and to see if they were willing to participate. After I completed all the first shift ride alongs and interviews, I met with both the third shift patrol bureau Lieutenant and the fourth shift Sergeant to provide them with the names of the patrol officers on their shift that I selected for my sample, and dates that I wanted to ride. Throughout the research project, regular meetings with shift Lieutenants were set up to update my ride along schedules.

Forty-nine patrol officers (49.5% of the patrol force) were sampled out of a total population of 97 patrol officers (see Table 3-2). I choose to examine four gender-race groups--black males, black females, white males and white female patrol officers. The purpose of using such an interactive model is that it allowed me to link race and gender in a way that enabled me to begin to identify the experiences and attitudes that distinctly define each group, as well as the common experiences or shared attitudes of men and women, and blacks and whites. The sample varied not only by race and gender, but seniority as well. In addition, the decision was made to sample officers that patrol each of the patrol areas/sectors, days of the week, and shift times (i.e., first through fourth shifts). The sample of patrol officers cuts across four 8-hour shifts.

Table 3-2. Midwest Police Department's Total Patrol Bureau (Population) and Sample of Patrol Bureau

Total Patrol Bureau			Sample Patrol Bureau		
Race/Gender	N	Percent	Race/Gender	N	Percent
White male	60	61.8%	White male	26	54.2%
Black male	15	15.4%	Black male	12	25.0%
White female	11	11.3%	White female	7	14.6%
Black female	5	5.2%	Black female	3	6.2%
Hispanic male	6	6.3%	Hispanic male	0	0.0%
Total	97	100.0%	Total	48	100.0%

Source. Midwest City Patrol Operations Rooster, 1994.

I choose not to include Hispanic patrol officers in my sample for theoretical reasons. Theoretically, a person is both a race and a gender, not just one or the other. Since there are only male Hispanic patrol officers on the Midwest Police Department and no female Hispanics, I would not know whether the experiences of Hispanic males are a result of their being Hispanic or their being male. Therefore, I choose not to incorporate any Hispanic officers into my sample.

My decision to focus specifically on patrol officers rests on the fact that patrol officers are the so-called "backbone" of the police organization. I realize if I were to expand my focus to include special operations units, supervisors and administrators, I would not be able to determine whether participation in special operations or rank was accounting for the variation in patterns of interpersonal interaction, levels of organizational commitment, or attitudes towards occupational

deviance.

Participation in the ride along and the interview process was completely voluntary. If a patrol officer chose not to participate in the study, the officer was taken out of the sample. If the officer was a white male, the officer was replaced with another white male officer on the same shift with a similar seniority level. Out of 56 identified patrol officers, eight patrol officers chose not to participate in the study. These eight included five white males, one black male, and two white females. Based on information I received from other officers, the five white males and one black male chose not to participate out of peer pressure and/or the fact that they do not take ride alongs. The five white male patrol officers that chose not to participate were replaced with another white male officer on the same shift with similar seniority. The two white females who choose not to participate did so for different reasons.

In addition, two white females, one black male, and two black females were removed from the sample because they were assigned to radio dispatch. When officers work radio dispatch, they work out of the State Police Headquarters, which is geographically separate from the Midwest Police Department. Also, these five officers assigned to radio dispatch have not been on the road in years; they no longer work the road or perform patrol work. A couple of these radio dispatchers have not been on the road for over 10 years. One more black male was removed from the list of sample patrol officers since he had been transferred to the Juvenile Enforcement Team (JET).

In-depth Interviews

The second instrument, used in conjunction with field observations, was in-depth interviews. Data were collected using a 71-item survey instrument developed to tap five component areas: demographic information, the police culture, patterns of interpersonal interaction, level of organizational commitment, and attitudes towards occupational deviance (see Appendix B). Each item consisted of an open-ended question believed to be related to a particular aspect of one of the five component areas.

Demographic Questionnaire. The demographic component of the survey instrument consisted of 13 items, each of which was concerned with the background of the officer. These 13 items included the number of years on the force, race, gender, level of education, and why the officer chose law enforcement.

Police Culture. The police culture component of the survey instrument consisted of approximately 27 items. These 27 items included a combination of questions developed to probe various features of the police culture and questions that overlap with the other four component areas. These 27 items included questions such as, how do officers get their assignments? How far in the department to you think you can go in regards to rank or assignment? How well do officers on this shift get along? How well do officers get along together within the department?

Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction. The measurement of patterns of interpersonal interaction was accomplished using 19 items. The questionnaire was designed to tap four of the major areas of interpersonal interaction identified by Porter and Lawler (1965).

1. Who patrol officers interact with both on- and off-duty. Examples: Tell me about the main groups of police you interact with on-duty. Are they mostly men or women? Are they of a particular race or culture?

2. The different types of interactions. Example: Of the main groups of police you interact with on-duty, what do you do together?

3. The frequency of interactions both on- of off-duty. Example: Of the main groups of police you interact with off-duty, how often do you get together off-duty?

4. How the interactions first developed. Example: How did you first get together with these officers?

Organizational Commitment Questionnaire. The organizational commitment component of the survey instrument consists of 24 items. I borrow many of the survey questions from Porter and Smith's (1970) Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (see also Mowday et al., 1982). The Organizational Commitment Questionnaire developed for this study is made up of 24 open-ended questions that were designed to tap three aspects of the definition of commitment advanced by Porter and his colleagues and one aspect developed specifically for this study.

1. A descriptive interpretation of organizational commitment. Examples: What does commitment to the department mean to you? Do you think your commitment to the department has increased, decreased, or remained the same sense you first came to the department?

2. A strong belief in and acceptance of the organization's official goals and values (Porter & Smith, 1970). Examples: Do you find that your values and

the department's values are similar? Do you find that your goals and the department's goals are similar?

3. A willingness to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization (Porter & Smith, 1970). Example: Compared to most other officers, do you put more or less, or about the same effort to help the department be successful? In what way?

4. A definite desire to maintain organizational membership (Porter & Smith, 1970). Examples: Would you accept almost any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this department? Do you feel this is the best of all possible departments to work for?

Occupational Deviance Questionnaire. Last, the measurement of attitudes towards occupational deviance was accomplished using 12 items. The questionnaire was designed to tap three substantive areas.

1. A descriptive interpretation of occupational deviance. Examples: What makes an action unethical? What problems can you identify that stems from employees that do not share the same ethics as you and your coworkers?

2. A descriptive interpretation of the dilemma between right and wrong. Example: Sometimes there are things the rules define as wrong, and I know there is a fine line between right and wrong. Can you tell me about the dilemma you face when it comes to right and wrong? And how do you deal with it?

3. Response to others participating in occupational deviant activities. Example: Tell me what you do to help yourself respond to conduct by

coworkers that you see as unethical?

The survey instrument was pretested in a small pilot study conducted at a County Sheriff's Department. Information gathered from the pilot study was particularly useful for clarifying the survey instrument, and in some cases eliminating certain ambiguous items from the instrument. The revised instrument was then implemented for the main fieldwork period with the Midwest Police Department, from January through August 1994. During this time, 50 face-to-face interviews were conducted, 62 ride alongs were completed, and approximately 580 hours were spent on-site conducting research. Generally, each interview took one to two hours and these were conducted during each officer's 8-hour shift. If the interview was not completed within one 8-hour shift, a second ride along was set up with the officer. For almost every interview, with the approval of the patrol officer, the interview was tape recorded.

In most cases, interviews were transcribed within a week from when it was conducted; however, lack of time forced me to wait until the data collection was completed to transcribe some twenty interviews (se Appendix A). As a part of the transcription, I entered the interviews into a computer using the Notebuildler program. This program allowed me to create a template of the survey instrument, which was used to guide the entry of patrol officers' responses to the interview questions. After completing at least 50 hours of transcriptions, interview questions were analyzed separately for each race-gender group and by level of seniority to see if differences or similarities emerged in responses to interview questions.

Equipped with a notebook for jotting down observations and activities, field

notes were also taken throughout the ride along. Field notes included areas that were covered by the survey instrument, and those that were not, including: general personal interactions with other officers, general shift activities, prejudices toward citizens of various status and characteristics, ignored violations, the manner in which officers respond to and handle calls for service, and the research project itself. I recorded any information that might be relevant to understanding the police organization, police culture, and patrol work. Some officers expressed concern about what I was writing in the notebook, and to addresses their concerns I would read excerpts from my field notes to them. After completing data collection I organized the fieldnotes and established categories for coding this qualitative data. Again, using the Notebuilder program, fieldnotes were entered into the computer and coded.

In collecting data, I tried to be systematic while allowing flexibility for discovery. Using qualitative analytic strategies outlined by Schatzman and Strauss (1973), I analyzed the field notes and interviews as I went along to adjust observational strategies, shifting some emphases toward experiences that bear upon the development of understanding, and to exercising control over emerging ideas by simultaneously checking or testing ideas.

Confronting Problems in the Field

The foremost problem in gathering data through field research is to gain access to and acceptance from research subjects. Without this, the most intricate research design will fail to produce worthwhile results. I received a great deal of

cooperation from patrol officers and Patrol Bureau Lieutenants and Sergeants, but not without problems. There were occasional obstacles placed in my way in the search for information, and these arose for understandable reasons.

Manning (1977) and Ericson (1982) remind us that one of the key powers available to the police is the control of information. Researchers that attempt to gain access to this information and intend to use it for purposes generally unknown to the patrol officer are bound to face problems (Ericson, 1982, p. 45). Many researchers (Manning, 1977; Rubenstien, 1972; Skolnick, 1966) have stressed that police officers are secretive even among themselves. For example, Rubinstien (1972, p. 215) observed that the patrol officer "fortifies his control over fellow officers by denying them the information he accumulates, and sharing it with them only when he or she feels it is to his benefit." When dealing with a probing outsider, it is likely that patrol officers are even more guarded.

To help readers understand what I have accomplished, and to guide those considering similar projects, I will list the problems I encountered, discuss how I attempted to resolve them, and identify the gains and losses that ensued.

Despite the fact that the Lieutenant checked with each of the officers to see if they were willing to participate, the patrol officers apparently had little forewarning, information, or instruction from the supervisor regarding the research. Patrol officers were left guessing who I "really" was and who I represented. During the course of fieldwork, patrol officers stated a wide range of views on who they thought I was, including a spy for the Chief or for Internal Affairs, someone sent in to assess the daily performance and attitudes of officers. To address these concerns,

at the beginning of each ride along, I outlined the nature of the research to each patrol officer. I explained who I am, how I selected them to be a part of my study, that I had no ties with administration, and that anything said would be kept confidential and anonymous. Still, among some officers distorted views or ignorance about the projected persisted. Officers that continued to have reservations seemed to withdraw from me after the ride along and interview; while officers that gained trust in me went out of their way to say hello and talk to me, see how my study was going and how many interviews I had left, and provide me with further information. I rode a second or third time with some of the officers that gained trust in me.

As outlined earlier, only eight officers refused to cooperate. The majority of patrol officers did not refuse to have an observer ride with them. However, some officers indicated that I could never grasp the reality of policing because patrol officers would not act normally in my presence. This was expressed in several ways, including: I would see only what the officers wanted me to see, that officers would approach encounters in a different manner when an observer is present in order to "cover their own ass" and avoid having to rely on an outside observer as a witness, and that officers were less likely to engage in regular activities.

It was, of course, extremely difficult to determine the effect my presence had on the activities of patrol officers. On some shifts it was apparent that the type of activity engaged in and avoidance of certain activity was influenced by my presence. For example, on third shift, officers that would normally stop in strip bars would not stop in on the night I rode with them. Also, some officers that would normally park and sleep on-duty would not do that when I was with them. Other officers, however,

had no reservations about parking and sleeping on-duty while I worked with them.

According to Ericson (1982, p. 48), the nature of fieldworker influence can be categorized into two situations: (a) the patrol officer approaches a situation or call in a different manner because of the fieldworker's presence, and (b) the patrol officer attempts to use fieldworkers as an additional resource to handle a situation or get information. In some situations it was apparent that patrol officers took a less aggressive approach with suspects because of my presence. A few patrol officers also admitted that my presence led them to pay more detailed attention to complaints and complainants. However, I have no way of knowing what would have happened had I not been present.

There was no particular pattern to the way patrol officers used me to assist them, except that they usually sought my assistance only when they were responding to a call or dealing with a suspect or accused persons. At times I was presented to suspects as a police officer, serving to exhibit added force, at a time when manpower is extremely low. For example, a patrol officer in the process of transporting an older black male shoplifter into the patrol car began questioning him about dealing drugs on a specific street in the city. The officer presented me as an undercover officer who wanted some information on drug dealers. All of these strategies, including identifying me as a detective, were part of the patrol officers' display of authority against suspects.

I was also used in other ways to aid the patrol officers' investigation efforts, including: going down to LEAN to have them run a check on arrestees while the officer booked them, watching where stolen vehicles or suspects ran to, identifying

suspects, being asked by the officer if there is anything else we need when questioning a victim (i.e., do I have questions, was there anything that the officer failed to ask the victim), and examining a female complainant for evidence of assault. I occasionally participated in official accounts of how officers had dealt with suspects, including being listed as a witness on a report and covering for officers that commit minor violations of rules and regulations.

In other situations I cooperated simply by remaining silent. For example, not reporting to administration or outsiders instances of obvious wrongdoing or violations of rules and regulations, and not countering the officer's identification of me as a detective. At times, it made for a difficult situation, being too detached or too involved. Either way, there was conceivable implications for future cooperation and for the ethics of the research. Therefore, I tried to perform a balancing act, avoiding any sort of confrontations with patrol officers while keeping to a minimum my direct participation. This is why I was able to secure such trust and acceptance from patrol officers to the point where close relationships were developed and access to the so-called "backstage" of the police organization was routinely granted.

As a researcher I experienced various signs of acceptance and entry into various contexts and interactions of the police culture. I believe this acceptance was achieved by keeping the information that officers conveyed to me confidential, by keeping secrets for officers, and by occasionally covering for officers. The rapport established was certainly not that of an equal colleague; it was a unique relationship. Once officers recognized that I was not in opposition to police interests, that I was interested in what they had to tell me, and that I was not working for the

administration, I was accepted by many officers and permitted into the ways of the police culture. One patrol officer told me, "the way you came in was good. You were very low key--the way you dressed in jeans and a flannel shirt, and sat at roll call--and you didn't try to tell officers how to do their job."

Patrol officers with whom I rode communicated my acceptance to other patrol officers who had not been exposed to my interview questions and who remained wary. This became clear to me as I began to develop connections with patrol officers I never rode with, as they made a point to say "hi" to me and asking me how things were going. In addition, I made it a point to learn all of the officers' names, even those I did not interview, and greet them when I saw them. The openness I was able to generate between officers and myself was particularly noticeable during the eight or more hours spent in the privacy of the patrol car. In these circumstances, patrol officers sometimes poured out their grievances and frustrations about the job, the organization, and other officers, using me as a sounding board or sort of therapist. Patrol officers also discussed personal experiences and beliefs about the job and life in general. In efforts to develop rapport and trust with officers I shared stories about myself and various aspects of my personal life. In this way I was able to develop a unique trusting relationship with many of the patrol officers, and I was able to attain information from patrol officers that was not even shared among patrol officers. This tendency to be open and private in conversation in the patrol car, differed, however, from the interactions at the station (e.g., during roll call, booking or while typing paperwork) when some patrol officers tried to distance themselves from me, and treated me as an "outsider" as a way of displaying an affinity with their co-workers.

Because of the way I selected the officers I rode with, I observed a wide variety of personalities and policing styles. As the fieldwork evolved, some patrol officers, especially Hispanic officers, began to question why they had not been subject to observation and expressed a keen desire to participate in the study. For them it became a matter of feeling "left out" of what had become defined as something worthwhile--another indication that the research was being more favorably viewed by patrol officers. One Hispanic male asked me to ride with him so I made a point to set up a ride along with this officer and interviewed him.

Gender Issues in the Field

Being a white female researcher and conducting research in a male dominated occupation and organization was a unique experience. I found that my gender, more so than my race, was a significant factor in my ability to gather data. The gains that ensued from being female, outnumbered and outweighed any losses.

As a young female researcher, I found that my place within the organization and in the eyes of the police officers was different from those other white male interns, white male priests, and white female social workers that occasionally participated in ride alongs with the officers. It was different to the extent that officers were more willing to go out of their way to say hello to me, to talk to me at roll call or in the women's locker room, and to wave to me and/or sound the patrol car's siren when they saw me in the parking lot (officers often times use the siren to say "hi" to other officer's in the parking lot of the police station).

As a young female researcher, I found that I was able to gain access and to

develop unique relationships, and sometimes friendships, with many of the male officers. Often times, in cross-gender interactions I found that male officers did not treat me like they did the other female officers, or like the waitresses they interacted with and sometimes "hit on" at restaurants. The interactions I had with male officers were at a different level. None of the patrol officers "hit on me"; however, sometimes I got the impression that attractions, which were sometimes mutual, were advantageous to my research efforts (e.g., getting information, probing officers, and gaining access to the backstage of the police culture).

My interactions with black male officers was only slightly different than those with white male officers. I found that with the black male officers I was able to relate to them on a slightly different level because of our shared, yet different, experiences as minorities within our separate occupations. Also, my experience with same-gender interactions was very separate and distinct from my cross-gender interactions. I found I had to relate to female officers very differently than I did to male officers. Sometimes my relationships with female officers, especially white female officers, were more difficult to develop. Female officers tended to be cautious and vary about speaking openly about their experiences within the organization. For the few females with whom I developed good relations, the relationships seemed to be based on shared experiences as a female.

Essentially, I found my experiences as a young female researcher to be very positive. I was able to engage each patrol officer within my sample in a very probing face-to-face interview. I became involved in discussions with some officers that were at times very personal, private, and serious. I found that as a female I was able to

ask the personal questions and get officers to respond to them.

In this chapter I have tried to help the reader appreciate the strengths and limitations of how this research was accomplished. I now turn to an analysis of the field research and interview data, beginning with an examination of the research setting, Midwest City and the Midwest Police Department.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH SETTING: MIDWEST CITY POLICE DEPARTMENT

This research was conducted in one city police department that I call the Midwest Police Department. Midwest Police Department is made up of 285 sworn personnel, and serves a population of slightly over 140,000 Midwest city residents (U.S. Census, 1990). The ratio of population to sworn officers is 450 to 1 or 1000 to 2 (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993). In this chapter the research setting--Midwest City and the Midwest Police Department--are described in a way that reveals the character of the police department and the city in a broad way.

Characteristics of Midwest City

In the late 1890s, the major industry in Midwest City was a carriage and wheel factory. In the early 1900s, Auto Motors came to Midwest City to build automobiles. As the auto plant grew, Auto Motors could not find enough people in the area to work in the plants, so they began to bring both blacks and whites up from the Southern states to work in the automobile plants. These people were forced to live in tent cities and tar roof huts until Auto Motors was able to finish building houses for their employees. Auto Motors transformed Midwest City into an automobile town, and the city did not let in any other industries. From the 1920s through the early 1970s, Midwest City was booming, and there was plenty of opportunity for unskilled laborers.

By the late 1970s, the Japanese computerized automobile market clashed with the United States automobile market. At the same time, Midwest City union auto workers demanded more money (making $20 an hour at the time) from Auto Motors. As a result, by the 1980s Auto Motors started laying off auto workers and shutting down plants in Midwest City. Needless to say, when the automobile industry began to fall apart in the late 1970s and early 1980s, so did Midwest City. In the past decade and a half, Midwest City has experienced economic decline as well as a population decrease from 210,000 to slightly over 140,000 (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993). Today, Midwest City's economy is still heavily dependent on Auto Motors; they are one and the same.

It should be noted that the labor force in Midwest city is still mainly industrial labor and union auto workers that work for Auto Motors. In general, middle- and upper-class managerial and professional workers have moved out of the city to surrounding residential suburbs. It was difficult to ascertain the ethnic composition of the population at the time of the research fieldwork. The latest available data are contained in the 1990 United State Census Reports, in which is it indicated that approximately 50% of Midwest City is Anglo Americans, 48% is Black Americans, and 2% includes Asian-Americans, Native Americans and others. Approximately 3% of the population (i.e., White, Hispanics and Black, Hispanics) are of Hispanic origin. The racial makeup of the city has changed as whites moved out of the city.

Geographically, Midwest City is divided into the North end, South end, East side and West side. One white male officer explained how the river divides the city, black and white. The east side is predominately white lower- and working-class

people, with a representation of some Puerto Rican and Mexican Americans. The officer explained that

> "the East side has always been the racist area; these were the whites that came up from the South to work in the automobile plants. When they first started coming up there was a lot of segregation. We used to say you wouldn't see a black walk down the streets on the East side. Ten years ago a black family moved to the East side and it snowballed into shootings. Slowly, though, you're starting to see blacks on the East side today."

The North end is predominantly black (about 95%), consisting of second and third generation blacks to those who relocated from the south to work for Auto Motors. Today, many of North end blacks are recipients of some sort of welfare, ADC, or Social Security; others still work in the automobile plants or are retirees. While working the North end one day, one black male officer counted about 120 vacant houses (estimated at $10,000 each) in almost one square mile. In two other sections of the North end, a female officer who was assigned to count abandoned houses counted 20 to 25 vacant houses in the Cook school area and 50 some vacant houses in the Queens School area.

Both the South end and West side are racially mixed, predominately lower- and working-class. The West side does have an upper-middle class area near the community college; while the South end has one or two government subsidized housing projects, as well as the Auto Motors plant, the airport, and other retail establishments.

The income level for residents of Midwest City has tended to be lower than that for the State. Table 4-1 shows that the average household income in Midwest City in 1980 was approximately $19,000. In 1990, the average household income

increased only 2% to about $20,000, while the average for the State was about $31,000. The number of persons below the poverty level increased from 17% in 1980 to about 31% in 1990, compared to the state's level of 13% in 1990. In addition, the number of families below the poverty level in Midwest City increased from 15% in 1980 to 28% in 1990, compared to the State level of 10%.

Table 4-1. Midwest City Census Information: Income and Poverty

Income and Poverty	Midwest City 1980	Midwest City 1990	Percent Increase	State 1990
Median household income	$19,000	$20,000	2.0%	$31,000
Persons below poverty level	27,000	42,000	59.0%	
% persons below poverty level	17.0%	31.0%	13.0%	
Families below poverty level	6,000	10,000	62.0%	
% families below poverty level	15.0%	28.0%		10.0%

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

Midwest City has periodically led the nation in unemployment. Table 4-2 presents the average unemployment rates for Midwest City for the time period of 1989 to 1993. In recent years, Midwest City has had to rely on more government services as the municipal tax base has diminished (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993).

Table 4-2. Annual Average Unemployment Rate for Midwest City (1989-1993)

Year	Average Unemployment Rate
1989	16.0%
1990	14.0%
1991	15.0%
1992	16.0%
1993	18.0%

Source: State Employment Security Commission

Recently, various decisions and factors have further contributed to Midwest City's budget problems. First, during 1993, Midwest City experienced an income tax revenue loss in the amount of $440,000 due to Auto Motors' decision to shut down North American plants for two weeks (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993). Second, Auto Motors appealed their personal property tax assessments as being too high for several years. In the early 1990s, it was determined that Midwest City not only had to reduce Auto Motors' property taxes in the future, but had to repay Auto Motors $800,000 annually for 9 years, starting in 1993 (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993).

Third, in 1989, 57% of the total Midwest City income was obtained from tax withholding from Auto Motors. By 1992, that percent dropped to 52% because of Auto Motors layoffs; that meant a loss of approximately $1 million (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993). Last, union contracts with five of the six city agencies remained unsettled at the end 1993. The Midwest Police Department is still without a contract; it has been 2 years. Settlement agreements may cost the city

between $1 million to $3 million due to Act 312, a binding labor arbitration agreement (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993).

Characteristics of Midwest Police Department

In the 1960s and 1970s, Midwest Police Department was recognized nationwide for its efforts to implement a community policing foot patrol program. One veteran officer insisted that "officers were expected to keep their uniforms clean and pressed, and shoes shined. Officers were inspected every day at roll call, and if an officer wasn't ship shape they would be sent home." Between 1964 and 1966, Midwest Police Department hired 100 people or more and there were 300 patrol officers and 350 full-time sworn personnel. This veteran officer said there would be 75 officers on third shift, so that there would be 3 to 4 cars on a call. In the late 1960s, all officers were represented by the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP). The FOP was the police union for many years, representing officers of all ranks. Police officers selected the Teamsters to run the union, figuring it was the strongest union to hook up with. The Teamsters were useful and it served their purpose at the time.

In the early years, the department recruited nationwide, officers had college degrees and military experience, and officers were paid so well that Auto Motors plant workers were coming to work for the police department. Around 1973, Midwest Police Department established an Affirmative Action program. With affirmative action came fewer hires (approximately 80 officers), rookie schools of 70-80% minorities, and lowered standards. By 1978, the department eliminated the 2 years of college requirement. One of the veteran officers explained that at the time,

the police department would hire just about any minority that walked in the door. In addition, there was a lack of accountability; no discipline was handed down. A Sergeant would even go to a black officer's house to beg him to come back to work.

In the early 1970s, the city switched from a City Manager form of government with a City Commission to a Mayoral Government, which affected the police department significantly. Under the City Manager Government, police chiefs were civil servants. Often times they were brought in from outside the department. Under the Mayoral Government, the police chief became a political appointment position, to be appointed by the mayor. The first mayor was a former police chief, which gave him full power to run the police department.

Today, the Midwest Police Department consists of several units that report directly to the Chief, including Internal Affairs, community relations and crime prevention projects, liaison, recruit and training, and staff officer functions. Under the Deputy Chief in charge of patrol operations are the patrol bureau, Special Units (i.e., Juveniles Enforcement Team, COPS/Riverpark, NSU, Crime Prevention/Mini-Stations), Courts and Warrants, Crimestoppers, and the Mounted Unit. Under the staff support deputy are the detective criminal investigation units, youth bureau, and special services (homicide, fraud, special operations, and traffic enforcement).

As of 1994, the force had 285 sworn personnel according to the rank structure enumerated in Table 4-3 and 4-4. This number represents an overall 13.9% decrease in staff compared with the situation in 1980, and an 8.7% decrease in staff compared with the situation in 1990. Table 4-4 illustrates the numbers of total sworn personnel and police officers for the years 1980 to 1994.

Table 4-3. Midwest Police Department Sworn Personnel for 1994: Raw numbers and Percentage for Gender and Race by Rank

Rank	Male White	Male Black	Male Hisp.	Male Total	Female White	Female Black	Female Hisp.	Female Total	Grand Total
Chief		1		1				0	1
Dep. Chief	2			2				0	2
Captain	2			2		1		1	3
Lieutenant	8	2		10		2		2	12
Sergeant	40	23	1	64	3	9	1	13	77
Pol. off.	110	43	10	163	17	10		27	100
Sub Total	162	69	11	242	20	22	1	43	285
% Sworn Personnel	56.8%	24.2%	3.9%	84.9%	7.0%	7.7%	0.4%	15.1%	100%
1994 Police Recruits	14	20	1	35	3	3	0	6	41
Percent	34.2%	48.8%	2.4%	85.4%	7.3%	7.3%	0.0%	4.6%	100%
Projected Total	176	89	12	277	23	25	1	49	326
Percent	54.0%	27.3%	3.7%	85.0%	7.1%	7.7%	0.3%	15.0%	100%

** Note: Total above includes 5 "Provisional" Positions (1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, and 3 Sergeants) in rank totals.
Source: Midwest City Police Department

In 1988, the department faced personnel shortages, so in 1989 a police academy of 40 officers was conducted. These officers were rushed through the police academy (10 hours a day, 6 days a week, for 11 weeks) in order to hurry and put the officers on the streets. By 1991, the Midwest Police Department was again low on personnel and an academy was started that same year. During 1992 and 1993, there

were no academies conducted and no new hires because the city could not afford it. Due to an extreme shortage of revenue, overtime was cut and was only allowed under necessary circumstances. Due to continued funding shortages, police overtime has again been reduced for 1994. The Midwest Police Department is currently facing a staffing, or manpower, shortage. The total number of sworn officers is at a 5-year low and the 40 potential retirements for 1994 is not going to make up for the 75 officers the department has lost since the last academy in 1991.

Table 4-4. Midwest Police Department's Total Sworn Personnel (1980-1994)

Year	Total Sworn Personnel	Total Police Officers
1980	331	231
1981	296	216
1982	303	221
1983	336(33 recruits)	227
1984	318	228
1985	299	199
1986	349(50 recruits)	223
1987	331	206
1988	303	198
1989	320(40 recruits)	176
1990	312	210
1991	322(33 recruits)	217
1992	318	214
1993	297	198
1994	298(40 recruits)	190

In 1992, despite budgeting and manpower shortages, Midwest city secured community and financial support for the establishment of four police mini-stations. The police mini-stations were funded in part by a 3-year $100,000 grant from a

Private Foundation. The mini-stations, based on community policing, work to draw neighborhood residents and police together as partners in dealing with crime (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993). The officers assigned to these Special Programs are taken directly from the patrol force that already face manpower shortages.

The State Office of Drug Control Policy provides funding for the Community Officers Patrolling Streets (COPS), a local community policing program initiated in 1990, and Uniform Pressure Point Enforcement Response (UPPER) Programs. The current level of grant funding for the COPS Program for the 1994 fiscal year is $180,000, and $300,000 for UPPER. The UPPER Program includes two street level enforcement teams who focus on lower level drug distributors and drug buyers. The goal of this program is to reduce the availability of drugs on the street, and to reduce the demand for drugs through the arrest and threat of arrest of large numbers of lower level suppliers and users. In many ways, the function of UPPER overlaps with that of Special Operations. The officers assigned the mini-stations coordinate their crime prevention with these two programs (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993).

The present COPS Project includes 10 police officers assigned to four neighborhoods in the North end. The City has used local funding to add another COPS beat on the east side of the city. Working out of the mini-stations are five officers who are assigned to the Neighborhood Support Unit (NSU) and five that are assigned to the Crime Prevention Unit (CPU). Also, the Public Housing Drug Elimination Program (PHDEP) includes five uniformed police officers who are

assigned to four public housing complexes that are located within the COPS neighborhoods (see Table 4-5).

Table 4-5. Assignments of Midwest Police Department's Patrol Officers, 1993

Police Operations Units	Number Officers	Number Supervisors
First shift	25	5
Second shift	26	5
Third shift	26	5
Fourth shift	7	1
Patrol Desk	3	0
COPS/Riverpark	10	2
Court/Warrants	2	0
CPU/Mini-stations	5	1
North Precinct	1	0
JET	6	1
Mounted Unit	3	1
NSU	5	1
Radio Dispatch	6	1
Total	125	23

Source. Midwest City Police Department Police Operations Roster, October 1993

The budget for police operations is the largest single expense of the Midwest City government. For the fiscal year 1993, the total expenditures for the Midwest City government was about $180,000,000, of which $20,000,000 or approximately 11% went to operating the police department (see Table 4-6).

Table 4-6. Operational Expenditures for the Midwest Police Department and Total Expenditures by the Midwest City (Fiscal Year 1989 to 1993)

Fiscal Year	Apprx. Total Exp. for Midwest City	Apprx. Expend. for Police Dept.	Estimated % of Exp. for Police
1989	$170,000,000	$17,000,000	10.0%
1990	$170,000,000	$20,000,000	12.0%
1991	$190,000,000	$21,000,000	11.0%
1992	$190,000,000	$20,000,000	11.0%
1993	$180,000,000	$20,000,000	11.0%
% Increase (Decrease) from 1989-1993			27.0%
Average % Increase (Decrease) from 1988-1993			4.0%

Source. Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993

The cost for patrol operations (including wages and salaries, overtime, fringe benefits and expenses allowed) for the years 1989 to 1993 is presented in Table 4-7.

Table 4-7. Patrol Operations Costs (1989-1993)

Year	Patrol Operations Costs
1989	$7,000,000
1990	$8,000,000
1991	$8,000,000
1992	$8,000,000
1993	$10,000,000
Total	$42,000,000

Source. City of Flint's Uniform Chart of Accounts, 1994

The data presented in Tables 4-5 and 4-6 is not an attempt to connect function with cost; rather, I present this data for the simple sake of painting a picture of a shrinking budget, increased patrol operations costs, and a shrinking police force. This data reveals the character of the department in the most broad way.

In return for tax dollars, residents of Midwest City receive a service that is, to say the least, difficult to measure. The only information readily available is that contained in the annual reports. The number and types of citizen calls for service handled by patrol officers for the last five years are calculated by the Midwest Police Department from records of the Midwest County Central Dispatch or 911 system, which is managed by the State Police. All service calls are dispatched to Midwest patrol officers through the Midwest Count Central Dispatch System. The 911 system does not have a computer- assisted dispatch. The Midwest City Police Department assigns sworn police officers to the 911 system as both radio dispatchers and phone operators to serve the citizens of Midwest City. All calls for service are placed into two categories, calls screened and calls dispatched. Calls dispatched are calls for service where the Midwest radio dispatcher has determined a police presence is necessary. Screened calls are non-emergency calls, where the Midwest City radio dispatcher has determined a patrol officer's presence is not necessary. Examples of calls screened are larcenies, destructions of property, threats and simply assaults where the suspect is not present and callers can be referred to the Midwest Police Complaint Bureau to make a complaint by phone. Occasionally, 911 hang-up calls and hit and run accident reports are screened if the dispatcher can determine that no emergency medical, fire or police services are necessary (Midwest City:

Community Policing Program, 1993).

The Patrol bureau also accepts some non-emergency requests for service from citizens. These requests include complaints of abandoned vehicles, illegal parking, trash and dumping, vicious and barking dogs, found property, neighbor trouble, or just a simple request to speak to any officer (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993). The complaints are not computerized and records of these complaints have been kept only since 1990. Table 4-8 reveals the numbers of calls dispatched and calls screened by the Midwest Police Department.

Included among the official occurrence reports are incidents judged by police officers to have constituted a criminal offense. According to the 1992 Uniform Crime Reports, Midwest City ranked fifteenth in the nation in overall crime per capita in cities with over 100,000 residents (Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993). This represents a decline in reported Part I crimes compared to 1989, when Midwest City ranked among the top ten in the nation.

Table 4-8. Calls Dispatched and Calls Screened by the Midwest Police Department (1988-1993)

Year	Calls Dispatched	Calls Screened	Service Complaints	Total Calls
1988	116,976	11,128	N/A	128,104
1989	122,677	12,448	N/A	135,125
1990	119,137	17,088	2,144	138,369
1991	106,283	23,573	1,912	131,768
1992	102,575	21,335	1,500	125,410
1993	65,870	22,064	986	88,920

* Includes calls through August 31, 1993

In 1992, the total number of police-reported crimes decreased to 19,106, a decrease of .7% over 1991 (see Table 4-9). In 1992, all police-reported criminal offenses were 98.4% property crimes--8,186 (42.8%) larcenies, 4,389 (23%) burglaries, 2,411 (12.6%) auto thefts, 955 robberies (5%), and 366 counts of arson (1.9%) (see Table 4-10). The other 1.5% of the Part I offenses were personal crimes, including 52 murders and 237 rapes. Illicit drug use and crimes associated with drugs account for a proportion of reported crimes. Illicit drugs were directly associated with 26 homicides and 188 shootings in 1992 in the Midwest City (Midwest City Crime Statistics, 1992).

Table 4-9. Total Number of Part I Crimes for Midwest City (1988-1993)

Year	Total Part I Offenses
1988	21,500
1989	19,963
1990	19,329
1991	19,241
1992	19,106
1993*	13,541

* Includes complaints through September 1993
Source. Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993

Table 4-10. Totals for Types of Part I Offenses (1988-1993)

Year	Murder	Rape	Robbery	Assaults	Burglary	Larceny	Auto Theft	Arson
1988	43	278	1178	2532	6052	8700	2386	331
1989	59	201	1051	2085	5583	8010	2647	327
1990	53	160	925	2392	5043	8158	2243	355
1991	52	151	915	2245	5071	8304	2150	353
1992	52	237	955	2510	4389	8186	2411	366
1993*	34	135	740	1919	2939	5709	1810	255

* Includes complaints through September 30, 1993
Source. Midwest City: Community Policing Program, 1993

One black male officer explained,

> "in 1983 and 1984, the city really turned around with drugs, especially crack cocaine. Crack cocaine rose from nothing to easy to find. Around 1987, young guys wanted to start gangs . . . [folks up and folks down, the south against the north, black on black] and they became strong between 1987 and 1991. Drive by shootings became popular. Today, whites come up to the North end for crack cocaine. Here in Midwest City, crack cocaine is too available."

Today, the predominantly black North end has a lot of drug houses and drug dealers, and officers get a lot of calls for shootings and homicides. The East side, predominately white, has a lot of family fights, trouble with people, stolen cars, and breaking and entering.

In this chapter I have tried to help the reader to understand Midwest City, its economy and demographic makeup, as well as Midwest Police Department, its structure and demographic makeup. I now turn to an analysis of the field notes and interview data, beginning with an examination of patterns of interaction as they are

experienced differently be each of the four race-gender groups I have identified thus far.

Descriptive Analysis of Sample Characteristics

A brief description of the background and attitudinal characteristics of the patrol officers that were included in the sample is presented below.

Race-Gender Distribution.

Table 4-11 shows that the sample included a high percentage of female and black officers, with white male officers representing only 54.2% (26) of the sample. This percentage would appear to be less than the representation of white male officers in the total population of patrol officers (61.8%). Female and black officers were over sampled in relation to their representation in the total population of patrol officers (see Table 4-4).

Table 4-11. Race-Gender Distribution of the Sample of Patrol Officers

Race/Gender	Sample Patrol Bureau N	Percent
White male	26	54.2%
Black male	12	25.0%
White female	7	14.6%
Black female	3	6.2%
Hispanic male	0	0.0%
Total	48	100.0%

Age of the Sample.

Most officers describe the Midwest Police Department as a young department. As illustrated in Table 4-12, age is divided into seven categories. The table shows that the age of the interviewees varied from the ages of 24 to 48.

One characteristic of this sample is that there are no officers included in the sample under the age of 24 or over the age of 48. There are no officers under the age of 24 since the Midwest Police Department typically does not hire officers under the age of 21, despite the fact that one only has to be 18 to be hired, and there hasn't been a hire and police academy since 1991.

Table 4-12. Age Range for Four Race-Gender Groups of Patrol Officers

Age of Officer	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
19-23					0 (0.0%)
24-28	8 (30.8%)	2 (16.7%)		2 (66.7%)	12 (25.0%)
29-33	6 (23.1%)	5 (41.7%)	3 (42.9%)	1 (33.3%)	15 (31.2%)
34-38	8 (30.8%)	2 (16.6%)	3 (42.9%)		13 (27.1%)
39-43	3 (11.5%)	3 (25.0%)	1 (14.2%)		7 (14.6%)
44-48	1 (3.8%)				1 (2.1%)
50 & over					0 (0.0%)
Total	26 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	48 (100%)

The majority of patrol officers sampled are between the age of 29 and 33. Since selection was not based on officer age, this result is probably reflective of the high proportion of patrol officers in that age group. The distribution in Tale 4-12 shows that between each of the four race-gender groups, white females are

proportionally older than white males, black males or black females, and black females are proportionally younger than the other race-gender groups.

Number of Years in Policing.

Consistent with the data showing that the sample consists largely of officers between the ages of 29 and 33, 77.1% (37) have less than 10 years of active service and fewer than 19% have 15 or more years of service. Since selection was based on officers' level of seniority, the representation of 18.8% of officers with 15 or more years on the force is reflective of my efforts to interview officers of all levels of seniority. Table 4-13 illustrates the levels of seniority for each of the four race-gender groups.

Table 4-13. Level of Seniority for Four Race-Gender Groups of Patrol Officers

Number Years on the Force	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
1-2 years					0 (0.0%)
3-4 years	3 (11.6%)	5 (41.7%)		2 (66.7%)	10 (20.8%)
5-6 years	10 (38.5%)	4 (33.4%)	2 (28.6%)		16 (33.3%)
7-8 years	2 (7.7%)	1 (8.3%)	2 (28.6%)		5 (10.4%)
9-10 years	4 (15.4%)		1 (14.3%)	1 (33.3%)	6 (12.5%)
11-12 years	1 (3.8%)		1 (14.3%)		2 (4.2%)
13-14 years					0 (0.0%)
15-16 years	1 (3.8%)				1 (2.1%)
17-18 years	1 (3.8%)	1 (8.3%)			2 (4.2%)
19-20 years	4 (15.4%)		1 (14.2%)		5 (10.4%)
over 20 years		1 (8.3%)			1 (2.1%)
Total	26 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	48 (100%)

Why Did You Choose to Enter Law Enforcement?

Summary Table 4-14 shows that there are apparent race and gender differences when officers were asked why they chose to enter law enforcement. Analysis revealed that white males chose to enter policing for two main reasons--one, because they have a male family member (father, uncle or brother) in law enforcement, in most cases working for the Midwest Police Department; and two, because they wanted to be a police officer. As one white male stated, " well, my father was in law enforcement. I got to ride as a kid and I always thought that would be the thing to do." Neither females nor blacks identified having a family member in law enforcement as the reason for entering into policing. Some white males also identified the desire to help people as a reason for entering law enforcement; however, the desire to help people was not as common as the other two reasons mentioned above.

Black males expressed the desire to help people as one of the main reasons they entered policing. In addition, many blacks explained that they never planned to enter policing, but applied when they saw the advertisement in the paper, and they were hired. One black male officer expressed his intentions: "The job was available, I thought I would be good at it, and my intentions were to try to help people. I honestly wanted to help people. I thought I would be good at it because I got along with people. Here I am."

Table 4-14. Why did you choose law enforcement?

Reasons for choosing law enforcement	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female
Wanted to be a police officer	8 (32%)	2 (16.7%)	5 (71.4%)	2 (66.7%)
To help people	4 (16%)	5 (41.7%)		
Didn't plan it, just applied	2 (8%)	4 (33.3%)	2 (28.6%)	1 (33.3%)
Was in the Army or Military	1 (4%)	1 (8.3%)		
Have a family member in law enforcement	8 (32%)			
Excitement/Seemed interesting	2 (8%)			
Total	25 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)

Both black and white females entered policing mainly because they wanted to be a police officer. One white female officer told me, "I was in a cadet program like in high school, and I was in the Coop Program. Its just the only thing I've ever done since I've been 15 years old." Another white female officer said, "I really enjoyed the work. There are so many challenging aspects of the job that you have to be good at. I always wanted to be in law enforcement, I thought originally at the federal level."

Level of Education.

Data reveal that 87.2% of the officers in the sample have had some college credits or have earned some type of college degree. Only 12.8% of the sample have only a high school diploma, with no college experience at all. Summarized in Table 4-15 is a comparison between each of the four gender-race groups on level of

education. While the majority of black male officers (66.6%) have had some level of college or have earned a degree, 33.3% have only a high school diploma. In comparison, 92% of white males, and 100% of black and white females have had either some college credits or an earned degree. White female officers, in comparison to each of the other race-gender groups, have earned more college degrees and higher degrees than any of the other groups. Approximately 86% of the sample of white female officers has an Associates Degree or higher.

Table 4-15. Level of Education for Each Race-Gender Group

Level of Education	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
High School, no College	2 (8%)	4 (33.4%)			6 (12.8%)
Some College Credits	12 (48%)	6 (50.0%)	1 (14.3%)	2 (66.7%)	21 (44.7%)
Associate Degree, 2 yr.	5 (20%)	1 (8.3%)	4 (57.1%)		10 (21.2%)
Bachelor's Degree, 4 yr.	5 (20%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (14.3%)	1 (33.3%)	8 (17.0%)
Masters Degree	1 (4%)		1 (14.3%)		2 (4.3%)
Total	25 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	47 (100%)

Most white male, white female, and black female officers have attended a Criminal Justice Program or Public Administration Program at one of the area community colleges, one of the state colleges, or the local university. Only one black female officer received a Bachelor's degree in a field other than Criminal Justice, Accounting.

In line with the previous finding that 33.3% of the black male officers never planned to enter into law enforcement, it is not surprising to find that all the black

males in the sample attended college for a discipline other than Criminal Justice. Four black males attended college for business or accounting, one spent 2 1/2 years in a pre-med program, and another took a mixture of classes in political and military science. It was not clear what the other officer majored in; however, the university he attended does not have a Criminal Justice Program.

The difference in college majors that has appeared between black males and each of the other three race-gender groups appears to be directly related to the reasons each of these groups identified for entering into law enforcement. As findings above revealed, white males, black females, and white females reported "wanting to be a police officer" as one of the main reasons they chose to enter law enforcement. In addition, white males identified "having a relative in law enforcement" as one of the main reasons. Thus, it would make sense that these groups would choose Criminal Justice or Public Administration as their major in college. Of the two black male officers that identified "wanting to be a police officer," one has only a high school diploma and the other has a Bachelor's degree in business.

Previous Employment With Other Police Agencies.

While white males, black females, and white females each identified the desire to be a police officer as the main reason for entering law enforcement, 13 (50%) white males, 1 (33.3%) black male, and 3 (42.9%) white females reported that the Midwest City Police Department was not the first or only police department in which they have worked. It is not uncommon for officers to work as a reserve officer or

part-time officer for small local Townships or Village police agencies in the area for several months or even years. One white male officer explained: "I was a reserve officer for Courtney Township Police Department, and I was a Deputy Sheriff at the County Jail for almost a year, and a Park Ranger for a summer. So I kind of climbed up through to get here."

> Another white male officer told me:
> "I worked for three other departments. I worked for Couldwell County. Basically, it was going to be a part-time thing. They needed drug work done, so they needed somebody to come in on a grant, the county and one of the cities that went in together, and they got somebody from out of the area that didn't know any of the druggies. That was for about 10 months. Then I worked for Mt. Morris Township for about a month before I was hired by the city."

Black male officers are less likely to have worked for another police department or agency prior to coming to the Midwest Police Department. Only 2 (16.7%) of black male officers have worked for another police department. One of those black males told me, "I worked for the State Police for 3 years. . . . I chose to come back to Flint and help out here. To clean up the area and do what I could. Catch these so-called bad guys, the tough guys." This finding, that black males are less likely to have worked for another police department prior to coming to the Midwest Police Department, is directly related to the previous finding that black males did not identify "wanting to be a police officer" as the main reason for entering law enforcement. As discussed previously, 33.3% of the black male officers explained that they never planned to enter into policing; they simply applied and were hired.

Residency: Are You Originally From the Local Area?

Seventy-five percent of the officers in the sample were originally from the Midwest City area, which includes the city and surrounding suburbs. Only 25% were from some other area, including mainly other state towns and southern states.

CHAPTER V

SPATIAL PARAMETERS AND PATTERNS OF INTERPERSONAL INTERACTION

As outlined in Chapter II, I developed this research study based on a theory of the social organization of the police organization that advances diversity, variation, and contrast in the police occupational culture (Fielding, 1988; Manning, 1987, 1993; Reuss-Ianni, 1983). In this chapter, in order to interpret and elucidate the social organization of the police occupational culture, I reveal the social and political dynamics that exist within the Midwest Police Department. Attention has especially been drawn to the significance of the spatial perimeters that officers establish within the organization and the patterns of interpersonal interaction that patrol officers engage in both on- and off-duty. The focus is directed specifically to how each of the four race-gender groups--white male, black male, white female, and black female--recognized, experienced, and confronted the organization's spatial parameters, patterns of interpersonal interaction, and racial and gender divisions. I present these dynamics as verification of the diversity, variation, and contrast in the police occupational culture.

The Dynamics of the Organization of the Midwest Police Department

A restricted organization like a police department has a set of qualifications, rules and regulations, and hierarchies that determine its boundaries, how they shall be crossed, and who shall occupy that space. Those who enter the police organization will share certain defining features--they will have met specific criteria

of occupational and organizational membership and will have passed a test or interview process.

Ardener (1993) reminds us that much of social life is given shape, and when dimensions or locations are introduced we assert a correlation between the so-called "real" physical world and its "social reality." Thus, the measurements of space and social parameters are not random. Police organizations construct their own boundaries by dividing the social and physical into hierarchies, shifts, units, and sectors with invisible fences, barriers, and statuses to be scaled by abstract and invisible ladders and bridges (Ardener, 1993). In over 550 hours of field observation, it was apparent that divisions of space and social formations were intrinsically based not only on level of seniority and rank (as has been identified so often), but also on race and gender. However, there was no simple one-way "cause and effect" relationship between space and social formation; their cumulative interdependence suggests that they should be thought of in terms of them existing together, for they are mutually dependent.

Of course, once space has been determined and shaped it is no longer a neutral setting; it exerts its own influence. This analysis, which is based on prior research (Heidensohn, 1992; Hunt, 1990; Martin, 1980, 1990), began at the point where the police department is recognized as a gendered and racially formed organization. The police officers studied in the Midwest Police Department revealed considerable variance in expressed attitudes towards the police department's organizational structure, including the opportunities to advance within the

organization. This section summarizes such attitudes and descriptively discusses such differences for each of the four race-gender groups.

Duties Performed Since Hired on the Police Force.

When officers were asked what duties they have performed since they have been on the force, findings revealed that 72% of the white male officers and 57.1% of the white female officers have worked patrol only, no special operations (i.e. narcotics or vice) or special programs (i.e., COPS, JET, NSU, UPPER, Mini-Stations, and liaison). In comparison, 75.1% of black males and 66.6% of black females have worked some combination of patrol, special operations and special programs. Blacks of both genders have had many more opportunities to work in other units and programs, positions that provided additional fringe benefits and perks (i.e., flex time, every weekend or every third weekend off, and increased discretion) that are not available to officers working patrol. Many white officers express frustration and discontent with their lack of opportunities to transfer out of patrol, and the increased opportunities of blacks to work these Special Units and Programs.

The proportion of women placed in radio dispatch or at the patrol desk tended to be much higher in comparison to men. Some women preferred to work radio dispatch or the front desk over the road, some women were sent out to radio dispatch temporarily when they were pregnant or injured, and other women were not assigned to these positions without discontent.

White male officers who had the opportunity to work one or more of the Special Programs or Special Operations were officers with at least 15 years or more

on the police force. Most white male officers with less than 15 years on the force had worked only patrol; the exception was one 7-year senior, white male officer who had worked plainclothes and foot patrol, and another 5-year senior, white male officer that worked JET for a couple of months. In comparison, approximately 26% of the white female officers had been given the chance to work Special Programs and Special Operations, in addition to patrol. One white female officer with 11 years seniority told me:

> "I've worked foot patrol. . . . I've worked narcotics, I worked vice which includes prostitution, gambling, and after hours joints. I worked the courts for a little while, which would be similar, I think to a court officer, transporting prisoners to court. I've worked as a dispatcher, and I've work at the patrol desk. You should ask me what I didn't do." (Officer Kim)

The slightly increased opportunities that female officers have over white male officers to work Special Programs and Special Operations exist because white females are used from time to time to work prostitution and narcotics.

Black male officers are almost three times more likely than white males to work Special Operations and/or any of the Special Programs. One black female officer with 9 years seniority told me, "The majority of time I've worked patrol. I've worked foot patrol, I worked plainclothes, undercover, Special Operations [vice]. That's about it. I've done everything but work as a liaison. I'd like to probably work as a liaison." (Officer Lisa)

Another black male officer with 7 years seniority explained,

> "As far as different jobs, well I've been mostly assigned to patrol. I've also worked in a Neighborhood Support Unit, which is, um, a unit that's suppose to get more with the community and try to give them a better perception of police officers. And I worked a couple times down in Special Operations, when I went on the street and, um, portrayed drug dealers and sold drugs to

> a . . . to a, drug addicts or drug prostitutes . . . and then we arrest them. And I had a brief work experience in, um, what they call JET, Juvenile Enforcement Team, where we, um, you know, work with gangs and try to curve the violence from gangs, young gangs and stuff like that. That's pretty much it." (Officer Hal)

It is not uncommon for the police department to place black rookie officers in Special Operations when they first come out of the police academy. Special Operations is often times looking for a "fresh face" to work narcotics, to buy and sell drugs for the department, and to arrest people for drug use and drug selling. It is not uncommon for the department to take black officers, after they have completed their probationary period, and assign them to work one of the Special Programs such as COPS, JET, NSU, and liaison. One black female, with nine years on the force, spent 6 years working Special Operations. Another black female officer, with only 3 years on the force, was placed in the COPS Program and assigned to work one of the Elementary schools. Only 3 out of 12 black males, and 1 out of 3 black females at the time of interview had worked only patrol.

In addition, among more senior officers of both races and genders, officers that were hired on or before 1985 were often assigned to work foot patrol in the Neighborhood Foot Patrol Program.

How Officers Get Their Assignments.

In an effort to understand the police organizational culture of the Midwest Police Department, officers were asked how they got their assignments? Responses to this question varied. Officers told of a variety of ways that assignments were given

out, including putting in for a position (leave a 5 to 8) which is then reviewed by patrol supervision, or being picked to go to a special unit or program.

Generally, every 6 months officers are given the chance to pick the shift they want to work. "Shift pick" is determined by seniority; officers with more seniority are given "shift pick" preference over officers with less seniority. Then, which sector an officer will work on any given shift is left up to the supervisor. An officer may have some input as far as which sector he or she prefers to work in and who he or she prefer to work with (partners) or not to work with. Officers can verbalize their request to the shift Lieutenant or Sergeant; however, there is no guarantee that officers get what they request. Supervision may have a different plan for the officer than what the officer wants. One officer told me, "if they don't like you, they won't let you have what you want."

When I asked a white male officer with 5 years on the force how officers get their assignments, he said,

> ". . . you have to put in requests and hopefully know the right people, or hopefully have the right people like you. As far as getting your districts, basically, when you get to know the command officer, one of two things will happen. They'll either assign you to a district that they think you're more personally suited for, depending upon the type of crime in those sectors. . . or if you get to know the command officer, you say 'I think I would do a better job here in 200 sector.'" (Officer Harry)

In efforts serve the public more effectively, shift commanders assign officers to sectors where they feel they will be the most beneficial. When I asked one of the black male officers why he worked the North end, he explained,

> "I choose to work the North end...because I live up here. And I'd rather help the people I'm around the most, you know. Preferably, help the ones that I deal with the most. I deal up here with everybody, so I think I can help them

> better than anybody else could. I could . . . and possibly be a little more lenient than other officers probably would be; but still, I got to do my job." (Officer Sherman)

For other positions, command will generally announce at roll call that there is an opening in a specific area, squad, or unit. Officers can than leave paperwork, what officers call a 5 by 8, detailing their desire to transfer. Many officers complain that there appears to be no rhyme or reason as to how officers are selected or assigned to Special Squads or Programs. Officers can put in a request for an assignment, but there are no guarantees; it is the decision of the Lieutenant, the Captain and the Deputy Chief of Patrol. Many officers, black and white, male and female, contend that assignments are based on favoritism. A black male officer stated, "No matter what your qualifications are, no matter what your background, it's who they want."

One white male officer, with 12 years seniority, recounted a personal experience of trying to get into several special units:

> Officer: "Shifts are done by seniority and squads are done by, I guess they volunteer for them, but I think a lot of times they know who they want. They just ask them to leave a 5 x 8 to get into their squad."
> Researcher: "Have you ever tried to get into any squads?"
> Officer: "Yes, I failed."
> Researcher: "What did you want to get into?"
> Officer: "I tried to get into Special Operations a couple times. I tried canine. And uh, I think that's about it. Oh, and I tried to get into foot patrol when it was still functioning here."
> Researcher: "And you didn't get into that?"
> Officer: "Not originally, then they decided later on to take me down into it, but the program ended just 4 months after I was down there, so."
> Researcher: "Why did the program end?"
> Officer: "I guess, I think it was more manpower more than anything else . . . and they changed the wording . . . it used to be paid all by millage. And they changed how the millage was worded so they changed the foot patrol concept." (Officer Brad)

Another black male officer who used to work Special Operations explained, "Sometimes they [officers] volunteer for them, and other times, uh, they're just assigned. Usually that's the way its taken care of." When I asked him how he got into Special Operations, he told me, "I was chosen for Special Operations. . . . I worked Special Operations for 3 years during the previous administration . . . [then] they just transferred me out. I was off for a weekend, I come back to work, got my papers that I'd be transferred in the next couple weeks." In addition, one of the black female officers explained,

> "I was chosen right out of the academy to work Special Operations . . . but I had to do my probationary period in patrol. They wanted new faces . . . because of the job you will do out in the public they don't want you to be out in the public eye as a police officer for years and then go into Special Operations or FANG because you won't get that much done." (Officer Lisa, 9 years seniority)

Some of the female officers I interviewed had a slightly different view about how officers got their assignments, especially how other female officers get their assignments. One of the white female officers with almost 9 years on the department stated, "shift is by seniority and sectors by who you know or who you blow. That's how it goes, you know. That's literally how you get assigned. Where ever they decide they're going to assign you, it depends on who you get along with . . . [as does] where you work or if you get to work with who you want to. That's basically how you're assigned." When I asked her about how officers are assigned to Special Units, she said, "That's the same thing. You don't get into a special unit unless somebody wants you in a special unit. It doesn't go by skill, it isn't any type of reward, it isn't by what work you do. It's basically who you know."

This same white female officer told me about several incidents where one or more female officers supposedly performed sexual acts on Captains or Sergeants to get their assignments. Since I was unable to verify these incidents I will not discuss the specifics of these incidents in an effort to protect myself against reporting rumors. The same white female officer also told me about her own experience with sexual harassment. When she was going through the hiring and interview process 10 years ago, one of the Sergeants that was assigned to interview her told her that he wanted to make the interview more personal and he worked to set a private meeting up with her to engage in sexual activities with her. In later years, this same Sergeant was caught on a tape by another female officer that was wired.

Essentially, officers felt that sometimes officers got assignments because supervisors liked them on a personal level or felt they were more qualified than other officers who applied to fill the position. Sometimes, however, it was not clear how or why officers got the assignments they did. It basically depended on what supervisor had to make the decision. One of the white male officers told me,

> "I like to go to Special Operations; I don't think anybody's figured that out yet. Nobody's been able to figure this out in the 7 years I've worked in this department . . . because you get some of the laziest guys on the street. Special Operations is kind of like the thing that a lot of guys want to go to . . . you'll spend your whole career working patrol and they won't put you in it; but yet somebody that you cannot even figure out why they moved them there, there's no way of figuring out how they do it. Somebody has to talk to a Chief or something like that, or some of the administrators, because you can't figure it out." (Officer Ryan, 7 years seniority)

One black female officer told me that she was assigned to a Special Unit despite the fact that she did not want to be there. She explained,

> "You're selected, or you leave a 5 to 8 to go to another program out of patrol. That wasn't the case for me. I was kind of, like just put in there [COPS] and I didn't want to go to that group. But they just assigned me there. The Sergeant in charge of that group choose me; she called me into her office and I told her that I wasn't interested. So it didn't work out for me." (Officer Jessica, 3 years seniority)

When I asked her how she got out of the COPS Program she said, "a lot of begging." Many white officers feel that black officers have a greater chance of working Special Operations and Special Programs, even for a short time. White officers didn't get the chance that black officers got.

From time-to-time, supervision used assignments to discipline officers. One white male officer explained,

> "They can take and move ya' . . . [for example] take somebody out of a good job and maybe running them up north to the North end, or 200 sector where its extremely busy. You know for some officers it might be taken out of there, or brought back down to the South end or the East side where you get less calls, less crimes, you don't know the people in your district . . . or placed at the desk for a couple of days." (Officer Rick, 9 years seniority)

I asked him what one would have to do to get a "discipline assignment" and he said, "Maybe call in consecutive days sick putting them [the department] at less than fifty percent, have a conflict with your Sergeant. It could be a hundred of things, whatever would upset, create a conflict of interest between the two."

How Far in the Department Do You Think You Can Go?

When officers were asked, "How far in the department do you think you can go in regards to rank?" and "what is your goal?", 41.7% of black male officers and 71.4% of white female officers stated they did not want to go beyond the rank of patrol officer (see Table 5-1). These officers were a mix of older, more senior

officers and younger officers that have no ambition to move up in the ranks. In comparison, only 23% of white males did not want to go beyond the rank of patrol officer. Five of the white male officers who expressed they did not want to go beyond the rank of patrol officer were senior officers with at least 17 or more years on the department. The other white male officer, with 5 years on the department, explained, "At this point I'm content on remaining being a patrolman. The incentives aren't there for me to shoot for a supervisory position." I asked him what incentives were missing, and he responded,

> "Well you lose your seniority as far as your classification as a supervisor once you choose to make that move, you loose your shift pick, you loose your vacation pick
> . . . money's not that much better. Basically, the most important things are those, the shift pick and seniority being placed at the bottom of the totem pole amongst your coworkers again, having to work your way up." (Officer Phil)

In addition, 50% of the white male officers expressed their goal was to achieve the rank of Sergeant before they retire, and 14.4% had aspirations to achieve a rank higher than Sergeant before they retire. In comparison, 25% of the black male officers aspired to achieve the rank of Sergeant and 16.7% to achieve the rank of Lieutenant. None of the white female officers expressed a desire to go beyond the rank of patrol officer, and 2 out of 3 blacks intended to move beyond the rank of patrol officer.

Table 5-1. How far do you want to go in regards to rank?

Rank	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female
Patrol Officer	6 (23.1%)	5 (41.7%)	5 (71.4%)	1 (33.3%)
Sergeant	13 (50.0%)	3 (25.0%)		
Lieutenant	2 (7.7%)	2 (16.7%)		1 (33.3%)
Captain				1 (33.3%)
Chief	2 (7.7%)			
Will not stay here	1 (3.8%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (14.3%)	
Haven't decided	2 (7.7%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (14.3%)	
Total	26 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)

In 1973, Midwest Police Department adopted a federally funded Affirmative Action program in efforts to increase the number of women and racial and ethnic minorities at all ranks within the department. Originally the department used minority and non-minority statuses to group officers. In the early 1980s, Midwest Police Department began using separate promotional lists as a part the Affirmative Action program for purposes of Sergeant promotions. The police department originally set up separate white, black, and women's lists for promotions. In the early 1980s, Hispanics were given minority status when they were hired, and some Hispanics were promoted under the minority status. Then in the early 1990s, the department established a new procedure that eliminated Hispanic officers from being promoted as a minority (Union Grievance made 3-6-92, lawsuit is pending). Today, there is only a white and black promotion list in the police department, and Hispanic officers are placed on the white list. In addition, the separate promotional list for women was eliminated in the early 1990s.

Hispanic officers and white female officers identified these recent changes in minority status as a case of gender and ethnic discrimination. Some white males are also engaged in a reverse discrimination lawsuit against the city because of the Affirmative Action policy.

White Officers' Perspectives. White officers, both male and female, contended that because of the Affirmative Action policy they no longer have the opportunity to advance through the ranks. Under the present Affirmative Action policy, the department promotes one black for one white. Today, most all white male officers openly express frustration and discontent with the department's Affirmative Action policy. One white male officer with 5 years seniority expressed his discontent openly to me, "In this department, to be perfectly blunt, I don't see too much of a future for me in this department." When I asked why he thought so, he explained, "Because on the whole I'm unhappy with the way it's set up as far as structure, as far as practice. I don't see that this department or the city really cares enough for its officers or its citizens, to become better than it is. . . . I don't see much growth here.

One white male officer with 9 years seniority attempted to explain how the Affirmative Action promotions work.

> "Under the existing Affirmative Action, one-for-one promotion policy . . . an officer that has 12 years on the department will take the Sergeant's exam and score an 89, not exceptionally well, but scores an 89 . . . and then you have a black person that takes the test with 3 1/2 years on the job and scores a 73. Seventy is to pass. Because that white officer didn't score in the high 90s, he's not going to be promoted. What happens is they take the white male with the high 90 and then they go over to the black list and promote from there. Now that black individual is going to get promoted before you since you only

scored an 89. Then by the time you get around to gettin' promoted, the promotions are already filled."

The one-for-one black and white Affirmative Action promotion policy that has been in effect for the past Sergeants exams has supposedly been eliminated in the recent contract (since the last Sergeants exam 2 years ago); however, as one white male officer with 20 years seniority told me,

> "Since it's expired they don't maintain 82 Sergeants; they haven't had a test yet. They technically would have been required to have a test several months ago, every 2 years here you're supposed to have a test. We're waiting, the city's waiting . . . they're trying to make an agreement where they'll include more, where we'll have so more affirmative action numbers again. And the whites don't want that. We think that we've reached a certain, it expired when we reached certain numbers."

Another white male with 7 years on the force added,

> "Well now that they got rid of Affirmative Action you can probably go a lot farther. Before, we've had Affirmative Action since I've been here, so you had to get a 93 or above, 90 to 100 if you're white to get your stripes. And now that's out of the contract, now it's up, so if you go out and study for it, that's the only thing it takes to move up. If you had like a 90, and this guy had a 70, the guy with a 70 gets the stripes over you. There's been people, 60s and 65s that have gotten stripes over somebody with a 90, and that was all because of affirmative action." (Officer Ryan)

The same officer went on to say,

> "I think you should you should have 10 to 15 years on before you can take the test, because you get these guys with 4 or 5 years on, coming and telling guys that have 20 to 25 years on what to do. That's not right, they don't know what's going on out here. And that's what we're getting right now.
>
> Plus, those guys, if they got 5 years on, most guys don't retire in 20, you've got a guy taking up that position for 20 years, what used to be like 5 or 6 years the position was tied up for. So you've got a guy that's been out here for 20 years, he gets 20 seniority points, so he gets an 80 he gets a 100 he gets his stripes. That's the way it should be, and that's the way the majority of the people think it should be.
>
> And probably since affirmative action is done, you're getting a lot of the older black officers that they couldn't even pass the test all these years, and they're like well now I think we should go by the seniority points. So that's

> what they want to do. Where before it was a young department with blacks, and they wanted affirmative action to get in, but they've had blacks here since the 1950s. But that's all going to change now I think, they're going to move to seniority points."

Most hires, assignments, and promotions that are given to blacks are typically attributed to Affirmative Action. Consequently, black officers are assumed incompetent. One officer explained how he feels about the department's Affirmative Action Policy for promotions. This was a common attitude held by many white male patrol officers, as well as some of the white female patrol officers.

> "Probably what's alienated the whites has been the minority promotions. You know, the one's that don't deserve to be promoted. Recently what's alienated some blacks is they've done away with that [Affirmative Action minority promotions]. The blacks seem to think they deserve it because in the past they've been discriminated against. I think minorities need to forget their color and start trying to pull themselves up by their own boot straps. Instead they expect the white to. Unless an individual, himself, can prove discrimination, I don't feel they deserve any special rights. We have all these special classes of people. That's why its causes division in the races." (Officer Ken, white male, 20 years seniority)

In addition, one white female officer voiced her belief that, "All blacks promoted are Affirmative Action promotions. . . . Blacks have very little time on and get promoted. Out of my academy of 24--half black and white, half men and women--all but one black became Sergeant, while only one white became a Sergeant."

For this white female officer Affirmative Action promotions of black officers was an issue. Much of the resentment that white women had toward Affirmative Action promotions was based on the fact that women, despite their minority or "token" status in the department, more so than blacks, the separate promotion list for women was eliminated in the early 1990s. White women are now placed on the white list and black women on the black list, and white women have to get the same

score or higher than white men in order to be promoted. While white females said they were excluded from Affirmative Action promotions, black females told me that administration counted them twice. The same white female officer with 11 years seniority pointed out to me, "The first time I tried to get hired I couldn't because I was a woman; then I got hired [in 1983] and now I can't get promoted. White females are no longer considered a minority . . . and I'm glad because I have to be just as good as everyone else." Another white female with 8 years on the department said, "With the way the system is now, being white is not going to help me make Sergeant. When I first came on I figured I would want to go higher." When I asked her what her goal is now, she replied, "to keep improving, to teach, and always do my best."

I found that the responses white women offered to the question, "How far in the department do you think you can go?" did not differ considerably from white males. Both groups felt black officers have an unfair advantage over white officers because they can score lower on the Sergeants exam and be promoted over white officers that score significantly higher on the promotional exam. As a reaction, white officers contended that black Sergeants are not qualified for the position, white officers lacked respect for black Sergeants, and there was an evident lack of trust from white officers toward black Sergeants. Affirmative Action promotions has been a moral breaker for many white officers. Many of the more senior officers lost their incentive to be promoted and take the exam.

Affirmative Action brings to the surface racism and the assumption of incompetence of blacks. Whites tend to be skeptical about the qualifications of any black

officer that is hired or promoted under the Affirmative Action program. Officers assume that if they were competent they would have been hired or promoted without the help of Affirmative Action. This reasoning is a denial of the reality of racial discrimination in American society, as well as an important underpinning of modern prejudicial thought.

Black Officers' Perspectives. Black and white officers interpreted the Sergeants exam differently. Black officers insisted that race is not a direct determinant of one's ability to score good on the Sergeants exam; however, some white officers openly asserted that race was a direct determinant of one's intelligence and ability to score good on the Sergeants exam. On another level, blacks believed the Sergeant's exam was culturally bias, and that white officers had an advantage because the exam was written or worded in a culturally biased manner by whites. Some black officers contended that white officers stuck together and protested questions that they get wrong, while blacks had problems passing tests and getting promoted. The Affirmative Action policy gave black officers the chance to get promoted.

Some blacks insisted that some of the white officers who have taken the exam in the past, were given the answers or questions to the Sergeants test. One black male told me, "Some people [white males] are given answers or questions on tests . . . [those that get a] 99 or 100 . . . . That's highly unlikely; the test is designed to be hard; I can't believe people get 99." Likewise, another black male officer with 17 years seniority expressed the same concern:

> I've never really cared about supervisory, but in the course over the years on the department I've taken two tests . . . two supervisors tests.
>
> [Anyway] I believe the tests are set up, I don't believe the tests are a judgement of what the supervisors need to prepare the job. And I don't have much faith in testing, after you take it they don't give it back you . . . and then there's rumors that you know, some people have the test before they take the exam. I've heard guys couldn't take the test because this reason or that, and they send the test to 'em while they're on a fishing trip. I've had a situation where the date for the test wasn't good for me 'cause I was on my vacation. Is that a good enough reason to have the test sent to you? It was for one person, but is it good enough for anyone else. I don't think it has been. I'd like for them to send me the test." (Officer Madison)

Some of the younger black officers held a slightly different view of the promotion process. One black male officer with 3 years on the force and only a high school diploma with some semesters of college credits in business and military science told me, "I'd like to go all the way to the top; however, my educational background may not allow me to go all the way to the top." When I asked him, "what is your goal?", he responded, "Right now I don't have any specific goal, I feel I need to put in my time and dues. In order to go to the top I should make sure I'm prepared."

One of the Midwest Police Officers Association union representatives told me that black officers spoke at recent contract talks about how Affirmative Action promotes the black-white division in the department.

Division of Space within the Police Organization

Matthews (1980) noted that social identity is partly determined by the physical and spatial constituents of the peoples' environment; that is to say, the sexual/racial composition of the police organization and occupational culture defines the people in it. Structural relationships, those among the four race-gender groups, were

examined in this study and were treated as "social maps." These social maps (e.g., where officers sit at roll call, whom officers interact with, which sector officers are assigned to) are frequently, but not necessarily, realized by the patrol officers that occupy space within the police department. For instance, to get to the women's locker room, female officers have to walk through the weight room that is most often being used by male officers. On the floor are yellow tape lines that show the route which women are to take to get through the weight room to the bathroom. These are the boundaries that women are to stay within in order to get to their private space, the women's locker room. Nowhere else in the police department are there color tape lines laid to show direction for officers. Why the yellow tape lines? Why the boundaries through the weight room (men's space) to get to the women's locker room (women's space)?

Time is closely associated with space. In the practical, daily world of the patrol officer, the intertwining of space and time was exemplified by the assignment of patrol officers across four shifts to four sectors of the city: the North end (100 sector), the West side (200 sector), the South end (300 sector) and the East side (400 sector). Patrol officers were assigned to a sector and were expected to respond to and handle calls for service over an 8-hour time period. The passage of time and the place of space are thus intimately linked. Each day officers met at the police department for roll call and then got in their cars, with or without their partners, and went to their sector to answer calls, arrest people, and prevent crime. Throughout the shift officers came together on calls, met up at restaurants and convenience stores, and met at the station to book suspects and write reports. Then at the end

of every shift, officers again come back to the station to turn in their cars, change in the locker rooms, and possibly lift weights in the weight room. Within the police department and the city, however, space and time was very far from being shared equally. For instance, there was an absence of women and blacks in some sectors and on some shifts. Some sectors are larger or busier than other sectors just as some shifts are busier than other shifts. Some officers were lazy and did not work the same amount during the 8-hour shift as an officer that was not lazy.

In various instances I found spaces within spaces. To identify and understand them, the spaces were first pulled apart. Next, the spaces were interrelated and compiled into a complex map of interactions to display the race and gender divisions that existed within the police organization and occupational culture. For instance, I mapped the way officers spatially separate themselves at roll call before mapping officers' patterns of interactions. The police department has what it calls the roll call room. This is the room where officers meet before the beginning of each shift. During roll call, the Lieutenant and four Sergeants (if they are all there that day) met the patrol officers to update them on any relevant information (e.g., when to put cuffs on somebody, recent crimes, and to hand out court subpoenas), to assign them a partner and a car, and to give them their sector assignments before going out on the road.

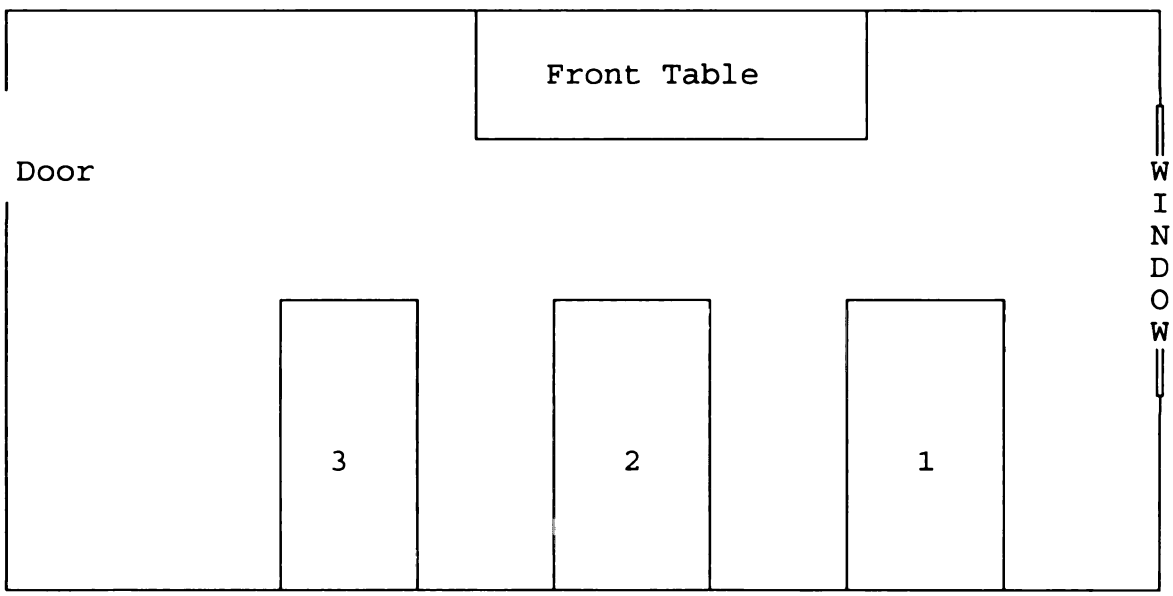
Figure 5-1 shows the roll call room. The room has four tables in it. The table at the front of the room is the table from which the Lieutenant stands in front of or sits on to conduct roll call. Typically, the Sergeants stood around the front of the room or in the doorway, while the Lieutenant conducted roll call. The other three

tables that extend out from the wall are where the officers sit during roll call. Observations that occurred across the four shifts revealed that patrol officers spatially separated themselves by race and gender in the roll call room. On first shift, white and Hispanic officers sat at Table 1, the table nearest the window, and white women, black women, and black male officers sat at Table 3, the table closer to the door. On second shift, black male and female officers occupied Table 1, while white officers sat at the other side of the room (Table 3). On third shift, the three black males and one Hispanic male that work that shift sat at Table 1, while the white male and females sat at Table 3. Fourth shift was similar with blacks occupying Table 1. On all shifts, Table 2, the middle table, was, at times, a mix of whites and blacks or men and women. Often Table 2 was the overflow table for the race and gender that dominated in number on the shift. For instance, because there were more white males on third shift than any of the other race-gender groups, white males always occupied Table 2. On second shift, where there were a significant number of black males and black females, so Table 2 was all black or a mix of white males, black males, and/or black females.

Goffman suggested that "the division and hierarchies of social structure are depicted micro-ecologically, that is, through the use of small-scale spatial metaphors" (1979, p. 1). This suggests that space reflects social organization. In the roll call room, patrol officers physically defined their space. The spatial parameters that they established there exemplified and reinforced the racial and gender divisions that existed within the police department. Because of the spatial separation at roll call, communication and interaction among the four race-gender groups was lessened or

limited. Officers often talked with those officers at their same table. This example of the roll call room illustrates the occupation of space and social formation of many pairs or groups on shifts.

Figure 5-1: The Roll Call Room



Women and Racial Minorities: Mediators of Space in the Police Organization

In any social setting or institutional environment, one race-gender group will dominate relative to another race-gender group, while in turn being muted in relation to a third race-gender group; they share the same universe, yet it is differently defined. For instance, in an organization and occupation like policing where gender and race are the predominant critical distinctions, men take precedence over women and whites dominate over blacks. The following ordering is possible:

white male <- white female <- black male <- black female

A white female patrol officer will be muted relative to white male officers, yet dominate in relation to black female and black male officers. These relations were evident in the physical spatial arrangements of the police department (i.e., demographics of each shift, divisions and allocations of space at roll call, placement of race-gender groups to sectors), and were detected through the patterns of interpersonal interactions (i.e., whom officers of each race-gender group interact with, in what manner, and how often).

In police organizations, neither female nor racial minority patrol officers control the physical or social space directly; however, this does not restrict them from mediating the allocation of space within the organization. Many difficulties often arise at critical points of integration. Women and racial minority officers use various devices to cope with these difficulties, yet the underlying principles of division remain. For instance, even though women and racial minorities were on the police force, some white males told me they did not want to work with female or black officers. Even if a female patrol officer entered into a partnership with a male officer, the male officer did not necessarily accept her or constantly questioned her ability to perform the job and police work.

White male patrol officers often tried to control these intrusions by confining women and racial minorities to the periphery of the organization and occupational culture. For example, excluding women and racial minorities from choir practices and union activities keeps women out of the folds of the police organization. It has long been recognized that spaces and boundaries in police organizations are frequently marked and reaffirmed by white male rituals. For example, it is the white

male officer that dictates whether or not he wants to work in a patrol car with a female officer or a black officer. Also, it is the white male supervisor that separates the two female officers that want to be partners in a car (e.g., Officer Mary and Officer Jill, or Officer Karen and Officer Andrea).

It is not simply enough to say that men and women and blacks and whites had different viewpoints; their social constructions, experiences, and perceptions of the organization often (but not always) differed as a result of their accumulated experiences (Ardener, 1993). This need not mean, however, that men and women and blacks and whites varied on all or every aspect, or in the same way. Since men and women and blacks and whites are not of the same personality, their worlds may parallel on certain contexts and differ on others.

On-Duty Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction

"Patterns of interpersonal interaction" are reflections of the patterns of human participation and contextually defined relations among patrol officers in the police organization and occupational culture. Patrol officers face decisions when it comes to on-duty interactions. "What are the main groups of police with whom I will interact on-duty?" "Are they mostly men or women?" "Are they of a particular race or culture?" "What type of activities will I engage in with other officers on-duty?" "How much interpersonal interaction do I want to engage in with my coworkers?" If there is too much interpersonal interaction, patrol officers may find that they become the center of rumors in the department. If there is too little interaction the officer may separate or exclude himself or herself from the police culture. One white

female officer stressed the importance of having other officers like herself: "You have to have officer like you. If you're an individual, in general you can't be a cop . . . it is a team thing. A lot of officers make their own bed and have to deal with it."

On-Duty Interactions: The Main Groups

White Male and Black Male Patrol Officers On-Duty Interactions. In the interview, patrol officers were asked to identify the main group(s) of officers with whom they interact on-duty. Analysis revealed that approximately 80% of black male patrol officers and 90% of white male patrol officers identified their partner(s) or former partner(s) and other shift and sector officers as the person(s) they interacted with most often while on-duty. In separate interviews with two white male officers who were partners on third shift, one officer explained:

> "When it's on-duty you're with whoever you're assigned with. It isn't a case of interacting with certain officers, I don't think. It's who you're assigned with and where your assigned at. You're going to spend more time with those officers because that's the one's your exposed to on your calls." (Rick, 9 years seniority)

The other officer said,

> Officer: "Just the guys on third shift in patrol."
> Researcher: "Do you interact with all of them on-duty, or is it a certain group of officers?"
> Officer: "Basically, you run into just the officers that are assigned to the same sector that you're assigned to. That's Ken and it was Don, he just left, and Mary and Rick [his partner], and Fred on fourth. And whoever else happens to be over there." (Brad, white male, 12 years seniority)

In interviews with other white male and black male patrol officers they provided verbal descriptions of the main groups of officers they interact with on-duty.

Presented below are excerpts from some of those interviews. These quotes illustrate the on-duty interactions of both black male and white male patrol officers with their partners and other sector and shift officers.

> "As far as like main groups. To put them in a group I would say supervision, the patrolmen that work on second shift, just because I'm forced to deal with them . . . and also with the officers in my district, in 200 sector, that we're backing up and backing me up on various calls and stuff like that. Sometimes I'll meet with them for lunch. And then I'll back up my partner." (Ted, white male, 3 years seniority)

> "The main group right now is basically the patrol section you run into out here. The guys on your shift, the guys on the shift prior to yours in the locker room, and after yours in the locker room. Those are the main people you talk to and interact with." (Trevor, white male, 3 years seniority)

> "Mostly just the people working up here in this sector, this area of the North end and the 200 sector. I'll see the officers more in this area. But once you get down to the station I talk to all of them and have fun with everybody down at the station. But once you're out on the street it's mainly just the officers that work here in this sector, in this area." (Roger, black male, 3 years seniority)

> "Basically, just assigned with 'em. Just got to know 'em, being assigned to them. So we just kind of hung around from that. Like I said, me and Josh worked almost 2 years together on third shift so we were familiar with each other there. And Josh knew Todd, he had worked with Todd before, so those two hung around together. And Frank just became my partner, so we just started hanging around together." (Craig, white male, 5 years seniority)

Participant observations verified the interactions between partners and other shift and sector officers as described above. I observed that most patrol officers made regular "meets" with their partners and other sector officers throughout the 8-hour shift, either to handle calls together or simply to get together to discuss calls, gossip, or joke around. On first shift, during a ride along with Officer Craig (a white male), we met with Officer Josh (an Hispanic male), another sector officer three times during the 8-hour shift. We came onto first shift at 6:45 a.m., at 7:15 a.m. we

met with Officer Josh at the bagel shop for coffee, and at 8:00 Officer Craig and Josh responded to a D.O.A. (Dead On Arrival) together. At 10:30 a.m. Craig and Josh met up at the area convenience store for coffee, to make phone calls, and use the bathroom. Then at 1:00 p.m. Officer Craig met Officer Josh (who took a half day) at a bar to watch the hockey game over lunch.

On another day, on a slow second shift with Officer Dan (a white male), we began the shift at 2:45 p.m. At 3:30 p.m. we stopped at the convenience store to get a soda and the paper, at which time we met with other sector officers. After we left the convenience store we parked behind a building to spend an hour reading the paper (4:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.). At 6:00 p.m. we stopped at the convenience store again, and by 6:30 p.m. we met with another white male officer in the sector to eat dinner. Throughout dinner the officers discussed why the Lieutenant was so moody and basic gossip about other patrol officers. Later that night, we stopped at another convenience store to meet with Officer Dan and Officer Calvin, his two partners.

Over the course of conducting this study, I rode with Officers Dan's two partners (both white males). I found that the three partners had a similar routine of stopping at that same convenience store, reading the paper behind the same building, and meeting with each other and the other sector officers throughout the evening. Officer Peter, a white male and one of the three partners, described to me his relationship with his partners: "Dan, Calvin and I are partners and we stay together. I don't trust anyone on this department, I don't discuss stuff with other officers." (5 years seniority)

On third shift, the first stop for some of the officers was Mark's Pizza Place. At the beginning of third shift there were often five to seven patrol officers at Mark's Pizza Place, eating, talking and joking. The majority of these officers were white males. However, there was one Hispanic male, one white female, and occasionally one black male that were there.

Partners play a significant role in the lives of most patrol officers. In this department, most officers were assigned a partner, sometimes two partners. There were several officers that did not have an assigned partner; these officers often worked an "A car," a one-person patrol car, or worked with officers whose partners took a sick day or an annual. Officers that worked with only one other partner usually worked the same schedule, with the same days and weekends off. Officers that worked with two other partners did not work the same schedule as their partners; they rotated as partners with each other. When all three partners worked the same day, one officer was assigned to an "A car" for that day. "A cars" were typically dispatched to handle the complaint calls that involved taking a report (i.e., breaking and entering, criminal sexual conduct and stolen vehicles), checking on abandoned vehicles, and acting as back up to other officers. However, with the shortage of manpower "A cars" were often sent on potentially dangerous calls, either by themselves or with only other "A car" when there should have been two to four more officers there for back up.

In this department, partnerships were formed by the supervisor, based either on his own decision to put officers together in a car or upon request from officers to work with other specific patrol officers. Supervisors did not form partnerships

purposely on the basis of race and/or gender; however, patrol officers often requested to work with other officers of the same race as themselves. Partnerships were often formed on the basis of personality and the same or similar work habits. Most patrol officers sought out other patrol officers that had similar work habits as themselves and they put in a request to the Lieutenant or Sergeant to work with those officers. Officers also wanted a partner(s) that they can trust, someone that would "cover their ass" and back them up when necessary. One white male officer told me:

> "I hang out with a no nonsense group. I don't hang out with the type of group where I have to worry about what he's going to do, say, or what may happen to get me in any type of predicament. Where we would become in trouble." (Officer Rick, 7 years seniority)

Since manpower is extremely low at this time, officers want to make sure that their partners, other officers in their sector, and other officers on their shift will be there to back them up.

Shifts, sectors and partners are permanent unless an officer requests a change of shift, sector, or partnership. Some officers have worked the same sector for most of their career (that could be 3 to 20 years). The longest running partnership in the department is 6 years, and other officers have been partners with the same officer for 1 to 3 years. One officer explained to me,

> "Kevin and I are partners. We've been partners for over 6 years. It's the longest running partnership in the department. The only time they broke us up was one of us is injured. They used to break us up for rookies but not any longer. Kevin and I know each other so well we don't even have to talk on calls. We can communicate beyond verbal communication, we know what each other is thinking, we know through motions what the other person is going to do." (Officer Mick, white male, 9 years seniority)

In addition to identifying one's partner(s) and other sector and shift officers as the main group(s) with whom officers interact on-duty, many of the younger, less senior patrol officers (both black and white males) identified friendships and interactions with other patrol officers that developed in the police academy as the main groups of officers they interacted with on-duty. Black male patrol officers, however, identified friendships that formed in the police academy four times more often than did white males. Oftentimes, the patterns of interaction that develop in the police academy are carried over into the rookie patrol officers' early years on the police department. Black male patrol officers may identify these interactions more often than white males because black males experience barriers and obstacles to inclusion, negative racial stereotypes, and are often viewed by white males as incompetent simply because they received their jobs through affirmative action. White males' experiences in the police academy are not the same as black males. White males' competence is not questioned, nor are white males' stereotypes excluded from interactions. Thus, one mechanism for breaking down status barriers is to create bonds with other black male and black female officers. One black male officer told me of his experience with racial stereotypes and prejudices.

> "Well, I remember when I first came on, you know I'm, I have a funny skin color. A lot of people, you know there's a lot of white in my family. I consider myself black . . . and uh, I remember when I first came on the academy an officer came back to me and was telling me a few things about what a bunch of the black officers were saying about me. A lot of things like that you don't really bother me. . . . A black officer came up to me and told me some black officers were sittin' around talking about me because I have a lot of white friends. Not only here on the job, but schools I went to were predominately white. You know, I have a lot of white friends. A black officer saw me talking to a bunch of white officers one day and they said that, 'hey, Ron doesn't know what color he is. He's going to find out when he's

> here that these white officers that he's friends with aren't going to be there when he really needs them. They're not going to back him up on calls, they're not going to be there.' So that's what was said about me.
>
> [Now] I tend to hang around a lot of guys that came out of the same academy as I did. You know, in the academy you kind of get bonds with certain people, you all go through the same thing together, and when you get out here [on the road] you have those ties already developed. I hang around a lot of guys, a lot of them are my age, early-, mid-, a couple of them late-20s. One guy that's mid-30s, everybody else is pretty much the same . . . not everybody you got through the academy with you are really close with." (Officer Ron, 3 years seniority).

In comparison, a white male officer that came out of the same academy as Officer Ron briefly explained his friendship with officers in the police academy. He told me, "The majority of my friends are the guys I graduated from recruit school with. . . . I stayed really close to the guys I graduated with, it's a real tight knit group there." (Officer Trevor, white male, 3 years seniority)

Only one black male officer said that he did not interact much with other officers; however, I observed that he did interact with a few patrol officers while on-duty. In roll call, I observed this officer talking with some of his fellow shift officers, mostly with Officer Jerry (a black male). I also observed him talking with other officers in the parking lot of the police station. Most of his on-duty interactions, however, were with people in the community, predominately black women. This officer explained to me,

> "None [I don't interact much with officers on-duty] . . . because police officers are funny people, they're jealous of one another, they're vindictive. You think I'm crazy, don't you. I'm serious. I have maybe one or two officers that I hang with, as far as going to different or doin' different things with them, I just don't have no desire to do it." (Officer Roosevelt, black male, 7 years seniority)

Black Female and White Female Patrol Officers' On-Duty Interactions. Similar to white male and black male patrol officers, white female patrol officers identified other patrol officers on their shift and in their sector as the main groups of officers they interact with on-duty. One white female officer told me about her interactions:

> "No one in particular. . . . Women aren't, you aren't really in the folds you know, of the department. I've worked with everyone and I get along with everyone. I can pretty much say that I think, I'm pretty safe in that. I kind of get along with all of them, I'm not personal with anyone. I mean, they tell you all their personal problems, that's no big deal, but I'm not, I don't have anyone particular group, or you know. I guess the bad ass police you know, I'm cool enough to hang with them I guess. So, because I let them talk about themselves, I don't know . . . that makes the hour, I don't know." (Officer Mary, white female, 9 years seniority)

Unlike male patrol officers, white female patrol officers were less likely to identify their partner(s) or former partner(s) as those they interact with on-duty. This was in part because five (71%) of the seven white female patrol officers interviewed, compared to 11.5% of the male patrol officers, did not have a partner at the time of the interview. These five women were assigned to an "A car." There are a variety of reasons why female patrol officers are less likely to have a partner. For one, many female officers work first shift, which is considered a light duty shift. On first shift, officers take more reports for stolen cars, more alarm calls, and handle more missing persons and dead on arrival calls.

Like each of the other race-gender groups, black female patrol officers identified a combination of patrol officers on their shift and in their sector, partner(s) and former partner(s), and officers they went through the academy with, as the officers they interact with most often while on-duty. Unlike the other groups, black

females identified other officers they have things in common with as the officers with whom they interacted while on-duty.

Two of the three black female patrol officers that work patrol told me of their friendships with each other and with other male officers in their sectors. These two black female officers went through the police academy together, which is where their friendship first began. Other than their interactions with each other, they had no regular interactions with any other female patrol officers on the department. All their interactions were otherwise with other black male patrol officers.

> "[In] the academy, what happens is usually when you go through the academy, I think they started out with 35 of us, you're generally closer to the people that you graduate with, than you are with the people that are already on the department. We all experienced the same horrors, and fears and fun things of being there. So we all share something really important.
>
> When I went through the academy, the whole class graduated except for 3 of us, that was me, Officer Jessica and Officer Amy. It was almost the worst time. We had to go back for 2 weeks for extensive training and um, so we shared that sort of experience together. And you're just closer than the people that were already together . . . already here. I just met them when I came on and I didn't have any previous past with them. So you tend to cling to the people that you already know, that already know you a little bit. But now I know these other people, we shared some time together, done something together. But I'm closer to the people that came out of my academy than I am with any others.
>
> [Today, three years later] the only people I interact with is my partner and the people that basically work in my area [the North end]. I stop in the mini-station and I say hello, do my reports, whatever. I talk to everyone, but I don't interact too much with anybody." (Officer Emily, black female, 3 years seniority)

> "Officer Emily and I are, well she's like my best friend of females on the police department, and Roger is my daughter's godfather. We're pretty good friends. Roger and I became good friends in the police academy. And I like to hang around Roger and Emily because, especially Roger because he's very private and whatever I tell Roger I don't have to worry about hearing it again. With Emily I can't say that because Emily likes to talk. . . . Those are the two main people I usually hang around with." (Officer Jessica, black female, 3 years seniority)

Female patrol officers, both black and white, also identified regular interactions with officers in other department units, including officers in the detective bureau, the identification bureau, and special units such as COPS. There are several reasons why interactions developed with officers in other units such as the special units (e.g., COPS, liaison, NSU, and PAL) and Special Operations. For one, many of the federal grants that fund the special units support the assignment of black officers to these programs; therefore, disproportionately more black officers than white officers are assigned to these special units at one time than are white officers. Second, young black officers are directly assigned to work these Special Units and Special Operations (buying and selling illicit drugs) when they first come out of the police academy. One black female explained,

> "I interact with patrol and special operations. I still have a tie in with them [worked special operations for 6 years]. So I interact with those people. I interact with other units in the police department. I have friends in the identification bureau, so I interact with them. . .. We have a lot of other things in common, like a mother, children, and different/other activities I'm involved in like bowling." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

For white females, interactions and friendships with officers outside the patrol bureau were often with white female civilians that worked LEAN or the Identification Bureau. Two white female patrol officers told me about their interactions with officers outside of patrol.

> "The cool group, the in-group. Well like my best friend down here, but she's just strictly a work relationship, is Beth. I like to hang out with her, and I hang out with another couple civilian girls over in I.B. [Identification Bureau]. . . . I've got a few friends that I talk to, that I hang out with at work, just a few. I'll do things with them, or that you want to meet up with and just talk about work or whatever." (Officer Jill, white female, 17 years seniority)

> "Actually, over the years I've hung out a lot with the older detectives. And even the ones older than me, and I don't know if it was because I was older when I first got on, but they don't seem to have the macho attitude quite so much, they seem to be a little more.
>
> You know, I don't really hang out with a certain group. I mentioned the detectives on a social basis but like to meet people for lunch; that's usually different patrolmen. Usually, it's just whoever is working near you, and who you get along with personality wise. You'll see each other at roll call or just ask to meet up later in the day. . . . But there's some officers on here that are really tight, they'll tell you they can decide that when they're home. But me, its just whoever I happen to see at roll call, or if I happen to see someone at the station and I see someone wandering around and say yea, you want to go meet for lunch or something like that." (Officer Kim, white female, 11 years seniority)

Data analysis revealed that the social significance of women for each other in a mixed-gender police department was low. Female patrol officers identified very few regular interactions with other female patrol officers.

Different Types of Interactions On-Duty

When officers were asked, "What do you do with the main groups of officers you interact with on-duty," the responses varied. White female and white male patrol officers identified "backing each other up on calls" and getting together with other officers to eat as the main types of interactions they engaged in on-duty. White male and white female officers also identified meeting with officers at the convenience store for coffee or sodas as another common form of on-duty interaction. These types of interactions were consistent with the above findings that white males and white females identified regular interactions with their partner(s) and other shift and sector officers while on-duty. In separate interviews with several white male officers, the officers explained,

"[We] respond to calls, work the traffic. We make meets with the other cars in our district, sit down and have something to eat together." (Officer Phil, white male, 5 years seniority)

"Basically other than handle calls together, get together for coffee or eat, places just to small talk basically. Generally conversation." (Officer Don, white male, 19 years seniority)

"As far as on-duty standpoint it remains pretty professional. You may occasionally eat lunch or breakfast or something with an officer, you may talk about non-police things. As far as activity wise it remains pretty professional." (Officer Rick, white male, 9 years seniority)

Officer: "Just handle calls and like discuss the call after, after the calls ended.
Researcher: Do you get together and eat meals with officers, or is it just you and Rick?"
Officer: "Um, nah, once in a great while somebody might pop in when we're in there, but we don't go specifically to meet somebody to have, to eat with them you know." (Officer Brad, white male, 12 years seniority)

Like white male and white female officers, black male patrol officers also identified "backing each other up on calls" as the main type of interactions they engaged in on-duty. Black males, however, were less likely to get together with other patrol officers while on-duty to eat or to meet up at the convenience store. When black male patrol officers were asked "What type of on-duty interactions do you engage in with other officers," several officers responded:

Officer: "A lot of times we work different areas so we don't get to see each other while on-duty, unless we're going to back the other one up on some kind of call."
Researcher: "Do you get together with other officers to eat dinner?"
Officer: "Not very often, a lot of times I have a partner. Me and my partner hang out all day, answer radio calls, do whatever is necessary to do that day, whatever we pretty much feel like doing. We don't really eat with anybody else." (Officer Ron, black male, 3 years seniority)

Officer: "Not a damn thing, answer radio calls that's about all."
Researcher: "Do you get together and eat?"
Officer: "No, usually just me and Radley. Every now and then if they allow a couple of cars to one place we might . . . but very seldom, very seldom."

Researcher: Do you guys meet at Mark's pizza place with other officers on third shift?"
Officer: "No. Me and Radley don't. It's not something, why would I want to congregate at a certain place? I mean we hardly ever do it off work. Most of the guys we deal with they don't do it either so. I'll say it's mostly the lazy guys." (Officer Sherman, black male, 5 years seniority)

"We back up everyone. If I see some out eating or something I'll stop and talk to them or see them somewhere and either stop and talk about work or sporting events. Or we meet at the fire station or the department." (Officer Frank, black male, 5 years seniority)

Finally, black females identified eating together as the main type of on-duty interactions, and "backing each other up on calls" as another common form of on-duty interaction; however, eating together was identified more often.

"When I work by myself, sometimes I'll call up Officer Burnett, I'll have lunch with them, or wherever Paul or John, if they're somewhere, if its where I like to eat, I'll go eat lunch with them. Or I'll stop at the fire station, that's one of the places we stop for breaks, and I'll joke around with the firemen, or I'll do my dailies, or I'll do some of my paperwork. If I have to make phone calls or something like that, I'll make my phone calls from the fire department. But um, ah, if they do on a call or something like that, I'll meet up with them to see what they have, or whenever I'm with my partner I'll meet up with them and help them out on their calls and they'll do the same for us." (Officer Emily, black female, 3 years seniority)

"Meet with certain officers for lunch. And I meet with some people in the identification bureau for lunch. We just talk around the department about family things and things that pertain to the department. Gossip of course. We just talk about what's going on in the department, or what's going on outside the department." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

Black females also identified meeting with other female officers in the locker room as one form of on-duty interaction they engaged in regularly.

Officer: "On-duty nothing, we all work North. Luna works South. But they're in a different car, we very seldom we go to calls together, it's been so busy, we've been here and they've been there.
Researcher: Do you get together to each much?
Officer: No, we don't, Roger usually eats over his mother's, and then if he's not there Emily usually eats over his mother's. And we usually go to a

> restaurant. So we really don't interact too much on-duty. I usually see Emily in the locker room before and after work; we usually meet in the locker room for a few minutes and we just chit-chat for a few minutes. And sometimes I don't even see her at work, only in the locker room." (Officer Jessica, black female, 3 years seniority)

Unlike white males and white females, black female patrol officers did not identify meeting up with other officers at the convenience store as one of the forms of on-duty interactions they engaged in regularly. I am not exactly sure why that is. Field observations also revealed that regular interactions between all patrol officers also took place in parking lots and on side streets where officers could park the cars next to each other facing in opposite directions. Sometimes officers engaged in conversations this way for 20 minutes or more.

Frequency of Interactions On-Duty

When officers were asked how often they got together on-duty to interact with fellow officers, the majority of black male, white male and white female patrol officers explained that they interact daily, while black female patrol officers identified their interactions at a couple of times a week. Presented below are excerpts from separate interviews with officers of each race-gender group; these illustrate the differences in frequencies of interactions.

> "I would way within a week, twice probably. Like I said, some days you don't have any time to do anything but work, answer calls." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

> "Well it depends on how busy we are. Maybe once a night, we'll just meet up and chit chat." (Officer Jill, white female, 17 years seniority)

> "As far as work related 3 to 5 times a day, and non-work related maybe 2 to 3 times a day." (Officer Ted, white male, 3 years seniority)

> "One to two times a shift [however, when I rode with him we stopped at a convenience store at least three times, ate dinner, and sat in a parking lot and talked with Allen from fourth shift. Each time we were not alone; other officers showed up]." (Officer Dan, white male, 5 years seniority)

Differences that emerged between each of the four race-gender groups in the patterns of interpersonal interaction may be a reflection of dissimilarity in the way each of the race-gender groups conceptualize the term "interaction." Over the course of the four months of field researcher I observed that interactions between male patrol officers involved very little talk about themselves, their feelings, or their relationships with other officers. Males' interactions showed more frequent references to categories of sports and recreation, physical hostility, dramatizing and storytelling of their experiences from the job, and something they may have seen, read, or heard. Male officers tended to jump from one anecdote to another and achieved a camaraderie and closeness through the sharing of stories and laughter.

Female officers' interactions, on the other hand, often involved sharing of themselves, their feelings, or their relationships with family and other officers. Interactions with female patrol officers included discussions of feelings; as a result, I was able to gain a closeness through more intimate self-revelation with female patrol officers. Male patrol officers, unlike female officers, avoided intimacy with members of their own sex; rather, they communicated on a less personal, less relational, and generally more superficial level. They acknowledged friendship and interpersonal interactions in the form of joking and laughter. The interactions that male officers engaged in often were completed in a short period of time, sometimes in several minutes, while the interactions that female officers engaged extended over

a longer period of time. These contrasts reflect Wright's (1982) apt description of women's friendships as face-to-face and mutually oriented to personalized knowledge of and concern of one another, and men's friendships as side-by-side with mutual orientation to shared external tasks (O'Meara, 1989).

Female officers identified less frequent interactions for several reasons. For one, there was such a small number of females on any sector (oftentimes a sector had zero or only one female assigned to it) or shift that it was more difficult for females to engage in regular interactions with other females. Thus, these differences in the way in which men and women conceptualize interaction can explain to some degree the different responses the genders gave to the frequency of on-duty interactions.

The interactions I engaged in with male officers, while involved in the ride along, differed from the interactions that I observed between male patrol officers in the roll call room. I assume the difference had to do with my gender. In the patrol car I noticed that many male patrol officers developed a more personal orientation towards me, an increased one-to-one interaction with greater self-revelation. Thus, I have to wonder what effect the presence of women in policing has had on changing the all-male style of interaction. In this formerly one-sex, one-race occupation and organization which has now become integrated due to affirmative action programs, I observed that the overwhelming presence of male officers caused female officers to speak less, contributing less to the total interactions. For instance at roll call female officers spoke less than men, and they appeared to simply listen quietly or not pay attention to the discussions while they worked on their dailies or monthlies. Thus, the mixed-gender setting of the Midwest Police Department seems to have

benefited male officers more than female officers by allowing men more variation in their interpersonal interaction style, while for female officers it brought more restrictions in interactions.

Segmentation of Race and Gender Groups in On-duty Patterns of Interaction

This last section on on-duty patterns of interpersonal interaction examines the degree of segmentation or division between each of the four race-gender groups in their on-duty interactions. The narrative and Tables 5-2 and 5-3 provide evidence of the frequency of same-race and same-sex, and cross-sex and cross-race patterns of interpersonal interaction when on-duty. Figure 5-2 uses a series of arrows to show the interactions between each of the race-gender groups. The figure demonstrates the primary or dominant interactions, those that are identified most frequently by patrol officers of each group, as well as the secondary or recessive interactions which are identified by officers as less frequent in occurrence.

White Male Same-Race, Same-Sex Interactions. Data analysis revealed that for white males, most of the on-duty interpersonal interactions were with other males. For white males most of those interactions were with other white males. There were a variety of reasons male officers did not interact with female officers, including: there are not that many women on the police department, and there are fewer women that work patrol or on each of the shifts or in the sectors. Several of the more senior officers told me, "I don't think women should be police officers." Under these conditions, male patrol officers tended to interact most often with other male officers. Presented below are excerpts from interviews; these quotations typify

the on-duty patterns of interpersonal interactions of white male patrol officers with other white male officers.

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Mostly men. It's mostly men on this shift."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "Well third shift is predominately male white."
> Researcher: "Why is that?"
> Officer: "Well, it's a matter of shift preference. Women and blacks typically pick first and second shifts." (Officer Don, white male, 19 years seniority)

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Mostly men, not many women."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "Mostly white, because the way it is there are only three black males on this shift." (Officer Jay, white male, 5 years seniority)

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Men."
> Researcher: "Do you interact much with other women in the department?"
> Officer: "No, I don't have the opportunity."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "White, except Roger who is black." (Officer Dan, white male, 5 years seniority)

In interviews with two white male patrol officers, partners that worked the East side with three other white males and one white female, they discussed their experiences with same-race, same-sex interactions. Bear in mind, the East side of Midwest City has traditionally been all white, and is typically described by officers as being the racist side of town. In fact, the East side is the only sector that has no black officers assigned to it on any of the four shifts.

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Mostly men."
> Researcher: "Do you interact much with the women?"
> Officer: "When they're here. Mary is assigned over here. We just get with her on calls. You know, she's the only one who's assigned over here. There's just not a whole lot. There's not that many women on third."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"

Officer: "White." (Officer Brad, white male, 12 years seniority)

Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
Officer: "Again, it's all according to who's assigned where. If there's a female or two assigned to my area, of course I'm going to see them reasonably often and talk to them reasonably often. It's not uncommon to be on a call with another car and shoot the breeze before you leave, for a minute or two."
Researcher: "What is it like now on this shift? Is it mostly men or women?"
Officer: "It's mostly men. We've got one female in our area right now. I think third shift has been more of a predominately male shift. Day shift is probably the largest number of the females on this department."
Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
Officer: "No. Again for me, it's just as far as on-duty interactions. It's who's assigned with me and who's assigned to my area." (Officer Rick, white male, 9 years seniority)

While these two officers said they interacted with whichever officers are in their sector, I observed while riding patrol with Officer Mary that these two officers rarely interacted with Mary except to discuss a specific call to which they were both dispatched. Officer Mary told me that Rick and Brad tended to keep to themselves; they did not interact with other officers. When I rode with Officer Rick, he told me, "I think a lot of the guys don't or won't prefer to work with a female. They don't think it's a job for a female to be in." Most female officers recognize that some male patrol officers, especially older male officer, have this attitude; and many female patrol officers typically don't interact with officers that have these attitudes.

There was a small percentage of white male patrol officers that identified regular on-duty interactions with black or Hispanic officers. The percentage of cross-race interactions (approximately 37%) and cross-sex interactions (approximately 34%) were significantly less than same-sex and same-race interactions (see Tables 5-2 and 5-3). Excerpts taken from the interviews with patrol officers provide qualitative narratives of cross-race and cross-sex interactions.

Researcher: "Are the officers you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
Officer: "Men, no there's not too many women on the department and I don't hang out with any of 'em."
Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
Officer: "Josh's Mexican, Frank is Puerto-Rican/Italian mix, and Todd's Greek." (Officer Craig, white male, 5 years seniority)

Researcher: "Are the officers you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
Officer: "Men. But I interact with women, I have no problem with women officers. In our area we don't have too many women. I think we have maybe only one black in our area."
Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
Officer: "Mostly white because that's what is in my area. And it wouldn't bother me color wise, as long as I get along with the people I have to work with." (Officer Jake, white male, 5 years seniority)

Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
Officer: "Men. There's not that many women on the department for starters."
Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
Officer: "Mixed [white and Hispanic]." (Officer Bob, white male, 5 years seniority)

Black Male Cross-Race, Same-Sex Interactions. Data analysis revealed that for black males, most of the on-duty interpersonal interactions were with other males. In comparison to white male patrol officers, black male patrol officers identified regular interactions with both black and white males. In part, cross-race interactions were more common among black officers because only 20% of the Midwest Police Department is black, and 68% is white. Nevertheless, black male patrol officers tended to interact most often with other black males. In many ways, discussed later in this chapter, the department was racially divided such that white patrol officers tended to interact with other white officers, and black patrol officers with other black officers.

Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
Officer: "Men."
Researcher: "Are they of a particular race and culture?"
Officer: "No, predominately white because there's only three black officers on this shift as well as three black Sergeants, Aaron on fourth shift, and Jason and Jack with JET." (Officer Sherman, black male, 5 years seniority)

Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
Officer: "Both. I have two partners and one's a woman. There's only two women up here [Emily and Jessica] and I'm very close to them."
Researcher: "Are they of a particular race and culture?"
Officer: "No. It's just whoever's working the night." (Officer Roger, black male, 3 years seniority)

Summarized in Table 5-2 and Table 5-3 is the percentage differences in cross-race and same-race, cross-sex and same-sex interactions for each of the four race-gender groups.

Table 5-2. Who do you interact with on-duty? Are they mostly men or women?

Gender	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Male	17 (65.4%)	7 (58.4%)	3 (42.9%)		27 (56.3%)
Female		1 (8.3%)			1 (2.1%)
Both Males and Females	9 (34.6%)	4 (33.3%)	3 (42.9%)	3 (100%)	19 (39.5%)
Don't Interact w/ other officers			1 (14.2%)		1 (2.1%)
Total	26 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	48 (100%)

Table 5-3. Who do you interact with on-duty? Are they of a particular race or culture?

Race/Ethnicity	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Black		2 (16.7%)	1 (14.3%)		3 (6.2%)
White	16 (61.6%)	1 (8.3%)	2 (28.6%)		19 (39.6%)
Hispanic					0 (0.0%)
Mixed					
Black and Hisp.					0 (0.0%)
White and Hisp.	3 (11.5%)				3 (6.2%)
White and Black	5 (19.2%)	6 (50.0%)	1 (14.3%)	2 (66.7%)	14 (29.2%)
Black & Hisp.	2 (7.7%)	3 (25.0%)	2 (28.6%)	1 (33.3%)	8 (16.7%)
Don't Interact			1 (14.3%)		1 (2.1%)
Total	26 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	48 (100%)

White Female Cross-Sex, Same-Race Interactions. For white female patrol officers, most of their on-duty interactions were with white male patrol officers; yet they also reported a number of regular on-duty interactions with black patrol officers. These interactions are presented in the narratives below which were taken directly from the interviews.

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Mostly men. There aren't very many women. There's only one other woman on this shift now, I think, Jill."
> Researcher: "Do you talk to her quite a bit?"
> Officer: "Um, I do and I don't. I'll go and not talk to Jill for two, three weeks and then. . . . I haven't really talked to her since she's been gone [injured and placed on light duty]. You know, but when we talk it isn't really, it isn't police-related. Other than that, it isn't even police related, it's about other things. Anything to pass 8 hours' conversation in a car with someone." (Officer Mary, white female, 29 years seniority)

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"

> Officer: "Well I would say there's not that many women, but I hang out with Mary most. There's a couple guys that I'm friends with."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "White." (Officer Jill, white female, 17 years seniority)
>
> Researcher: "Are those you interact with on-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Well mostly men because they're mostly men on the department."
> Researcher: "Do you interact much with the other women in the department?"
> Officer: "Not really that much. Like the one that I was close friends to is, was a Sergeant. Again, she worked the detective bureau and she's retired [now]. And a couple of the secretaries. As for other police women, no I don't socialize very much."
> Researcher: "Is there a particular reason why you don't?"
> Officer: "I think they're too macho for me. A lot of them are, yea."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "Pretty much I socialize with the whites, and the blacks stick with the blacks. It doesn't have to do with not liking one another. It's just that the cultures are different. You live in a different area, you listen to different types of music, you hang out at different types of bars, you know, etc, etc. . . . So therefore, it doesn't matter what line of work you're in, that's the way it is." (Officer Kim, white female, 11 years seniority)

Only one white female patrol officer told me, "I don't interact with other officers. . . . I don't like them, they don't like me. They're boring, they're stupid, I don't know." (Officer Barb, white female, 20 years seniority) This told me stories of her experiences with gender harassment and gender discrimination which will be discussed later in this chapter.

White Female Cross-Sex, Cross-Race Interactions. In comparison, black female patrol officers identified most of their on-duty interactions being with both black and white, and male and female patrol officers. In an interview with one black female officer, she told me:

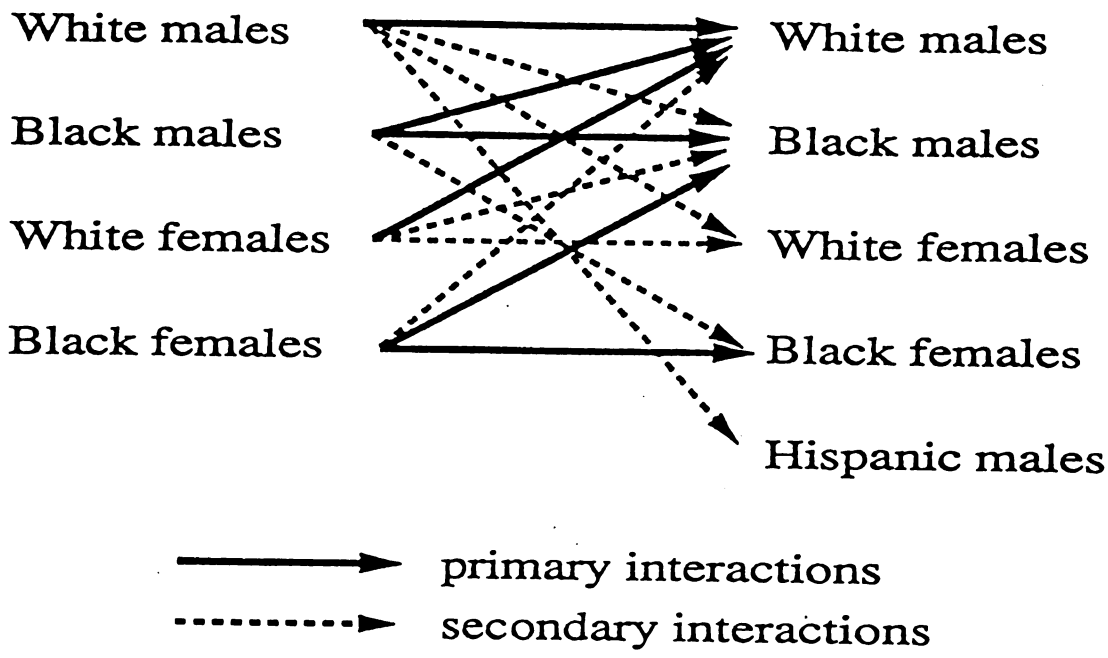
> Researcher: "Do you interact with mostly men or women while on-duty?"
> Officer: "Mostly, the people that I interact with are males, because that's all basically the department, there's more men on the department than there is

> female. So just by numbers I interact more with the men than I do with the females. Just because there isn't as many on this shift."
> Researcher: "Do you interact with all the females on this shift too?"
> Officer: "Oh yea, I get along with everyone and I talk to everyone. And those I feel are not too trustworthy I keep the conversation at a minimal. You know, how are you or something like that. Those I know a little better I might talk about family life or something like that."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "They're all black, but there is two white males, they are on our shift. The people that work up North on our shift, there's two white guys that work up there. For the most part, just because there's more blacks up there [the North end], I deal with more blacks than I do with others." (Officer Emily, Black female, 3 years seniority)

Analysis of both the field notes and interviews revealed obvious differences between the four race-gender groups in patterns of interpersonal interaction on-duty. Differences that have emerged thus far are evidence of women's and racial minorities' differing experiences within the organization and the occupational culture. These patterns of interpersonal interaction that exist within the organization, the race and gender divisions that have emerged in the data, existed to define individually and collectively the spatial officers for officers and each of the race-gender groups.

Figure 5-2 illustrates the primary and secondary interactions for each of the four race-gender groups. Primary interactions include interactions that are most frequent in numbers (see Tables 5-2 and 5-3) and/or interactions that the qualitative data reveals to be most important to each of the individual race-gender groups. Secondary interactions encompass interactions that are less frequent in numbers and/or that are not primary for the individual race-gender group.

Figure 5-2: On-Duty: Primary and Secondary Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction



In Figure 5-2 both black male and black female patrol officers identify primary interactions with two race-gender groups. Black male patrol officers identify primary interactions with white males and black males; and black female patrol officers identify primary interactions with black males and black females. Although some scholar would argue that a race-gender group cannot have primary interactions with more than one race-gender group, I do not believe that I can make the distinction for black male and black female patrol officers that their interactions with one race-gender group are more important than their interactions with another race-gender group, especially when an examination of the quantitative data reveals that the frequency of interactions with each of these race-gender groups are near equal. In addition, examination of the qualitative data reveals that for black male patrol officers the interactions with white males are equally frequent as those with other

black male patrol officers; this in part is because the representation of white males in the patrol bureau is almost four times that of the representation of black males. Yet black male patrol officers identify significant importance to their interactions with other black males, despite the limited representation of black males in the police organization. Similarly, for black female patrol officers, their interactions with both black male and other black females are equally frequent in numbers and in quality so that it is difficult to draw the artificial distinction and say that one is more primary than the other.

Once officers determine and shape their patterns of interpersonal interaction on the basis of race and gender, the police organizational culture is formed; the organization is no longer a neutral setting; its diversity and variation carries on over time through the divisions of space and the pattern of interpersonal interaction. The occupational culture than exerts its own influence to the point that the organization and the occupational culture begin to define the people in it. The racial and gender divisions that have emerged throughout the analysis of patterns of interpersonal interaction will continue to emerge throughout the dissertation, in the discussions of organizational commitment and attitudes towards occupational deviance.

Off-Duty Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction

Just as patrol officers face decisions when it comes to on-duty interactions, they do as well when it comes to off-duty interactions. "What are the main groups of police I will interact with off-duty?" "Are they mostly men or women?" "Are they of a particular race or culture?" "What types of activities will I engage in with

officers off-duty?" "How much off-duty interaction do I want to engage in with my coworkers?" If there is too much interpersonal interaction with other patrol officers off-duty officers may find themselves getting into trouble or at the center of rumors that are constantly spread throughout the department.

Off-Duty Interactions: The Main Groups

Black Female Patrol Officers' Off-Duty Interactions. Black female patrol officers identified a combination of their partners, officers they came through the academy with, and officers from Special Units, as the main groups of officers with whom they interacted off-duty; this is consistent with their on-duty interactions. In most cases, these were officers who found they had things in common. Officer Lisa spent 6 of her 9 years on the police force in Special Operations, and when I asked "What are the main groups of police you interact with off-duty?", she told me, "None from patrol; they're in the Special Units--Officer Martha and Officer Dilbert. . . . Officer Martha works the COPS program. My interactions with her are more personal, like discussion about family, not about patrol."

Another black female patrol officer talked about her off-duty interactions with her partner (a black male) and the other black female on second shift. As mentioned earlier, Jessica and Emily's friendship developed in the police academy, as they were the only two females that went through the police academy in 1991.

> "I don't. I interact with Officer Jessica and my partner [Roger]. Other than that, when I go home. I leave my job at home. And the only reason I interact with those two people is because, like I said, Jessica and I we had to go through those two weeks of the academy. We were the only two females in the academy out of 30 something men. We were the only two females. So we're like real close . . . and my partner, I've been working with him for over

> a year now so we're real close too. . . . Other than that I don't do too many things that involve the police department." (Officer Emily, 3 years seniority)

Among the black female patrol officers, none that said they did not interact with other officers off-duty. Black females were the only race-gender group that did not identify "no interactions" (see Tables 5-4 and 5-5).

White Female Patrol Officers' Off-Duty Interactions. In comparison, three (43%) of the white female patrol officers interviewed insisted that they did not interact with other police officers off-duty. Officer Barb, a white female patrol officer with 19 years seniority, stated, "I have nothing in common with other officers, and do not interact with officers off-duty . . . only my husband who's a Midwest City officer." Another white female patrol officer, one with 9 years on the force, told me,

> Officer: "None, none whatsoever. I don't associate with any police officers outside of the department. I put in my 8 hours and I go home, I forget about it as soon as I walk out the door. I'm no longer a police officer.
>
> It's just its boring, you know. I think that, if you could all get together and bitch about work, I've bitched about it all night to you, you can bitch and bitch and bitch, but it's never ending. I don't know, I just . . . there isn't anything impressive about hanging out with a bunch of cops anyways. I mean you lose a lot of respect for them when you're here; the last thing you want to do is see them drunk crying in their beer. That's not the place you really want to be is with a bunch of drunk cops."
>
> Researcher: "And why is that?"
>
> Officer: "God only know what's going to happen. Let's put it that way. It can get pretty bizarre, I don't know, blowing off steam and stress. . . . I don't know what it is. It keeps you out of trouble. I think I went once to choir practice and by 10:00 [a.m.] I was so trashed, and I left, and I think I had my Christmas check, my two paychecks. I stopped at a jewelry store and I think I spent about $5,000, and they [the jewelers] called me the next day. They said, "are you going to come in and pay this off, you know?" Pay off what, you know. Needless to say, I had like five diamond rings I didn't need." (Officer Mary)

Two other white female patrol officers explained why they didn't interact with other officers off-duty. In each case, it was a conscious decision on the part of the

officer; but at the same time, the female officers may identify experiences of exclusion and sexual harassment that gives them no other option but to exclude themselves from interactions with other officers, especially with male patrol officers, off-duty.

> "We [her and her husband] don't really associate too much over the years because my husband's a police officer here in Midwest Police Department. I'd say over the years we had a couple of different sets of friends that we've done things with. There's been a couple of people that we hung out with and they've lost their jobs for various reasons, so they're not in Midwest City anymore. We don't really do too much. No, we don't really associate too much. It's not like we're admit against it or anything, but this isn't our life like it is for a lot of people. We both like it, it's been a great living for us, and neither one of us I think bash our jobs and we're not bitter or burned out or anything, but it doesn't rule us, it's not our lives. We don't talk police work." (Officer Jill, 17 years seniority)

> "I don't hang out with Midwest officers off-duty. In the summer I do go motorcycle riding with some of the guys. It is different for women officers. You don't go to married guys' houses and pal around off-duty. The wives are so jealous that they see me as an enemy. Some of these guys' wives are so jealous that some of my male friends don't say "hi" to me when they're with their wives at these department functions. I razz them for 2 to 3 weeks afterwards. Other officers don't care though, and they will talk to me with their wives around." (Officer Sarah, 8 years seniority)

Female patrol officers that did report some degree of regular off-duty interactions with police officers identified their partners and those they met in the academy. There were also some white female patrol officers that identified police officers from other units like the detective bureau as those they interact with off-duty. One can see the similarities between the off-duty patterns of interaction with other officers and on-duty patterns; oftentimes it will be the same officers.

One white female officer identified interactions with another white female officer, with whom she is involved in a class action lawsuit against the department,

as those with whom she interacts regularly off-duty. Several of the female officers were currently involved in a lawsuit against the department for lack of a maternity leave policy and experiences with favoritism by administration in dealing with pregnant female officers.

White Male Patrol Officers' Off-Duty Interactions. In comparison to female officers, the main groups of officers with whom white male patrol officers interacted with off-duty were other patrol officers, mainly (85% of the time) those officers with whom they had things in common (e.g., sports and motorcycles) and/or their white male partner(s) or a specific group of white male patrol officers with whom they had worked at one time or another (38% of the time identified). Excerpts taken from interviews with several white male officers provides an illustration of the main group of officers with whom white males interacted off-duty.

> "The two guys that I hang out with the most, we got hired on the same time . . . and then generally when you come here, there's 300 people, you come here and you can find someone with your personality. I hang out with some people that have like 18 years on, when we first came here a couple of guys had like 20 to 25 years and I hung out with them, just because you have the same personality, even though they are 45 or 50 years old. They still like to have a good time going out and having a couple of beers. One group, the guys I hang out with, we're big into that." (Officer Ryan, white male, 7 years seniority)

> "None of the guys that work in my sector. We got a lot of guys that like to ride motorcycles, and I've had a Harley now for about 10 years." (Officer Jake, white male, 5 years seniority)

> Officer: "Probably for me the ones that are more athletic because I've been involved in some police athletic functions and competitions. Football, softball, that type of thing. I'm not a real a, a lot of times we were taught through the academy steer clear of having all police friends and nobody else type thing. It will get you in trouble. I guess for the good or for the bad, I kind of follow that rule because I don't tend to hang with police off-duty."

> Researcher: "Is that something that developed that way or was it that way when you first come on the department?"
> Officer: "No. For me I've always been that way. When I hired on, I was 25, which is in some people circles maybe a little bit older and a little more mature. Some of the guys that are 20 or 19, maybe in that sense. You know I already had a family, so maybe in that sense it kind of kept me in, away from hanging with the cops on the street." (Officer Rick, white male, 9 years seniority)

> "About the only one I do anything with on a regular basis is my partner, George." (Officer Ted, white male, 3 years seniority)

More often than not, patrol officers identified third and fourth shifts as the shifts on which officers got together after work regularly to do things. For example, fourth shift is made up of only seven officers; these officers work from 8:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m., which overlaps second and third shifts to cover the busiest time of the day. In the winter months, fourth shift officers may go the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) Lodge or go bowling after the shift; and the in the summer months, fourth shift officers may get together for barbecues after work. One white male patrol officer talked about his experiences with off-duty interactions when he worked fourth shift; however, since that time he has transferred to second shift, he got married, and his off-duty interactions have changed.

> "I remember when I was on fourth shift, a lot of the younger guys were on it together and that was a real good group, there was probably seven of us that hung out real tight. A couple black officers, a couple of white officers. Because of the time you start, you get off at like 4:00 in the morning, you would . . . work out right after work. In the daytime sometimes you'd get up at 10:00, go catch a movie together, [and] horse around almost the whole day because your wives are all at work . . . and then you go to work and sometimes it was fun." (Officer Jake, white male, 5 years seniority)

Third shift officers worked 10:45/11:45 p.m. to 6:45/7:45 a.m. Some of the third shift officers got together several times a week after their shift ended and they

typically went to the FOP Lodge or to one of the area bars to have some drinks. Some third shift officers also got together after the shift to go bowling, water skiing, or golf (especially in the summer months). Many of the patrol officers identified third shift as the one whose officers were very close knit, the shift whose officers got together and went out after work (e.g., choir practice). One officer explained,

> "On Wednesday morning we used to go bowling at the bowling alley, third shift would. We golf once in a while, after work in the mornings and stuff. I guess that's probably mainly white, I don't think. A couple, Officer Lucas and Officer Cameron [Hispanics], they both golf, but I don't think any of the blacks do." (Officer Bob, white male, 5 years seniority)

White male officers, especially younger, less senior officers, also identified those they went through the academy with as those they interact with off-duty. Two of the younger, white male officers stated:

> "Usually a good deal of them are out of the class I came out of. Those people, generally we all get along good together . . . have the same interests and everything." (Officer Dana, 3 years seniority)

> "When off-duty, like I said the guys I graduated with. I've become pretty close to a couple of them." (Officer Trevor, 3 years seniority)

Only three (11%) white male officers said they did not interact with other officers off-duty; several white male patrol officers explained why. These confessionals are descriptive enough to stand alone.

> "Work's work and fun's fun. It always works that way. I just don't interact with other officers. There's no specific reason behind it, it just doesn't happen. They don't carry the same interests that I do off-duty . . . do your job and you go home. [That way] you deal with your job a lot better. You come here and you deal with it. By hanging out with these people you're going to be constantly negative, negative, negative. Well why take it home with ya', than take it out with ya', with your friends, and then come back to work with it? After a while I would think that it's got to take a toll on your job." (Officer Rick, white male, 7 years seniority)

Officer: "I don't. For the most part, most of my coworkers and I get enough of them at work. I don't care to hang out with them after work."
Researcher: "When you first came onto the force did you hang out with officers off-duty?"
Officer: "Yea, I used to be on third shift and I used to go out every morning after I'd get off work, to get breakfast and hang out for a couple hours then go home and go to bed."
Researcher: "Was there a specific reason you changed your habits?"
Officer: "I changed shifts." (Officer Phil, white male, 5 years seniority)

"I don't get together with any ah, those guys have a choir practice every now and then. I figure if I went and did that I'm not real, I don't have a ton of willpower. I have a little bit of willpower, but if I got off with them guys I'll probably. . . I used to do crazy things when I used to drink. I used to like shoot my gun and stuff. So it's probably good I quit drinking. I just don't have any close friends on the department. I've done something with a few guys on the department. When I first came on I used to bowl with a couple of guys; we were on the same bowling team. Occasionally, every once in a while, I'll do something with one of the guys, but not too often. I have a lot of friends, I have more friends off-duty through our church and stuff." (Officer Ken, white male, 20 years seniority)

"I don't associate with other cops off-duty. I don't, um, I don't really talk to other cops off-duty. I have maybe two or three of them that I might talk to, but very rarely do I go to a bar, for reasons that when I leave here I try to forget. All the cops that get together next thing you know your talking shop and I try to forget this place." (Officer Todd, white male, 9 years seniority)

"Younger officers eat, sleep and breathe the Midwest Police Department. There's no life outside the department. I was probably the same way the first couple of years. I've always had friends outside the department. There's not too many older officers that are all MPD. Most have a pretty good balance. Its the same pattern, young officers come on and hang with officers, party with officers; they get in affairs and in trouble with officers." (Officer Don, white male, 20 years seniority)

Black Male Patrol Officers' Off-Duty Interactions. Among black males, about 19% (3) did not interact with other officers off-duty. Compared to white males, the reasons for not interacting with other officers varied slightly. Black officers expressed concern that their personal lives became the center of department rumors and gossip.

One black male officer explained why it is he did not interact with other officers off-duty.

> "I don't interact with other police officers off-duty. I mainly keep to myself. I don't smoke or drink. I'm very personal and private. I like to keep my life private. I found that sometimes other officers aren't as private and they don't keep what you tell them to themselves. If you tell them something, it may be around the department. So I don't interact with officers off-duty. I spend time with my fiance off-duty." (Officer Andy, black male, 3 years seniority)

In the Midwest Police Department, especially among officers in the patrol bureau, rumors were used to tease, harass and ostracize officers. Joking behavior and rumors were often used to diminish the category of women and blacks in policing. In police organizations, white males make jokes which tease out the sexual features of specific white and black female officers, or physically eccentric features of black males. Jokes are the symbolic and acceptable way of indicating that one particular woman or group of women has no legitimate place in policing. In some cases, rumors can be about who's sleeping with who, who's in trouble with administration, how officers failed to handle a call correctly or were involved in some type of activity. While doing my research I heard many rumors and many different versions of the same story. Luckily, however, being a female researcher in this environment, I did not have rumors spread about me. Oftentimes I had to be very careful how I handled situations and what I said to officers to protect myself from becoming part of a rumor.

One black male officer expressed a similar concern that he had at one time or another been at the center of rumors that were spreading throughout the department.

> "I used to interact with other officers off-duty but one day I found that my private life was becoming a part of department gossip and public knowledge." (Officer Dallas, black male, 3 years seniority)

On the other hand, among those black male officers that interacted off-duty with other officers, three (about 19%) identified their partners as those with whom they interact off-duty, and one (6%) identified those with whom he had things in common.

> "A lot of 'em are guys I came through the academy with. I don't really know. I know everyone down here . . . [however] as far as going out with a lot of the guys down here, you got to be kind of choosey on who you go out with. A lot of guys you don't want to get into trouble, a lot of guys are just like a magnet for trouble. That's the last thing you want. A lot of the guys that you go out with are guys that you've learned to trust, of your own age group, guys that like to do the same things you like to do. There's a bunch of the guys that I go out with like to go out, like to go out to the bar or whatever, are single and are probably the same age or pretty close." (Officer Ron, black male, 3 years seniority)

> "Right now it's very limited because the guys we used to go with and drink with we're all separated. So usually it's me and Sid right now, just my partner and ah, if we want to go bowling or the guys want to get together and barbecue . . . we might get together." (Officer Sherman, black male, 5 years seniority)

Different Types of Off-Duty Interactions

When black male officers were asked, "What do you do with the main groups of officers you interact with off-duty?", the responses varied from participating in sports activities together, working out at the gym, going out to the bars and the FOP Lodge for beers, and getting together to ride motorcycles.

Black Female and White Female Off-Duty Interaction. Analysis of the qualitative data showed that black females identified getting together with other black female and black male officers when off-duty to participate in sports (ski or bowl),

meet for dinner or lunch, or do things with their children. Officer Lisa identified the various type of off-duty interactions she engaged in with other Midwest police officers.

> "Go skiing and just meet up with the kids. One group I'm with, I was pregnant at the same time as about six other women in the police department, not all in patrol. And we meet . . . it's a wide range of women, to white, black, Hispanic . . . and we meet every year. We started when they were one, two, on up with the kids and we meet in different people's houses and have little parties for the kids. That's one group. Other ones I knew before I hired on, like Martha, I ran track with her before I hired on, so we have something in common. And we go skiing together, bowling, and we do things with our kids; she has a little girl about the same age as my daughter." (9 years seniority)

Unlike black females, white females identified getting together with white male officers when off-duty at the FOP Lodge, the bars, and while participating in sports (e.g., volleyball), as well as getting together for dinner. In separate interviews with several white female officers, they explained:

> "We go to basketball games and go out to eat." (Officer Judy, 5 years seniority)

> "In the summer I do go motorcycle riding with some of the officers." (Officer Sarah, 8 years seniority)

> "At FOP Hall there's always a lot of retirement parties, baseball games, [and we] sometimes meet up at some of the bars. In the past, I've met up with different people at the academy to play basketball or volleyball when I worked a different shift. But I haven't done that in a long time." (Officer Kim, 11 years seniority)

White Male Off-Duty Interactions. In comparison to black male patrol officers, analysis of the qualitative data revealed that 12 (40%) white male patrol officers got together with mainly other white male patrol officers when off-duty to work out/lightweights together and to participate in sports (e.g., basketball, golf, and

softball). In separate interviews with white male officers they discussed their interactions off-duty.

> "We play flag football, softball, and even up at the gym we shoot baskets." (Officer Rick, 9 years seniority)

> "Well, once in a while we'll go out to the shooting range and shoot, target practice. I go hunting a couple times a year with a couple of the guys. It's really basically about it." (Officer Don, 19 years seniority)

> "[We] go to sporting events, play sports together, and lift weights." (Officer Trevor, 3 years seniority)

Another 30% of the white male patrol officers identified going to the bars and getting together at each others' houses as the main type of off-duty interactions they engage in with other officers. Some of the other white male officers also identified vacationing together, getting together to ride motorcycles, and working on construction projects together as the main types of off-duty interactions.

> "Just about anything. [My partner George], his wife, and my fiance are about the same age; they went to school together. We go out to dinner, go to the movies. We live right next door to each other. We work on our cars together, we do everything together." (Officer Ted, 3 years seniority)

> "Some of the guys, we go ride [motorcycles] and mainly what you do is go out and have beers. That's probably the main thing. Like during the day, you'll meet up because most people's wives work, so you'll run out and do errands with them. During the day the wives are gone so we generally hang out together during the day. One officer he lives on the lake, so a lot of us spend a lot of time over there. Everyone's got something that the other likes to do, so we go hang out at their houses and do that." (Officer Ryan, 7 years seniority)

> "Dan helps me on construction, [and] I occasionally go out to have a beer with Calvin." (Officer Peter, 5 years seniority)

Only three (10%) of the white male patrol officers interviewed stated that they did not interact with other officers off-duty (those officers were discussed above).

Black Male Off-Duty Interactions. Lastly, when black officers were questioned as to what type of activities they engaged in off-duty interactions, 43% identified going to bars and going out to eat together as the main type of off-duty interactions. One black male officer explained:

> "Go out to eat, go out to the bar, take little trips together. Like we went to a jazz concert over the summer. That's the kind of things that we do, go out, go to the bar and have a good time." (Officer Ron, 3 years seniority)"

Black male patrol officers also identified getting together to participate in sports (e.g., softball, basketball, and bowling) as common forms of off-duty interaction as well as getting together at each other's homes for cookouts and to play cards, and vacationing together. In separate interviews with several different black male patrol officers, they identified the various types of activities they engaged in with other patrol officers.

> "We hunt, snowmobile together, and go on weekend trips up North on occasion." (Officer Trenton, 5 years seniority)

> "We play cards, go to bars, have cookouts, everything." (Officer Booth, black male, 5 years seniority)

Among black male patrol officers, three (19%) stated they did not interact with other patrol officers off-duty. I also found that, like black female patrol officers, black male patrol officers made frequent references to their children and the time they spend together with their children when they are off-duty. In many cases, black officers put aside off-duty interactions with other patrol officers in order to spend time with their children. These references to children and off-duty time spent with children appeared to be less frequent among white male and white female patrol

officers. One black male officer identified how the time with his children took priority over his off-duty interactions with other patrol officers.

> "Off-duty sometimes we go out and have a drink or something . . . [however], the day they want me to go with them I'm normally tied down with my kids because that's the only time I have time to see them, is on my days off. If I was living with my kids the whole time it probably wouldn't be that big a deal. I'd probably go out more." (Officer Jones, black male, 3 years seniority)

Frequency of Interactions Off-Duty

Responses to the question, "How often do you get together with officers off-duty?" varied by race and gender. Just as I found with on-duty interactions, white male officers interacted more often than did female or black officers. The frequency of off-duty interactions for white males were most often daily to once to several times a week. In comparison, both black and white female and black male patrol officers interactions were less frequent (once a month or less) or non-existent. Presented below are several excerpts that were taken from interviews with each of the four race-gender groups. I present these excerpts here as descriptive narratives that can stand alone to reveal the variation in frequencies of off-duty interactions.

> "Not very often, not even once every two months. It's not something that's regular. Like I said, most of the stuff I do is with my family." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

> "Once a month. I talk to Vicki and Cathy on the phone at least 2-3 times a month." (Officer Judy, white female, 5 years seniority)

> "Now since I've got a family it's not real often, maybe once every two months. Before that it was usually at least every pay day [Thursday, every other week], like every pay day we'd all meet at one of the bars." (Officer Kim, white female, 11 years seniority)

> "Everyday Peter and I get together [Peter is helping him build his house]. In the summer I get together with Calvin every other day." (Officer Dan, white male, 5 years seniority)
>
> "Probably, 2-3 times a week. I lift with my ex-partner every day. I see him every day; we've become real close. There's a couple of friends I graduated from the academy with, we try to get together and hang out, or get together with their fiances, girlfriends, wives and go out after work." (Officer Trevor, white male, 3 years seniority)
>
> "Sometimes it's almost like everyday . . . especially during the holidays everybody gets together quite a bit. Just the guys. Our group of guys, the wives don't hang out with us that much because they get together and act like little hens and talk about us. We don't do that; that causes too many problems." (Officer Ryan, white male, 7 years seniority)
>
> "Before I married maybe twice a month, and now not at all." (Officer Frank, black male, 5 years seniority)
>
> "Maybe once every couple months, twice every couple months. I'm just not a real big, I'm just not a real big fan of hanging out with police officers. I don't know if it's 'cause I work with 'em or what." (Officer Roosevelt, black male, 7 years seniority)

A number of the male officers, mainly white males, identified participation in sports activities (e.g., bowling, basketball, and softball) which were played once a week.

There were some female officers that identified regular interactions with other female officers over the telephone. These telephone interactions took place daily to several times a week. Males did not identify telephone calls as interactions, not to say that men don't communicate over the telephone with each other, but that women use the phone more frequently than men to interact. This may be because females are often tied to the home and their family on days off and after work.

Responses to the question, "How often do you interact with other officers?" varied not only by race and gender but also by age and number of years on the police

force. Officers with more than 8 years on the police force tended not to interact as much with officers off-duty as did officers with less than 5 years on the force. Data revealed that less senior, white male officers tended to interact either daily or once or twice a week, while officers with more years on the force reported less frequent off-duty interactions (once a month or less).

Segmentation of Race and Gender Groups in Off-duty Patterns

This last section on off-duty patterns of interpersonal interaction examines the degree of segmentation or division between each of the four race-gender groups in their off-duty interactions. The narrative and Tables 5-4 and 5-5 provide evidence of the frequency of same-race and same-sex, and cross-sex and cross-race patterns of interpersonal interaction when off-duty. Figure 5-3 uses a series of arrows to show the interactions between each of the race-gender groups. The figure demonstrates the primary and secondary off-duty patterns of interaction.

White Males' Same-Race and Same-Sex Interactions. Data analysis revealed that white males' primary interactions patterns off-duty were with other white male patrol officers. There were secondary interactions with minority officers, but these were more often with Hispanic male patrol officers over black male patrol officers. If white male patrol officers did interact with black males off-duty, the interactions were identified strictly as those that resulted as a part of playing on some departmental or city sports team.

In addition, male officers did not identify interacting with female patrol officers off-duty. More often than not, cross-sex interactions were identified by white females, but not by white males.

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with off-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Predominantly men, no question."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "No, not really. From an athletic standpoint it is kind of mixed." (Officer Rick, white male, 9 years seniority)

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with off-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Men."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "White. I don't interact with blacks 'cause that's the way it is. They take it out on me. I don't make an effort." (Officer Darren, white male, 18 years seniority)

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with off-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Officer-wise its usually male. There's a couple female officers that hang out with the same crowd. But it's mostly the men and their wives or girlfriends, or both."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "No, not by choice. I can say right now that, like the group I told you about that I go out with, it's almost exclusively white I think. And that's not that I can tell by any conscious choice on their part either, it just happens." (Officer Harry, white male, 5 years seniority)

Black Males' Same-Race, Same-Sex Interactions. Analysis of the interviews revealed that the majority of black male patrol officers engaged in primary interactions with other black males. Some black males did identify secondary interactions with white males and black females.

White Females' Same-Race, Cross-Sex Interactions. In comparison to males, white female patrol officers engaged in regular off-duty interactions with white male officers. Only one female identified another white woman as the one she interacted with off-duty. Also, only one female identified blacks as those she interacted with

off-duty. These can be considered secondary interaction patterns because there are so few female patrol officers that interact with other female patrol officers and black male patrol officers. In an interview with one white female officer she told me,

> Researcher: "Are those you interact with off-duty mostly men or women?"
> Officer: "Mostly men. Now that was before I was married and after."
> Researcher: "Are they of a particular race or culture?"
> Officer: "As I said, it's the white stick with the whites and the blacks stick with the blacks." (Officer Kim, 11 years seniority)

Black Females' Same-Race, Cross-Sex Interactions. Black female patrol officers identified strictly black female and black male patrol officers as those with whom they interacted off-duty (see Tables 5-4 and 5-5).

Table 5-4. Who do you interact with off-duty? Are they mostly men or women?

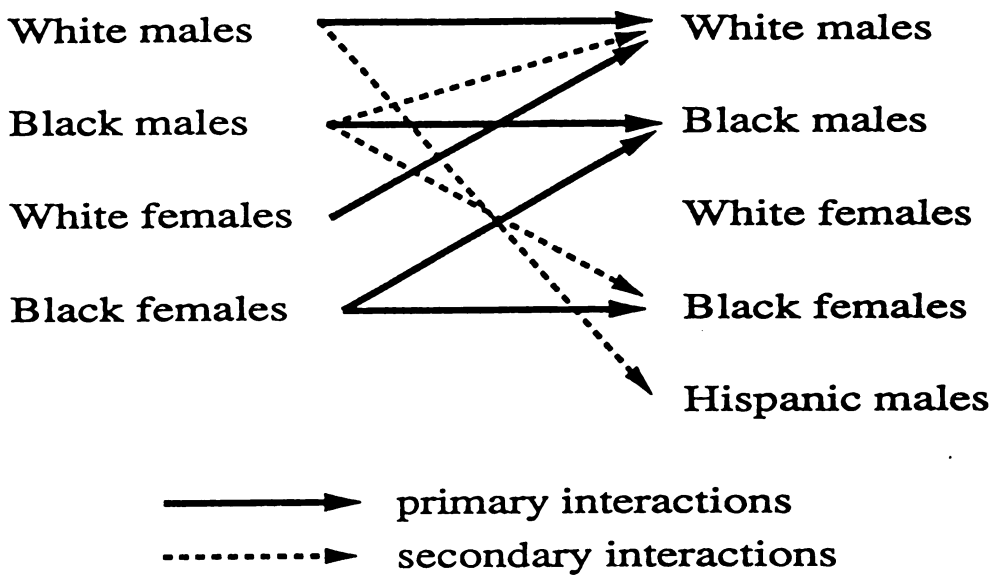
Gender	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Male	21 (80.8%)	6 (50.0%)	3 (42.9%)		30 (62.5%)
Female		1 (8.3%)			1 (2.1%)
Both Males and Females	2 (7.7%)	1 (14.2%)		3 (100%)	6 (12.5%)
Don't Interact w/ other officers	3 (14.5%)	5 (41.7%)	3 (42.9%)		11 (22.9%)
Total	26 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	48 (100%)

Table 5-5. Who do you interact with off-duty? Are they of a particular race or culture?

Race/Ethnicity	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Black		5 (41.7%)		3 (100%)	8 (16.7%)
White	18 (69.3%)	2 (16.7%)	3 (42.9%)		23 (47.9%)
Hispanic					0 (0.0%)
Mixed					
Black and Hisp.					0 (0.0%)
White and Hisp.	3 (11.5%)	1 (8.3%)			4 (8.3%)
White and Black	2 (7.7%)	1 (8.3%)	1 (14.2%)		4 (8.3%)
Black & Hisp.					0 (0.0%)
Don't Interact	3 (11.5%)	3 (25.0%)	3 (42.9%)		9 (18.8%)
Total	26 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	48 (100%)

Figure 5-3 illustrates the primary and secondary interactions for each of the four race-gender groups. In Figure 5-3, black female patrol officers identify primary interactions with two race-gender groups. Black female patrol officers identify primary interactions with both black males and other black females. As I explained earlier with Figure 5-2, I do not believe that I can make the distinction for black female patrol officers that their interactions with black males are more important than interactions with black females, especially when an examination of the quantitative data reveals that the frequency of interactions with each of these race-gender groups are near equal. Examination of the qualitative data reveals that black female patrol officers identify significant importance to their interactions with other black female patrol officers, despite the limited representation of women in the police organization..

Figure 5-3: Off-Duty: Primary and Secondary Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction



Examination of Figure 5-3, in comparison to Figure 5-2, shows that the number of cross-race and cross-sex interactions significantly decreased off-duty. For instance, black officers' interactions with white officers decreased significantly, and vice versa, when compare off-duty interactions are compared with on-duty interactions. For black female officers, interactions with white officers disappeared completely. One must wonder, to what degree are the cross-sex, cross-race interactions that happened on-duty merely a result of being placed in the same car, in the same sector, or on the same shift? Otherwise, interactions tended not to go beyond that. One white female officer told me:

> Officer: "There's just certain type of, there's just different cliques. I'd say that the black people hang out together . . . the white women go with the white men. That's how I see it."

> Researcher: "Do you interact most with the black men?"
> Officer: "It's not like I have anything against any racial group down here. But no, not really because there's only a couple on nights. But no. Unless we have to handle a call or something, that's different than you come together. You have to work together. That part is there. When push comes to shove they're there. But as far as like just meeting up to say how's the wife and kids, that type of thing, no." (Officer Jill, 17 years seniority)

Similarly, in an interview with one white male, he explained to me:

> "There are a lot of black officers I get along with fine [on-duty]. I won't ask them to go have a beer with me and my friends though because I don't think they or I would feel very comfortable with it." (Officer Peter, 5 years seniority)

The analysis of the patterns of interpersonal interaction exposes the diversity and variation that existed not only between each of the race-gender groups, but within each of the race-gender groups. Not all white males experienced the organization the same, nor did they participate in the same patterns of interpersonal interaction. In fact, the patrol bureau was described by some officers as made up of many cliques-- cliques based on personalities, shift work, partnerships, race and gender. Officer Mary described the cliques that are formed on third shift:

> "Third shift is, I think it's kind of like we're all on a sinking ship, you know, so you kind of cling together. It's kind of like, you know, misery loves company. But you can see the groups, like Officer Bob and Officer Cooper, they're kind of on they're own. They talk to Officer Erving, and he's kind of on his own. Then, like, um, Radley and Sherman, they're off on their own, but just because, I don't know, Radley he's really friendly and everything but Sherman kind of, they just stay off on their own, nobody bothers them, you know. And Rick and Brad, they're off on their own, they don't interact with anybody else. But they, everybody accuses them of telling or doing something. You can see the groups I'm sure just being here. There's Matt and Keith and Darren, and you know the cool guys--Ernie and Larry, Sal and Matt, and they all kind of interact, you know they're the group, that's the boy's club, the fraternity." (9 years seniority)

Officers face a series of challenges as they engage in the process of defining their place within the organization and the occupational culture. These include the

private challenges of defining the nature of their emotional bond, regulating the role of sexuality, dealing with the impact of race and gender inequality, and the challenge of presenting the authenticity of the interactions to relevant audiences in the public arena.

Divisions of Race and Gender in Police Departments

Another important link in this analysis of space and patterns of interpersonal interactions is patrol officers' attitudes toward separation and division, based on race and gender. The racial and gender divisions create the social organization of the police department and the occupational culture, and re-create the divisions of space and patterns of interpersonal interaction that have already been examined. The relationship between the variables becomes cyclical in nature. In other words, race and gender divisions are constructed and maintained through the behaviors and attitudes of police officers.

The race and gender divisions that existed within the organization became a process that was negotiated among police officers. However, white male, white female, black male and black female patrol officers negotiated from the basis of different resources, different historical contexts, and different experiences within the structure and culture of the police department; and each race-gender group did not necessarily contribute equally to the definition of race and gender that prevailed in a situation.

In keeping with the interactive model and style of analysis I have used thus far that examines and presents the realities and experiences of each of the four race-

gender groups, I will use that here to analyze the race and gender divisions within the Midwest Police Department. Do such divisions exist? In what way do each of the race-gender groups define these divisions? Differences and similarities in the content of racist and sexist stereotypes and separations will emerge throughout this analysis.

The Reality of Racial Division

The Midwest Police Department's Affirmative Action program, based on an agreement between the Midwest Police Department and the federal government, established goals and a timetable for hiring and promoting women and blacks in the police department. Today, the department has met those goals. However, recent gains in black occupational status in the Midwest Police department (i.e., increased numbers of blacks and women at all ranks), consequentially aided by Affirmative Action, have created anti-black prejudice. As a result, black officers experience barriers to inclusion at each stage of employment--recruitment, entry, evaluation, and promotion. Two, black officers endure a variety of negative racial stereotypes. Last, black officers are assigned to a "token status" position. As "tokens" black officers are typically viewed by white co-workers as incompetent simply because they received their jobs through affirmative action. The experience of black officers will be revealed here in a situational analysis of officers' attitudes towards racial divisions.

During the interview, patrol officers were asked, "Is there a racial division in this department?". Findings revealed that approximately 80% of the 36 officers that were asked this question responded "Yes, there is a racial division" (see Table 5-6).

Each of the four race gender groups clearly recognized that racial division existed. One hundred percent of white females and black females recognized the division. Only a small percentage of white male and black male officers did not feel there was any type of racial division in the police department. These officers tended to be younger officers with only three years on police force. These younger officers simply responded that they had not experienced it; therefore, it did not exist.

> "Personally, I've never experienced it. I really haven't experienced it because I've never had a problem with any black officers around here and I don't think any of them have ever had a problem with me. No one's ever said anything." (white male, 3 years seniority)

> "Um, I don't know, I haven't experienced it. There probably is, probably about as much as anywhere else. But I personally don't have a problem with that. I can't speak for any other shifts because I'm never around. Third shift is, there's three or four black guys, Madison, Sherman, and Radley, and I get along great with all of 'em." (Officer Erving, white male, 5 years seniority)

> "Some people say that [there's a racial division]. Like I get along with everybody. People that they say are supposedly racist and things like that, I have no problems, I haven't had any problems as far as race goes and things like that. I've gotten along with everybody. People say they have racial problems and stuff like that but I haven't seen it. I haven't seen anything." (Officer Roger, black male, 3 years seniority)

Table 5-6. Is there a racial division in the Midwest Police Department?

Racial Division	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	15 (78.9%)	8 (72.7%)	4 (100%)	2 (100%)	29 (80.6%)
No	4 (21.1%)	3 (27.3%)			7 (19.4%)
Total	19 (100%)	11 (100%)	4 (100%)	2 (100%)	36 (100%)

Those officers that responded "Yes, there is a racial division in the Midwest Police Department" had their own opinion as to what instigated that division or where the division originated. Those opinions varied more significantly by race than by gender; white females tended to express similar attitudes as the white males did towards the racial division.

White Perspective. Some of the white male officers had adopted an attitude that "we [the officers] are not all 'blue' anymore; rather, we are separated by race and gender differences." Some white male patrol officers had gone so far as to blame black officers and the current black administration for the racial division that existed in the police department.

Presented below are excerpts from several interviews with white male patrol officers. These excerpts exhibit the attitudes that were held by white male patrol officers on the nature of the racial division.

> "This department used to be a Fraternal Organization. You would never hear a cop badmouth another cop to civilians. It is not the case anymore. Probably because of racism, the 'us' against 'them' mentality--the 'us' being the police and the 'them' being the city (i.e., administration--mayor, chief, supervisors). It shouldn't be that way, we should be working together." (Officer Mick, white male, 9 years seniority)

> "It used to be we were all 'blue', but that has changed over the past years. Today there is black-white-female segregation." (Officer Peter, white male, 5 years seniority)

> "I think the department's divided into many separate groups. I don't think we're united as we should be. I think there's a separation between the women, blacks and whites." (Officer Don, white male, 19 years seniority)

> "It always has been a battle. If there's a white supervision or administration blacks feel offended or not getting fair treatment. And then it is reversed onto whites if there is a black administration." (Officer Peter, white male, 5 years seniority)

Under the Affirmative Action programs, blacks have been encouraged to enter policing, a traditionally white-dominated occupation. In turn, a number of factors have worked together, including both Affirmative Action and the increased numbers of blacks in the Midwest Police Department, to create a racial division in the department. As a result, the structural aspects of the situation in which black officers interact with white officers and supervisors has been altered.

In efforts to address the unique concerns and issues of black officers in the police department, black officers organized themselves into what used to be called SAAP, the Society of Afro-American Police, which is now called AAPL, the Afro-American Police League. AAPL is an organization that exists alongside the police union, the Midwest Police Officers Association (MPOA); however, many white officers identified AAPL as standing separate from the FOP or MPOA, despite the fact that many black officers were members of MPOA, and some of the FOP. Many white officers feel threatened by the organization of AAPL and by the organization of black officers. White officers argue that they don't understand why black patrol officers need their own union when they are represented by the MPOA. At one point, white patrol officers petitioned to establish a white police officers' union, though that went no where. One white male officer, like many, told me:

> "There has been some separations of race because the black officers have done that. They want to have their own Society of Afro-American Police League, its called AAPL. They want to have their own union, [but] there's no reason for them to have to do anything different." (Officer Dennis, white male, 5 years seniority)

Another white male added:

"There's a lot of officers that believe AAPL is totally unnecessary and all that they're doing is dividing us. So that causes even more division. They're making a separate group, you know all themselves. So they're dividing themselves away from us. That does cause division I guess." (Officer Bob, white male, 5 years seniority)

Some white officers got nervous and felt threatened by the organization of black officers. One white male officer expressed his concern that "AAPL cuts into the pie and tries to influence the union." Many white officers did not understand why black officers need their own organization.

Black officers, however, explained that when the Afro-American Police League was formed in the early 1970s, at which time it was called Society of Afro-American Police (SAAP), it set out to get promotions for blacks. Today, it continues to deal with issues of importance to black police officers in the Midwest Police Department, issues that blacks do not feel are being addressed by MPOA, the white police officers' union (i.e., minority promotions, issues of racism and discrimination, organizational issues of concern to black officers). AAPL is a place where the black police officer's voice can be heard and taken to the Chief of Police or the Mayor. AAPL also tries to bring to the forefront issues of importance to the black community. AAPL does not exist to work against the MPOA, like so many white officers believe, but rather attempts to address issues and concerns of black officers that the MPOA does not address.

Two white male patrol officers expressed their opinions, which were similar to many of the other white male officers--that blacks officers are to blame for the racial division in the department.

Officer: "Well, as far as I know they get along pretty o.k. There's always

. . . the black and white thing. For some of them [officers] it bothers more. That's why I don't have a liaison job now is because they have given all the last liaison jobs to minorities, the last four or five people to go down there. There's only been one white person picked to go down there.
Researcher: "Why is that?"
Officer: "It's a favoritism thing, it's the favoritism thing. There's a black Sergeant that runs it and she picks the blacks she likes." (Officer Ken, white male, 20 years seniority)

"I think basically...the whites are always prejudiced and we're always being accused of that. The way I see it is that they're [black officers] not just as much or not more prejudiced towards us as we are to them." (white male)

Essentially, white male patrol officers did not recognize that they have an nearned advantage or unearned privilege of being a white male, which cannot be ıken away from them. However, they felt that it is being threatened by the in-reased numbers and organization of blacks in the police department, and that by reating this racial division they could attempt to create yet more obstacles and arriers to black inclusion and acceptance in what was traditionally a white male ominated organization and occupation.

Black Perspective. Black patrol officers, both male and female, recognized nat a racial division exists within the police department. For black officers--the inority group that experienced racism and prejudice in this white-dominated ccupation and organization--the racial division meant something different than it did white officers. Unlike white officers, black officers were reluctant to openly iscuss the racial division, especially personal experiences with prejudice and racism. n the excerpts below, black officers did discuss the racial division in the police epartment.

"There are those who are outright racist and those who hide it. With a black administration white officers feel they are being screwed; with a white admin-

istration, blacks feel they are screwed." (Officer Roosevelt, black male, 7 years seniority)

"In 1977 when I first came on, it used to be mainly older white male officers who ran the shift; there were very few young or black officers. I didn't deal with much discrimination when I first came on because I kept to myself and didn't say much. I sat and watched in those days. Today, it's a smoke screen as far as I'm concerned. There's people out there I prefer not to talk to. I'm sure there's people that would prefer not to talk to me. We've got a union [the MPOA] that's pullin' one way and pullin' against another way. You know, you got the union, you got black and white in the union, but you got the union fighting against Affirmative Action. And I'm hostile about that, I don't want to pay no union dues if they're trying to get rid of somethin' that's gonna give me a chance for promotion if it ever comes to it. And there's no unity, no unity at all as far as I'm concerned, within the department. And it makes for bad morale, bad attitudes." (Officer Madison, black male, 17 years seniority)

"I feel if I went on a call I would be backed up by anybody in the department because a lot of officers really do like the job. As far as having a friendship with these people or really even caring for people, there's a lot of them that just don't care for each other for different reasons--whether it's racial, culture, religion, whatever...gender too." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

The forms of racism or prejudice that came from white officers oftentimes iffered when directed at black men and black women. One black female officer told ne, "I don't have problems as far as race. Blacks tell me, whites don't want blacks lown here. They feel differently because they're black males. They say that its lifferent because you're a black female." (Officer Jessica, 3 years seniority) This may e in part because there are differences in the stereotypes of women and blacks. Women are stereotyped as tender, warm, quiet, and gentle, while blacks are tereotyped as aggressive, rebellious, rude and loud. These differences in social tereotypes produce some variation in the types of discrimination directed at black vomen versus black men (Smith & Stewart, 1983).

Black officers were also reluctant to discuss AAPL, what it is doing, who is in , and so on. I assumed that this could be related to my race and the concern that would report back to the MPOA about AAPL's activities.

Some of the younger, less senior black officers have adopted a position toward AAPL similar to that of whites officers. Among younger, less senior black officers his was nothing more than an attempt to be accepted within the occupational and rganizational culture. One mixed race (white/black) male officer with 3 years on the olice force explained:

> "I feel that an organization like that, that's going to only allow blacks, that's promoting racism, that's promoting separation, and I'm not with separation. I don't care if its a black-white thing, it's just like being in the KKK. They want separation. And that's the impression I get from AAPL. I want it to be peaceful and I want everybody to get along. There's a lot of guys down here, I like everybody down here. As a matter of fact, I didn't even join the FOP because AAPL presented the thing, 'if you join AAPL you're black, if you join the FOP you're white', you know, and I'm not either [this officer had a white mother and a black father]. I don't want to fit into either one of those categories, you know. I'm my own person and I don't want to be more for this side than for this side, or more for this side than for this side. So I stay neutral." (Officer Ron, 3 years seniority)

Likewise, a black female patrol officer with 3 years on the department told me how she feels about AAPL. She stated,

> "I think it, the two groups they have, the Afro-American Police League and the FOP, I think there are some problems there. Like when we were in the academy they, the Afro-American police League, came to the academy and they were telling us about the Afro-American Police League and somebody white raised their hand and said, 'Well, can I join?'. They said, 'Well, you can, but you can't vote, or you can't do anything.' They said, 'Why?'. They said, 'Because you're not black.' And then, they said well what if Lucas wanted to join, he's Hispanic. He could join but he couldn't vote because he's not black. And I think, and then they were saying, I think that kind of really started off a few problems because when they came in they said, 'You're going to notice once you hire on, that the people that you think are your friends aren't going to be your friends when you hire on.' So we all kind of got

> together, and went downstairs, the blacks and the whites, and the Hispanics and we said, 'We're not going to let this happen. They're saying this is going to happen, but we're going to stick together and try and be close as a class.' So we try and stay pretty close. We try to support each other."

She went on to explain,

> "The people in the organization [AAPL], and this is no lie, they're the ones stabbing you in the back. And when I first hired on they [AAPL] were telling me, 'The whites don't want you down here.' And I'm like, well I get along fine with 'em. And people were telling me, like Officer Smith (who works traffic) is prejudiced. And I said, 'Well, he doesn't seem like it to me. He talks to me, he's very nice to me, we play, we have fun.' They told me Officer Ryan was, and Sgt. Mullaney . . . and she was the one that told me to go the EEO. We're pretty good friends. I listened to her and I did go. Somebody saw me talking to her, a black guy saw me talking to her; he went back and told of the black Sergeants. He calls me at home, he has never called me at home before, he's telling me you really shouldn't be hanging around her, she's prejudiced. I said, if she's prejudiced, well she sure has fooled me because she's very nice to me, every time I see her, even before this started happening, she was nice to me, always talking to me, holding a conversation with me. I have nothing against her, if she is prejudiced, she's not showing it to me so I don't have a problem with it. You know, so . . . and it was some members of AAPL telling me this. So I guess they don't really care for me because I'm going to do what I want to do, and I'm going to get along with everybody I can. As long as they like me I don't have a problem with it, if they are prejudiced, oh well. If they don't act like it at work I don't have a problem with it." (Officer Jessica)

The combination of these attitudes among younger, less senior black officers and the hesitancy or reluctance among black officers to discuss the racial division may partly explain the 27.3% of black officers that respond "No, there is no racial division in the police department."

The Racial Division: Some Implications. The racial division in the Midwest Police Department posed problems. Oftentimes when officers should have joined together to address problems within the organization or on the street, they were divided by race. For instance, the police department is currently short approximately

5 officers, it is severely understaffed for the number of calls and seriousness of calls t receives on a daily basis. Many patrol officers complained that they were overworked and understaffed. In efforts to address the understaffed situation, the President of the MPOA, with the agreement of the other MPOA official epresentatives, decided to place four billboards throughout the Midwest City. These illboards basically said, "We're Dangerously Understaffed. The Midwest Police Officer's Association. Call 439-7895 (the Mayor's office)." While many white officers nd the MPOA supported the placement of these billboards, many black officers and AAPL did not. Black officers who were members of AAPL complained before a city council meeting that MPOA did not allow officers to vote on placing the billboards around town and should not have made this decision alone. Black officers felt that hese billboards sent a message to the community that they did not want to be sent.

The racial division also appeared in another incident, where a racist letter was written by a white female police officer and posted throughout the police department. This letter attempted to defame and demean the character of Police Chief Dennison, a black male. The letter was written as a reaction to an article that was published by two female Sergeants, identified in the article as members of AAPL, that appeared in the Editorial Section of the Midwest Journal. (See Appendix B for the two letters that were written. The first is the letter that was published in the Midwest Journal, and the second is the letter of defamation that was posted around the police department.)

These two examples demonstrate that a certain amount of anti-black feeling was commonplace among white police officers, both male and female. In fact, the

racial division was a daily reality in the Midwest Police Department that showed up not only in physical distancing between the races and patterns of interaction, but at times in the form of blatant prejudice and racism and subtle forms of harassment and discrimination.

Bear in mind, I am not saying that all white officers in the Midwest Police Department were racist or prejudiced, but that those white officers that were created an environment that was at times hostile and undesirable to black officers. Furthermore, not all black officers experienced the racial division in the same way. Some black officers, especially those who were younger and had less seniority, seemed to ignore or shrug off the racial division or the racist and prejudiced attitudes that were directed at them; while other officers felt attacked. Nevertheless, a certain amount of anti-black feelings was commonplace within the occupational and organizational culture of the police department.

While the racial division was a major topic for patrol officers, especially white patrol officers, the current degree of prejudice that black officers experience was underestimated. It was underestimated in part because many people think of white resistance to racial change only in terms of raw, overt bigotry. This is misleading. Majority-group resistance to racial and ethnic change in policing today is generally more subtle, indirect, and disguised. Because of the subtlety and indirectness of resistance, these modern forms of prejudice and avoidance are hard to detect and eliminate. Often blacks are the only persons in a position to draw the conclusion that prejudice is operating in the workplace. Whites have usually observed only a subset of the incidents, any one of which can be explained away by a nonracial

account. Consequently, many whites remain unconvinced of the reality of subtle prejudice and discrimination, and come to think of their black co-workers as terribly touchy and overly sensitive to the issue, and in some gains at an unfair advantage.

The Reality of Gender Division

There is also a gender division within the Midwest Police Department. It is often downplayed by patrol officers in comparison to the racial division, but a gender division does exist. One male officer stated, "the gender division is not as flagrant as in the past. Now the older officers are gone and the younger officers are better."

When patrol officers were asked, "Is there a gender division in this department?", approximately 70% of the 37 officers that were asked this question responded "yes, there is a gender division." Table 5-7 shows that the four race gender groups recognized that a gender division does exist. Only a small percentage of white male and black male patrol officers reported that there is no gender division in the police department. These officers tended to be younger, with only three years on the police force. As with racial divisions, these younger officers assumed that because they did not experience a gender division, it did not exist.

> "Years ago it was real bad, but now I don't see any problem. At least nothing I'm aware of. There's female and male officers at FOP and a few black officers." (Officer Peter, white male, 5 years seniority)

> "I haven't seen it. There probably has been at one point or another, but I haven't seen it." (Officer Dennis, white male, 5 years seniority)

Table 5-7. Is there a gender division in the Midwest Police Department?

Gender Division	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	12 (60.0%)	8 (72.7%)	5 (100%)	1 (100%)	26 (70.3%)
No	8 (40.0%)	3 (27.3%)			11 (29.7%)
Total	20 (100%)	11 (100%)	5 (100%)	1 (100%)	37 (100%)

When the qualitative data were analyzed, white males and black males tended to express slightly different attitudes toward females. Black male officers' attitudes towards white females included a degree of racism as well as sexism. I found that black male officers tended to express stronger attitudes of sexism towards white female patrol officers in comparison to black female patrol officers. Black officers were less likely to interact and form friendships with white female officers. In comparison, black male officers engaged in more frequent interactions and formed closer friendships with black females. Black male officers shared a common bond or experience with racism. One black male officer explained where the gender division stems from.

> "[The gender division] basically [stems] from the majority . . . that's just like the racial thing. You've got smaller number of those [women], so the larger number attacks them. There's always complaints about them for the simple fact that they want the same thing that the men got. They want to be able to come here and have a job just like [men] have a good job. A lot of times they do, the guys feel as though the women might be gettin' a little better deal--you know, like the light weight jobs. There's not too many women on the street patrolin'. The one's that are are on first shift, which is the light shift." (Officer Madison, 17 years seniority)

Another black male patrol officer explained,

"Just as black people have to prove themselves in a society that's predominately white, so do women have to prove themselves. They have to prove themselves when they go on a job. I wonder if she can lift that, she can't lift that I bet. . . ." (Officer Ted, 3 years seniority)

White Male Perspective. Many white male patrol officers contend that females cannot handle patrol work, so they should not be in policing. Presented below are excerpts from interviews with several white male patrol officers. These excerpts exhibit the attitudes toward women in policing that are held by many white male patrol officers in the Midwest Police Department. Notice that the attitudes do not necessarily change as officers have less seniority on the police force.

"I think in my profession, I think women, I think they have a place in law enforcement. I think as far as patrol work, that's generally speaking, there are a couple of women that can handle themselves very well. Generally, I think men are very uncomfortable working with a woman going into serious situations where you have to react quickly, where you have to physically break up bar fights or any large disturbance." (Don, 19 years seniority)

"I'm sure guys resent ladies working here. Probably can't handle the load. I know some aren't forceful, some of them don't pitch in, I've seen some of them hide in cars. I've seen some of them go right down in the dust with me too. There's four women that work on this shift. One's lazy because she's never worked the streets, she's a big suck ass. One is fragile; every time she touches something she breaks something. Rosanne hasn't done shit in the 17 years I've known her, but she's a hell of a dispatcher. Mary, I guess she's all right." (Officer Stephen, 19 years seniority)

"I think most officers, most male officers don't care that much for female officers. If they get in a hairy situation out there and there's a lady back up there, they would not feel as secure as if it was a guy. Especially when somebody gets physical." (Officer Calvin, 9 years seniority)

"If you wanted my gut honest opinion, I don't feel most women have a place in the police department. I don't feel most women can do the job. Some women can, some women can't. I just don't feel that most women should be in the police department. There's places for women in the police department, like juvenile department, identification bureau." (Officer Ken, 20 years seniority)

> Officer: "I think a lot of guys don't or won't prefer to work with a female. They don't think its a job for a female to be in."
> Researcher: "What about the females' reactions to the men?"
> Officer: "I think they can feel the resentment and they know, I think they probably know who the ones are that don't want to work with them. So they won't, there's ways to go around not having to work with them." (Officer Brad, 12 years seniority)

Essentially two things occur for females that enter into police organizations: (a) male officers must come to some accommodation with female officers, and (b) the female officers must adapt to a male workplace and to male officers who define their relationships with one another in part by their differences from and objectification of women (Padavic, 1991).

Black Female Perspective. Black females have a slightly different experience with the gender division than do white female patrol officers. Black female officers tend to experience sexism on two levels: in the context of white male officers' racism and sexism, and in the context of their shared oppression with black male officers. While black male officers share the oppression of racism with black females, black male officers may oppress women with their sexist attitudes. Similarly, black women's friendships with white women is affected by white women's implicit and explicit endorsement of racist practices and attitudes directed at black women (Smith & Steward, 1983).

Several black female officers talked about their experiences with sexism and racism. One black female officer explained,

> Officer: "We try to stick together so to speak, the women. But you're going to feel literally discriminated against in the department whether you're a white female, a black female, whatever, because men, even today in the '90s, think they're suppose to protect a woman and they still feel . . . it's just a thing. I think it's embedded in men, that we're just not as strong as they are, we can't

> do as much as they can do. And that's gonna always be there . . . even out in Special Operations, they try to protect me, they try to watch out for me and if something went wrong they're all swarming around me. You know, that kind of thing."
> Researcher: "Does that make you feel good sometimes?"
> Officer: "It makes me feel good sometimes, but I want them to show me that they think they trust me enough to help them also, if they need help. That I am there if they need me. And that eventually came out when you prove yourself. You always got to prove yourself. I don't care what you are--female, males, anything--in this type of job another officer has to know that if I need somebody she can handle herself, or he can handle himself." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

Men in policing will often use paternalism as a mechanism to control women in policing. Some forms of paternalism are appreciated by women (as stated by Officer Lisa). Other forms of paternalism are disliked, for example, when male officers provide unsolicited advice on a call or when officers push women aside from a fight--things they would never do to another male officer. Some female officers also reported instances when male officers did not back them up. One instance occurred when a white female patrol officer was attacked by a male suspect when she attempted to arrest him. Her male partner did not jump in to help her, which resulted in severe back and neck injuries to the female officer. As a result, she was forced to take a desk job in the identification bureau.

White Female Perspective. White female patrol officers identified experience with sexual harassment and gender discrimination as well as ongoing conflicts with some male officers, supervisors and administrators. I will allow the women to speak for themselves here, to describe their experiences with racial division in the police department.

> "A few newer officers have ego problems . . . but not as much as the older guys. As a female officer I had problems with a couple of the older guys

when I first came on the force. One guy took me back to the station after being on the road for an hour because his wife saw me in the car with him and got mad. They pulled me out of the car. I don't think supervision should have done that." (Officer Judy, 5 years)

Officer: "Even after 20 years they're still incredibly narrow-minded about women."
Researcher: "Even younger officers coming into the department?"
Officer: "At first I saw a difference in younger officers. I thought they must of had moms that work. But when they're here and they interact with the older ones with that macho mentality, they get just as bad as the other ones. At first though they're not so bad." (Officer Barb, 19 years)

"[There are] some bad male-female relations. I had to come out here and prove myself. I can do any job any man can do. But you get sick of proving yourself and it's what's the point, they still look at you the same way, you're still a stupid female, you know. It depends on how it suits them, how they look at you for the day. You know there's some that can look at you as an officer, but when it comes down to it, they still look at you like a female. I mean the sexual, the sexual discrimination that goes on is so rampant and it's so obvious....it's disgusting actually. But that's the way it is. And that goes with the mentality of the department; its never going to change. I mean, I just don't think it's ever going to change, not here in Midwest City. I think it goes hand-in-hand with the mentality of what we have here. I just don't see the reflection of that ever changing here." (Officer Mary, 9 years seniority)

Officer Mary has become seemingly comfortable with men after working on the department for 9 years. She knows how to "roll with the punches," so to speak, and she refuses to take offense to anything. Mary is strong, tough, and proud of her ability to be accepted by the so-called "cool group," the "male fraternity" of her shift. She violates the feminine stereotype by being strong, speaking her mind, and covering for her male partners that engage in sexual acts at the motel or frequent the strip bars while on-duty. In exchange, male patrol officers do not treat her with the protective paternalism they extend to other females. She has adopted a masculine persona characterized by her willingness to tolerate men's point of view (even when it is hostile to her), her rejection of femininity, and she criticizes women who weren't

tough enough or who slept their way onto the department.

Without deeply analyzing what constitutes femininity, I define femininity as "socially-constructed and socially recognized notions about traits appropriate for women (Padavic, 1991)." Whether male officers perceive a female officer as "feminine" or "unfeminine" will partly determine how they treat her. One female officer told me,

> "A lot of the men don't like to work with a female. I try not to take it personally. [I find however] working with a female partner, you can relate more the same, and I think a lot of times . . . I've had a lot of good male partners . . . [but] maybe they feel like they can't relax and do manly things. You know, go after women, burp or fart, whatever they want to do in the car when they work with a girl. So, I think its better, I think, for me personally, I'd just as soon work with a girl." (Officer Jill, 17 years seniority)

Male officers who strictly oppose working with female officers are probably in the minority; however, it is not uncommon for men to engage in mild forms of harassment such as verbal teasing, and practical and sexual jokes. For instance, a white male officer hung up a Playboy centerfold in the roll call room and put a little note on it that read "this looks like so and so." The white female that experienced this one instance of sexual harassment told me:

> Officer: "They've done some really terrible things to me. I don't hold a grudge, but I'm just really weary of. . . . I'm just back from a stress leave of a year off because of the things that they did to me down here, so it's like they're really wary about saying anything to me."
> Researcher: "Why did they target you?"
> Officer: "I think mine is because of the lawsuit I had against the city. There's 13 women that have a lawsuit against the city and I think they target, and I'm an easy target because you know you want to belong or whatever and I'm a woman." (Officer Barb, 19 years seniority)

Female patrol officers also identified a division that exists among female patrol officers. Female patrol officers explained that the division among female

patrol officers stems from personality conflicts and female competitiveness. One female patrol officer explained why she doesn't interact much with other women. She expressed the viewpoint that female officers become so keyed into wanting to belong that competition between female officers often occurs. She said, "it's not cool to be friends. You want to think you were the exception."

Summary

Findings presented in this chapter demonstrate that the police organization and its occupational culture is experienced differently by black male, black female, white male, and white female patrol officers. Even more importantly, the findings reveal that a police organization is made up of multiple cultures. Analysis of the social and political dynamics, as revealed through patrol officers divisions of space and patterns of interpersonal interactions, clearly demonstrates that within the patrol bureau, these multiple cultures form around shifts, sectors, race and gender, and personality. Most patrol officers will find their place within one or more of the occupational cultures that exist within the police organization; however, there are patrol officers that are excluded from participation in the occupational cultures. Exclusion may be based on race and/or gender or personality. It is evident that the occupational cultures of a police organization are a powerful force that shapes patrol officers patterns of interpersonal interaction, the divisions of social space, and patrol officers attitudes towards racial and gender divisions within the organization.

CHAPTER VI

OFFICER COMMITMENT TO THE ORGANIZATION

Police officers are internally differentiated by the level of commitment they have to the organization. Very broadly, commitment implies that a person gives something extra to the organization, above and beyond that which is required for participation. It is a process by which individual interests become linked to carrying out patterns of work-related behavior; it is a process of attitudinal and behavior commitment. Mowday, Porter and Smith (1982, p. 26) identified the difference between attitudinal commitment and behavioral commitment. Attitudinal commitment is a mind set, it focuses on the process by which people come to think about their relationship with the organization--the extent to which their own values and goals are congruent with those of the organization. Behavioral commitment, on the other hand, is the process by which individuals become locked into a certain organization, and how they define and deal with this experience (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982, p. 26). Undoubtedly, the theory underlying commitment suggests that attitudinal and behavioral commitment are closely related (i.e., officer commitment should be a reliable predictor of behavior); at times it is difficult to separate the two. In this study, both attitudinal and behavioral commitment, as they relate to each other and to the broader issue of organizational behavior, are examined to further advance the understanding of commitment (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982).

The findings presented in this Chapter, based on the analysis of data from the Organizational Commitment Questionnaire, were used to identify how patterns of

interpersonal interaction shaped officers' commitment to the organization, how officers defined commitment to the police department, and to what extent patrol officers (attitudinally and behaviorally) were truly committed to the police organization. I assume that those persons who are committed to the organization will share the same goals and values of the organization, will exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization to actively work towards goal attainment, and will express a definite desire to maintain organizational membership.

The Effect of Interactions on Organizational Commitment

Oftentimes, interactions both on- and off-duty will affect an officer's commitment to the department. Mowday, Porter and Steer (1982) maintained that high levels of interaction among organization members of the group are likely to lead to greater social involvement in the organization, and in several studies social involvement has been found to be positively related to commitment. Chapter V of this study revealed the different types of on-duty interactions patrol officers engaged in and how those interactions varied with the race and gender of the officer. Field observations further revealed that during regular on-duty interactions patrol officers engaged in discussions about administrators and supervisors, gossiped about other officers, and exchanged frustrations and discontent about departmental policies. On one ride along, during a regular interaction between two patrol officers in a parking lot, I listened as the two officers complained about the quality of the in-service training they receive once a month (in the last training class on precision driving, they were lectured to for three hours seatbelts and the seatbelt policy), frustrations

they have with the new pursuit policy (they criticized the person who made up the policy, saying he has never been in a chase) and other restrictions they have placed on them.

Findings revealed that when officers sensed that their coworkers maintained negative attitudes toward the organization, such perceptions "rubbed off" on fellow officers. This can lead to decreased commitment to the organization. In fact, officers that are partners with someone who is not committed to the department or to policing may take on a similar negative attitude. Officer Karen, a white female with 5 years on the police force, explained, "If I work with a partner that doesn't care, I don't want to look like I care. And if nobody else cares, why should I?"

The shift an officer works can also affect one's attitude. One officer with 9 years seniority explained:

> "After working third shift for so many years I was taking on a bad attitude. I just didn't care anymore. My uniform was dirty, I would come to work with a hangover, and I didn't care whether I left a poor impression with the citizens or not. I had to leave third shift."

Officers that express commitment to both the police department and to policing will oftentimes request not to work with or be put into a partnership with officers that they know lack commitment to the organization and to the job. One officer explained that younger, less senior officers are better to work with because they do not have the negative attitudes toward the city and the police department that older, more senior officers have. Younger, less senior officers often want to come out and work hard.

So in an organization where high numbers of employees are dissatisfied with the work environment and work experiences, where employees lack commitment to the organization, high levels of social interaction among employees are likely to lead to increased negativism and decreased commitment to the organization.

A Descriptive Interpretation of Organizational Commitment

Policing traditionally has been an occupation that attracts blue-collar, working class persons (Roberg and Kuykendall, 1993). As was revealed in Chapter IV, officers entered policing for different reasons--some had family members in policing, some went to college to be a police officer, and others just happened into the profession. Under the circumstances, some patrol officers see policing as a career and others see it as a job. Several objectives of this chapter are to reveal how officers differentiated between policing as a job or a career. Why do some patrol officers see policing as a job and others see it as a career? What is the relationship between officers that view policing as a job or a career and officer commitment to the department? And what does commitment to the department mean to patrol officers?

Policing: A Job or Career?

When officers were asked whether they see policing as a job or a career, 66.7% of the black female patrol officers, 57.1% of the white female patrol officers, and 50% of the black male patrol officers identified policing as a job. In comparison, 29.2% of the white male officers identified policing as a career (see Table 6-1). White males (57.5%) are the race-gender group that most often identified policing

as a career; however, there was a moderate percentage of white female (42.9%) and black male (41.7%) patrol officers who also identified policing as a career. There was also a percentage of white male and black male patrol officers that identified policing as both a job and a career.

Table 6-1. For you, is policing a job or a career?

Category	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Job	5 (19.2%)	6 (50.0%)	4 (57.1%)	2 (66.7%)	17 (35.4%)
Career	15 (57.7%)	5 (41.7%)	3 (42.9%)	1 (33.3%)	24 (50.0%)
Both Job and Career	6 (23.1%)	1 (8.3%)			7 (14.6%)
Total	26 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	48 (100%)

In the officers' words, a job is something that is temporary. A job is something that you go to but do not really enjoy. You put your hours in, you get by with the minimum that you can during that time, and you do not bring it home with you. A job is something you do just to collect a paycheck in order to have money to pay the bills.

A career, on the other hand, is long-term and permanent. A career is something that you are devoted to and take pride in it. Often, you invest a lot of time and energy into a career, and it is something you enjoy doing. In a career you keep learning, you keep improving, and you work hard to meet certain goals. A career also provides the opportunity for advancement, either up the ranks or in

assignment. A career provides for a decent living and it provides you and your family with health insurance, life insurance, and a retirement plan.

Two younger, less senior officers spoke of their past experiences with working jobs, and they explained what it is about policing that makes it a career.

> "I had a job after high school where I worked in a grocery store and stuff like that and then you come into a place like this where you've got the potential to make $45,000 a year, you've got health plans, pension plans, and all that, and there's job security here. That's a career." (Officer Ted, white male, 3 years seniority)

> "I've had many jobs; I worked at a hotel as a housekeeper, that's a job. And I hated it, I hated going there, I hated being there, but I needed the money to help pay my way through school so I did it. But this is something that I like, it's something becomes of me. I enjoy this, I enjoy this occupation." (Officer Emily, black female, 3 years seniority)

A portion of the patrol officers that were interviewed initially thought that policing was going to be a career for them, but because of the nature of the job and various workplace circumstances (that will be discussed throughout this chapter), policing has become nothing more than a job. Some officers, especially younger patrol officers, told me stories of their disillusionment and disappointment with policing. One white male officer with 5 years seniority explained, "It's a job. It started off being my career but it turned into a job. It's just not what I thought it would be."

A majority of the patrol officers I spoke with expressed frustration and disappointment with the police department. This frustration and disappointment stemmed from the lack of opportunities for advancement, inadequate equipment and manpower, deterioration of the physical structure of the police department, and job-related experiences. In this police department, dissatisfaction translated into negative

attitudes, not only towards policing, but also towards city officials, police administrators and the police department. For some officers, these frustrations and negative attitudes have turned policing from being a career to nothing more than a job. One white male patrol officer who had 9 years on the police department told me,

> "Sometimes it just feels like a job, other times, you know. I think when you first get into it, it's a career thing, you really want to go out and do it. Then there's days I just look at it as a job and other days I feel like I want to go out and do more. You know, a lot depends on how the department's running. It's kind of hard to have a career-oriented attitude on this department because of the shortage of manpower, the dissension among the ranks, and morale real low. It seems like you don't have anyone in city hall or higher up in the department, the brass, that backs you up." (Officer Calvin)

Similarly, a white female patrol officer, also with 9 years on the police force, explained why it has been difficult for her to make a career out of policing.

> "They don't allow it to be a career. There isn't any advancement, there isn't any input, there isn't anything that you can be a part of. You know there's no programs to follow through here . . . poor supervision . . . you know they don't have any master plan. They can claim this community policing all they want; it's a hype to get grants out of the government, just like they do everything else and they don't use them properly. This can't be a career, there isn't anything, we don't do anything to be particularly proud of . . . as far as them needing you, or you being a part of it, or if they care about you. They don't, so. If you try and fool yourself, and think they do, you're only going to end up with a real disillusionment and that's where you get all the drugs out of here, and all the emotional problems, and the bitterness." (Officer Mary, white female)

These attitudes and disappointments were not unique to white patrol officers; black patrol officers (both male and female) expressed similar attitudes. Presented below are the responses of one black male and one black female patrol officer to the question, "For you, is policing a job or a career?"

"I used to think I could make this job a career. But now it's really just a job, but I put a little more into it than working. I'm going to do my job type attitude, because I'm getting paid for it and everything. And I don't hate it, sometimes I don't like it. But I don't see it as a career as when I first hired on. I thought this could be a really career type thing, but now it's just a job. You don't find a lot of officers that make it a career anymore. I'm really disappointed in it." (Officer Lisa, 9 years seniority)

"To me it's a job and I try to do the best I can at it, as far as being a career. I don't think there's a whole lot of room for advancement." (Officer Madison, 17 years seniority)

Committed or Not Committed?

Despite the differing perceptions of policing as a job or a career, summary statistics in Table 6-2 show that 34 out of 48 (78%) of the patrol officers interviewed claimed that they were committed to the Midwest Police Department. Comparisons across each of the four race-gender groups revealed that 83.3% of black male patrol officers, 71.4% of white female patrol officers, 66.7% of black female patrol officers, and 65.4% of white male patrol officers felt they were committed to the police department. While the majority (65.4%) of white male patrol officers said they were committed to the department, a significant percentage (34.6) claimed they were not committed to the police department. This percentage is much higher in comparison to each of the other race-gender groups.

Table 6-2. Do you feel your committed to the department?

Commitment	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Committed	17 (65.4%)	10 (83.3%)	5 (71.4%)	2 (66.7%)	34 (70.8%)
Not Committed	9 (34.6%)	2 (16.7%)	2 (28.6%)	1 (33.3%)	14 (29.2%)
Total	26 (100%)	12 (100%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	48 (100%)

It is not uncommon for patrol officers to express commitment to policing, to the community, and to other patrol officers over their commitment to the police department. In the officers' words, commitment to policing means commitment to making things better in the community, commitment to citizens, commitment to responding to calls and doing the job. Commitment to policing includes presenting a positive image to citizens.

One patrol officer spoke of her commitment to other patrol officers.

> "Commitment to the department really is null. Commitment to other police officers, that's not including the whole department or the city, that's a different story. I feel committed to the other police officers because it's not their fault the way things are. It's not their fault I feel the way I feel about the city or the department. So I'm there for them, period. So, as far as the department, I don't have too much good to say about it, other than individual people. And as far as the city, I don't have very much good to say about the city or each mayor we get . . . because they're all playing the same game." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

Simple statistics presented in Table 6-3 demonstrate a relationship between patrol officers' view of policing as a job or a career and officer commitment. As the table shows, patrol officers that identified policing as a career were more likely to be

committed to the department than were patrol officers that identified policing as a job. In addition, 85.7% of patrol officers that identified policing as both a job and a career indicated that they were committed to the police department. At this time, there appears to be no direct relationship between the number of years on the police force and whether patrol officers are committed or not committed to the police department.

Table 6-3. Policing as a Job or a Career by Commitment to the Department.

	Commitment		
Category	Committed	Not Committed	Total
Job	9 (52.9%)	8 (47.1%)	17 (100%)
Career	19 (79.2%)	5 (20.8%)	24 (100%)
Both Job and Career	6 (85.7%)	1 (14.3%)	7 (100%)
Total	34 (70.8%)	14 (29.2%)	48 (100%)

When patrol officers were asked, "What does commitment to the police department mean to you?", each of the four race-gender groups emphasized slightly different components of commitment and to police duties in an effort to describe or characterize what commitment to the department meant to them. First, each of the three black female patrol officers described their commitment to the department using similar terms. To them, commitment meant being honest, being prompt and on time, and giving the department their all. These black female officers also said

their commitment to the department was to serve and protect the citizens of the community.

Black male patrol officers, like black female patrol officers, emphasized upholding the duties they were sworn to uphold, doing the job they were hired to do (i.e., protecting and serving the citizens of the community), and treating people in the community with kindness and respect. For many black officers, commitment to the department included working to protect the reputation of the Midwest Police Department.

> "I feel that I know I'd never do anything to embarrass the Midwest Police Department. And I know that I come out here and do my job. I'm not a real over anxious or real gung-ho type police officer. But I do what's required of me to do, and I do provide the service, and I let the people know that I am out here for them. I don't know what extreme I will go to for the police department, but I feel like I have given a honest day's work (Officer Roosevelt, black male, 7 years seniority)

> "I'm going to do my job, I'm going to do what I have to do. I'm not going to sluff around and uh, you know this job out here is a patrol job. My job out here is to listen to the radio calls and back up other officers, to protect and to serve. That's the commitment, that's what I plan to do, that's what I do. As long as they're going to take care of me, I'll do what I'm supposed to do." (Officer Sherman, black male, 5 years seniority)

Similarly, white female patrol officers described commitment to the department as doing the job they were hired to do, and presenting one's self favorably to the public. Unlike black patrol officers, white females described commitment to the department as following the rules and regulations of the department.

Last, white male patrol officers described commitment to the department as being "professional". Professionalism to them includes performing the job properly,

doing the best job possible and doing what is asked of them. Commitment to the department also means dedication, honesty and loyalty. It means standing behind the department and fellow officers and upholding the policies of the department.

Analysis of the data reveals contextual differences in the way in which each of the four race-gender groups reveal what commitment to the police department means them. These differences and the importance of this variation will continue to emerge throughout this chapter. Despite the differences, approximately 70% of patrol officers sampled said they were committed to the police department, while 29% report they were not committed to the department. In addition, 58.2% of the patrol officers interviewed said that their commitment to the department had decreased since they first came to the police department (see Table 6-4).

Table 6-4. Do you think your commitment to the department has increased, decreased, or remained the same since you came to the department?

Change in Commitment	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Increased	4 (20.0%)	4 (40.0%)		1 (33.3%)	9 (20.9%)
Decreased	17 (60.0%)	4 (40.0%)	2 (40.0%)	2 (66.7%)	25 (58.2%)
Remained the Same	4 (20.0%)	2 (20.0%)	3 (60.0%)		9 (20.9%)
Total	25 (100%)	10 (100%)	5 (100%)	3 (100%)	43 (100%)

During both the interview process and the participant observations, patrol officers of both races and genders identified a multiplicity of organizational and

workplace problems that have caused their commitment to decrease since they first came to the department.

Personal importance to the organization was an identified problem. Patrol officers have been without a contract for two years, and the city is making no agreements to bring about a settlement. One officer explained,

> "I'm very disappointed that they can't come to an agreement with contracts, and I'm not talking about pay raises. I'm just talking about agreements. They agree on nothing here. It's a power struggle, it's every issue. Right now it is a power struggle. You got a mayor and a chief that doesn't like the union president. I believe it's just two people that don't like each other, so how can we outdo each other. Who can put the screws to who first and that's just what's happening. We're [patrol officer's] the ones that pay for it. This is what you got going on." (Officer Rick, white male, 7 years seniority)

Organizational dependability was a second problem identified by officers. Patrol officers believed city officials and police administrators were not committed to the patrol officers; so patrol officers believed they could not depend on the police department and police administrator to "back them up" and look after their interests as patrol officers (e.g., patrol officers that are injured or shot at on-duty are expected to go back right back to work). One officer told me,

> "I'm disappointed that the city doesn't back us up more in certain situations. I mean they say they do, and they try to look like they do, but we ask for minor things and they act like it's a big deal for us to ask for things--more cars, newer cars, newer equipment, more police officers to make it safe out here." (Officer Craig, white male, 5 years seniority)

A third problem identified was "nit picking" by supervision over matters that had no great relevance to police work (i.e., not wearing a tie or hat), and nonsupervision over matters that have a bearing on police work (i.e., officers not

answering radio calls and not dealing with calls correctly the first time so that other officers have to go back).

Officers identified a fourth problem--inconsistent discipline. Officers maintained discipline was handed down for minor forms of misconduct (e.g., sleeping on-duty, crashing patrol cars), while more severe forms of corruption went unpunished (e.g., illicit drug use, illegal gambling, illegal use of your revolver). Also, officers insisted that fellow patrol officers who were fired, dismissed, or suspended received punishments that were too harsh in relation to their actions. Since January 1990, 16 out of 85 of the grievances filed by patrol officers against the city (18.8%) were directly related to the issue of improper and/or excessive discipline.

Failure to reward for a job well done was yet another problem identified by officers. Patrol officers complained they were not rewarded for jobs well done. Patrol officers claimed the only time they heard from police administrators and supervisors was when they did something wrong (e.g., it has been four years since awards have been handed out, but the department is quick to act on discipline).

Sixth, officers identified role conflict as a problem. The police department has adopted a strictly reactionary model of policing, under which patrol officers are expected to do nothing more than react to the calls they are dispatched to by radio dispatch. Patrol officers are discouraged from initiating contacts with citizens or initiating car chases. Aggressive law enforcement tactics and practices are labeled as deviant by the police department. One officer expressed his belief:

> "I feel they're fooling the community on this community policing. The community policing officers really do not do much, you know. They don't go out walking around on foot too much. I feel that the patrol bureau is the

> backbone of the police department; you're always going to need it and you're always going to have it. And I feel they should back the patrol bureau a little bit more than they do the community policing." (Officer Trevor, white male, 3 years seniority)

Seventh, officers related experiences of harassment from coworkers and supervisors, such as being placed at the center of departmental rumors, sexual and racial remarks, sexual and racial jokes, and harassing behaviors from fellow officers. For example, after one of the black female officers finished her shift, after working late on a call with her black male partner, one of the shift Sergeants said to her, "Do you mind if I check your neck for hickeys?"

Eighth, racial issues and divisions were identified as problems by white and black, male and female patrol officers. They expressed frustration and discontent with the state of the racial division in the police department. Many white officers felt they were reversely discriminated in hiring, assignments, and promotions because of Affirmative Action. White officers also believed they faced harsher disciplines when they were working under a black administration. In comparison, black officers were frustrated working in what tended to be a hostile and segregated work environment. One officer told me,

> "The racial issue comes into play with the black city leadership and a white union leadership. It appears that every decision, every statement has to in some way be racially motivated. I don't think that's the case, if they could just get together and discuss the problems and everybody bend a little bit. They don't want to do that. I think that's where most of the problems lie, with the department making some changes to make some [black] officer's happy, feel more comfortable." (Officer Trenton, black male, 5 years)

Ninth, officers related residency policy as a problem. Officers hired after 1985 are required to establish residency within the Midwest City limits. Many patrol

officers are displeased with this policy because they cannot live where they want to live.

> "It's like every time I go out I've got to take my gun with me. I worry about people I've arrested following me home. Just being out front mowing the lawn and having somebody drive by recognize me. That's not fair. You put in your 8 hours and you can never get away from it. Like I said, I go home and I got worked up once by a guy six houses up. I didn't even know the guy. And he comes down and wakes me up because he knows I'm a police officer and he, all he wanted to do was tell me he's got tracks through the backyard in the snow. And you know, I felt sorry for him and he's scared and I tried everything I could to be nice to him, but that's simply ridiculous. There's not, I don't deserve, I did my 8 hours today. If you need the police call the police, don't walk up the street to my house." (Officer Erving, white male, 5 years seniority)

Tenth, officers face the problem of inadequate equipment. Patrol officers complained the equipment they have is outdated and inadequate. For example, some patrol cars have over 100,000 miles, new patrol cars with 50,000 miles are not taken care of, many patrol cars have been crashed and dented, equipment on patrol cars does not work (e.g., alley spot lights, emergency flashers, shotgun releases, headlights), and patrol cars are equipped with outdated shotguns.

In addition, patrol officers complained the patrol uniforms were impractical (for chasing suspects and climbing fences--shiny buttons on the uniform shine in the dark and create a cross type target across their chest) and ill-fitting (uniforms do not fit well and officers keep tearing the uniforms getting in and out of the car and while performing police duties). Patrol officers' rain gear (long black trench type coats) are also impractical (i.e., they are so long that officers cannot run or draw their guns, they are not marked with any symbols or wording stating the wearer is a police

officer, and they are black which makes the officers hard to see if they are directing traffic or on a call).

The department jail, which was shut down during the 1980s by the Occupational Safety and Health Association because the cells did not meet federal size regulations to hold arrestees or persons with outstanding warrants has not been replaced, one officer explained,

> "The conditions that we work in, like the holding area, you saw that today. You know, I don't like that at all. I think that can be a lot better if the mayor or the city council decides to put a little bit of money into it. And we can open up a jail again. And lot of these little misdemeanors, like that lady we arrested today, we could put her in jail, you know, until the weekend was over or somethin'. Instead of just saying, "Here, I'll show you, here's your ticket, show up in court." (Officer Ron, black male, 3 years seniority)

Officers also felt the police department is technologically behind the times. The patrol cars could have computers and portable phones.

Eleventh, the officers noted a shortage of manpower. The police department experienced a drop in patrol manpower from 70 to 80 patrol officers per shift in the early 1980s, to 25 to 30 patrol officers per shift in the 1990s. Today, the police department faces a turnover rate of approximately 20 officers a year; as a result, the police department is 75 officers short. Today, on any one shift there are approximately 15 officers per 150,000 residents.

> "They [the community] don't realize that say 15 years ago, this shift used to put out anywhere from 10 to 12 two man cars and 10-A cars per shift. So you figure you're having maybe 20 to 30 officers per shift going out on the street. Now 20 years ago they didn't have nearly the crime they have now. They don't have nearly the guns in the street that they have now . . . [and] they don't have nearly the crazy cocaine, crack head, lunatics running around like they do now. But as crime gets worse, the police protection gets less. I don't understand." (Officer Todd, white male, 9 years seniority)

> "Low manpower makes me feel unsafe . . . because at any time we could get into situations and be overwhelmed because of our lack of manpower. Increasing manpower would show greater strength out here." (Officer Frank, black male, 5 years seniority)

At times, manpower is so low that if there were two moderate problems on one shift, there would not be enough manpower to handle other calls or to act as back up. Officers from the next shift would have to be called in, and that would take at least an hour or more for the extra manpower to show up.

Officers also lamented inadequate training. The department provides little or no in-service training and does not have regular monthly shoots or target practices like they are supposed to.

Lastly, patrol officers complained the physical structure of the police department was filthy dirty (e.g., garbage was regularly overflowing in the department's trash cans, trash and cigarette butts lay in the department's stairwell, mufflers and front bumpers of cars had been dumped next to the back door of the police department, and sometimes the hallway and the stairwell in the police department smelled like "puke" or urine) and was falling apart (e.g., a 2'x3' slate slab fell from the overhang in the back of the police department, and the front glass door was broken for months).

The booking area was dirty (e.g., officers were embarrassed to bring decent people up to the booking area and holding cells because it was dirty) and dangerous (officers were armed and were in close proximity to arrestees; at times there were 3 to 5 arrestees to 1 to 2 officers). One officer expressed,

> "If you look at it, the department is getting old and it's getting run down and they need to put some money into that. That might even boost moral. Let

> the officers know something's being done, we don't want you guys to work in this condition, let us fix this building up, give you a nice place to work. You know, I'm kind of embarrassed sometimes to take . . . you arrest a decent person, you know, not everyone you deal with here is a bonehead, you sometimes have to arrest decent people. You arrest a decent person and they ask you to use the bathroom and you take them to the garbage hole that we have here as a bathroom, oh my god, its terrible. I'm embarrassed to take them to the bathroom. And they look at it and they're like, "Never mind, I'll wait." That's what some people have said to me." (Officer Ron, black male, 3 years seniority)

Another officer explained,

> "Our conditions at the station are terrible, like you saw the holding cell upstairs. It's filthy, it's unsafe, we're all standing around up there with our guns sticking out, any one of them guys could have grabbed a gun and went crazy." (Officer Craig, white male, 5 years seniority)

In addition, doors to the police station that should be locked did not stay locked. Also, officers that work the front desk complained the front door had no security. From where the desk officer sits, the officer cannot see who is entering the station or who is approaching the front desk. One patrol officer explained,

> "It could be more secure. Anybody who wanted to could just walk into the place, so it could be a better facility. I mean treat it like a police department, you know. Sure the front doors are always open, yea, but that doesn't mean our locker room is free to everybody. Anybody who wants to come in the weight room can just come in. The garage is always open, so they can make it a little more secure." (Officer Sherman, black male, 5 years seniority)

Presented below are several excerpts from the interviews with patrol officers. These excerpts illustrate the lack of officer commitment that stemmed from various components of the organization and workplace problems that were presented above. These specific interviews were chosen because they represent the attitudes of many Midwest City patrol officers during the time the study was conducted.

> Officer: "I'm committed to the department as soon as they show that they're committed to backing the officers and making things good for the officers."

Researcher: "Right now they aren't willing to back officers?"
Officer: "No, as far as manpower, they're just more into politics . . . not doing what it takes to back the officers, making things easier for them as far as work goes, as far as keeping people on the streets. When we're short out here and we go on call, and a lot of times as soon as you get out of the car and walk up to the door, citizens are starting to complain about how long it took you and all this. They just don't know what's going on. This department knows because they're always getting complaints. Also getting us more cars. Like this past summer [1993] it took forever. The Journal [the local paper] had to put a picture in the paper of one of the cruisers with gauze rapped around the grill and that's when all of a sudden we got 20 new cruisers. It's funny how things work." (Officer Roger, black male, 3 years seniority)

Officer: "I really don't feel commitment. I feel a sense of responsibility to do the work I get paid for, but as far as being committed I think priorities change so much around here it's hard to be committed. You just do what is, I guess, in fashion, whatever department heads or who individuals are in charge of policies and procedures wants."
Researcher: "What's in fashion now?"
Officer: "Right now, doing absolutely nothing if you ask me. Right now I think there's a great sense of fear in the officers, you know any little thing you get into, somebody makes a complaint which the department welcomes with open arms. To take complaints against its own workers and then they investigate those complaints like you're a criminal. I think a lot of officers are tired of it and they're not going to do anymore than they have to." (Officer Trenton, black male, 5 years seniority)

"[Commitment] meant a lot, but now it means a little bit less because we don't get it in return. It seems like every memo that comes down is to protect the department, but stick us in the fire. For example, the chase policy. They [administration] come out with this chase policy, it's all to cover their butt if something goes wrong. They can say, hey, we got a policy, the officers shouldn't have chased. Because it's all worded with reasonableness, chase him until its unreasonably out of control. So they put all the decision on us and we're suppose to decide in a split second, while in a high speed chase, and if somebody gets hurt, the department says, he didn't do as he was trained and leaves us out to dry. So its hard to be committed after they do stuff like that." (Officer Erving, white male, 5 years seniority)

In the excerpts above, patrol officers articulated their dislike, dissatisfaction, and lack of commitment to both police administrators and the police department. Walsh (1990) argued that what appears at the street-level to be opposition between

managers and street-officers is, in reality, a process the two are engaged in of creating a structure of interpretation and decision making that permits the maintenance of organizational functions and preserves the department as an institution, even when the system is strained beyond its capacity. Data gathered in this study supported Walsh's argument on one hand; but on the other hand, revealed opposition between managers and street officers that exist outside this realm of institutional preservation that Walsh identified. There were legitimate concerns among officers about their workplace environment and climate-- problems that exposed officers to unnecessary dangerous circumstances, and problems that created a hostile work environment (i.e., fraught with racial and sexual harassment and racial and gender discrimination) for female and racial minority officers.

For instance, female police officers were displeased that the Midwest Police Department has not developed a formal maternity leave policy. To date, a pregnancy is still considered an off-duty injury. Under the existing system, there is no consistency in the way pregnant female officers are treated. Some pregnant females receive light duty in the early months of their pregnancy (e.g., desk assignments or radio dispatch), other females will not be reassigned and are continually sent out on the road up into their fifth or sixth month of pregnancy, and other female officers are forced to take personal time off (using up their sick and annual time).

Officer Judy explained that when she was pregnant she was told that the department could not provide her with a light-duty assignment--that she was going to have to work the street or else take personal time off. She took the personal

time; in fact, she used up all the sick time and annual time she had, and she eventually lost her seniority as she took the needed time off for her pregnancy.

> "I used to think of policing as a career, but I just see it as a job now. I'm not as bitter as I was before. I had a lot taken away from me when I was pregnant. It wasn't just my seniority, but also my enjoyment of the pregnancy. I used to work my butt off at this job. But the department is unjust in its treatment of people. When I came back from my pregnancy one of the black female officers was pregnant and she was working the desk at 6 weeks pregnant. She's pregnant again and they have her at radio . . . and she worked the desk in the North Precinct mini-station. They even switched her to second shift because she had problems staying awake. I don't have any commitment. I have commitment to myself. The only commitment I have is taking my radio calls."

Another female officer also expressed her disappointment with the police department for the inability to develop a maternity leave policy.

> "I think every job should have a maternity leave. You hire females, you know they're going to get pregnant and have a kid. I guess they've had women on the department for 20 years now and I can't believe that they haven't even, well I guess they've tried, but, that the mayor hasn't put some kind of maternity program together for the department. Two years ago three women were pregnant at the same time, and one of them was in the paper. And like when you tell them you're pregnant, to me and to Officer Judy, [they said] well we don't have a job for you, good-bye. I was lucky the Lieutenant found me something to do because I would have been out of a job until after I had the baby. Judy ran out of time [sick and annual time], well she ran out of time even before she left because they had told her, once she told them she was pregnant, they didn't have anything for her to do . . . so when she came back she didn't have any time. When you run out of time it knocks you to the bottom of your seniority list. So she was really upset about that. And I guess she's trying to sue them over that. I used 321 hours, and I had about 80 hours left, and I'm down to about 20 now. So I have to build back up."

Currently, 13 female officers are involved in a class action suit against the city for the lack of a maternity leave policy and because work assignments handed out to pregnant women are based on favoritism.

Getting back to examination of the change in officers' commitment over time, Table 6-4 reveals that only nine or 21% of patrol officers said their commitment to the police department had increased since they first came to the department. From the perspective of individual patrol officers, increased commitment comes with time and increased awareness of their responsibilities. One officer told me,

> "I think the more you learn about the job, the more committed you become. At first, when you first come on, you're so scared. That's the last thing on your mind, commitment . . . but the more confident you get with the job, the better you feel about yourself and the job." (Officer Dennis, white male, 5 years seniority)

Some officers also identified a direct relationship between the ability to be an effective police officer, which comes not only with time, but with an increased knowledge about people and the police department and increased commitment.

For some officers, joining and staying with the police department provided for a continuing source of economic rewards--wages, salary, and health care coverage--and some degree of future advancement and economic security in terms of retirement benefits. Membership in the police department also provided some officers with psychological rewards, such as job satisfaction (i.e., serving and protecting the community) and enjoying a sense of belonging or being a part of a group (i.e., the Fraternal Order of Police, AAPL, and the "we're all blue" and "us" against "them" mentality). From the perspective of the police organization, working to maintain strong commitment links with employees should be crucial (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982).

Strong Belief In and Acceptance of the Organization's Goals and Values

The relative strength of an officer's identification with and commitment to the police organization can be characterized by the strength of the belief in and acceptance of the organization's official goals and values (Mowday, Porter, & Steer, 1982). For the purposes of this study, "goals" are defined as the organization's statements of purpose. Organizational goals can be both gender and/or specific, short- and/or long-range in nature and provide a framework for defining the police role. Organizational values identify the fundamental assumption on which a police organization bases its operation (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993, p. 34).

Table 6-5 and Table 6-6 indicate that a significant percentage of patrol officers believed they did not share the same values and goals as the police organization. Summary statistics presented in Table 6-5 show that 64.6% of the patrol officers sampled did not share the same values as the police department, and Table 6-6 shows that 48.9% of the patrol officers sampled did not share the goals. Comparisons across each of the four race-gender groups revealed that only 20% or less of white male, black male, and white female patrol officers reported sharing the same values as the police department; however, 66.7% of black female patrol officers reported sharing the same values as the police department. And while no black female officers shared the same goals as the police department, 50% of black males did.

Table 6-5. Do you find that your values and the department's values are similar?

Share Values	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	6 (20.7%)	2 (20%)	1 (16.7%)	2 (66.7%)	11 (22.9%)
No	19 (65.5%)	7 (70%)	4 (66.6%)	1 (33.3%)	31 (64.6%)
Don't know what the values are	4 (13.8%)	1 (10%)	1 (16.7%)		6 (12.5%)

Table 6-6. Do you find that your goals and the department's goals are similar?

Share Goals	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	6 (23.1%)	6 (50.0%)	2 (28.6%)		14 (29.8%)
No	13 (50.0%)	4 (33.3%)	4 (57.1%)	2 (100%)	23 (48.9%)
Don't know what the goals are	7 (26.9%)	2 (16.7%)	1 (14.3%)		10 (21.2%)

Table 6-7 demonstrates that just because patrol officers said they were committed to the police department did not necessarily mean that they shared the same values or goals as the police department. Among those officers who were committed to the police department, only a minority actually shared the same values and goals as the department. Instead, 60.6% of the committed officers did not share the same values as the organization, and 50% did not share the same goals. In addition, 86.7% of patrol officers not committed to the police department also did not share the same values as the department, and 46.7% did not share the same

goals. A significant percentage of officers did not even know what the values and goals of the department were.

> "I really don't know what the department's values are. I don't know, they don't really have any set values out here, maybe that's the problem anymore. I mean, stay out of trouble. Well basically, but I mean as far as what they believe in or how they handle things or how the department's ran. They have no set direction. Now they claim it's community policing because that's probably where we get the biggest grant money from, but you know that isn't handled right. That isn't put in the most capable hands and it isn't that's turned into a favor thing." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

> "It's hard to say, the city is not always clear about what its goals are. I guess not. My goals are to make the city better, more harmonious. The city just band-aids its problems; it has no long-term solutions to the problems." (Officer Mick, white male, 9 years seniority)

Table 6-7. Relationship Between Commitment and Whether Officer's Share the Same Values or Goals as the Police Department.

	Commitment	
	Committed	Not Committed
Share Values		
Yes	9 (27.2%)	
No	20 (60.6%)	13 (86.7%)
Don't know what the values are	4 (12.2%)	2 (13.3%)
Share Goals		
Yes	11 (34.4%)	3 (20.0%)
No	16 (50.0%)	7 (46.7%)
Don't know what the goals are	5 (15.6%)	5 (33.3%)

Patrol officers that did not share the same values and goals as the organization identified this position not as their individual lack of commitment to the job of

policing, because many officers that were not committed to the police department said they were committed to the residents of the community, to policing, and to other patrol officers. Rather, patrol officers felt the police department's values were not that of commitment to the residents of the community, to patrol officers, and to pursuing law enforcement goals versus political goals.

> "They tell me I should write more tickets, where I say I think a warning is more effective. Why get people mad at you or whatever when you can say, 'Yea, you got to slow down, whatever.' But they want to see tickets because tickets are money for them. [Also] where I would rather sit down and try to work out a family fight, because Midwest city offers a whole variety of places that people can go to get help, but if you just go to a family fight and say you don't need us and leave . . . but if you go and you take your time and say do you know they offer classes for divorced kids. They don't think that's as important and I think that is important." (Officer Barb, white female, 20 years seniority)

> "My values are to come out here and to give these people exactly what they pay for and what they deserve. The department's values, the way I see it is just do the job, keep these people happy, so we can get to the next call. The department doesn't give these people what they're paying for by a long run. It's a darn shame when these people have to wait out here . . . several hours for an officer. To me that's wrong." (Officer Rick, white male, 7 years seniority)

> "The administration, if they really believed in our values of protecting and serving, and if we are protecting somebody and end up hurting somebody protecting that officer, if they really believe in our values, wouldn't they back you up a 100%? But they don't. I don't think a city would back an officer up at all. And I have to be really careful now in as far as an arrest; it seems like criminals have more rights." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

> Officer: "My goals would be to come out here and catch the bad buy when there's a crime and drive around these neighborhoods and let the people know that I'm here. And the department, they just kind of use you like a pawn for political things. I don't think their goal is to arrest people and catch the bad guys, and deter crime. I really don't think that's their goal and it should be. That's what my goal is, my personal goal."
> Researcher: "What do you think the department's goal is?"
> Officer: "Probably to provide a service that has been provided for years at the cheapest cost possible, but yet the highest visibility and the lowest liability that

they can to make the citizen feel good, like the city government is doing their job." (Officer Ted, white male, 3 years seniority)

Some patrol officers believed that their lack of commitment to the police department also stemmed from the frustration they experienced of not always being able use their powers of control and force to perform their police duties. Officers recognized that they were restricted and restrained by increasing numbers of departmental policies and procedures, as a result of both the city and police department's concern for liability and lawsuits. Police officers were concerned that they would be sued by city residents, since the police department has recently established several departmental policies (i.e., car chase policy) that aim at taking the liability off of the city and the police department and placing it on police officers.

"The department doesn't want to get itself in trouble. So the department develops policies to cover themselves leaving officers wide open. My values are just that. My job is to chase the stolen car and to get the car back. And to arrest the person in the stolen car. The department's view is it's too dangerous; let it go, it's chance of a lawsuit. If they know they can run that's all they've got to do. If they know they can run far enough, fast enough we're going to stop chasing them." (Officer Dan, white male, 5 years seniority)

"I don't feel that this department is real concerned with putting people in jail and catching the bad guys at the important time and stuff like that. Liability to them is more important to them than probably just about anything out here. When your only goal, the way it should be in a police department, is to stop crime, I think that liability should be put on the shelf a little bit for the well-being of the citizens and I don't think it is in this department. I think that the well-being of their liability would come before a lot of things out here." (Officer Ted, white male, 3 years seniority)

"I don't know. I think the way they act sometimes they just, you know, they like you if you're out there and doing everything you can. Don't cause a problem, don't get 'em sued. But as soon as you go out and do something, they're the first ones to burn you as quick as they can." (Officer Dana, white male, 3 years seniority)

Table 6-5 also shows that 23% of the patrol officers sampled identified that they shared the same values as the police organization. Similarly, Table 6-6 shows that 30% of the officers shared the same goals as the police department. These values and goals that officers shared include: serving and protecting the community, professionalism, the respect for life, being honest, and working hard to keep crime down and the streets safe. One black female officer told me,

> "If you mean department as far as other officers, yes I share the same values . . . the value of being able to help. We all just really want to be a help to people, to protect and serve. That's really my true belief of what a police officer is all about." (Officer Lisa, black female, 9 years seniority)

Two other patrol officers explained,

> "The department doesn't want to have crime increase in the city; neither do I. They want to see the quality of work go higher; I do too. I try to accomplish the same thing that the department does." (Officer Jeremie, white male, 27 years seniority)

> "I guess basically, I mean, I wouldn't know what all you define as goals. Again, serve and protect, certainly that's what they want from me and that's what I try to give them." (Officer Fray, white male, 9 years seniority)

When commitment is defined in relation to sharing the same goals and values of the organization, commitment represents something beyond mere passive loyalty; it is an active involvement with the organization (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982). Findings revealed, however, that those officers that shared the same values as the police department did not necessarily share the same goals as the department. Only 5 out of 14 officers admitted to sharing both the same goals and values.

More importantly, field observations revealed that patrol officers that shared the police department's values were often involved in a more active relationship with the organization, than were officers that shared the same goals. Those that shared

the same values shared a similar conviction and attitude toward police work and the police department (e.g., to protect and serve the community, to treat people with respect, to give 100% to the department and the community), and were willing to give something extra of themselves to contribute to the police department. Furthermore, those officers that shared the same values as the police department tended to engage in regular interactions with each other on-duty. For instance, 6 of the 11 officers that shared the same values engaged in regular interactions on-duty because they were or had partners with each other, or worked in the same sector with each other and had regular contact handling calls together or getting together for meals. Some of these officers also engaged in regular off-duty interactions with each other.

Field observations revealed that those officers who reportedly shared the same goals as the police department were not involved in as active a relationship with the organization as those officers that shared the same values. Those that shared the same goals, admitted to sharing the organization's general purpose, which at the time of the study was a purely reactionary policing model. One of the reasons the city has adopted this model is because the department is low on manpower (i.e., 75 officers short) and the city lacks the financial resources to hire more officers. More often than not there are not enough officers on a shift or in a sector to handle all the calls or to back up other officers (at times back up can be 10 to 15 minutes away). Thus, patrol officers are expected to do nothing more than answer radio calls and, at the officer's discretion, write traffic tickets. So those officers that claimed to share the same goals as the organization, without sharing the same values, were not

necessarily willing to give something extra of themselves to contribute to the police department.

A Willingness to Exert Considerable Effort on Behalf of the Organization

Mowday, Porter and Steers (1982) maintained that commitment can be inferred not only from the expressions of an individual's beliefs and opinions but also from his or her actions. Patrol officers were asked, "Compared to most other officers, do you put more, less, or about the same effort into helping the department be successful?" I also spent anywhere between 8 to 16 hours with each officer observing how he or she handled calls, how he or she interacted with the residents of the community, and his or her attitudes towards the residents and the job.

Table 6-8 reveals that 63.6% of black males self-reported putting more effort than most other patrol officers into helping the department to be successful. This finding was consistent with earlier findings that black males reported being committed to the police department and sharing the same official values and goals as the police department more so than any other race-gender group. In addition, 48% of white male officers and 50% of white female patrol officers also said they put more effort than other patrol officers into helping the department to be successful.

Table 6-8. Level of Effort Patrol Officers Exert to Make the Police Department Successful

Amount of Effort	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
More Effort	12 (48.0%)	7 (63.6%)	3 (50.0%)	1 (33.3%)	23 (51.1%)
Less Effort	1 (16.7%)		1 (2.2%)		2 (2.2%)
Same Effort	13 (52.0%)	4 (36.4%)	2 (33.3%)	2 (66.7%)	21 (46.7%)
Total	15 (100%)	11 (100%)	6 (100%)	3 (100%)	45 (100%)

Some of the patrol officers that claimed to put forth more effort to make the department successful defined "more effort" as integrating a community policing aspect into the way they perform their job. These officers worked to provide the residents of the city with the service they deserved and worked to present a positive image of the police to the residents of the community.

> "I think I put more . . . just dealing with the people out here, just trying to give them as much of the service that they're supposed to have." (Officer Madison, black male, 17 years seniority)

> "More . . . by going out of my way to try to, to talk to people and give a [positive] perception. Just going out of my way to give that perception, and trying to not carry that negative macho image that all of the people of police officers. So I think I go out of my way a lot . . . and sometimes I lose it just like everybody else, but most the time I try to be enjoyable; I try to be pleasant." (Officer Roosevelt, black male, 7 years seniority)

> "I think more. I feel that a lot of the officers will just go to a call, handle it the minimum amount they need to handle and just drop it at that. And I feel like, when I'm handling my calls, when I leave I feel like I've actually accomplished something with the people. I've helped them to better understand how the whole process is working out here. You know if it takes me an hour being at a call, I'll spend an hour there unless I get called out on something else." (Officer Brad, white male, 12 years seniority)

Other patrol officers identified "more effort" as making arrests, answering calls, being there as back for other officers, and giving the department 100% during the 8-hour shift. Some of the officers that defined more effort in this manner told me,

> "I believe I put a little bit more. I think I make more arrests, and I think I'm out here doing a lot more work than maybe the other sector cars on this shift. I might be in more car chases, I might catch more house robbery suspects or B&E suspects. You know, we're [me and my partner] are out here making arrests. I think if you looked at the totals overall in a year's time, I think you'd find we make more arrests than other north end cars up here. I think that sometimes other officers they slack off, they might not check back for an hour or 45 minutes. Where you look at your dailies on a busy day and we might have some 12 to 13 calls, where another car has only about six. They basically try to get off the street." (Officer Radley, black male, 5 years seniority)

> "More. Doing what I'm supposed to do, being where I'm suppose to be, answering the radio calls, backing up other officers. Doing the job that you get paid to do, regardless if you're mad. You know, you get pissed at calls, regardless if you get mad about gettin' 10 radio calls and another car gets two. You still have to answer your radio. You know us, laying back sluffin' on calls, staying on a call for an hour when you could be done and finished with the call in 10 minutes, and stickin' around just to chit chat when everybody else is out here running crazy because you want to stay on a call, because you don't feel like answering radio calls that day." (Officer Sherman, black male, 5 years seniority)

> "Probably more, more than the average. I think I go out. I always check back when I'm off a call. I take my calls, I go to my calls. I don't dink around in between calls. You know, some guys don't give a shit whatsoever, they'll take 20 minutes getting up on a call, won't check back for a half an hour after they're done." (Officer Bob, white male, 5 years seniority)

In addition, Table 6-8 shows that a total of 46.7% of patrol officers reported they put forth "about the same" effort as most other officers into helping the department to be successful. In most cases, patrol officers defined "the same" effort not only as that which other officers were doing, but doing what the police

department expected of them and nothing more. As mentioned above, the police department has adopted a reactionary policing model, under which the department expects patrol officers to nothing more than answer their calls and write traffic tickets at their discretion.

> "Oh, I put the same effort into it. I answer the calls. I don't get in trouble, I don't chase any stolen cars or anything, so I guess I'm helping them maintain their success rate. Haven't broken any laws per se, I'm not in trouble so, I'm not hurting them any." (Officer Mary, white female, 9 years seniority)

> "I would say I'm right in the middle of it. I don't help any more than some people and I don't help any less than other people." (Officer Craig, white male, 5 years seniority)

Another patrol officer gave an example that demonstrates what it is the police department wants out of patrol officers.

> "The image the department wants is passive, nonthreatening, and nonphysical. There was a group of eight officers that worked the East side on second shift a couple years ago, and they called themselves 'The East Side Dogs'. This group of officers was attacking crime aggressively and they were all backing each other up. Eventually, supervision sat down with these officers who were making great arrests and cleaning the East side up and told them to calm down and not be so intimidating. The department didn't appreciate what they were doing and that they had cleaned up the East side. After that these officers lost enthusiasm."

Under the purely reactionary policing model the department has adopted, many patrol officers have come to feel the police department does not care what they do, as long as they do not harass or intimidate the residents of the community, answer your calls, and do not get in trouble.

Comparing field observations that were taken during the ride alongs to responses to the interview question "Compared to most other officers, do you put more, less, or about the same effort to help the department be successful?", I found

that some patrol officers, especially those that lacked commitment to the department and put forth very little effort, tended to overestimate, in the interview, the amount of effort they put forward. In most cases, the officers that over estimated the amount of effort they put forward, self-reported that they put "the same" as most other officers into helping the department to be successful. Also, some officers that actually put forth more effort underestimated themselves and the amount of effort they put forward. Only one white female actually reported putting "less effort" than other officers into helping the department to be successful.

Field observations reveal that some patrol officers patrolled aggressively for eight hours, responding to 8 to 15 calls a shift, as well as initiating contacts through writing traffic tickets, while other patrol officers did nothing but hide out for eight hours, either at a pawn shop, the fire station, an area convenience store, or in a parking lot. These officers did nothing more than handle the calls they received. For instance, while riding first shift with one officer, we began the shift at 6:45 a.m., at which time we went directly to the fire station for about an hour. We left the fire station to take a call and than went to the local pawn shop. We stayed at the pawn for about three to four hours, during which time we ate lunch and desert, and watched television. During that four hour time period we took one house alarm call. We would have stayed at the pawn shop until 2:45 p.m., the end of the officer's shift, if I had not had to conduct my interview. When I asked this officer the question, "Compared to most other officers, do you put more, less or about the same effort into helping the department be successful?", he responded "the same."

Similarly, while riding third shift with one patrol officer, we spent the first three-quarters of the shift responding to calls and eating dinner, and then we spent the last 2 to 2-1/2 hours sleeping in the patrol car in a parking lot. When I asked this officer, "How much effort do you put into helping the department be successful, in comparison to most other patrol officers?", he responded "more".

A common theme that runs throughout much of the conceptual work on organizational commitment is the notion of exchange. "Individuals come to organizations with certain needs, desires, skills and so forth, and expect to find a work environment where they can use their abilities and satisfy many of their basic needs (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982, p. 27). When an organization makes effective use of its employees and is dependable, the likelihood that employees will be committed increases. However, when an organization fails to provide employees with challenging and meaningful tasks, commitment to the organization diminishes (Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982, p. 27). Analysis of the data revealed that approximately 96% of the patrol officers sampled told me the police department did not inspire them to do their very best in the way of job performance (see Table 6-9).

Table 6-9. Does the department inspire the very best in you in the way of job performance?

Inspire	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	1 (3.8%)	1 (10%)			2 (4.4%)
No	25 (96.2%)	9 (90%)	6 (100%)	3 (100%)	43 (95.6%)
Total	26 (100%)	10 (100%)	6 (100%)	3 (100%)	46 (100%)

Patrol officers repeatedly told me the police department (including police administrators and supervisors) did not care about the quality of the work done, did not reward officers for a job well done, and did not inspire or motivate officers to perform their job to the best of their ability. One white female officer with 9 years on the police force told me,

> "There's no reward system, there's nothing to push for. They tried this little officer of the month, or officer of the day thing, and that's a joke. There isn't really enough of, 'hey you did a good job.' I think you don't get anything positive back from the department. It's always the negative they focus on. It's like they're always after you, they're always on you. That sounds so paranoid, but it gets to be the thing with this job." (Officer Mary)

Another officers explained,

> "Most of the time they're not appreciative about what you do out here. You might risk your life, you might get shot at one night and the next thing you know your back out on the street the next night. Nobody says nothing to you about it. You know, I've been shot at a couple times and basically, go leave your report and then go back to work . . . and they act like they really don't even care about it. In the back of your mind you say, 'Well I almost got killed,' but they act like they really don't even care anything about it. I think maybe they could give you a day off or something, when you get shot at, or they could have more inspections, or check and make sure there's not officers out there sluffin' off. Because eventually if you're out here working and you see another two-man car sluffin' off you might have 14 to 15 calls and they're

> out here running 3 to 4 calls. You might say well maybe I should just stay at home, call in. Lot of times that's what they do, they call in, they're out here sluffin' on the calls. You say, well I should start calling, I should start sluffin' off. But me and Sherman, we work just about everyday." (Officer Radley, black male, 5 years seniority)

Patrol officers such as Radley and his partner Sherman motivated themselves to come out and perform their job. Officers that claimed to put forward "more effort" than other officers to help the department to be successful identified self-motivation as their means to remaining motivated and putting forth more effort. Some patrol officers also depended on fellow officers, other hard working officers (especially a hard working partner) to motivate them. One black female patrol officer told me,

> "No, the department to me is not very supportive of the officers, so they don't really inspire too much at all. You know, the Lieutenant or Sergeant may give you some pointers but that's about it. As far as coming down from the Deputy chief or anything, uh, we really don't get any inspiration from them . . . just from myself, I come out here, I look at other officers, officers that I may feel can do a better job. I look at that officer and say I want to be better than that . . . and sometimes my partner Andy inspires me because he likes to get out there and he likes to work. Sometimes I come in and I feel all down and everything and he wants to work . . . and than I look at him and I say let me get hold of my breath. And like the Lieutenant always says, Andy is a hard worker . . . and sometimes I look at him and he inspires me to want to work." (Officer Jessica, 3 years seniority)

At the time this study was conducted, many patrol officers were doing nothing above and beyond what was expected of them. Patrol officers learned within the first 2 or 3 years on the police force that the police department did not support or reward hard working, aggressive officers. Officers that were hard workers, that produced high numbers of felony arrests and that wrote traffic tickets, were not rewarded or recognized. One officer told me that he turned in a monthly status sheet once with,

not a whole lot of traffic tickets, but more felony arrests than other patrol officers. He was basically told by the shift Lieutenant to let the felony arrests slide and to write more traffic tickets. So the next time he was involved in a stolen vehicle car chase and caught the person, he let the person go because he was really disappointed with what the Lieutenant said. Another officer explained,

> "The harder you work, the more your gonna get in trouble. They don't want you to go out here and create animosity, go out here and hustle to get your job done. Your hustlers don't stay around here very long. They're gone . . . they're weeded out." (Officer Rick, white male, 7 years seniority)

Many Midwest City patrol officers lacked ambition to work because they lacked commitment to the police department, and they lacked commitment to the department because they did not share the same values and goals as the police department and they did not feel they were important to the police department or to its mission. In recent years, the mission of the police department has not inspired patrol officers to work. In order to increase officer commitment to the police department, patrol officers contend that a variety of organizational and workplace changes will need to take place (these changes are developed in Chapter VIII)

A Definite Desire to Maintain Organizational Membership

Finally, organizational commitment can be characterized by a strong desire to maintain organizational membership (Mowday, Porter and Steers, 1982). Throughout the interview, patrol officers were asked a series of questions related to their desire to maintain organizational membership (see Appendix A). First, patrol officers were asked three questions: (a) "Do you feel this is the best of all possible departments to work for?"; (b) "Is there much to be gained by sticking with the department

indefinitely?"; and (c) "Would you accept almost any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this department?"

Table 6-10 and Table 6-11 reveal that black female and black male patrol officers felt the Midwest Police Department was not only the best police department to work for, but believed that there was a lot to be gained by sticking with the department indefinitely (at least until their retirement at 20 years). Black patrol officers identified several positive aspects of working for the Midwest Police Department. These included a good pay rate and retirement plan, opportunities for promotion and assignment to special groups or units, and the controllable nature of the city's crime. Several black officers also identified that they had a strong bond to the Midwest City. They were originally from Midwest City and had family members that still resided within the city, so they wanted to stay and work to better the community for their family and friends. For instance, one black male patrol officer told me:

> "I've never been anywhere else. I like it here. I was born and raised here. I'd like to see this place changed and together before I would like to be anywhere else. Right now, this is the place for me." (Officer Sherman, black male, 5 years seniority)

Table 6-10. Do you feel this is the best of all possible departments to work for?

Best of all Departments	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	3 (11.5%)	5 (41.7%)		2 (66.7%)	10 (20.8%)
No	19 (73.1%)	4 (33.3%)	7 (100%)	1 (33.3%)	31 (64.6%)
Can't Answer	4 (15.4%)	3 (25.0%)			7 (14.6%)

Table 6-11. Is there much to be gained by sticking with the department indefinitely?

Much to be Gained by Staying	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	18 (69.2%)	7 (70.0%)	2 (28.6%)	3 (100%)	30 (65.2%)
No	8 (30.8%)	3 (30.0%)	5 (71.4%)		16 (34.8%)

Despite the more positive identification black officers had with the police department, 100% of the black female officers and 45.5% of the black male officer's said they would not accept any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this department (see Table 6-12). Many officers had their limits as to what they would do to continue working for the police department. Some officers didn't like the Special Squads (i.e., COPS or Community Policing) or Special Operations; other officers did not want to work certain shifts. Typically, officers that worked first shift did not want to work third shift, and vice versa.

Table 6-12. Would you accept almost any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this department?

Take any Job Assignment	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	16 (64.0%)	5 (45.5%)	2 (33.3%)		23 (51.1%)
No	9 (36.0%)	6 (54.5%)	4 (66.7%)	3 (100%)	22 (48.9%)

In comparison to black patrol officers, 73.1% of white male patrol officers and 100% of white female patrol officers believed the Midwest Police Department was not the best police department to work for. When asked whether there was much to be gained by sticking with the police department indefinitely, 71.4% of white female patrol officers answered "no," and identified lack of opportunities for promotion and lack of resources as the reasons.

> "As far as like the resources and the opportunities, that's not here. This police department was really good 30-35-40 years ago, and it's deteriorating. OSHA has been through here [and said] it's not clean, there's no room for advancement, and our cars are falling apart. [Another] police department, I think, would provide a lot more opportunity and stuff." (Officer Jill, white female, 17 years seniority)

In contrast, 69.2% of the white male officers responded "yes," there is much to be gained by sticking with the police department indefinitely. These white male officers identified opportunities to work in different special units and squads, a good pay rate, good benefits (e.g., sick time, retirement benefits, and health care coverage), and that it is a stable job for a family man as the positive aspects of working for the Midwest Police Department. Several white male officers also said

they grew up in the immediate area (the suburbs) and they wanted to stay in the area. Two other officers explained:

> "I think with this department you get great experience, you get every aspect of police work available, and I think it's good in that way. [You get] every type of police complaint, crime. Everything happens in this city. I've probably been here five years. I've probably been on 40-50 homicides . . . and if I decided to go to a different department with the experience I have with this department, it would help me greatly." (Officer Craig, white male, 5 years seniority)

> "Yea it is, around this area it is because of the fact that you have such a wide variety of exposure. You have homicides, you have drug activity, you have a little bit of everything. I think if you work 10 years here, your exposed to just about anything that any department in this country is . . . maybe just on a smaller scale. I mean brutal murders, brutal homicides, suicides, drug overdoses, and gang-related shootings." (Officer Todd, white male, 9 years seniority)

A younger, less senior officers added:

> "Around the country, yes, I believe it is because you've got different types of divisions you can go into--special operations, undercover, detective bureau to investigate crimes, homicides, traffic bureau, regular patrol if you just want to work the street. Like I said, you've got a lot of action, a lot of different types of people, a lot of different types of communities that you can run into. It's got a wide range of everything." (Officer Trevor, white male, 3 years seniority)

Several of the more senior officers explained that if they were younger and just starting their career in policing they would leave the Midwest Police Department, knowing all they know now about the state of the department. Officers of both races and genders told me they would think about going to a different department, however, because they started their policing career in this department and they have given five or more years of their life to the department; they could not just leave and start over. One officer said:

> "I don't know if there's much to be gained. I'm at the point where I've got 5 years in. I may as well at least do my other 15 and get my pension. You

> know, I'd be losing 5 years if I went anywhere else now. All I really got to gain is putting in my time and gettin' what I deserve." (Officer Erving, white male, 5 years seniority)

Despite the discontent that white officers had with the Midwest Police Department, 64% of white males and 33.3% of white females said they would accept almost any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this department (see Table 6-12). Several white officers felt that there was nothing worse than patrol, that anything else the department would offer them could not be as bad. This increased willingness on the part of white officers to accept almost any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this department may be directly related to fact that white officers, more often than black officers, identified policing as a career over a job (see Table 6-1 and Table 6-13). Table 6-13 demonstrates that there is a direct relationship between whether officers identifies policing as a job or a career and whether they will take any job assignment to continue work for the department.

Despite all these disappointments, Table 6-14 reveals that 78.7% of all patrol officer's sampled said they were glad they chose this department to work for over others they considered at the time they joined, and do not feel their decision to work for this department was a mistake on their part.

Table 6-13. Whether officer's will take any job assignment in order to continue working for the department by whether an officer sees policing as a job or a career.

Take Job Assignment	Police as a job or career			
	Job	Career	Both	Total
Yes	6 (42.9%)	16 (64%)	3 (60%)	25 (56.8%)
No	8 (57.1%)	9 (36%)	2 (40%)	19 (43.2%)
Total	14 (100%)	25 (100%)	5 (100%)	44 (100%)

Table 6-14. Are you glad that you choose this department to work for over others you were considering at the time you joined?

Glad to work for this dept.	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	20 (76.9%)	11 (100%)	3 (42.9%)	3 (100%)	37 (78.7%)
No	6 (23.1%)		4 (57.1%)		10 (21.3%)

Disparity between the races on the series of questions that measured the desire to maintain organizational membership is clearly evident. Tables 6-14 shows that 100% of both black male and black female patrol officers say that they were glad they chose this department to work for over others, and Table 6-15 shows that 100% of black male and black female patrol officers do not feel their decision to work for this department was a mistake on their part. As mentioned earlier, for black officers,

the desire to maintain organization membership resided in their commitment to the city. As one officer put it to me:

> "One of the reasons I wanted to work for Midwest is 'cause this is where I grew up at and this is where I thought and believed in my heart that I could make the most impact." (Officer Roosevelt, black male, 7 years seniority)

Likewise, another black officer explained:

> "Well it had a lot to do with me living and growing up in this community, and seeing how things just plain deteriorated. And that's the only word I can think of, they did, they deteriorated. And that's why when I was working in the 100 sector, I actually felt like I was helping." (Officer Dallas, black male, 3 years seniority)

Table 6-15. Do you feel your decision to work for this department was a mistake on your part?

	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	7 (28.0%)		3 (42.9%)		10 (21.3%)
No	18 (72.0%)	12 (100%)	4 (57.1%)	3 (100%)	37 (78.7%)

Black officers identified a much stronger commitment to Midwest City, to the various communities (especially the North end) in which they lived and some officers grew up, than did white officers. Black officers also identified the desire to give something back to the community, which white officers made little mention of. White officers, especially younger, less senior officers, identified the desire to stay in the area in which they grew up (i.e., the suburbs of Midwest City) over their commitment to Midwest City.

Officers that were not originally from Midwest City or the surrounding area claimed that it would be much easier for them to go work for another police department because they did not have the emotional ties to the area that many officers from the area did. One officer explained,

> "Oh sure. I didn't grow up here; I don't have a strong feeling of giving something back to the community or anything like that. I do my job, I like it here and everything else, but I have no commitment to this one over any other police department." (Officer Erving, white male, 5 years seniority)

Lastly, 85.4% of the patrol officers said they could just as well be working for a different department as long as the type of work was similar (see Table 6-16). On this question, gender differences were more apparent than race differences.

Table 6-16. Could you just as well be working for a different police department?

	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Yes	21 (80.8%)	10 (83.3%)	7 (100%)	3 (100%)	41 (85.4%)
No	5 (19.2%)	2 (16.7%)			7 (14.6%)

Statistics show that 100% of the females sampled versus approximately 80% of the males sample said that they could work for a different department as long as the type of work were similar and the pay and benefits were either equivalent or more. These percentages in part reflect the desire of female officers to work in a police department in which the workplace climate is not as sexist and hostile toward females. The fact that 100% of the female officers and 85.4% of all patrol officers

sampled could work for another department as long as the type of work were similar reveals that it was the work that was important and not necessarily the place.

Summary

In accordance with Porter and his colleagues, it is assumed that those officers who express commitment to an organization will share the same goals and values of the organization, will exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization to work toward goal attainment, and will express a definite desire to maintain organizational membership. This, however, did not prove to be the case in this study. While 70.8% of all patrol officers in the sample claimed to be committed to the police department, 64.6% did not share the same values, 48.9% did not share the same goals, and approximately 50% or more reported putting forth "less" or "the same amount of effort" as other officers into helping the department to be successful. In addition, about 65% of the officers felt that this was not the best of all possible departments for which to work and did not see much to be gained by sticking with the department indefinitely. In fact, 85.4% could just as well have been working for a different department as long as the type of work were similar.

These findings prove that asking patrol officers, "Are you committed to the police department?" is not enough to measure organizational commitment. Because patrol officers say they are committed to a police department does not necessarily mean they are. Measurement of organizational commitment requires a closer examination of the factors that characterize organizational commitment (i.e., belief in and acceptance of the organization's official goals and values, willingness to exert

considerable effort on behalf of the organization, and desire to maintain organizational membership), as outlined by Porter and Smith (1970). When data related to these factors were analyzed, findings revealed that a significant percentage of patrol officers in the Midwest Police Department were not truly committed to the police department. Some patrol officers responded affirmatively to the question, "Do you feel you're committed to the police department?", however, closer examination of officers attitudinal and behavioral commitments revealed a genuine lack of commitment to the police department.

When data related to the three aspects of the definition of organizational commitment, as outlined by Porter and Smith (1970), was analyzed, findings revealed significant differences in levels of organizational commitment between black and white patrol officers. Black male and black female patrol officers expressed higher levels of organizational commitment than white male and white female patrol officers. The higher levels of organizational commitment among black patrol officers can in part be explained by the fact that they expressed higher levels of commitment to Midwest City, especially to serve and protect the residents of the community and to work to make the city a better environment for friends and family that live and work in it. In addition, black male and black female patrol officers identified a stronger desire to maintain organizational membership, than white male and white female patrol officers. This can be explained in part by black patrol officers commitment to the city, but also because blacks officers felt confident that because of Affirmative Action they would have the opportunities to advance via promotion and/or work in different units of the police department (e.g., one or more of the

Community Policing Programs or mini-stations located within the black communities).

White patrol officers, on the other hand, expressed lower levels of organizational commitment, compared to black patrol officers. White patrol officers also expressed less commitment to the city (e.g., they do not like the residency policy) and to the city's residents, especially to the black community. Many white male patrol officers expressed negative attitudes towards the Community Policing Program, Neighborhood Support Units, and the establishment of mini-stations in Midwest City's black, high crime communities. In addition, white patrol officers felt that Affirmative Action has decreased their opportunities to advance via promotion and/or to work in different units of the police department.

CHAPTER VII

POLICE OCCUPATIONAL DEVIANCE: CONDUCT UNBECOMING

This research project was based largely upon the premise that the organizational and occupational culture of a police department is not a unified, monolithic culture in which patrol officers share a collective set of ethics, values and norms. Rather, an analysis of patrol officers' patterns of interpersonal interaction and organizational commitment has revealed thus far that the police organization and occupational culture consists of individuals and race-gender groups that form cliques on the basis of race and gender, shift and sector, partnerships, number of years, and level of organizational commitment.

In this chapter, I analyze the similarities and differences in patrol officers' responses to questions that pertain to police occupational deviance to reveal the diversity and variation in patrol attitudes about ethics, "good" and "bad" police work, and participation in occupationally deviant activities. Patrol officers' were asked to define "ethics" and to identify what it is that makes an action "unethical", to differentiate between "good" and "bad" police work, and to describe the dilemmas they face between right and wrong. I use the data to describe the informal norms and standards of the Midwest Police Department's occupational culture.

Patrol officers were also asked to identify problems that stem from officers that do not share the same ethics as them and their coworkers, problems that stem from officers who are not committed to the police department, and how they respond to conduct by coworkers that they see as unethical. What the analysis

reveals is a description of the "social" construction of various patterns of police occupational deviance, and the variation and diversity in the "social" acceptance and nonacceptance of deviant activities among the various police occupational cultures that make up the Midwest Police Department.

In the last section of this Chapter I examine the linkages between race, gender, patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and attitudes and possible propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities. In accordance with Propositions V and VI (see Chapter IV).

A Descriptive Interpretation of Ethics in Police Work

Ethics are a particularly important aspect of police work. Ethics or individual moral values about integrity, responsible behavior, compassion, and use of coercion and physical force are critically important in determining police officer's behavior (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993). Police work provides many opportunities for officers to deviate from legal and organizational standards; thus, if each individual officer does not have an internalized set of fundamental ethical beliefs and commitment to the department or to policing, then he or she may be more likely to engage in some form of occupationally deviant behavior (e.g., misconduct or corruption).

At the organizational level, the police occupational culture consists of sets of values, beliefs, norms and ethics which guide the discretion of both the organization and its officers, influences police methods and behaviors, and determines what is considered to be both "good" and "bad," or deviant in police work. For many patrol officers, "ethics," very simply, encompasses the identification of behavior that is

considered by the occupational culture to be right or wrong in the endeavor to conduct police work. In their efforts to define "ethics," patrol officers differentiated between a "moral ethic" and a "work ethic". "Moral ethics" include the specific moral and value choices that are made by individual officers in their relationships with others. The moral ethic entails honesty, loyalty, trust, and respect for others. This moral aspect of ethics is reflected in two patrol officers' explanations of what ethics means to them.

> "[Ethics] are based on the principles that you maintain regardless of what goes on around you." (white female)

> "[Ethics are] doing what you're supposed to be doing, without taking a bigger piece of the pie than you're supposed to be taking. Not taking advantage of situations when you're able to. You choose to take advantage of a situation." (white male)

The "work ethic," on the other hand, can be defined very simply as working within the rules or standards of the organization that govern the conduct of its members. The work ethic includes a dedication to policing, working hard to achieve the goals of the police department, and upholding the norms and standards of conduct (both on- and off-duty) outlined formally in the rules and regulations of the organization (e.g., do not steal, do not drink and drive, and do not violate the rules and regulations of the police department).

> "I think it would be, as far as dealing with this job, is doin' your job, doin' what you're supposed to do, and not figurin' out ways or trying to figure out ways to give anybody a disservice. So to give your all because you're here for the people, not for your own. It's not supposed to be for your own. To go out and do a job that you're sent to do and to do it well, or to do it as good as you can." (black male)

At times, patrol officers find problematic the conflict that exists between their individual ethical beliefs and the informal and formal standards of the police organization. In fact, at times, patrol officers will deviate from the formal standards of the police organization because these standards come in conflict with their individual ethical beliefs. One patrol officer explained,

> "You stop a guy and he's got three kids in the car, it's 20 below zero out there. I've seen guys make those people get out of the car and tow the car. Come on, where's the ethics? What if that is your mom who doesn't have anything, she's got a whole bunch of kids there. Are you going to tow that car? That's crazy, that's unethical. For any man to do that, he's blinded by commitment. That's why they gave us the thing called discretion." (black male, 3 years seniority)

Another patrol officer's comments and behavior exemplified the conflict that exists between individual practices, ethical beliefs, and the informal and formal standards of the police organization.

> Officer: "Ethics means that you're in a position where . . . with me . . . police officers have a certain creed and you abide by that creed as much as possible."
> Researcher: "What does that creed say?"
> Officer: "I forget what it says off hand. It's basically protect and serve, conduct yourself properly--as much as you can. Basically, what it comes down to is uh, you don't do dope, you don't do drive by shootings, you don't do things that would go against your job. If you're going to arrest somebody for something, you shouldn't be doing that same thing. But that comes with a little problem too. Arrest drunk drivers and don't drive home drunk [the officer laughs]." (white male)

The next time I saw this officer, he was off-duty, he was drunk, and he was at the convenience store in his patrol sector. I was there on a ride along with another patrol officer that worked the same sector, different shift. The three of us engaged in a brief conversation. Then I and the on-duty patrol officer with whom I was riding at the time left the convenience store and proceeded to get into the

patrol car. At the same time, the drunk, off-duty patrol officer proceeded to get into his car. It was apparent that this officer was going to drive under the influence, and the officer I was with said nothing.

That was not the only instance of drunk driving that occurred during my field observations. While involved in the field research, one of the Sergeants in the detective bureau was arrested by one of the suburban police departments for crashing his car while driving under the influence of alcohol while off-duty. Several officers told me the Police Chief of the Midwest Police Department was called in the middle of the night to go down to the Suburban Police Department to get this Sergeant out of jail. Over the course of several weeks I observed this Sergeant's car, practically totalled, in the parking lot of the police station. No discipline, to the best of my knowledge, was ever brought against this detective Sergeant.

It is difficult to determine to what degree a consideration of ethics influences what police officers do because police officers rarely talk about their activities in the context of what is or is not ethical (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993). So, what makes an action "unethical?" According to patrol officers, an "unethical" action, very simply, is "when you know something is wrong and do it anyway, when you do something that goes against what you believe, or when you do something that makes you feel guilty." The excerpts below provide an illustration of what made an action "unethical" for two different patrol officers.

> "I would say something becomes unethical when you're going against your beliefs or the way that you feel things are, right. If you're selling yourself short or selling someone else short, I would say that you're doing something unethical. If you're not doing it right and you know you're not doing it right. I'm not saying if someone is not doing their job right but they think they're

> doing it the right way. If you know you're not doing it the right way . . . for example, if you're sitting in the restaurant finishing your dinner for 20 minutes when someone's waiting on a call that needs the police. You know that you're not doing it right. I would say that makes it unethical." (white male)
>
> "When you know it's wrong and you do it anyway. That's the bottom line. When you go into someone's house and you find this person sick or dead or something like that and you take $20,000 dollars laying on the table. That is unethical. You know it's wrong but you do it anyway. That's wrong. I've never seen anybody do that." (black male)

Patrol officers also believed that an action is unethical if it is considered morally unacceptable by society. In other words, how the action appears to the public determined whether the action was unethical. So, if an officer does something that reflects badly on the police department in the public's eyes, it is considered unethical. Two patrol officers explained,

> "My belief is that we have to live a little better life if we're going to be the authoritative people over you telling you what's right and what's wrong, and [if we're going to] arrest the people for doing wrong. For officers to rape a person . . . some of the things they've chosen to do is unethical. Like pick up somebody and not arresting them, or handcuffing them and letting them have a phone call. Just like I said, how the public sees it. If the public sees it as unethical, then it's unethical for a police officer." (black female)
>
> Officer: "Well there's a lot of police officers that come out here and carry themselves wrong, just their actions, how people perceive. You just got to understand that people are watching you and keeping an eye on you to see how you act."
> Researcher: "Actions such as?"
> Officer: "A lot of times carry themselves improperly or swearing in front of the public, in front of females. Just talking loud, being rude to people. It's different types of stuff that you'll see a lot of out here." (white female)

Furthermore, patrol officers identified an action as unethical when it goes against departmental policy, or is acted out contrary to the standards of conduct outlined in the departments rules and regulation, and/or under the law. This could be a criminal act, a civil rights infraction (i.e. harassment of racial minorities or

violation of an individual's civil rights), or an abuse of the official authority and powers of the police. For example:

> "When somebody's out here abusing their powers. I guess out here whipping somebody's butt, or you know just thinking that they can go out here and kill somebody, or just override their powers. That's the part that really upsets me. So I think that's really unethical. That's really wrong for officers to do something like that." (black male)

> "Hittin' someone when they're in handcuffs, callin' someone a name. A female dog or uh, uh . . . I think the biggest thing that would be unethical to me, is treatin' a stranger like you wouldn't treat someone in your family. Treating somebody in a way that you wouldn't want to be treated." (black male)

> "When you're doing something that you would arrest somebody else for, or things like that. As far as you telling somebody else you shouldn't be doing this, shouldn't be doing that. That makes it seem very odd." (black male)

The variation in patrol officers' responses the question, "What makes an action unethical," demonstrates that the police organization was made up of individuals with differing ethics and standards of what is 'right' and 'wrong' and 'good' and 'bad' in police work. There were no apparent race and/or gender based differences in the way officers defined ethics or identified what it is that makes an action unethical; rather, differences were more individualized.

Race-gender differences did appear, however, when officers were asked, "Do you find that your co-workers share the same ethics as you?" One hundred percent of black female and about 91% of black male patrol officers identified sharing the same ethics as some but not all of their coworkers. These percentages are higher than those of the white patrol officers, and significantly higher than the 66.7% of white female patrol officers that claimed to share the same ethics with some, but not all, of their co-workers. This variation relates back to and builds on the analysis of

patterns of interpersonal interaction discussed in Chapter V. Chapter V data revealed that the variation and diversity in patterns of interpersonal interaction between patrol officers, both on- and off-duty, were based on personalities, shift work, partnerships, race and gender. The data presented in this chapter demonstrate that patrol officers' patterns of interaction also developed to some extent around shared ethics. Officers tended to seek out and interact with other patrol officers that shared similar ethics and values.

The fact that only 66.7% of white female patrol officers claimed to share the same ethics as some, but not all, of their coworkers may be reflective of the fact that white female patrol officers tended to be excluded from primary interactions with each of the other race-gender groups, both on-duty and off-duty. Figures 5-1 and 5-2 show, despite the fact that white female patrol officers identified primary interactions, both on- and off-duty, with white male patrol officers; white males identified only secondary interactions with white female patrol officers while on-duty, and no regular interactions with white female patrol officers off-duty. In fact, none of the other three race-gender groups in the sample identified regular interactions with white female patrol officers off-duty.

When patrol officers were asked to identify the ethics that they shared with their coworkers, patrol officers again identified sharing various aspects of both the "moral ethic" (e.g., honesty, helping people, protection of human life) and the "work ethic" (e.g., wanting to make good arrests, to protect and serve the public, following the rules, and presenting a positive image to the public) that were discussed earlier.

"Good" Police Work Versus "Bad" Police Work

"Good" Police Work. Analysis revealed that patrol officers' conceptions of "good" police work coincided very closely with their conceptions of what is normative and ethical in police work. In part, ethics provided the philosophical basis for what is "good" and "bad," and "right" and "wrong" in the endeavor to conduct patrol work. What is considered "good" police work is subjective. Most patrol officers presented as a narrow notion "good" patrol work, not about all of policing. What is considered "good" police work varies with the particular values of groups or cliques and individuals that make up the police organization.

Data analysis revealed that variation and diversity existed in the way patrol officers defined and differentiated "good" police work from "bad" police work. This variation tended to exist more often by the number of years an officer has been on the police force and level of organizational commitment than by race and/or gender of the patrol officer. Some patrol officers, especially younger, less senior officers (1-5 years on the force) who tended to be at a stage in their career where they are still committed to both the police department and to police work, identified "good" police work in strictly law enforcement terms. This included "catching the bad guys", making arrests, and chasing stolen cars. One white male patrol officer with three years on force identified "good" police work as:

> "Coming out here for 8 hours, putting all your problems aside, coming out here and wanting to work. Initiate and answer your calls. Take care of the problems, not pushing them off, so you don't have to go back to the same call again. I feel it's just working hard, initiating, trying to make all the arrests you can. You're not going to rid all of crime, but if you don't want to come out here and work, there's no sense in coming out here at all. Bouncing around from convenience store to convenience store."

Some of the younger, less senior patrol officers with high levels of organizational commitment that focus on the law enforcement aspect of police work identified "good" police work as using police discretion, at times, to overlook minor criminal and traffic offenses in order to wait for the felony arrests and the car chases. Field observations revealed that at times the behavior of patrol officers that have high levels of organizational commitment borderlined on what other officers and the formal standards (i.e., rules, regulations and policies) of the police organization considered to be "unethical" behavior or "bad" police work. For example, one officer worked the streets aggressively to initiate car chases. This officer rushed up on cars from behind to make the driver believe that he was after them, and then waited to see if they ran. This officer followed cars for a mile or two, until they turned into a driveway, and then he shone the spotlight in their cars and on their persons to let the people know he had been following them and watching them. He also turned on his overhead lights/sirens and came up behind cars to see if the driver of the car would take off, and if the driver pulled over and stopped he turned the lights off and went around them. Not only is the activity of initiating car chases in direct violation of departmental policy, but this behavior borderlines very closely on harassment of young black males. Many of his coworkers said they would not work with him or back him up because at times his activities were dangerous (he is going to get somebody killed or injured) and "unethical." This officer explained:

> "Good police work is knowing your duty, doing your duty, but you've got to mix in a huge amount of discretion and objectiveness. It's like, I could pull over 10 cars in a row, and in all 10 there would be something there I could probably arrest the person for. Either no license, suspended license, no insurance, improper plates, warrants for their arrest, open beer in the car,

> drugs in the car, a weapon in the car. You could almost find anything on third shift to arrest somebody for in the car. That to me is not good police work. What good is it for you to stop a car, take an hour to impound it, take him down to the station, book him and let him go, clear the station and come out and do that again, and do it eight times? You know, what have you done, you've towed eight cars, but you weren't available to answer the calls. You know somebody's breaking into this house, the guy's got a gun and he's going to come inside and rape her. You know, she wants the police to respond. And at that point, I think she couldn't care less if I'm towing a car. You know. I let a lot of things go and it's just to be available for the bigger things. That's what it all boils down to. To me what's good police work is knowing what should be enforced and what doesn't need to be enforced." (white male, 5 years seniority)

While riding as a participant observer, I observed that this officer also tried to talk people out of making a complaint or refused to take a complaint from a complainant because he considered the crime or offense to be insignificant or not worth his time. In other words, the complaint would not get him the recognition from his fellow officers or supervisors that a felony arrest or successful car chase and arrest would. At times, other patrol officers had to be called back at a later time to this officer's calls to take a complaint because he refused to do so earlier.

More experienced and more senior patrol officers (5 to 20 years on the police force) tended to identify good police work not only in law enforcement terms, but in terms of knowing how to manipulate citizens, knowing how to use police discretion and police power to get the job done, and knowing how to "cover your ass" to keep from getting in trouble. One officer explained it to me,

> "When I see another officer out here, and I say 'good job,' that means he was on top of the situation. He knew that there was a crime going on and he intervened and he stopped it, and he got the bad guy. I would say that's good police work . . . . Doing things by the book . . . might not necessarily mean good police work. I might have a dirt bag in the back seat and I might have to lie to him to get him to tell me the truth, that's just playing the game. That's just good police work, finding out what's going on. Also good police

> work is letting the driver of a car that you know is a big time drug dealer go, despite the fact that she has expired plates . . . to get her down the road on something good. Why make her nervous by getting her for something that you'd let Joe Blow go for 10 times a day. You know, you pull someone over because they went through a yellow light and their plates are bad and he's 35 years old and he just started a new job a month ago. You cut this guy a break. So why not do that to her so you can get her down the road on something good? Put her in prison, get her with 600 grams and put her in prison for life. It's all timing." (white male, 5 years seniority)

Both black patrol officers and veteran patrol officers (officers with 7 to 20 years on the police force) claimed there was more to good police work than just catching the bad guys and making good arrests. To these officers, good police work included preventive police work (i.e., cruising through the neighborhoods and trying to prevent crimes before they occur), public relations with residents of the community (i.e., helping the people and respecting the residents of the city), and traffic enforcement.

> "You just do what your supposed to do and what you're expected to do. You don't have to do nothing more or nothing less. That would be good police work. Anything else you do . . . is always a bonus. If you do what you're expected to do and what your supposed to do, your whole day will be filled up, your whole day. Just like me and Radley drive by and check on the stores [all night convenience/gas stations]. That's something that we're supposed to do; it's something we like to do. But if you do what your supposed to do and do what you're . . . you know, your day will be filled up. I mean just riding around, you could just ride through and flash the houses, that's something your supposed to do. That's called good policing. Just doing what your supposed to do and what's expected to you." (black male, 5 years seniority)

Another black male patrol officer with five years on the police force put it this way:

> "Good police work is always being out here doing your job and always answering your radio. That's a hard one to say, good police work. I don't consider like chasing a stolen car good police, I mean if a stolen car drives by you, you're lucky. Good police work is knowing there's a stolen car, knowing where people that steal cars hang out, and driving over to that area and

finding that stolen car because of your knowledge. I think that's good police work."

"Bad Police Work". Like "good" police work, individual attitudes of what constitutes "bad" police work coincided very closely with patrol officers' ethics, officers' conceptualization of what makes an action "unethical," and officers' level of organizational commitment. In addition, the norms and standards of both the formal (rules and regulations and code of conduct) and informal police organization (peer group support and patrol occupational culture) define and shape police officers conceptions of what is "good" and "bad" in police work. Sometimes, when the police occupational culture or a subculture of police officers have different conceptions of what is "good" and "bad" in police work, some officers may become involved in certain types of illegal behavior, as they consider it to be "good" police work. This was apparent in the earlier presentation of the various types of behaviors that some patrol officers with high levels of organizational commitment defined as "good" police work in the name of "catching the bad guys" and making arrests.

Patrol officers that were committed to the police department, to policing, and/or to the community, identified various police behaviors that characterized what they define as "bad police work." This included: not answering the radio, not responding to or answering calls for service, handling calls for service only half right and not taking complaints, or attempting to discourage residents from making a complaint. In separate interviews, three patrol officers explained,

> "I've had family fight calls . . . and we all go to the family fight, and there's the front door wide open, and they take the spotlight, shine the spotlight on the door for 30 seconds. Nobody comes out, they clear the call. Hey, she might be a scum bag, maybe she's a real piece of shit, maybe she has AIDS

> and you could give a shit, but she's still a person. You got to try to help people." (white male)
>
> "I've seen officers do it right on the street, someone flag them down and just keep going, or not doing a thorough investigation, or taking a complaint. Not listening to the radio, and not making an effort to initiate things." (white female)
>
> "I think there's a lot of guys around here that don't have the ethics. They would go short of the full job just because it's easy. There's a lot of people around here that take the easy way out . . . and I think that's bad ethics. It's bad police work. There's days that I don't want to come in here, there's days when I don't want to deal with people, but you know you put on this uniform. There's days that you just have to, you have to deal with people and you have to do this job to the best of your ability. That's just part of it." (white male)

Over the course of 580 hours of field research, I observed several instances where patrol officers would fail to answer their radio, not the handle calls for service thoroughly or only half right, and take their time getting to calls. On several occasions I observed patrol officers sit in the restaurant for 5 to 15 minutes after receiving a call from radio dispatch. One white male officer with 19 years on the police force told me, "If you wait long enough it goes away." Another patrol officer whom I accompanied received a call of a fight in the parking lot of a gay bar. In route to the gay bar, this officer drove 10 to 15 miles per hour under the speed limit in hopes that the other patrol car that was also dispatched to the call would get on first, or the suspects would leave the scene. When we arrived at the gay bar the suspects had left, but the other patrol car still had not arrived. The officer said, "They must have driven slower than we did." These are just two examples of such behavior. Patrol officers, however, told me numerous stories about officers that drove in circles to get to calls, that took the long route, or that waited several

minutes to respond to make sure they were not the first car on the scene. A black female patrol officer explained,

> "Bad police work would be just somebody riding around all day. To me it would be a lazy officer, somebody that just rides around from restaurant to restaurant. I did that on third shift. We got a call, a man with a gun, he was driving by, I'm like 'what are you doing, why don't you get there?' [The officer said] 'Well, let another car on first'. I think that's bad police work. Another officer might get on first and it could turn into a different situation. So, I would say that would be bad police work." (black female, 3 years)

Another white male patrol officer commented:

> "Being careless and sloppy. Not knowing what's going on around you. Not taking pride in your job. There's a crime going on three blocks away and you drive back so you're the second car on so you don't have to take the report, and the guy's gone now and they don't have a very good description. What if you had turned and went there right away? You'd have gotten him running out of the store. That's the difference between good and bad police work."

Bad police work included a wide range of police behaviors, including: doing nothing; being discourteous or disrespectful to citizens (i.e., smart mouthing or mouthing off to citizens, being sarcastic to suspects or complainants); acting in a manner that gives the uniform a bad name (i.e., harassing and abusing city residents, not caring and showing it); being a hypocrite, violating those vary laws that officers are sworn and trusted to uphold and enforce on a daily basis. A senior black male patrol officers explained that bad police work is

> ". . . someone coming' up to me sayin, 'You know this officer he looks like this, or rides in this car. And I saw him do this and I saw him do that, and he. . . he gave bad service and he was rude. And he was abusive, and he did things he didn't have to do.' That's bad policing." (black male)

Patrol officers go through a process of defining and redefining their conceptualization of ethics and what makes an action unethical in efforts to define and differentiate between good police work and bad police work. This process is

ongoing throughout an officer's career as laws change, and officers are exposed, over time, to various circumstances and activities on the street and from their coworkers.

A Descriptive Interpretation of the Patterns of Police Occupational Deviance in the Midwest Police Department

In an effort to reveal the various forms of police occupational deviance that occurred in the Midwest Police Department and patrol officers' attitudes towards occupational deviance, patrol officers were asked to identify problems that stemmed from officers who did not share the same ethics as they and their coworkers and problems that stemmed from officers who were not committed to the police department. This section of the chapter not only presents an analysis of the various forms of police occupational deviant activities that patrol officers identified, but draws on the more than 580 hours of field observations to identify the relationship between level of organizational commitment and attitudes towards and possible propensity to participate in occupationally deviant activities.

Occupational Deviance in the Midwest Police Department

To reiterate, this section of the chapter reveals the various forms of employee deviance that are ongoing in the Midwest Police Department (i.e., work avoidance and manipulation, employee deviance against the organization and for the organization, and informal rewards) and presents patrol officers' attitudes towards these forms of occupationally deviant activities (e.g., the effect it has on their work). The four-type typology as advanced by Punch (1985, pp. 11-12), as presented in

Chapter II, is used here to organize and present an analysis of the patterns and social construction of occupational deviance in the Midwest Police Department.

Type I: Work Avoidance and Work Manipulation. When patrol officers were asked to "identify problems that stem from officer's that do not share the same ethics as them and their coworkers" and "problems that stem from officers that are not committed to the department,", they identified a variety of activities that patrol officers engaged in to make work or working conditions more comfortable and acceptable. Among many patrol officers, these activities were seen as partially condoned ways of avoiding the rigors of patrol work (Punch, 1985, p. 11). The main problems identified include: refusing to work (i.e., turning in an empty daily); not handling calls correctly or carrying a fair share of the workload; being rude to citizens; failing to back up another officer on a call (i.e., jeopardizing offer safety); trying to get other officers not to work (each of these are discussed below); sleeping on-duty; and the practice of dragging the booking of suspects and paperwork out over several hours.

Refusal to work, which falls under the heading of work avoidance, is the first form of occupational deviance examined here (see Punch, 1985). Patrol officers that refused to work avoided as many difficult situations and problems as possible. These officers did not carry a fair share of the work load, they did not always answer calls for service to which they are dispatched, they did not respond to calls in a timely manner (failed to provide the necessary back up for other patrol officers), and they did not handle calls for service fully or in a correct manner. One officer told me,

> " [Officers that are not committed to the department]. . . . I'll say most of them just come to work to pick up their paycheck, period. I mean they'll sluff on calls, not want to answer calls, they don't want to back up other officers, or when they do back 'em up, they let other officers . . . get on first." (black male)

Two other patrol officers added,

> "I mean you got people there that just won't go. It's like the donut shop down there. It used to be full of five cruisers down there, you have a man with a gun, say if we had a man with a gun, right here at the pawn shop, they won't move. So we have problems with that. You don't trust them, no respect, no trust. How can you work with somebody that you don't respect and you definitely can't trust? It's hard, it's hard." (black male)

Animosity, in fact, existed between the more committed or so-called "working patrol officers" and noncommitted patrol officers who refused to work or avoided work. One officer who spoke about this animosity said:

> "In the patrol level it makes it hard on everybody else because then everybody else has to pick up the slack. Like today, when other officers don't check into service, the officer had to drive close to seven miles to take an accident report half a block from the station, when there's three officers getting ready to come on who could come out and take it. That's a perfect example. But when officers aren't committed, don't want to get out there and do what they're supposed to do, or go where they're called, people have to start picking up slack and automatically your doing your work. You're doing somebody else's work and pretty soon you're going to be a little ticked off. Then you're going to develop a bad attitude. So I think other officers not being totally committed causes some concern. Not so much committed as doing what they're responsible to do, taking care of their responsibilities. I think if everybody did that, this place would be a little easier to work for." (black male, 5 years seniority)

Two other patrol officers, in separate interviews, told how officers that were not committed to the department or to policing tried to encourage patrol officers that were committed to doing their jobs, not to work. One officer explained,

> "They try to bring down other officers, try to get them not to come out here and work. Why go out there and work if the department is not going to back you up? They try to get you to be typically as lazy as they are--just go out

> and ride around, earn your paycheck, go home and enjoy it, not answer their call properly." (white male)
>
> "A lot of [officers], they get down on you for doing the job because they're not, and they think it makes them look bad. If everyone goes slow then no one looks bad. But if three guys are out here working and three guys aren't, you're going to hear a lot more bitching from the three guys that aren't because now you're making them look bad. They've got bad ethics, they've become cynical on this job, and you're the asshole because you're out there doing it right." (white male, 3 years seniority)

More often than not, patrol officers who refused to or avoided work were at one time in their careers aggressive and committed police officers; however, for one reason or another (e.g., having been in trouble, having faced disciplinary action, having been sued) they lost their commitment to the department and the job. Now, they figure the best way to avoid trouble is to do as little work as possible, and take as few risks as possible.

> "Yea, you get a lot of them that just won't do absolutely anything, they won't even do their jobs. There'll be guys that don't even show up on the calls and just clear. And a lot of them they [supervisors] won't discipline. It's like the only thing you can never get in trouble for doing nothing . . . but you can always get in trouble for doing something. And that's definitely true here. To do nothin', and to do something you can get in trouble." (white male)

Another patrol officer explained,

> "Officers like the one's that don't work, don't get ombudsman's complaints and everything else, but the workers do. So it's kind of like well gee, why go out here and bust my ass if I'm going to have people bitching at me all the time?" (white male, 5 years seniority)

At the time of the study, some patrol officers were refusing to work because the city had refused to settle their contract. These patrol officers have been working without a contract for two years. At the time of the study, the police union and city officials had turned to a third party arbitrator in efforts to reach a settlement.

Because of the issue of the unsettled contract, many patrol officers were refusing to write traffic tickets (patrol officers identify traffic tickets as a source of revenue for the city). One of the black female patrol officers told me:

> "Some . . . officers say, 'I'm not doing any work until we get a contract raise. And I don't feel that way, I feel like, well I'm here and I'm going to do my work everyday . . . do what I have to do every day. And I'm not just going to ride around and do nothin' all day long."

The second type of occupational deviance that falls under the heading of work avoidance is *failure to provide back up* for fellow officers. "Working patrol officers" complained that some patrol officers, especially those who were noncommitted or had a low level of commitment, did not respond to calls for service in a timely manner. Many of the "working patrol officers" did not feel they could depend on these patrol officers for back up.

Typically, radio dispatch will dispatch anywhere from one to two or three patrol cars to a call, depending upon the type and severity of the call. Depending upon whether or not there is a weapon(s), depending upon how many suspects or complainants there are, and whether the crime is in progress or not, are determining factors for how many patrol cars will be dispatched. For calls such as a family fight, radio dispatch might dispatch two patrol cars; for a man with a gun, radio may dispatch three patrol cars; and for a B&E in progress, radio may dispatch two or three patrol cars. When radio dispatches a car or several cars to a call, those officers are required to give their current location so that radio dispatch and other patrol officers can estimate how long it will take for them to arrive on a call. On most calls, patrol officers are depending on other patrol officers for back up (especially at a time

when manpower is low, extra manpower and officer safety are major concerns to patrol officers). One patrol officer reported:

> "I think that they at times jeopardize other officers' safety . . . and officer that's dedicated to the people out here get a certain call and get there. The officers that aren't dedicated, they become so hard out here, they sit at the donut shop or the restaurant or whatever, they take their time, and take the long way to get there and everything. This other officer could be in trouble and need them. That's the reason there was two cars sent. The only person that it's hurting is that other officer." (white male)

In both the interviews and during the ride alongs, patrol officers recalled instances and told stories of times when they were in need of back up and fellow patrol officers did not show up.

> "Basically the one's I've seen are problems with officers that just don't work, people showing up to the calls 20 minutes late when an officer might need some help. We've had calls, it happened on third shift. The Lieutenant's waiting on a call and they don't know, he waited 25 minutes. He didn't discipline them. I don't know what excuse was given." (white male, 5 years seniority)

> "...like when you do have a two man car out here, if they're out their sleeping or like they're doing something. Like you heard them trying to reach one of the cars up north. They're out there slacking off and we need some back up. Maybe we're out there getting shot at, maybe a worse scenario might take place, and they're not out there, something's going to happen." (black male, 5 years seniority)

> "Say for instance there's an officer on a call and they're not really committed, so they're going to get there when they want to get there. An officer could be in trouble and they're just taking their time getting there, and an officer could be hurt and if they would have gotten there in time that could have been prevented. So that's one of the problems that, that has happened before. It's never happened to me." (black female, 3 years seniority)

Patrol officers realized that they could not always depend on their fellow officers for the necessary back up on calls (especially dangerous calls, such as person with a gun, shootings and domestic fights). This is especially unfortunate at a time

when manpower is extremely low and the rate of crime is extremely high in Midwest City. One black male patrol officer discussed his concern for officer safety.

> "Like I say, it's all an issue about security out here . . . and safety. I want to feel safe when I ride up on a call with a man with a gun. I want to know because me and my partner think its a serious problem, another two officers might say 'well, they're going to handle it, they'll be alright . . . we don't want to break from the donut shop.' Hey, that's [safety] important to me, so get up here and back me up. They say, 'uh, they got it under control.' Anything could happen, anything." (5 years seniority)

Another officer told me:

> "Oh, there's a lot of animosity. A lot of people say they don't carry their fair share of the workload. A lot of times some of us get out here and we really get left hanging on a call. It's where guys would be, like somewhere out of town or something like that . . . and when they're asked to give their location they give their location as right around the corner from the call. So when you get to the call and you're expecting your back up to be right around the corner and find out they're coming from like a suburban of Midwest City, that hurts. It really does. That really does hurt." (black male, 3 years seniority)

A third form of occupational deviance that falls under the heading of "work avoidance and work manipulation" is when patrol officers *fail to check back with radio dispatch after clearing a call.* After every call, patrol officers are required to check back with radio dispatch; this is called "clearing a call." When patrol officers clear a call, radio dispatch gives the patrol officers the time they cleared the call (which is recorded in their daily log along with the time they received the call), and dispatches the officer/patrol car to another call, if another call is being held.

I observed and patrol officers told me that many patrol officers waited anywhere from several minutes to one hour after a actually clearing a call to check back with radio dispatch to clear themselves. Officers took this extra time to talk with fellow officers, to sleep, to get something to eat, to use the bathroom, or to

engage in some other activities that were not job-related. Patrol officers also encouraged their fellow officers not to check back right away in efforts to cover themselves (because radio dispatch will know something is going on if one patrol car checks back after a call and another patrol car does not). On many occasions, I observed patrol officers waiting up to one hour to check-in at the beginning of their shift or to clear from a call. Often times, while I was with the officer, this unaccounted for time was spent running to the bank, getting something to eat, talking with other patrol officers, and taking care of other personal business. At times, patrol officers used their hand radio when speaking with radio dispatch, instead of the car radio (radio dispatch can tell by the strength of the signal which radio officers are speaking on), to give radio dispatch the impression that they were still out of the car busy on their call.

It was not uncommon either for patrol officers to lie about their geographic location when radio dispatch asked them for a location before dispatching them to a call, or for officers to check to see if there are any calls pending and then leave the city limits on personal business. I also observed patrol officers telling fellow patrol officers to clear for them when they clear themselves; that means that patrol officers clear for each other and check in for each other. Essentially, officers are covering for each other.

Patrol officers that did not check back with radio dispatch after clearing a call were often those officers that also avoided work and took their time responding to calls. These officers rationalized or justified their actions. One officer told me,

> "Rules and regulations say you have to check right back, but if radio is running you on call after call after call after call, and continues to hammer you without letting up or calling somebody over to give you a hand, you just don't check back for a while."(white male)

"Working patrol officers" or patrol officers that are committed to policing said it is a problem when fellow patrol officers do not check back with radio dispatch after clearing a call because other patrol officers that do check after calls have to pick up the extra work load. One officer explained,

> "If officers clear a call and don't let the dispatcher know for an hour . . . then for that hour maybe I have to answer calls that they should be taking. I guess that's a problem." (white male)

Sleeping on-duty is the fourth type of occupational deviance that patrol officers engaged in; however, patrol officers rarely identified other patrol officers sleeping on-duty as problematic. Sleeping on-duty occurs most often on third shift, not to say that it does not occur on first, second or fourth shifts. While riding as a participant observer on third shift (10:45/11:45 p.m. to 6:45/7:45 p.m.), I observed that it was common practice for patrol officers to sleep on-duty (most often during the last hours of the shift before the sun comes up). On many of the ride alongs with third shift patrol officers it was not uncommon to spend anywhere between half an hour to two and a half hours sleeping behind a building, behind a snow pile, in a parking lot, or in a field. One female patrol officer told me that her white male partner was sleeping so deeply one night that she drove to a call and handled it before he even woke up. During the six months of observations, only two patrol officers (these are partners) were disciplined for sleeping on-duty, when they were caught by a city official and Sergeant sleeping in the patrol car behind the police station.

One of the last forms of work avoidance and work manipulation that I observed was what Manning (1977) termed "easing." "Easing" in this case is when patrol officers make an arrest in order to tie themselves up for several hours booking an arrestee, and completing the necessary paperwork and complaint forms. Officers often did this filling out the paperwork on arrestees in order to get off the streets for a while on a busy summer shift or on a cold rainy day/night. On several occasions I spent several hours at the police station sitting and waiting while patrol officers dragged out the time it took them to book and fill out the paperwork on arrestees, and to type up complaints. This practice of "easing" was especially common if it meant an officer could be paid overtime.

On one occasion, while riding as a participant observer on third shift on Easter morning, I watched as the patrol officer dragged out handling an attempted sexual assault for 6 hours (including taking the complaint, calling an ambulance to check a bump on a little boy's head despite the fact that the little boy appeared to be fine, and then spending two hours typing the complaint into the computer). I got the impression that this officer was trying to stay off the streets and in the police station because he did not want to get tied up on a call and be kept overtime on Easter morning.

At times, patrol officers expressed discontent with the fact that their fellow patrol officers took so long to book a suspect. One officer explained why he got frustrated when the other officers in his sector take so long to book an arrestee.

> Officer: "Now, I'm tired of running because I feel that everyone should carry their weight. Now, this is my opinion from today. I've had five B&E calls and it's a one man car call, but there's either one or two one man cars in this

> area and they haven't received any. And I'm like if I have five, you have four, and he has four that's fine. I mean, I don't have a problem with that. But I do have a problem when I got six and they have none."
> Researcher: "Now why aren't they getting any calls?"
> Officer: "Well I don't know, per se, but he [radio dispatch] told me that they were tied up on an arrest. Now I could have, just me, and I'm not a fast worker. I can process almost anybody, and this is stretching it, in two hours. Haven't nobody been out here for quite some time but me. I've been taking radio calls and B&E reports since, uh, what 10:00 [a.m.], and its almost 2:00 [p.m.] now. I can process almost anybody, you can process almost any type of arrest in two hours and that's working by yourself. So, I just think, like I said, I'm not saying' I go in there and burn the typewriter up or anything like that. But there's these people that take advantage of the working conditions, the lack of supervision, because there's no way that it should take anybody so long to process an arrest. Help me understand." (black male, 7 years seniority)

On other occasions, patrol officers tried to make an arrest at the end of the shift or work it so that they were the first patrol car on a shooting or a stabbing or some other call that occurred at the end of their shift, in order to get the paid overtime.

Punch (1985) argued that these various practices of work avoidance and work manipulation are perceived as "normal" and even mundane by many patrol officers. This study reveals that even though these various practices of work avoidance and work manipulation were common practice, officers of differing levels of organizational commitment viewed these activities differently. As the data analysis demonstrates, patrol officers with high levels of organizational commitment found these practices of work avoidance and work manipulation that officers with low level of organizational commitment engaged in to be deviant and detrimental to officer safety and community service. Officers with low levels of organizational commitment, however, viewed such practices of work manipulation and work avoidance to be

routine practices, activities that make poor work and working conditions comfortable and acceptable. Officers with low levels of organizational commitment viewed the ambitious "working police officer" (i.e., highly committed), the officer who had given up the day-to-day compensations and various practices to avoid work, as the deviant in the occupational culture where such practices are taught and are considered the norm or the standard among the more senior officers.

Type II: Employee Deviance--Against the Organization. When patrol officers identified "problems that stem from officers that do not share the same ethics as them and their coworkers" and "problems that stem from officers that are not committed to the department," they identified a variety of activities that patrol officers engaged in to undermine the goals of the organization or to strike back at the organization and the city. For one, patrol officers that lacked commitment to the department regularly had high levels of *absenteeism* (i.e., they took a sick day or an annual day). On many occasions, so many officers took the day off, which placed patrol manpower below the 50% manpower level that they were required to maintain as stipulated in the patrol officer's contract. In addition, many patrol officers were *refusing to write traffic tickets* until the city settles their contract. These are two ways that officers worked to undermine the goals of the organization or strike back at the organization, many for not settling their contract. These forms of deviance were often confined to patrol officers with lower levels of organizational commitment, and were seen as negative and damaging by administration.

On the other hand, patrol officers identified various forms of misconduct and corruption that patrol officers engaged that tarnished the image of the police

department and police officers in the public's eyes. Police misconduct is "related to the violation of organizational standards: policies procedures, rules and regulations (Roberg & Kuykendall, 1993, p. 186); and police corruption involves overt criminal activity by police officers, such as committing crimes like stealing or selling illicit drugs (Barker & Carter, 1993).

Police sexual misconduct is one form of police misconduct that patrol officers engage in. Patrol officers are in a unique position and have numerous opportunities to sexually harass citizens. The basis for the police opportunity is a combination of police authority and constant contact with members of society (Sapp, 1991). While most of the patrol officers in this study did not use their positions and the opportunities to sexually harass citizens, enough did to make this activity worthy of discussion among patrol officers.

There were no apparent differences between the occurrence of sexual misconduct among white male and black male patrol officers; there was, however, between male and female patrol officers. While it is true that female patrol officers have the opportunities to sexually harass male citizens, the opportunities for females are not the same as those for male officers. Female patrol officers find that male citizens do not express the same desire to be with or have the same attraction to a female who carries a gun and wears a police uniform, as do female citizens to male patrol officers. Therefore, this discussion of police sexual misconduct is limited to male patrol officers.

Patrol officers identified several categories of police sexually motivated or sexual misconduct behaviors, including: non-sexual contacts that are sexually

motivated; voyeuristic contacts; contacts with crime victims; citizen-initiated sexual contacts; and sex on-duty (Sapp, 1991). Each of these five categories are briefly discussed below.

Non-sexual contacts that are sexually motivated include officer-initiated contacts with female citizens without legal basis or probable cause (e.g., patrol officers stop attractive females walking down the street or driving in their cars to question them or to gather more information about them). These contacts may not be recognized by the female citizens and they may not be aware of the underlying motivations of the officers (see Sapp, 1992).

Some patrol offices engage in voyeuristic behavior while on-duty; this includes seeking out parked cars in hopes of observing sexual activities by the occupants of the cars. Field observations revealed that it was not uncommon for male patrol officers to make regular checks on parking spots where prostitutes and "lovers" frequent in hopes of observing unsuspecting women partially nude or in sexual activities. Patrol officers may sneak up on the car or shine their alley spotlight in the parked cars to catch people. Patrol officers told stories about catching both heterosexual and homosexual couples engaged in sexual activities.

Another common form of voyeuristic behavior that male patrol officers participated in, particularly on third shift, was frequenting strip bars while on-duty. I heard repeated stories about third shift patrol officers that frequented the city's strip bars for purposes of arranging sexual contacts with the dancers. One white female patrol officer told me she had frequented the strip bars on several occasions with her male partners. A white male patrol officer added:

> "They're out making a bad name for the department. Doing all the shit they're doing. They're over at the titty bars sitting inside watching, people are looking at the police watching this. It's like as soon as they see one police officer doing it, they're all like that." (white male, 7 years seniority)

In fact, among one group of white male patrol officers on third shift, it was not uncommon for them to engage in on-duty sexual activities with the strippers/dancers. On one occasion, the shift Lieutenant received a tip from motel security that patrol officers were at the motel engaging in sexual activities with the strippers/dancers. The Lieutenant went over to try to catch these officers in the act. However, these officers typically had another officer that served as lookout (one of the white female officers or one of the officers that didn't participate in such sexual misconduct) for these officers, and warned them if supervision was coming. Needless to say, the Lieutenant did not catch the officers.

Another form of police sexual misconduct is sexual contacts with crime victims. Female crime victims are especially susceptible to sexual harassment from police officers. Often, the victims are emotionally upset and turn to the patrol officer for support and assistance. Under these circumstances, male patrol officers may make unnecessary callbacks to the residence of the female victim (Sapp, 1991).

The last two categories of police sexual misconduct are *citizen-initiated sexual contacts* and *sex on-duty*. At times, the two go hand-in-hand, but they do not have to. Some sexual contacts between patrol officers and female citizens are initiated by citizens. Male patrol officers often have stories about "police groupies," females, often young, who are attracted sexually to the uniform, the gun, and the power of the police officer (Sapp, 1991). Female groupies can be found at the restaurants,

conveniences stores, taverns, and strip bars that patrol officers frequent; they are also among the females that patrol officers come in contact with on calls and on the streets. Some women express openly their desire to have sex with a police officer. During the field research, I observed waitresses and women on the streets that propositioned these officers, and on several occasions I was left sitting and waiting while these male patrol officers spent time flirting with these women. One patrol officer told me,

> "Some guys [spend several] hours at the restaurants flirting with the waitresses. I had one partner in particular that I left a couple times. I said, 'Hey man, I'm the senior officer and the senior officer's supposed to have the say in the car more or less.' I was in a restaurant with him not too long ago and he had this girl so ticked off at him, I mean she was really mad. There was other people in the restaurant and she was cussing him out and throwing food at him . . . and he's a police officer and he's in uniform. The guy goes in the restaurant and he acts like he's partying and stuff. I mean he told me himself, he said, 'This job is fun, you don't come to work to work." (white male)

Another officer explained,

> "Officers that have sex on-duty, no they're not committed to the department. What they're committed to is just getting as much as they can with the blue uniform. Believe it or not, there's a lot of girls out there that like the blue uniform. That's not a commitment to the department, that's not a commitment to other officers, or a commitment to yourself. You're out to get sex and that's what you're going to do. I know officers who have driven outside the city and done this, that have not taken the calls. I could name a couple of males that don't even go to calls. Radio calls them and gives them a call, and then 10 to 15 minutes later they clear and never went and checked it. They get an alarm call, about 20 minutes later, 'checks o.k.' because he's dropped his partner off and he's out with some girl. He's dropped his partner of at somebody's house and says 'I'll be back in an hour or so.' Left his partner at somebody's house and is out with some girl riding around in his cruiser, trying to get in her pants. And that's wrong." (black male)

Over the course of 580 hours of field observations, I observed the occurrence of non-sexual contacts that were sexually motivated, voyeuristic contacts, and citizen-

initiated sexual contacts. I also know that patrol officers had been disciplined and dismissed from the Midwest Police Department for participating in sexual activities with while on-duty. Several patrol officers had been accused of raping women (in the back seat of the patrol car) while on-duty, and on one occasion several officers were accused of gang rape after having sex with a female citizen at an off-duty party.

A second type of employee deviance against the organization is the *use of excessive or unnecessary verbal force against citizens.* Excessive or unnecessary verbal force comes in the form of threats made by police officers (e.g., 'do this or you're going to jail') and/or the use of curse words used to communicate a command, order, or threat to an individual (e.g., 'shut up asshole or I'll beat your fuckin' ass'). Field observations revealed the frequent use of excessive and unnecessary verbal force towards victims, complainants and suspects. An officer with a high level of organizational commitment told me,

> "It becomes unethical when you lose your temper and you say something you didn't mean, or do something you didn't mean to, or not even mean to. Just do something your not supposed to. Swearing isn't right. Sometimes a person stands there and swears at you, every name in the book, and spits on you and everything else. And sometimes you lose your temper and swear back. I guess that would be unethical." (white male, 5 years seniority)

Several white male patrol officers maintained that it was necessary to use excessive verbal force in conversations with some citizens (especially lower class black persons) because they did not understand any other language. Patrol officers told me, "you have to speak to the black people at their level."

Many white male patrol officers attempted to imitate the Black English that is spoken by the majority of black residents when engaging in conversation with them

or confronting them in a disturbance call. At times, white male patrol officers imitated the black English in a sarcastic manner behind the backs of black residents and black patrol officers. This is not to say that black male patrol officers did not use the same verbal force or change their speech when interacting with other black city residents, as did white male patrol officers. But white male patrol officers did it more often and did it in a manner that could be perceived as harassing to black persons. Female patrol officers, on the other hand, used verbal force much less frequently than did male patrol officers. Female officers also tended not to change their speech patterns, in an attempt to speak Black English, when interacting with black residents. One black male officer told me, "I've heard the expression, 'fuck these people up here [on the north end]' too often. I can't feel that way."

A third form of employee deviance against the organization is the *use of excessive or unnecessary physical force against citizens*. Excessive or unnecessary physical force comes in the form of physical force used to restrain or hold individuals (e.g., a police officer may use hand and arm grabs or wrist twists or locks in order to control or restrain an individual), nonlethal force to execute an arrest (e.g., an officer uses a baton, mace or other device to execute an arrest), severe control holds to subdue a violent suspect, or the use of deadly force to control an individual.

Police officers, individually or in groups, may opportunistically or systematically use violence in ways that are externally considered to be illegitimate and improper. Internally, however, these form of physical force are considered nothing more than day-to-day activities necessary to detain aggressive or nonwilling suspects (Skolnick, 1986). On occasion, patrol officers will employ more force than

is necessary for a particular situation, but too often than not there are differences of opinion concerning what is and is not appropriate when police force is used. While field observations revealed no occurrences of patrol officers using apparent use of excessive or unnecessary physical force, individual patrol officers did tell me stories about their own and other patrol officers' experiences of using excessive or unnecessary force to detain or control individuals (e.g., slapping suspects across the face or in the head, roughing up arrestees, assaulting prostitutes, kicking prisoners in the groin, and slapping prisoners). One white male patrol officer told me that he received 29 days of suspension when the department found him guilty of misuse of a handcuffed prisoner, conduct unbecoming, excessive force, and mistreatment of prisoners after he kicked a prisoner in the groin and then slapped him upside the head. Another patrol officer commented:

> "It's a big problem when you arrest somebody and another officer come up and abuses your prisoner in a way, calls him names or cusses him out, or grabs him whatever, you know. And that creates a problem for me, because I arrested him, I'm responsible for the guy, nobody else should be, should have any contact with him." (white male)

Black patrol officers expressed concern about the physical abuse and harassment that black Midwest City residents endured from some police officers. One black male patrol officer told me,

> "Well it puts you in a bad situation when you have an officer that's jumpin' on somebody or beatin' somebody and there's no cause, and you're there witnessin' it and it puts you in a bad situation. Well he's mistreatin' somebody, whether it be physically or verbally. He's mistreatin' somebody. And as you see I know a lot of people, and they always, it seems to be, not always, but the time they get into a situation where they physically abuse or somethin', they look at me and say, 'man, you gonna' let them do me like this.' And that's puts me in a bad spot because I'm torn between something

> that I know is wrong and then to be expected here, you like can't say anything." (black male, 7 years seniority)

The last category of employee deviance against the organization are various types of *police corruption* that patrol officers engage in both on- and off-duty. To repeat, police corruption involves overt criminal activity by police officers, such as committing crimes like stealing, selling illicit drugs, murder and extortion (Barker & Carter, 1993). Difficulty abounds in attempting to discover the occurrence of these forms of occupational secrets--that is, misconduct and corruption--since police officers do not routinely discuss such aspects of their own activities. Police operate by a "code of silence" which dictates that an officer does not "rat on your fellow officers"; in keeping with this code, officers are unwilling to discuss too much information about their colleagues. In effect, the nature of such corrupt occupationally deviant activities is a taboo subject (Punch, 1985).

Throughout my field research, police corruption was discussed, but remarks were limited, often to a reflection on past events. Patrol officers were also very careful to distance themselves from those incidents (see Punch, 1985). For instance, one patrol officer whom other patrol officers told me had been involved in various forms of misconduct (such as sexual misconduct and use of illicit drugs), told me in his interview:

> "The complaints I hear from people that know me personally and have had run- ins with the police, and they feel as though they weren't treated fairly. I know there's a lot of officers out there that make it hard for, make other officers look bad because of the way they carry themselves and the way they handle things. I've seen it and I've been around it. I know it exists. Some [officer's] walk around here and say, 'I've got a badge, I can carry a gun, I'm the police. I can do whatever, whenever I want to do it, how I want to do it.' I don't share it with them."

Throughout the interview and over the course of 16 hours of observing this officer, he distanced himself from associations with any form of misconduct. Punch (1980, p. 185) maintained that the inability of officers to discuss deviance may be an avoidance mechanism for those officers who would have difficulty facing up to the reality of their wrongdoing if it were spelled out to them openly. No officers admitted straight that he or she had been involved in serious incidents. One white male patrol officer explained,

> "There's some officers that have done some questionable things, some things that I wouldn't do. Some things that are borderline legal and illegal. I think for you to be a police officer and doing something illegal would be unethical or immoral, but I think for the majority most of us are law abiding people. I think as long as you stay within those parameters, you're going to be on the same ethical line, same moral line." (white male)

Another officer told me,

> "All you have to do is read the paper; there's someone in trouble all the time. Shooting a gun off, doing drugs, raping a girl in a cruiser. Oh my gosh, the list goes on, so I guess they can't be too committed and professional." (white female)

Patrol officers used storytelling to disclose occupational and organizational secrets related to the dark side of their work (instances of police corruption). These included stories about police officers that used drugs both on- and off-duty, officers involved in the sale of illicit drugs, consumption of alcohol on-duty (this used to be a common practice several years ago; today it still occurs but not as frequently), the illegal use and/or sale of service weapons (i.e., a story about an officer's 9mm that showed up in a drug house during a drug raid and used in drive-by shootings), officers involved in illegal gambling, shoplifting from retail stores, and officers accused of rape.

Type III: Employee Deviance--For the Organization. The third type of general occupational deviance that Punch (1985) cited include day-in and day-out activities that are often in direct violation of departmental rules and regulations, but that patrol officers engage in order to get the job done or to manage the police job. In the interviews, patrol officers were asked to identify the various rules and regulations that they have to work around in order to manage doing the police job. Officers were also asked to explain how they get around these rules and regulations.

Standards for behavior are derived from goals and objectives, policies and procedures, and rules and regulations of the police department. In many police departments, when all these different standards of conduct are considered, they number in the hundreds. Police departments have very thick manuals that outline the rules and regulations and standards of conduct for police officers. Therefore, it is not uncommon for police officers to be unfamiliar with many of the policies and procedures, and rules and regulations of the organization, especially when some standards are rarely used and new standards (i.e., car chase policies, domestic violence policies and laws) accumulate over time as police departments are faced with a wide variety of situations. One of the officers explained:

> "Well I don't know, to be honest. I probably break a dozen of them a night but I really don't know what they are. We read the rules and regulations back in the academy; that was 5 years ago. I don't remember; I couldn't pretend to remember all the rules and regulations. It's just I do my job the way I know how, and if it conflicts I guess somebody will tell me. But up until now it really hasn't." (white male)

Another white male patrol officer told me,

> "Sometimes you can't always go by policy, by the book. Sometimes you've got to bend the rules to do something. Not because you're trying to shirk your

> duties, but rather to affect an arrest. I don't think that's unethical as long as the intentions are good." (white male, 5 years seniority)

In addition, a white female patrol officer admitted,

> "Well I'm sure that we can't abide by the rules and regulations to a tee. I know there's stuff you do everyday that's not within . . . the rules and regulations." (white female)

Police officers were expected to perform the difficult, if not impossible, mission of law enforcement, public order maintenance, and crime control. In order to perform this difficult mission, patrol officers maintained that they must regularly bend a wide range of rules and regulations and violate various policies and procedures.

First, patrol officers contended that they *initiate or take part in car chases* despite the 10-page car chase policy that stipulates:

1. Pursuits at speeds in excess of the posted speed limits are permitted when the individual officer knows or has reasonable grounds to believe the person being pursued has committed or attempted to commit a serious felony (i.e., one that involves an actual or threatened attack which the officer has reasonable cause to believe could result in death or serious bodily injury;

2. Pursuits are permitted to apprehend the operator of a vehicle which is involved in a traffic violation, other misdemeanors or felonies that do not involve an actual or threatened attack which may result in death or serious bodily injury. However, in doing so, the manner of driving shall not be conducted in the same manner as for serious felonies.

At the time this research study began, patrol officers had just been exposed to this new pursuit policy. Patrol officers faced a new dilemma. On the one hand, they identified car chases as a necessary aspect of police work if they were expected to catch the bad guy; and many patrol officers enjoyed a good car chase. On the other hand, however, everyday car chases were against departmental policy, and participation in car chases could result in discipline or a possible lawsuit against the officer if injury occurred. So at the time of the study, patrol officers were still trying to work through what they identified as just one more restriction of their police powers. In separate interviews, patrol officers talked about the dilemma they face when it comes to initiating or participating chases, and they also talked about how they have learned to get around the pursuit policy and still initiate or engage in car chases.

> Officer: "It's not a matter of getting around department rules and regulations, I think. I think it boils down to the old term 'being able to explain and justify what you do.' Like for example, we have a pursuit policy. If the two cars, you can have a primary and a secondary vehicle, if there's two cars in a chase. If you're going up that way there's no reason for you to be running your lights and sirens, running hot and stuff like that. You can actually get in trouble. Basically you're liable, you're at fault. But there's no reason why you can't go that way to go that way to assist officers. You can drive a little fast, but you're going against policy; there's no reason to drive fast. But you need to explain why you're going fast, why you're heading in that direction." (black male)
>
> Researcher: "How do you get around the car chase policy?"
> Officer: "You don't put it out. Follow it until he stops, or . . . if it gets too dangerous you just pull off. If not you just tell them [radio dispatch] you're at a traffic stop, or tell them that you're following a car instead of pursuing them." (white male)
>
> "It depends on the instances. Like the other guy that got in the chase for stopping the stolen. You've got to just be able to word everything, articulate everything in your report to cover all these little things in the rules and

> regulations and stuff so that the department doesn't come back on you for not following this to the tee, when you can't do that to the tee and they know that. So you just got to be able to do like they do in the wording of everything. Make sure you cover your ass." (black male)

While riding as an observer I was involved in several car chases with the patrol officers. I was also told about patrol officers that were facing the possibility of discipline because they violated the pursuit policy and one or two patrol officers that were currently being sued as a result of injuries that occurred during such car chases. Regardless, violation of the pursuit policy continues to be a common practice.

A second common example of employee deviance that patrol officers engaged in to make their job easier was *not making an arrest* on a domestic violence call. This is in direct violation of the state's mandatory arrest law for domestic violence. This law basically stipulates that if there is evidence of domestic violence or domestic assault police officers are supposed to arrest the assaulter. On many of the domestic dispute and domestic assaults calls, however, patrol officers made no arrest. I was told that many officers do not like to make arrests at these types of calls for several reasons: one, because it is not clear who started the dispute (who is the assaulter and who has been assaulted); two, because more often than not the complainant does not follow through on the complaint and charges are dropped; and three, patrol officers do not want to go through the trouble of booking the arrestee, filling out the complaint, letting the complainant go with an appearance ticket and having to go back to the same house next week for the same thing. If it is a house that patrol officers have been to repeatedly, officers are even more likely to make an arrest. One officer commented,

> Officer: "The law stipulates that you always arrest someone on a domestic abuse call if you see some injury to one of the people. At some of these houses you know what the deal is and you have one of the people leave instead of arrest someone."
> Researcher: "How do you get around them?"
> Officer: "You don't leave a report or a complaint." (white female, 5 years seniority)

Of the more than 20 domestic dispute/domestic assault calls that I observed, even those involving a weapon, I observed only one arrest. More often than not, on these types of calls, patrol officers tried to get someone to leave the house. Sometimes patrol officers transported one of the persons involved in the dispute to another location (transporting citizens in patrol cars is a violation of rules and regulations).

> "I don't think you can do anything. Like for example, they don't want you transporting anybody anywhere. Well, we have to, we do it all the time to get people separated. You get domestic calls and you've got a husband and wife or girlfriend/boyfriend and they're both drunk and they're both fighting. The only way to stop it is to separate them. If they won't leave on their own or they say they don't have a ride or something, well if you don't give them a ride and you leave them there they're going to keep fighting with each other. So we give people rides all the time. That's against the rules. That's on the books that you're not supposed to do that, unless you get specific permission from the Sergeant. It's not like you say, 'Oh, wait a minute let me check with my Sergeant and see if I can give you a ride.' It doesn't work that way. I don't have any problems bending the rules and the regulations if it helps get the job done. You just got to do it. I don't face too many dilemmas. If it's a dilemma that's real serious, if I think its a serious right and wrong. I'll call for a Sergeant. If it's just minor stuff we just go around the minor stuff. We just forget about the rules and regulations." (white male, 5 years seniority)

On one ride along, I accompanied two patrol officers on a domestic violence call. A woman had a knife and was attempting to assault her husband. The officers arrived and encouraged the husband to take the son and leave for a couple of hours, which he did. Needless to say, a couple of hours later we received another call back

to the same house; again the woman had a knife and was threatening to assault her husband. Again the officers responded, but this time they told the people to go to separate rooms in the house and go to sleep for the night.

The examples above demonstrate that patrol officers used discretion when they chose not to arrest suspects when the rules and regulations and/or the laws stipulated that arrests be made. Officers avoided making arrests for what they considered to be minor incidents or minor crimes because they did not want to get tied up on the paperwork, because after arresting the suspect they will release him because there is no room at the county jail to house those arrested for minor offense, and because manpower is so low some officers do no want to get tied up on an arrest for a minor criminal offense when there are more violent crimes. On multiple occasions, patrol officers chose not to make an arrest when an arrest should have been made; as a result, officers had to go back to the same location or house two or three times on the same domestic fight or the same drunk and belligerent individual.

> "If somebody's doing something that you can arrest them for, and you are supposed to arrest them. I admit there's fine lines of when you should arrest somebody and shouldn't. Like if, on a busy third shift night, you catch somebody walking down the street with a bottle of beer in their hand, which is against the city ordinance law, you arrest them. You take them down to the station, you get tied up for over an hour on it while other cops are out here busting their butt, and answering their calls and dangerous situations because you're not out here helping them. So I think you use your judgement as far as certain arrests, serious arrests I think you automatically. But other certain ones, minor misdemeanor arrests I think you can use your own judgement on that," (white male)

A third example of employee deviance that officers regularly participated in to better manage doing the police job was the systematic *use of physical force* in ways or at times that are considered by the formal rules and regulations of the

organization to be illegitimate and/or improper. Examples of physical force were provided earlier in the discussion of use of physical force as employee deviance against the organization. In this section, however, use of physical force is considered by the informal occupational culture to be activities necessary to detain aggressive or nonwilling suspects. One white male patrol officer explained,

> "They tell you it's wrong to put your hands on anybody. But you have to, you can't let somebody sit there in front of people and tell you what they're going to do. They make you look like shit, like they're in charge of what's going on. So you're going to grab them, you're going to do what you have to do to keep that person . . . to show other people you're not going to put up with shit. You're not going to have them talking like they're the ones in charge here, like they're going to run the show. You lose control over everything then. Sit there with a big mess on your hands then you have to call more cars and everything else. If you're out there and a large group of guys are out there acting cool. They're all going to be yelling and everything else at you. You go up and grab the biggest mouth in there, tap him up side his head, go through him in the back of your car. The problem's over, everybody's going to leave." (white male, 5 years seniority)

While field observations revealed no apparent use of excessive or unnecessary physical force by patrol officers, individual patrol officers did tell me stories of their own and other officers' experiences of using excessive or unnecessary force to detain or control individuals.

For some officers, especially female patrol officers, they may find themselves in situations from time-to-time where they have to bend the rules and regulations on physical force in order to protect themselves. One female officer explained that because of her physical size and structure, small and thin, she has to use various forms of physical force that are defined in the regulations; if used on the occasions she used them it is regarded as excessive force.

> "Um, there are like rules and regulations as far as arresting someone that you have to sometimes get around. Like for me, I'm a female, I'm thin and they tell you certain things not to do when arresting someone. Sometimes I have to do them, and sometimes I do them because I have no other choice, or I'm going to get beat up, so as far as choking someone, I never choke someone. But I have grabbed them by their neck because that was the only way for me to protect myself. So, I've done that. And that goes against the rules and regulations. But this been like a heavy person and I had to defend myself, is I wouldn't get hurt. So sometimes you do have to cross that line. And then, I'll even type it up in the paper and tell the truth. I'll put it in there that I did this and that was the only way for me to defend myself." (3 years seniority)

Another type of employee deviance is the *use of excessive or unnecessary verbal force against citizens.* Field observations revealed the frequent use of excessive and unnecessary verbal force towards both complainants and suspects. As I mentioned earlier, several white male patrol officers maintained that it was necessary to use excessive verbal force in conversations with some of citizens (especially lower class black persons) because they did not understand any other language. In this section, I want to point out that many patrol officers used excessive or unnecessary verbal force against suspects in efforts to keep from having to resort to physical force.

> "Sometimes I would say you would have to verbally abuse somebody and the way I usually get around it is I would do it just where no supervisor is. Pretty much, down here, if you do something that's against the department rules and regulations, won't nobody say nothin', won't nobody, even if they don't agree with you they won't say anything. And that's not right. And I fall into the same category, because I do it to. But it's still not right. And I probably, um, done some things against the department rules and regulations, but if you don't do it around a supervisor, usually pretty much it won't get back." (black male, 7 years seniority)

A fifth type of employee deviance police officers engaged in that helped in getting the job is the practice of *throwing away minor evidence or weapons* that are taken off suspects, instead of turning it in as evidence. When patrol officers dealt

with misdemeanors or minor offenses (e.g., man with a knife, breaking and entering, traffic violation and so on), patrol officers often just took the knife off (which is often a butter knife, a dull steak knife or jack knife) the suspect, took the expired or illegal plates off the automobile, or took the crowbar used in a B&E as evidence (i.e., to appease the public) and then threw these things in the garbage or in the patrol car (the glove compartment or the drunk). The rules and regulations stipulate that officers turn these items in as evidence and leave paper on the evidence that was confiscated; but patrol officers argued there was no reason to take time to leave a report on such items when they could throw them away themselves and save time.

On one occasion I observed a patrol officer take a 9-inch knife off a suspected burglar. He told the suspect he would take care of the knife for him. I asked the officer why he did not arrest this suspected burglar for carrying a concealed weapon (the knife) if he could not get him on the breaking and entering. The officer later explained to me,

> Officer: "It would be more of a pain in the ass to go in and give him an appearance ticket if they're going to do absolutely nothing with it. Turn in the knife and all that crap. You don't have the knife no more, just throw it away. It's junk. That's probably, it's definitely breaking one of the rules. It's a very common practice, everybody does it."
> Researcher: "How do you get around it?"
> Officer: "Just don't do what we're suppose to do with him. We're supposed to arrest him, take him in." (white male)

The officer ended up letting the suspect go and throwing away the knife. On several other occasions I observed officers take illegal license plates off of cars and send the cars on their way without writing them a ticket, and then taking the license plate back to the station and throwing it away or setting it on top of the garbage can

behind the police station (knowing that citizens regularly come by and pick through that specific garbage can for recyclable cans or other items).

On other occasions, patrol officers may *bend the rules and regulations in order to make an arrest.* As one officer explained,

> Officer: "In order to, you know if, if every time you checked the rules and regulations and follow everything by procedure, you would not make half the arrests that you do. In other words, there's been times where I've broken the rules. I've gone against procedure. You pull somebody over, you know the car's dirty, you've got no reason to really search the car. You find something to arrest the driver for, anything you possibly can, then you search the car. Or there's been times I know cars have been dirty, because I've dealt with the people that drive the cars, I know that they deal drugs and I know that they carry guns. I pulled the car over, I searched the car and found the gun and then found a reason to arrest the guy, and then said, well, then reversed it. I was arresting him for such and such so than I searched the car and found the gun. You know. That's breaking the rules but it also takes him off the streets so he can't hurt somebody. So I think that's a good time to break the rules and break procedures. Take care of it in the paperwork."
> Researcher: "What about when it goes to court?"
> Officer: "Nine times out of 10 they're going to plea. Even if it does go to court, you had a valid reason to stop the car, you had a valid reason to place him under arrest. Then you found the gun on top of it. That's the way you go about it. Let's just say a lot of guys would do anything to get the bad guy and sometimes . . . I like to get the bad guys just like everybody else, but there's some rules I won't break. There's some things that I won't do. It's wrong but it's right and wrong. What's right is I'm getting the bonehead off the street before he kills somebody or seriously hurts somebody. That's wrong. It falls into a grey area in there too, because you kind of have to go against your morals and kind of reverse everything. Reversing everything is kind of a nice way of saying you kind of have to lie. Um, I don't like to lie. I credit myself as a pretty honest person and I don't like lying, but sometimes in order to get the bad guy, sometimes you have to. You know, where officers would probably never catch bad guys."
> Researcher: "Do you feel you're crossing over some sort of line there?"
> Officer: "Yes, that is crossing the line, you know. You're a police officer; you're expected to be honest, but you're still expected to catch the bad guys. The standard for being a police officer is to, up here, and then they want you to catch the bad guys and they want you to follow the rules and catch the bad guys, that's hard to do. Sometimes you got to break rules to catch bad guys. I can't say that there's any instance, any situation, that is like textbook crime go down and you catch the bad guy." (black male, 3 years seniority)

The last type of employee deviance that I will identify that patrol officers engaged in to manage the police job is the common practice of *violating traffic laws*. This includes running stop signs and red lights, speeding, going the wrong way down one way streets, making u-turns in the middle of the streets and in intersections, and so on.

> "Number one, it's not only rules and regulations, but the law, we're not supposed to go over the speed limit unless it's a real serious call, possibly life threatening situation. Nobody goes by that rule. We, in all your traffic laws in general. I can't count how many traffic laws I've violated today and I've only had one life threatening situation. The reason being, most the time I'm only one officer over here or one other one for part of the day. You're in a hurry to get to these people to get your job, to help them. You're going to speed, you're going to do your u's in the middle of the street or whatever. So that's something that everybody does." (white female, 11 years seniority)

Not only did patrol officers violate traffic laws, but they overlooked traffic violations of the city's residents. As I mentioned earlier, the majority of patrol officers did not write traffic tickets; instead they gave people verbal warnings. It has gotten to the point that residents of Midwest City know that they will not get a traffic ticket if they run a red light, run a stop sign, or make an illegal turn. Even when other drivers almost hit the police car, patrol officers gave nothing more than a verbal warning. Under such conditions, many of the residents of Midwest City drove without a license, without insurance, and without proper plates or tags. One white female officer told me,

> "Things you have to overlook. For example, if you pull someone over on a traffic stop and you should give the person more than two tickets and tow the car for expired tags or no insurance; however, you overlook it because of the circumstances of the individual." (white female, 5 years seniority)

The police department has rules and regulations and policies and procedures; these typically serve as nothing more than a guide for police officers. Police officers are expected to use common sense and discretion when performing their job; they are not expected to follow every rule and regulation. One patrol officer maintained,

> "Actually the public wants to see results, they want to see something happening, if they know that this guy is a dope dealer and you know it because you deal with this person. I'm not going to say, ok, now let's go to jail. If they see that, they'll say what kind of cop is that? It's not just an old lady, yes they'd probably want you to have a little compassion, they'd probably be a little upset if you'd push her and throw her into the car, no matter what she did." (black male)

Type VI: Informal Rewards. The last type of occupational deviance is the practice by patrol officers of accepting informal rewards from the community. Very briefly, this includes the practice of accepting gratuities (i.e., free coffee and soda from the convenience stores, free donuts and coffee from the donut shop, discounted and/or free meals, free tickets to sporting events, and discounted prices on services). Accepting gratuities was a common practice in the Midwest Police Department. Patrol officers accepted various types of gratuities throughout their shift.

Officer's Responses to Deviant Activities by Fellow Patrol Officers

This last section describes the acceptance of occupationally deviant activities in the occupational culture of patrol officers. In the interview, patrol officers were asked to describe how they respond to conduct by coworkers that they saw as deviant. Table 7-1 shows that 48.3% of patrol officers reported that they ignored conduct by coworkers that they saw as deviant. The total N in this table is higher than the

actual sample size because some patrol officers identified more than one way that they would respond to such unethical conduct.

Table 7-1. Tell me what you do to help yourself respond to conduct by coworkers that you see as deviant?

Response	White Male	Black Male	White Female	Black Female	Total
Confront the person	9 (31.0%)	4 (25.0%)	2 (22.2%)	3 (75.0%)	18 (31.0%)
Report it to a supervisor	1 (3.4%)	1 (6.3%)		1 (25.0%)	3 (5.2%)
Refuse to work w/the person		1 (6.3%)	1 (11.1%)		2 (3.4%)
Ignore it	16 (55.2%)	8 (50.0%)	4 (44.5%)		28 (48.3%)
Leave the scene	3 (10.4%)	2 (12.4%)	2 (22.2%)		7 (12.1%)
Total	19 (100%)	16 (100%)	9 (100%)	4 (100%)	58 (100%)

There are some apparent race-gender differences in the responses. Black females were more likely than any of the other race-gender groups to confront the officer and/or report his or her deviant activities to a supervisor. At this time I cannot explain why this occurred; officers would need to be questioned further. Each of the other race-gender groups were most likely to ignore the deviant activities of other patrol officers.

In an interview with a white male patrol officer, he explained,

> "How I respond. I really don't do anything. I'm not gonna try and tell another officer how to do his job, how to make a living. If our methods are different or conflict, well then I just try to avoid the conflict. Most of the guys whose ethics differ than mine have more time on than me. And I'm in no position to respond. If it directly involved me, I mean if it got me in trouble, or I had to answer to something well than hey, I would speak up. But if I'm not involved and I just witness it, I keep it to myself." (5 years seniority)

Likewise, one black male patrol officer said,

> "A lot of times you just don't say anything, just don't do anything. But you know, deep inside yourself, you know that you wouldn't handle it that way. I can't say you really do anything about it, because if I said you did, a lot of time I would be lying because a lot of times if things happen here that are unethical and you witness any of it, it's by officers that are more senior than you. What are you going to say to them? All you can do is just say something to yourself, I'm not going to do that." (3 years seniority)

White female patrol officers, however, did not identify reporting deviant activities to a supervisor as a way that they responded to conduct by coworkers that is unethical. One white female patrol officer explained,

> "I ignore it, I get myself away from it so I'm not dragged into it. Well, if you're doing bad police work, as far as something where they're going to get themselves in trouble, I might mention it, I won't say, 'Stupid ass, you're doing that wrong.' But I'll say, 'Do you think maybe you should do it this way?' That's probably the female aversion, instead of the guy who's standing there saying, 'God, you fucked up, you're doing it wrong. God you stupid ass.' And then go tell everybody. I just kind of like, 'Do you think maybe, maybe you do it this way.' So, like you kind of hint to them, and if they don't catch on I guess they're on their own. Otherwise, I wasn't here, I don't want nothing to do with it, don't make me stand there and have to burn ya." (9 years seniority)

Last, white males did not report refusing to work with the person that practiced "bad police work."

Linkages Between Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction, Organizational Commitment and Attitudes Towards Occupational Deviance

This last section expands the analysis to an examination of the linkages between patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and attitudes toward and possible propensity to participate in occupational deviance. Included in this analysis is an exploration of the possibility that an officer's race and gender may have a direct effect on their attitudes toward and possible propensity to participate in occupational deviance.

In this section I examine the data for support and verification of Propositions V and VI, as outlined in Chapter IV. Propositions V and VI are the central propositions of this study. To repeat, Proposition V stated, 'patrol officers' attitudes towards occupational deviance and possible propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities are shaped by the patterns of interpersonal interaction officers engage in, both on- and off-duty, and the level of commitment they express towards the organization.' Proposition VI maintains that an officer's race and gender will help to explain different attitudes towards occupational deviance and the propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities.

The findings presented thus far clearly reveal that the police organization and occupational culture(s) is experienced differently by black male, black female, white male and white female patrol officers. This is reflected in the fact that each of the four race-gender groups engage in different patterns of interpersonal interaction (both on- and off-duty) and are also internally differentiated by their level of organizational commitment.

Oftentimes, high levels of interpersonal interaction among patrol officers is likely to lead to greater social involvement in the organization. In turn, increased social involvement in the organization results in increased exposure to fellow officers attitudes toward and participation in some pattern of occupational deviant activities. Therefore, who an officer interacts with both on- and off-duty can directly affect their attitudes toward and possible propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities.

For instance, when patrol officers' sense that their coworkers hold lax attitudes towards occupational deviance or participate in various types of occupational deviant activities such as work manipulation and work avoidance, employee deviance for the

organization, employee deviance against the organization, and/or informal rewards, such indifferent attitudes can "rub off" onto fellow officers. Overtime, this can lead to increased participation in the different types of occupational deviance. For instance, sleeping on-duty, engaging in sex on-duty, and/or taking time to respond to calls for service are some of the common practices engaged in by groups of third shift patrol officers. In the Midwest Police Department, it is actually considered deviant if an officer does not engage in some form of work manipulation or work avoidance while on-duty.

As mentioned in Chapters V and VI, patrol officers tend to seek out interactions and partnerships with officers of the same race, gender, personality, work style, and level of organizational commitment. Patrol officers also seek out interactions and partnerships with police officers with whom they share the attitudes towards police occupational deviance. For instance, patrol officers that regularly sleep on-duty will often form partnerships with other patrol officers that sleep on-duty. Patrol officers that frequent the strip bars and engage in sex activities while on-duty seek out other patrol officers that are willing to engage in the same sort of activities. These officers will often be partners, or work the same shift and/or sector together.

One white male with 5 years seniority told me, "For the most part, the partner that I work with now, we do [we share the same ethics] and stuff. That's why we get along well enough to work together and stuff." Another white male patrol officer with 7 years seniority explained,

> "The guys I hang out with do [share the same ethics as me], and that's why I hang out with them. We have the same thoughts and things like that, that's why I hang out with them . . . Some of the other guys, somebody could nearly clip the front end of our car off and they just keep driving straight, where I wouldn't. They look the other way. One officer that I know, he saw a guy get into a car

> with a gun and just kept driving, he didn't want any problems. Like I would've turned around, did something about it. They won't. Things like that."

This same officer went on to tell me:

> "I don't talk to them, I don't hang out with them. I don't. Another thing with these guys is that you know they're dirty. You know they're dirty cops, I hate them, I can't stand them. I don't want nothing to fucking do with them. You know who they are, the department doesn't seem to do anything to them."

From time-to-time, patrol officers will find themselves in a partnership with someone that does not share the same ethics or attitudes towards participation in occupational deviant activities as themselves. This often creates conflict in the partnership. One officer explained,

> "Well if you got different working styles, whether it be ethics or not, than your going to have problems because, for one, you probably won't be working with that person for too long. Usually, if your partners with somebody, and you stay in that car with the person, unless your a rookie, you have a choice whether to work or not work with this person. So, usually you find somebody your compatible with, because 8 hours is a long 8 hours if it was somebody that does things different from you . . . I don't sell dope, I don't do dope, I don't want to be with a partner, like this rookie school, like we got one that's not passing the piss test. You've got an ethical problem there, and I definitely wouldn't want to work with those people. Couldn't trust them. A lot of things you can't trust, but if you can't trust your partner your in a world of hurt." (white male, 9 years seniority)

Observations revealed that patrol officers will oftentimes attempt to distance themselves from officers that do not share the same ethics as they do or that are willing to engage in patterns of occupational deviance that they are not. Patrol officers may distance themselves from these officers by asking to be partners with someone else, by switching to another sector or even shift to get away from the officer, and/or by simply avoiding the person. For instance, after one black male patrol officer's partner was physically attacked and assaulted by her boyfriend, a known felon (rules and regulations

stipulate that officers shall avoid regular or continuous associations or dealings with persons whom they know, or should know who have are felons, or who have a reputation in the community for present involvement in felonious or criminal behavior), and she continued to engage in a relationship with that boyfriend, the black male patrol officer attempted to distance himself from her. He said that he quit hanging out with her and talking with her because she got herself into a mess that he was not comfortable with, and he did not want to know what she was doing. He did not want to know what she was doing so that if there was an internal investigation he could honestly say, "I don't know what she's doing." He went on to tell me,

> "If I even came across them I wouldn't be around them. That just leads up to more problems I'd think . . . Like if I see somebody beat somebody, or being tough on somebody for no reason. Beat them up really bad or something like that, or not backing up another officer when they . . . not doing their job when they're called on to do it." (black male, 3 years seniority)

In an organization such as the Midwest Police Department, where high numbers of patrol officers hold lax attitudes toward occupational deviance (i.e., work manipulation and work avoidance, employee deviance for the organization, employee deviance against the organization, and acceptance of informal rewards), high levels of social interactions among patrol officers are likely to lead to increased engagement in regular patterns of occupational deviance.

The other part of Proposition V suggests that patrol officers' attitudes towards occupational deviance and their propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities are shaped by the level of commitment they express towards the organization. Patrol officers' level of organizational commitment to the organization has been proven to be shaped by the patterns of interpersonal interaction they engage in both on- and off-duty.

Here I propose that those officers who are committed to the police department will share the goals and values of the organization, and act in a consistent fashion to work towards goal attainment--rejecting behavioral alternatives that do not correspond to the norms and expectations of the organization.

Those officers who are not committed to the police department, who do not share the same goals and values of the organization, and who are not concerned with working towards organizational goal attainment, may not work within the normative and ethical guidelines for conducting "good" police work as outlined either formally in the department rules and regulations or informally in the police occupational culture. Thus, patrol officers that lack commitment to the police department or to policing may participate in various forms of occupationally deviant activities against the organization. In addition, those patrol officers that express very high levels of commitment to the police department and/or to policing may involve themselves in various forms of police occupationally deviant activities for the organization, violating rules and regulations in efforts to work towards organizational goal attainment (i.e., high felony and drug arrest statistics).

Data reveals that most all patrol officers, despite their level of organizational commitment were willing to engage in one or more of the types of occupational deviant activities outline by Punch (1985), with either the intention of getting the job done and making the job more manageable or to achieve personal gain for one's self. Data obtained from field observations and interviews with patrol officers is presented in summary from in Figure 7-1 to demonstrate the relationship that emerged between level of organizational commitment (i.e., high, medium, or low commitment) and the type(s)

of occupational deviant activities that patrol officers are likely to engage in. For the purposes of this analysis, level of organizational commitment has been categorized into high, medium and low commitment. A *high level of organizational commitment* refers essentially to those officers that do more than express mere passive loyalty to the police department and/or to the community. Patrol officers with a high level of organizational commitment are involved in an active relationship with the police department and/or the community, they are willing to give something of themselves in order to contribute to the department's well being. A *low level of organizational commitment* refers to those patrol officers that express discontent and lack of loyalty to both the police department and the community. Patrol officers with low levels of organizational commitment often times see policing as nothing more than a job; therefore, they are not concerned with giving something of themselves in order to contribute to the department's image or well being. These officers do the minimum amount of work necessary to "get by." Last, a *medium level of organizational commitment* refers to those patrol officers that fall in between those with high levels of organizational commitment and those with low levels of organizational commitment. Patrol officers with a medium level of organizational commitment may express their loyalty to the police department and/or the community; however, they are involved in a limited relationship with the police department and/or the community. They typically limit how much of themselves they give to the police department or the community.

As reflected in Figure 7-1, field observation and interview data revealed that patrol officers that have a high level of organizational commitment are likely to engage in occupational deviant activities for the organization (e.g., initiating or taking part in car

chases, choosing not to make an arrest on domestic assault cases and less serious crimes, using physical or verbal force against citizens). To reiterate, employee deviance for the organization includes bending the rules and regulations or engaging in activities that are in direct violation of policy, procedure, or the law. These activities are engaged in as a part of the patrol officers efforts to get the job done, to achieve quotas, and frequently with the intention of promoting organizational ends and effectiveness. Oftentimes, patrol officers with high levels of organizational commitment saw the violations of these rules and regulations, and policies and procedures as minor and/or unavoidable.

Figure 7-1. Level of Organizational Commitment and the Types of Deviant Activities Patrol Officers Engage In

Level of Org. Commitment	Types of Occupational Deviance Activities Engaged In			
	Work Manip. and Avoidance	Emp. Deviance For the Org.	Emp. Deviance Against the Org.	Informal Rewards
High		X		X
Medium	X	X	X	X
Low	X		X	X

Patrol officers spoke a bit about the relationship between organizational commitment and officers' attitudes and possible propensity to participate in various forms of occupational deviance. Several officers told me there are some patrol officers that have such high levels of commitment to the department that they have difficulty

distinguishing between "good police work" and "bad police work." One of the black male patrol officers explained,

> "Well there are some, sometimes you can be too committed to the point that you can't see anything else, you know. If you're so committed that you can't see anything else, then you have to step back sometimes and look from a different perspective. And a lot of times they don't do that. Those that aren't are just as bad as those that are too committed. See otherwise. If you're not committed at all you're just out here doing nothing, you don't do anything at all. Of course your uh, you take away from the department as a whole. On the other hand, if you're so committed or something that you can't see any another way but your way, then that way you're just as bad. They're so committed to doing this, that they exclude all of the people's inputs, they just close in and then you lose out because you're not getting input. You have to be committed to a degree, but you can't be over committed to the point that you just close out anybody else. You can be just as much of a detriment to the department by being too overly committed without giving any input. As if a person that isn't. I'm going to over there and sleep on it." (3 years seniority)

Officers that have a high level of organizational commitment tended to adopt an aggressive police style that involved initiating police-citizen contacts or traffic stops, aggressively patrolling their sector, and making arrests. Officers explained that high levels of commitment to the organization and to policing can lead to "recklessness" in performing the job. Recklessness includes various activities that endanger not only oneself, but partners and other patrol officers that work the same sector and/or shift. I identified previously, under the subheading of employee deviance for the organization, one patrol officer that was highly committed to the organization and to policing who works very hard to initiate car chases, to make felony arrests, and to be the hero among his fellow officers. Other patrol officers refused to work with this officer and refused to back him up on his car chases and other situations he got involved in. Many officers predicted that this white male officer is going to get either himself or other officers injured, or will injure someone else in the city, and then he is going to lose his job.

Officers told me they have seen other officers like this in the past and they have lost their jobs as well. Officers predicted, however, that if this officer loses his job he will probably commit suicide (i.e., "eat his gun") because he has built his whole "self" around being a police officer.

Those officers that had high levels of organizational commitment were also those officers that often had complaints filed against them by citizens, and they were the officers that were disciplined by supervisors for circumstances that occurred in the line of performing police duties. One patrol officer explained:

> Officer: "You can really tell the people that go all out and do everything they can to stop crime in the city. And they're usually the one's that end up getting' screwed and investigated, in trouble for brutality and all that other stuff."
> Researcher: "Those are the committed people?"
> Officer: "Yes."
> Researcher: "And those who are less committed?"
> Officer: "Those who are less committed do less so they don't get in trouble. Those who do more, who are always out there, always getting arrests, always getting into physical confrontations, are the ones always having complaints made against them, trashing cruisers, and finding themselves leaving a lot of paper-work." (black male, 5 years seniority)

Another officer agreed. He told me,

> "Motivation right now is about nil. But the officers that work are more apt to get citizens' complaints because they're out there working, and hey your going to piss off people; and the ones that don't work don't get the complaints, they don't make waves and nobody seem to really care. The department really seems to be happy with that. Suspensions and everything else. Or get citizens' complaints and ombudsman's complaints." (white male, 9 years seniority)

As demonstrated in Figure 7-1, patrol officers with a low level of organizational commitment are most likely to engage in either work manipulation and work avoidance activities, and/or employee deviance against the organization. As mentioned earlier, when patrol officers were asked to "identify problems that stem from officers that are not

committed to the department," on the one hand, they identified a variety of activities that patrol officers engaged in to make work or working conditions more comfortable and acceptable (e.g., not handling calls correctly or carrying a fair share of the workload, failing to back up another officer on a call, sleeping on-duty, and the practice of dragging the booking of suspects and paperwork out over several hours). Among many patrol officers with low and medium levels of organizational commitment, these activities were seen as partially condoned ways of avoiding the rigors of patrol work.

Oftentimes, patrol officers that had low levels of commitment to the department and to policing tended to adopt a strictly reactionary policing style--that is, they just responded to calls. Often these officers hung out at the convenience stores, in the parking lots, in the pawn shops, and/or at the fire station. These patrol officers stayed out of trouble because they did very little police work. Patrol officers that had low levels of organizational commitment to the department often expressed an "us" against "them" mentality--the "us" being patrol officers and the "them" being police supervisors, administrators and city officials. Officers that expressed this perception often held lax attitudes on job performance issues.

On the other hand, patrol officers also identified various police misconduct (e.g., absenteeism, police sexual misconduct, unnecessary use of physical and/or verbal force) and corruption problems (e.g., stealing, selling illicit drugs, the illegal sale of service weapons) when they were asked to "identify problems that stem from officers that are not committed to the department." One patrol officer talked about those patrol officers that engaged in sexual misconduct on-duty. He told me,

> "Not they're not committed to the department. What they're committed to is just getting as much as they can with the blue uniform . . . That's not a commitment to the department, that's not a commitment to other officers, or a commitment to yourself." (black male, 3 years seniority)

More often than not, patrol officers with low levels of organizational commitment--patrol officers that express discontent and lack of loyalty to both the police department and the community--are not concerned with presenting a positive image of themselves or of the department to the public. What is even more detrimental to the police department is that the patrol officers with low levels of organizational commitment that engage in work manipulation, work avoidance, and employee deviance against the organization have developed an informal system or occupational culture that fosters neglect, inefficiency, incompetence, conspiracy, and even crime.

Finally, patrol officers with medium levels of organizational commitment are likely to engage in any one or four of the different types of occupational deviant activities outlined above. Depending upon which end of the spectrum of organizational commitment patrol officers that have a medium level of commitment lean towards, be it high or low, will explain which types of occupational deviance he or she will engage in. Also, who the officer interacts with both on- and off-duty will explain whether the officer will lean towards a high or low level of organization commitment. For example, if an officer with medium commitment works a shift, is in a sector, or is partners with another patrol officer(s) that has low levels of organizational commitment. It would make sense that this patrol officer would be more likely to engage in work manipulation, work avoidance, and employee deviance against the organization because it is these types

of deviance that are supported by fellow officers, and that the officer is exposed to on a daily basis.

These findings presented above provide the support necessary to verify Proposition V, that 'patrol officers' attitudes towards occupational deviance and possible propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities are shaped by the patterns of interpersonal interaction officers engage in, both on- and off-duty, and the level of commitment they express towards the organization.'

Race and Gender: Do They Explain the Differences in Patrol Officers Attitudes Towards and Possible Propensity to Participate in Occupational Deviance?

Proposition VI maintains that 'the attitudes that female and racial minority patrol officers hold towards occupational deviance, and their possible propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities, will differ from those of white male patrol officers because of differing patterns of interpersonal interaction and levels of organizational commitment.'

When data analysis was conducted to determine whether gender and race behave additionally or interactively to explain differences in patrol officers attitudes toward occupational deviance and their possible propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities, findings revealed that the differences along race and gender lines did not emerge. Instead, findings revealed that it is the police occupational culture(s) that substantially influences police methods, behavior, and attitudes. Differences in patterns of interpersonal interaction and levels of organizational commitment that emerge within the police occupational culture(s) shape patrol officers attitudes towards occupational deviance and explains their possible propensity to participate in deviant activities. For

instance, the data shows that a white female patrol officer that has a low level of organizational commitment and that regularly interacts on-duty with a group of white male and black male patrol officers that frequent the strip bars, engage in sexual misconduct on-duty, sleep on-duty, and use excessive physical and/or verbal force is likely to engage in similar activities. In other words, once a patrol officer develops his or her patterns of interpersonal interaction and level of commitment to the organization (one's a patrol officer is socialized into the occupational culture), it does not appear that race and gender are the direct determinants of an officers attitudes towards occupational deviance. The police occupational culture(s) appears to be the overriding power within the police organization.

The police occupational culture shapes and is shaped by patrol officer's patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and attitudes towards occupational deviance. Although white female, white male, black female, and black male patrol officers have a unique, gender-related and race-related set of experiences in the police occupational culture, each of the race-gender groups do not report clear or substantial differences in attitudes towards occupational deviance.

For instance, although black male and black female patrol officers expressed higher levels of commitment to the organization and the community than white female and white male patrol officers, analysis of the differences in attitudes toward occupational deviance and possible propensity to participate in occupational deviance revealed that differences that emerged were not directly related to race, but to the high levels of organizational and community commitment held by black officers. This finding was supported by the data that showed that black male patrol officers that reported low levels

of organizational commitment, engaged in work manipulation, work avoidance, and various forms of employee deviance against the organization as did white officers with low levels of organizational commitment.

The complexity of the connection between race, gender and the police occupational culture has been partially revealed in this study. Findings presented throughout this chapter demonstrate that white female, black female, and black male patrol officers do not stand out as profoundly different than their white male fellow patrol officers on their attitudes toward occupational deviance and their possible propensity to participate in occupational deviant activities. Further research needs to be conducted in efforts to determine if there is truly a core similarity in the way each of the race-gender groups experience and develop attitudes toward opportunities to participate in occupational deviant activities.

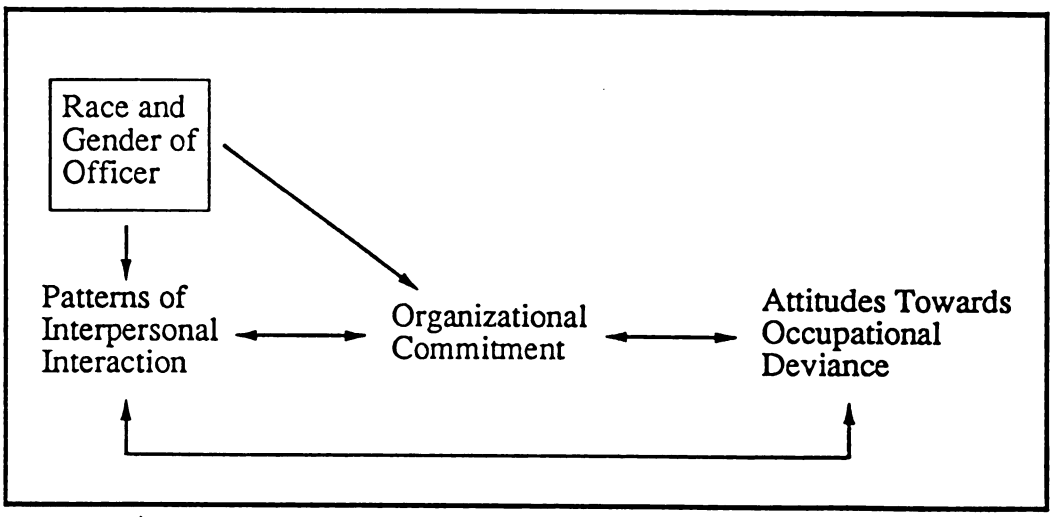
Model of the Linkages: How are the Variables Connected?

Analysis of these complicated linkages very simply demonstrate that patrol officers' behavioral acts and attitudes of organizational commitment are connected and operate in a cyclical and/or reciprocal manner. In fact, a particular behavior act (such as work avoidance, police sexual misconduct, or use of physical force) at a given point in time may affect future attitudes, which then may affect the probability of future behavioral acts, and so on (see Mowday, Porter & Steers, 1982, p.205).

Figure 8-1 is a model that shows the linkages that exist between the race and gender of the patrol officer, patterns of interpersonal interaction, organizational commitment, and attitudes towards occupational deviance. The model shows that an

officer's race and gender have a direct impact on their patterns of interpersonal interaction and organizational commitment. At the same times, who an officer interacts with can have a direct impact on an officers level of organizational commitment, and vice versa; an officers' level of organizational commitment will shape who an officer interacts with on- and off-duty. Finally, the combined effects of patterns of interpersonal interaction and level of organizational commitment shape patrol officers attitudes towards occupational deviance.

Figure 8-1: Model of the Linkages Between the Variables



The impact of an officers' race and gender on attitudes towards occupational deviance remains hidden behind the effects of patterns of interpersonal interaction and organizational commitment. In addition, who an officer interacts with can have a direct affect on an officers attitudes towards occupational deviance, and vice versa; the officers

attitudes towards occupational deviance can directly influence who an officer interacts with on- and off-duty.

In conclusion, the data and the model demonstrate that the police organization and its occupational culture is not one normative structure. Differences among officers that are formed around patterns of interaction, levels of organizational commitment, attitudes toward occupational deviance, levels of seniority, and race and gender, creating multiple occupational cultures within one police organization.

CHAPTER VIII

DISCUSSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Discussion

In this study of patrol officers experiences in the police occupational culture, I have sought to ground and develop, with detailed substance, the claim that police organizations are socially constructed. Relatively static and dichotomous notions of group gender and group race differences sit at the core of much of the research in policing, shaping and orienting questions, research designs, and frameworks of interpretation. In an attempt to break away from the limitations of dichotomous thinking and traditional research in policing, I use a feminist influenced interactive model to deconstruct and move beyond popular but limiting narratives of group gender and group race differences, to examining the interactive effects of being of both a particular race and gender. I have moved the analysis of gender and race in policing beyond dualism toward much greater complexity (see Thorne, 1994).

Like Baca-Zinn and Eitzen (1988) and Thorne (1994) my thinking has benefited from the realization that gender and race have analytically separable dimensions. Today's patrol officers are of differing races and genders, and each of the race-gender groups have different experiences within the police organization and occupational culture. I have explored the subject of race and gender without being limited by notions of "black versus white" and "male versus female." As a result, I have been able to give full attention to examining the place of black female, white female, black male, and white

I also examined practices that have the effect of dichotomizing, or separating the races and genders. At the individual level, gender takes dichotomous forms. The dichotomous nature of individual gender categories and identity--one is either man or women--may help account for the hold of dualism on our ways of thinking about gender (Thorne, 1994). Those who dichotomize may think of race as two separate types of identities, black and white, but race is not that simple. There are many races and many ways of being of one or more races; some races overlap, some vary by context, and some shift along lines of ethnicity, gender, class, and age (Thorne, 1994, p. 158). The categories of race and gender are filled with complicated, shifting and sometimes contradictory meanings.

One of my goals is to bring race and gender more fully into theories of the social construction of policing. I have examined the creation of subgroups and multiple cultures (based on differing patterns of interpersonal interaction, commitment to the organization, and attitudes toward occupational deviance) among each of the race-gender groups in the Midwest Police Department. Analysis revealed that patrol officers make individual gender and race categories highly relevant to their social and work relationships, exemplified when whites and blacks sit at different tables in the roll call room, in the formation of partnerships, in sector assignments, and in job assignments (e.g., desk and radio assignments, opportunities to work Special Units).

In the Midwest Police Department power is central to the social relations between black males, white males, black females and white females. Black males, black females and white females operate from a position of subordination to white males. Analysis of the patterns of interpersonal interaction demonstrates that white males excluded each of

the other three race-gender groups from primary interactions and access to the white male group solidarity of the traditional police occupational culture. Black males and black females operate from a position of subordination to white females. Ultimately, white male patrol officers participate in large structures of race and gender domination within the police organization. In today's police organizations, however, black, Hispanic and female police officers are beginning to contest white males' exertions of power.

Implications For Change: Imagining a Different Future for Police Organizations

The police organization and its occupational culture is no longer as cohesive and monolithic as police organizational theorists had proposed in the past. Today, police organizations and their occupational cultures are in a state of demographic, structural, and political transition as they have struggled to establish and define the place of Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity within the police department. Many structural and political changes have come about due to the continuous push from black and female police activist groups which have forced to the forefront workplace problems and issues of importance to women and racial minorities in policing. Many police organizations and traditional white male police unions and fraternal organizations have vigorously resisted the various social, structural, and political changes that have come about in police organizations as they have been subject to legal action to eliminate employment discrimination.

This dissertation has concrete implications for change in police organizations. The kinds of change I support envision a nonsexist and nonracist police organization. I support the long-range goal of eliminating gender and race typed of tasks and assignments, of allocating opportunities, resources, and attention without regard to the

gender and racial categories of patrol officers. I also believe that police administrators should try to open, rather than diminish, opportunities for women, and racial and ethnic minorities in policing. Women and racial minorities can help the police department to bring about change and build relationships with the community.

When I take this vision and line it up with gender-marked and race-marked occasions--when women and men and blacks and whites avoid one another, trade insults, or tease those who try to enter gender- or race-inappropriate groups and activities--the path to change looks extremely difficult. Other moments offer encouragement and suggest clues for action. These are the occasions when mixed race-gender groups come together to handle a call for service or during times of crisis or emergency, and some individual officers engage in mixed race-gender group interactions. Nevertheless, gender-related patterns persist, such as male patrol officers participating more actively and receiving more attention from fellow officers than female patrol officers in the same settings. Likewise, race-related patterns persist, such as the spatial separation of races at roll call, in partnerships, and by sector. These phenomenon are a matter of empirical difference.

The vary nature of the social organization of the Midwest Police Department sets up situations and creates issues that pit men against women, and blacks against whites. Officer Jay told me that police supervisors and administrators try to harness race conflict and rivalry between patrol officers in order to maintain a state of racial division in the police department. When officers define "the blacks" and "the whites" as separate and antagonistic groups, both on-duty and off-duty where they were freer to shape their

individual and group interactions, they created pockets of trouble for supervisors and administrators intent on maintaining order.

Attempts at solving problems of cross-gender and cross-race conflict has included keeping white males, white females, black males and black females apart from one another, for example, by creating many same-race partnerships, by assigning female officers to desk and radio dispatch assignments, by assigning mainly white officers to the East side and black officers to the North end, and by supporting separate black and white police leagues or fraternal orders. Ironically, efforts to maintain order by separating men and women, and blacks and whites perpetuate the very polarization, the sense of being opposite and on antagonistic sides (Thorne, 1994). Separating the races and genders perpetuates an image of dichotomous differences (all blacks are affirmative action hirers; all females can't handle themselves in a fight) and encourages psychological splitting.

A few researchers have examined the gender-related and/or race-related practices, and thinking in police organizations, including the ways in which police officers think about interactions among differing gender, race, and ethnic police officers and supervisors. Clearly the same individual may engage in contradictory actions, and beliefs and actual practices do not always coincide. Within one police department, as in the Midwest Police Department, there will no doubt be an array of beliefs and practices. Understanding that gender and race relations are not fixed and invariant but vary by context can help police administrators promote equitable interactions.

How To Promote Cooperative Relations Between the Races and Genders

In Chapter V I discussed the conditions that encourage race and gender conflict and social distancing in the Midwest Police Department. Analysis of the "how's" of gender and race integration, along with the insights of observant patrol officers who have developed techniques to challenge separation and antagonism between each of the race-gender groups in this study, lead to the following practical suggestions for promoting cooperative mixed-race and mixed-gender interactions. Some of these practices have been developed by other researchers trying to challenge gender and race separation and inequality, and in this brief review I will try to encompass some of those practices and techniques.

1. *Developing a curriculum for in-service and academy diversity training*. When in the training academy, training officers divide the gender, race, and ethnic groups into competing groups and tell them there is racial conflict in the police department. Training officers ratify the dynamics of separation, differential treatment, stereotyping and antagonism. Simply by organizing rookie officers on other grounds, such as random sorting, and using terms like diversity and team work rather than division and conflict will help undermine the formation of early race and gender divisions in the training academy.

Diversity training and seminars can encourage both rookie officers and in-service patrol officers to explore loaded words like "racist," "discrimination," and "harassment," and the unfairness of the labeling of Black, Hispanic, and female officers as unqualified, incapable or affirmative action hirers. Such training can raise officers' awareness of gender and race stereotyping, and help officers think of specific methods or strategies

that would lesson the amount of gender and race separation in the workplace. This could include creating more cross-race and cross-gender partnerships and job assignments.

2. *Affirm and reinforce the values of cooperation among all patrol officers regardless of race and gender categories.* Supervisors need to put forward efforts to undermine "male-female stuff" or "black-white stuff" and foster more cooperative cross-gender and cross-race relations among officers. At the beginning of an officers' career, officers are taught about the gender and racial divisions in the department in both the training academy and through the formal and informal socialization process into policing.

Administrators and supervisors need to be intent on helping male and female, white, black, and Hispanic officers learn how to interact with one another or explore the nature and meaning of cultural differences and the dynamics of racism and sexism. In some situations it may be important for supervisors and administrators to openly deal with, rather than ignore or deal with behind closed doors, race and gender divisions. To be effective, endorsement of the value of mixed-gender and mixed-race interactions may need to be explicit and continual. Supervisors may need to be trained to positively reinforce cooperative mixed-gender and mixed-race work relationships and interactions, for example, with comments like "Jack and Jessica are working hard together on the East side to clean up the prostitution problems." This behavior modification effort can alter the patterns of race and gender relations.

Social psychologists who study the dynamics of intergroup relations have found that when people from different racial or gender groups interact in small groups focused on a shared goal requiring interdependence, they are more likely to see one another as individuals rather than through the lens of "us-versus-them (Thorne, 1994, p.165)."

Organized small multi-racial and multi-gender groups can work together as partners, as a group to address community-crime problems, and on other collaborative tasks. The result is a deemphasis on racial divisions and an increase in mixed-race and mixed-gender encounters and friendships.

3. *Developing a state of racial and gender integration into the workplace.* This suggestion raises a basic dilemma, when granted autonomy and left on their own, patrol officers tend to separate by gender and race. Should supervisors create more cross-race and cross-gender partnerships? Should supervisors assign black patrol officers to predominately white communities, which have traditionally been policed by all white patrol officers? Obviously this these are both practical and desirable strategies. In my emphasis on promoting cooperative relations between each of the race-gender groups present in the organization, I don't want to neglect the value of same-race and same-gender relationships, and of officers having some autonomy to structure their own interactions, friendships and activities. Patrol officers do not like it when they are perpetually watched and controlled; they need to have autonomy and discretion to choose partners and friends, sectors and shifts.

On the other hand, freedom from supervisor intervention does not open a realm of mixed-race and mixed-gender interactions. If supervisors leave choice of partnerships, sectors, and shifts up to patrol officers, the result may be extreme separation by gender and race.

4. *Actively intervene to challenge the dynamics of stereotyping and power.* Race and gender groups may be formally integrated in the workplace, but tensions and inequalities may persist. In the Midwest Police Department black male, black female,

white male, and white female patrol officers often divided and sometimes hassled one another along lines of both race and gender, and there was persistent mistrust and fear between each of the race-gender groups. Supervisors and administrators did very little to help each of the race-gender groups learn how to interact with one another or explore the nature and meaning of cultural and gender differences and the dynamics of racism and sexism. In some situations it may be important for supervisors to openly deal with rather than ignore racism, sexism and social divisions; and the dynamics of stereotyping and power may have to be explicitly confronted. Administrators can suggest ways in which supervisors can engage officers in critical thinking about and collaborative ways of transcending race and gender divisions and inequalities.

How To Promote Organizational Commitment

In Chapter VI I discussed patrol officers commitment to the Midwest Police Department. The widespread lack of commitment I revealed among officers has translated into decreased levels of productivity, poor quality of services to the community, and high rates of absenteeism and turnover among patrol officers. Lack of commitment to the department appears for several reasons, including lack of opportunities for advancement, lack of resources, and departmental leadership. Analysis of officers' organizational commitment leads to the following practical suggestions and workplace changes that if addressed could increase officers' commitment to the police department. These are just some of the many possible solutions that have been developed by other researchers and were identified by the patrol officers in the study.

Before such efforts are undertaken, however, a cautionary note is in order. Inferences from the data are limited to a large extent by the characteristics of the observed city and police department. Despite this obvious limitation, to a certain extent there may be some generalizability of the result.

1. *Actively intervene to challenge practices of sexual and racial harassment and discrimination against female and racial and ethnic minority officers.* White female and black female patrol officers experience regular patterns of sexual and racial harassment and discrimination from white male and black male patrol officers; and black male patrol officers experience regular patterns of racial harassment and discrimination from white male and white female patrol officers. Supervisors and administrators did very little to address practices of sexual and racial harassment and discrimination. When such instances occur it is important that supervisors openly deal with rather than ignore the harassment and discrimination; and the dynamics of power may have to be explicitly confronted.

In-service training can educate and sensitize police administrators, supervisors and individual officers to the practices of harassment and discrimination. Training and education of officers in these areas can engage officers in critical thinking about and collaborative ways of transcending patterns of harassment and discrimination in workplace.

2. *Whenever possible, utilize some version of strategic management (i.e., quality circles and/or problem-oriented policing).* Unfortunately, we can't completely change the management style of the Midwest Police Department, but the implementation of some form of strategic management, such as quality circles and/or problem-oriented policing

can be developed to solve workplace problems and community-crime problems (see Moore and Stephens, 1991). Quality circles and/or problem-oriented policing can create an environment in which street-level patrol officers can with city officials, police administrators and supervisors, and other line officers. This practice would improve the lines of communication between these groups, as well as between shifts and with the various special squads and units.

3. *Provide rewards and incentives to patrol officers for a job well done.* Patrol officers were discontent or dissatisfied because they did not receive rewards or incentives for a job well done. Patrol officers said that simple recognitions from supervisors and administrators in the form of small rewards, including a day off with pay, accommodation from supervisors, or assignment opportunities, can do nothing less than increase officer moral, quality of service and commitment.

4. *Increase patrol manpower and improve on equipment and uniforms for patrol officers.* Officers face problems of low patrol manpower, inadequate equipment (patrol cars with over 100,000 miles and broken alley spot lights, emergency flashers, shotgun releases, outdated shotguns) and impractical and ill-fitting uniforms. Patrol officers said that their commitment to the department would increase if the city were willing to invest some money to provide the department with enough and/or working equipment needed to do their jobs.

As I was finishing up my field research the department was getting ready to graduate forty rookie officers from the police academy; however, most of these officers were black officers that were going to go directly to the community-based policing units, such as COPS, as they were hired under a federal grant that supports the COPS Program.

In, addition, the department finally received some twenty new patrol cars; however, the majority of those went to patrol supervisors, the mini-stations and community policing programs, and to the traffic bureau. Thus, patrol officers were still expressing their dissatisfaction and discontent with the Midwest City.

5. *Clean up, renovate, and secure the police department so that officers have a safer work environment and a workplace that they can be proud of and not embarrassed about.* Patrol officers expressed their desires to have a police department that they would enjoy coming to work at, they would not be embarrassed to bring people to, and would feel safe working in.

6. *Develop perceptions of opportunities meaningful to white male and white female patrol officers to increase their organizational commitment.* One of the most helpful lessons I have drawn from this research is that black patrol officers have higher levels of commitment to the organization and to the community than white male patrol officers. The higher levels of overall organizational commitment among black patrol officers can partly be explained by their increased proportional representation in the department and increased opportunities for advancement and developing a career path in the department. In the past 5 or 6 years, the black mayor and other city officials, and the black police chief and other police administrators have worked to change the racial make-up or composition of the Midwest Police Department, increasing the numbers of blacks that are hired and promoted within the department. City officials and police administrators have also worked to implement various community policing projects and establish police mini-stations in some of the low income, high crime black communities. These structural and political changes have increased black police officers' commitment

to the police department and to the effort of providing quality policing in what is now a predominately black city.

When an individual or group of patrol officers believe that their chances for promotion or advancement are blocked because of no available promotional slots or because of affirmative action commitment decreases. Analysis revealed that many white patrol officers believe that their chances for promotion and advancement to Sergeant and many of the Special Units and Squads are diminished because of Affirmative Action. White patrol officers argue that those positions are reserved for black patrol officers.

One method of increasing white patrol officers organizational commitment may be to develop the perception of opportunities meaningful to white patrol officers. Administrators and supervisors might consider introducing strategies or methods for enhancing white patrol officers organization commitment. A departmental rule that an officer cannot be "locked out" of an assignment, Special Unit or Special Squad on the basis of race, ethnicity or gender can lessen opportunities for exclusion and may encourage officers to join activities stereotypically associated with the other gender or races. By providing officers of different races and genders with job enhancement possibilities administrators may be more likely to increase patrol/line officers commitment to a career in the department and less embittered toward Affirmative Action.

Police Occupational Deviance: Everything But Temptations

At the same time the police department works to increase patrol officers commitment to the police department, administrators may expect to see a decrease in employee deviance against the organization and work manipulation and work avoidance,

two types of occupational deviance that were associated with low levels of organizational commitment in Chapter VII.

The examination of the nature of police occupational deviance and control in this dissertation has highlighted the reality that police deviance is a highly complex phenomenon. To study the phenomenon adequately, requires attention to several layers of analysis including race, gender, patterns of interpersonal interactions, levels of organizational commitment, personal ethics, and the influence of the informal police occupational culture(s). A research agenda to examine these variables affectively requires more attention to comparative (cross-departmental/organizational) levels of analysis. Comparative research can show that officers' patterns of interpersonal interaction, levels of organization commitment, and attitudes and possible propensity to participate in occupational deviance varies from department-to-department. Because police organizations and their occupational cultures vary significantly between police departments; the forms they take are a matter of careful empirical investigation.

Furthermore, the examination of differences and similarities among each of the four race-gender groups on patterns of interpersonal interaction, negotiation of values, goals and morals uncovers unique experiences for each of the race-gender groups in their effort to interact and integrate into the police organization and occupational culture. Future research needs to explore more thoroughly the police occupational culture. How internal features and structural factors interact to shape the organization? How police officers negotiate their race and gender in today's multi-race, multi-gender police organizations? In addition, ethnicity needs to be placed at the center of analysis, along with race and gender, in order to identify how Hispanic police officers, both male and

female, interact and integrate in the police organization and occupational culture. Efforts such as these should continue to reveal and document additional segments and social networks that make up and organize the police occupational culture.

Although more research needs to be conducted to explore both the complex nature of police occupational deviance and the social organization of policing, this study was successful at emphasizing the interpersonal negotiation of one's race and gender, values, morals, and goals in the police occupational culture. The social and structural features of the work and the segmentation based on race, gender, number of years on the police force that emerged throughout this dissertation reveal the culture of policing. Unfortunately, no other ethnography has explored in detail the questions I have explored in this dissertation.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The researcher guarantees that all names will be kept confidential and will not be used in any reports or findings. Any statements made during the interview will be kept confidential and anonymous. Also, the name of the department will be kept confidential, and the study and results will be presented so both person and Department confidentiality is protected.

Signatures of the researcher and the interviewee are record that both recognize and agree to the conditions of the above statement.

researcher _____

interviewee _____

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Police Department _____

Year came onto the force _____

Number of years on the force _____

1. Is this the first or only police department you've worked for?

2. Why did you choose law enforcement?

3. What duties have you performed since been on the force?

4. How do officers get their assignments?

5. How far in the department do you think you can go?

   What is your goal?

6. What's your educational background?

7. Are you originally from the local area? If not, where are you originally from?

8. Can I ask your age?

9. What would you say your daily routine is like? (and after work, what do you typically do?)

Do you get together after work for beers with other officers?

Patterns of Interpersonal Interaction:

10. Tell me about the main groups of police you interact with on-duty?

    a. Are they mostly men or women? (Do you interact much with other female/male officers in the department? Why not?)

    b. Are they of a particular race? Or culture? (Do you interact much with other black/whites in the department? Why not?)

    c. What do you do together?

    d. How often do you get together on-duty? Or how much time do you spend together on-duty?

    e. How did you first get together with these officers?

11. Tell me about the main groups of police you interact with off-duty?

    a. Are they mostly men or women?

    b. Are they of a particular race? Or culture?

    c. What do you do together?

    d. How often do you get together off-duty? Or how much time do you spend together off-duty?

    e. How did you first get together with these officers?

12. Who did you spend time with last weekend? Yesterday? Today? Is this typical?

13. Do some of these groups give you ideas about the best way to handle calls or to perform other police duties? Can you explain?

14. How well do the officer's on this shift get along?

    How about within the department?

    I heard there's a racial division in the department? Where does it stem from or what instigates it?

How does the racial division affect you?

Is there a gender division?

15. How do differences between officers get resolved?

Organizational Commitment:

16. Do you see a difference between a job and a career? What is that difference?

    a. For you, is policing a job or a career?

17. What does commitment to the _____ Department mean to you?

    a. Do you feel your committed to the department?

    b. Do you think other officers are as committed to the department as you are? Why?

    c. Do you think your commitment to the department has increased, decreased, or remained the same sense you came to the department?

    (Is there something specific that happened that decreased your commitment to the department?)

18. What does commitment to policing mean to you?

19. Do you find that your values and the organization's values are similar?

    a. What are the values that you share?

    b. What are the values that you differ on?

20. Do you find that your goals and the organization's goals are similar?

    a. What are the goals that you share?

    b. What are the goals that you differ on?

21. Compared to most other officers, do you put more or less, or about the same effort to help the Department be successful? In what way?

22. Do you talk about the _____ Department with your non-police friends? Tell me about the last few conversations.

23. Do you talk about the _____ Department with your police friends? Tell me about the last few conversations.

24. Does the Department inspire the very best in you in the way of job performance? Why not?

25. Are there any changes in your current circumstances that could increase your commitment to the department?

26. Do you feel this is the best of all possible departments to work for?

27. Is there much to be gained by sticking with the Department indefinitely?

28. Would you accept almost any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this department?

29. Do you care about the fate of the Department?

30. Are you disappointed in any way about the Department as a place to work? Tell me in what way you are disappointed.

31. Are you glad that you chose this department to work for over others you were considering at the time you joined?

    a. Do you feel your decision to work for this organization was a mistake on your part?

32. Could you just as well be working for a different department as long as the type of work were similar?

33. Tell me about the problems that stem from employees that are not committed to the department?

Attitudes toward Varieties of Police Behavior:

34. Tell me what loyalty means to you?

    Would you say you loyal to the department?

35. What does ethics mean to you?

36. What makes an action unethical?

37. What is good police work?

38. What is bad police work?

39. What part of policing do you enjoy?

40. Do you find that your coworkers share the same ethics as you? Tell me about those that you share?

41. What problems can you identify that stem from employees that do not share the same ethics as you and your coworkers?

42. Tell me what you do to help yourself respond to conduct by coworkers that you see as unethical?

43. We know that sometimes in order to get your job done or to manage the police job you have to get around departmental rules and regulations. What rules and regulations are like this? And how do you get around them?

44. Sometimes there are things that rules define as wrong, and we know there is a fine line of right and wrong. Tell me about the dilemmas you face when it comes to right and wrong. How do you deal with them?

APPENDIX B

Letter 1: Letter written by members of AAPL for publication in the local paper.

This letter is in response to article titled "Chief chastised by Ombudsman for changed report."

All organizations resist change, perhaps none as much as a police department. Anyone familiar with police culture knows how difficult it can be to induce change, most especially when the change reflex a new majority. The changing of the guard "so to speak." This produces fear. Fear is a complex emotion, one which can be either a healthy response to a real danger or an irrational reaction to circumstances merely perceived as threatening.

This is what has happened in Midwest City, particularly in the Police Department. In years past, except under African American leadership, almost anything goes was the motto (African Americans were traditionally held more accountable). In any hierarchy, the person at the top is responsible for setting both the policy and the tone of the organization. Within a police department it is the Chief who has the ultimate power to make change.

This is what transpired in the case of the Chief who incidentally has worked himself up through the ranks of the Midwest Police Department, having probably better credentials than anyone there. A 20 plus year veteran, having also worked the traffic division, the man has a working knowledge of what is going on in his department. He has also been at the police department long enough to have seen many injustices occur. So, when the Chief, having received a complaint from a citizen alleging unfair treatment, he made inquiries (though we may not want to recognize this, a politician is still a citizen).

If there was an impropriety, the Chief has the authority to order it corrected. Instead of the Chief sitting back and ignoring issues, he took positive measures to correct a possible wrong, he did not stop there, but proceeded to show leadership by implementing int action a plan, the Accident Review Board for citizens, to prevent this type of injustice perceived or otherwise form happening again.

To be a viable agent of change within the department, the Chief must be both visible and credible. The Chief is both. As the Chief mentioned, the former

police chief made a similar decision, but did the Ombudsman "spank" his hand? No. Did the Midwest Police Officers Association (MPOA) President and his police friends cry foul in an attempt to embarrass him? No. Did anyone publicly question the former police chief's authority under the prior administration? No. I wonder why.

Why is it that the Chief has had to defend himself on every decision he makes? He has not been in office a year, but is constantly attaked in the press by the MPOA. The MPOA President did not continuously attack the former police chief in the press, nor did he contact the Attorney General's office requesting an investigation regarding anything the former police chief did. Wonder what the motive is. The only other police chief in the past 18 years that's had to defend himself like this was a prior chief, who also did not succumb to their pressure. He was of African American decent. The only other African American police chief that we have had did succumb to pressure, he was asked to leave. Thank you.

The Ombudsman and MPOA President appear to be in a state of fear = perpetuating old biases and prejudices, making them negatively respond to situations where it is of their best interest and those of others that would best be served by taking a more positive approach. The two men need to put their egos in the proper place and start doing the job they are getting paid to do; which is, work on behalf of the people, not against, simply because another man will not bow down to them.

Letter 2: Letter of defamation written by a white female patrol officer. This letter was posted throughout the police department.

This be in response to, to tell you racist peoples bout hows we feel bouts that letter in the paper lasts week.

Now I be knowings. I mean knowing Baby, the Chiefs of Polices a longs time, and he be qualified. He teaches at the College you knows, talks the talks. He the bestest qualified.

What he done with that Politicians is ok. He have the power to unfair because peoples been unfair before him, so thats make it right. You knows how it is.

Now I not saying it cause he's my cousin's baby's father, or cause I been his woman. Its cause you, Jason Bennett and Kal Stanton be ascared of him. Him be running this town to hell and getting paid to do it.

He'd bet cha 10-1, check to check that he smarter and he's a changing things.

He make the rule but don'ts follow em, and don'ts haves to, so don'ts you, Jason Bennett and Kal Stanton, be spanking the Chiefses hands, I will dos it for him.

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