

THE IMPACT OF ETHNICITY ON VALUE STRUCTURES,  
WORK ORIENTATIONS AND SOCIAL - PSYCHOLOGICAL  
ATTRIBUTES OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OF A  
MAJOR METROPOLITAN SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.  
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY  
FORREST MAYO MOSS  
1976



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This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

THE IMPACT OF ETHNICITY ON VALUE STRUCTURES,  
WORK ORIENTATIONS AND SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL  
ATTRIBUTES OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OF  
A MAJOR METROPOLITAN SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT

presented by

Forrest Mayo Moss

has been accepted towards fulfillment  
of the requirements for

Ph.D. \_\_\_\_\_ degree in Social Science

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Date December 1, 1975

6-15-76

## ABSTRACT

### THE IMPACT OF ETHNICITY ON VALUE STRUCTURES, WORK ORIENTATIONS AND SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTES OF LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS OF A MAJOR METROPOLITAN SHERIFF'S DEPARTMENT

by

Forrest Mayo Moss

The principal purpose of this study was to explore the impact of ethnicity, as an independent variable, on the value structure, work orientation and social-psychological attributes of police officers, and especially the possibility that among white officers, differences based on ethnicity could be predicted and discerned. Underlying this exploration was a questioning of the assimilative assumptions often made relative to ethnic progress in American society as well as the propriety of the various theories purporting to explain, describe or predict police behavior, most of which ignore or dismiss the ethnic factor.

For the purposes of this study ethnicity was defined in terms of an involuntary group association with a culture-bearing group, and a culture classification system based on structural similarities was developed as the basis for the specification of nine research hypotheses. The primary contrast in the classification system was between modernism and traditionalism; an

examination of the forms of the major institutions in each context resulting in the delineation of value structures, work orientations and social-psychological attributes which might logically be asserted as most functional in each milieu. Due to the unique historical development and assimilative experiences of Blacks, the Irish and Jews, each of these culture groups was excluded from the primary modern-traditional contrast.

The nine research hypotheses were tested by recourse to survey data collected from 192 officers of the Wayne County Sheriff's Department, Detroit, Michigan. Since the basic ability of the measures employed to distinguish between officers based on their ethnic origin was in some doubt, two levels of acceptance of the hypotheses were utilized: (1) categorical acceptance was predicated on achieving the .05 level of statistical significance, and (2) provisional acceptance was predicated on an examination of the overall trend in the data, across controls, as well as the absence of alternative directions in the data indicating the operation of other models of ethnicity. The results of the hypothesis testing are as follows:

Hypothesis One--Traditional ethnics were found to rank order the terminal life values social recognition, family security, happiness, comfortable life and friendship higher than modern ethnics, while modern ethnics valued freedom higher than traditional ethnics.



Hypothesis Two--No differences between modern and traditional ethnics could be discerned in their rank ordering of instrumental life values, a finding that suggests that Gordon's theory of "acculturation but not assimilation" may be pertinent to the assimilative experience of traditional ethnics in this society.

Hypothesis Three--Relative to orientation to work, the data indicated that traditional ethnics perceive of work more as a necessary instrumentality of life than do modern ethnics, but concurrently relate work more to perceptions of community welfare and well-being. Modern ethnics, on the other hand, placed higher importance on the existence of peer competition, personal recognition and the operation of the work ethic than do traditional ethnics. No difference between the two groups in their evaluative placement of the importance of individual opportunity or positive social interactions in the work environment could be detected. Such lack of difference in these two latter orientations may be partially explained by recourse to the low organizational opportunity which characterizes policing in general, as well as aspects of the police ethos.

Hypothesis Four--The data indicated that modern ethnics demonstrate a consistently higher faith in people than traditional ethnics, a finding in contradiction to the stated hypothesis. A re-examination of the theoretical premise indicated that faith in people may be less a functional necessity of a people-intensive traditional society than a modern society, and more appropriate to

the mandates of political, economic and social philosophy operating under the tenets of rationalism.

Hypothesis Five--There was no evidence to indicate that traditional and modern officers may be distinguished one from another in terms of dogmatism.

Hypothesis Six--Traditional officers were found to exhibit significantly higher levels of intolerance of ambiguity than their modern counterparts, a finding consistent with the life stance assumed to be most functional to a stable traditional culture as well as an expansive modern environment. A substantial increase in intolerance of ambiguity was demonstrated by those traditional officers who also indicated a high level of "ethnic" socialization; i.e., increased contact with ethnic institutions, recency of immigration, ethnic self-awareness and other factors.

Hypothesis Seven--Modern ethnics scored higher in eight out of twelve control categories on a four-item measure of general authoritarianism, contrary to the prediction that traditional officers would score higher on this measure. This is noteworthy in view of the fact that traditional officers were more intolerant of ambiguity and demonstrated less faith in people, and serves to point up the inherent difficulties in the multi-faceted concept of authoritarianism itself. The data indicated only marginal changes in scores on this measure over time, providing general refutation that policing encourages increased authoritarianism by the conditioning effect of function on personality.

Hypotheses Eight and Nine--No differences between traditional and modern ethnics were demonstrated in regard to scores on measures of political futility and political cynicism, although scores on the latter measures were substantially higher than on the former. The evidence that officers perceive themselves to have reasonable political clout but strong dislike of the direction of political decisions suggests a conflict at the level of law enforcement which could have serious repercussions.

In toto, the study provides some support for a further questioning of the real nature of ethnic assimilation and cultural uniqueness in American society, as well as a tentative assertion that ethnicity is less an ad hoc reaction to social conditions and more a reflection of generic cultural content maintaining over time. It is especially interesting that ethnicity can be demonstrated within the context of policing, a profession with recognized high levels of normative constraints and a distinctive ethos. That a variety of unique perspectives, orientations and value structures exist in policing, traceable to ethnicity, suggests that some notice of this variable as a behavioral conditioning agent is in order, even though such notice admittedly raises some serious questions in terms of American social philosophy.

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By

Forrest Mayo Moss

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

College of Social Science

1976

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FORREST MAYO MOSS

1976

The material in this project was prepared under Grant No. 74-NI99-1002 from the Office of Education and Manpower Assistance, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, U.S. Department of Justice. Researchers undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment. Therefore, points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the U.S. Department of Justice.

## DEDICATION

To a longtime companion and friend of mine,  
the diminutive and lovely June Ullman.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the individuals without whom this project could not have become a reality. All the members of my committee provided support, interest, constructive advice and critical insights. They are: Dr. Victor Strecher (Chairman), Dr. Baljit Singh, Dr. Christopher Sower, Dr. Robert Lorinskas and Dr. Robert Trojanowicz. It was a privilege to study under each of them.

Dr. Robert Lorinskas provided special help in defining the problem and in the development of the study, as well as helping me to conceptually relocate the criminal justice function in the multi-disciplinary arena where it properly belongs.

Dr. Robert Trojanowicz provided a massive amount of creative input to the project, opening innumerable doors along the way and guiding me from the inception of my doctoral studies at Michigan State University. I cannot adequately describe, or repay, his support and friendship.

Colonel C. L. Martin, Air Force Office of Special Investigations, encouraged and sponsored my graduate studies. More importantly, he provided a peerless model of professional and personal living. My respect and admiration for him is unconditional.



Dr. John Troyanovich, Professor of Languages, Illinois Wesleyan University; Dr. Ralph Lewis, Criminal Justice Systems Center, Michigan State University; Asst. Chief of Police, Richard A. Gleason, Lansing Police Department, Lansing, Michigan, and many others assisted me at critical junctures in the formulation and development of this dissertation.

I am greatly indebted to the officials and police officers of both the Lansing, Michigan, Police Department and the Wayne County Sheriff's Department, Detroit, Michigan, for so graciously giving of their valuable time in providing the data for this research.

Two associates, Stan Vanagunas and Jack Greene, made the trek eminently easier by virtue of the intellectual climate they created, as well as their great good humor.

Jo Grandstaff, proprietress of Ann Brown Printing Co., Okemos, Michigan, provided invaluable administrative assistance in the publication of this dissertation, in addition to being a gracious foil during the terminal phases of Ph.D. paranoia.

Last, but certainly not least, acknowledgment is due to the Air Force Office of Special Investigations and the Air Force Institute of Technology, organizations whose policies have yielded great personal opportunity for me, opportunity which exemplifies the truly democratic nature of our society. In the end, my greatest source of pride has always been my commission in and association with the United States Air Force.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with exploring and describing the relationship between the values and attitudes of police officers and their ethnic origins, to include considerations of contemporary ethnic association and self-awareness. The primary goal of the study is to determine whether or not it is possible to differentiate among white police officers particular value and attitude sets based on considerations of ethnicity. A series of research hypotheses will be developed predicated on theoretical foundations in the social sciences linking cultural and social characteristics to particular values and attitudes. A developmental cultural classification system will be formulated as a basis for predicting value and attitude differences among police officers from distinct ethnic backgrounds.

A subsidiary focus of this study will be to describe the values and attitudes of black police officers and to analyze the manner and extent to which a spectrum of their values and attitudes may be considered a unique "ethnic" cultural statement. It will be asserted that the special circumstances of the black social experience in America--primarily the condition of prior servitude and high racial visibility--severely constrains enculturation of values

and attitudes traceable to antecedent cultures, and promotes behavioral patterns based on the host culture as well as regional considerations.

An initial difficulty in specifying the scope of research of this nature is encountered in the use of the terms ethnic and ethnicity, since these terms have been utilized by a variety of social commentators and researchers as a shorthand cultural, racial, minority group, religious or political identifier for almost any group under investigation, without regard to usage beyond a particular situation. Characteristic of these definitions is the assertion that ethnicity is ". . . a kind of distinctiveness defined by race, religion, national origin, and even geographical isolation . . . ." <sup>1</sup> Novak uses the term ethnicity to describe immigrants and their descendants from eastern and southern Europe, while still others apply the term to Black Americans, Puerto Ricans and other visible minorities; in short, the "new" ethnics. <sup>2</sup> A subsequent section of this chapter will establish in detail the conceptual implication of the term within the context of this

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<sup>1</sup>Harold J. Abramson, "Ethnic Pluralism in the Central City," in Ethnic Groups in the City, ed. Otto Feinstein (Lexington, Mass.: Heath Lexington Books, 1971), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1971); see also Raymond W. Mack, "Ethnicity in American Life: The Urban Crisis," in Ethnicity in American Life, ed. John Hope Franklin, Thomas F. Pettigrew, Raymond W. Mack (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1971). Mack maintains the term ethnic is properly applied, in contemporary society, to Puerto Ricans, Blacks and southern white mountaineers, since other cultural groups have been essentially assimilated.

research. At this point, however, it is important to specify that ethnicity, as used herein, will refer by way of labelling to the full complement of groups representing any cultural entity which emigrated from some foreign location to America, and which is still represented here. The label will be applied to descendants of these immigrants, regardless of generation, as well as to members of the host culture and their descendants. This latter use of the term is of recent vintage in the literature and treats Anglo-Saxons as an ethnic category as the basis of predicting specialized political behavior.<sup>3</sup>

That the host culture, the Anglo-Saxon (or the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant; i.e., WASP, as he is commonly labelled), should only now come under scrutiny as an ethnic reveals another problem, a conceptual blind spot which involves not only American society in general but many social science researchers in particular. This blind spot involves, in the face of an intellectual acceptance or even an assertion of cultural pluralism, an essential ignoring of cultural pluralism as the source of an independent variable conditioning attitudes, values and behavior in favor of social class distinction, occupational socialization and other "standard" factors.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Robert A. Lorinskas, "The Political Impact of Anglo-Saxon Ethnicity," Ethnicity 1 (December 1974): 417-421.

<sup>4</sup>Research, especially relative to policing, has suggested the need for an expanded conceptual framework. Research dealing with the police personality, for example, has yielded highly contradictory results [see Robert W. Balch, "The Police Personality: Fact or Fiction," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science 63 (1972): 106-119]. The unique ethnic composition of many

Not only is the variable usually ignored--a sort of tacit research "gentleman's agreement"--but it is difficult to find even a discussion in most of the literature of the social sciences of the relative merits of ethnicity as such. While this no doubt relates to assumptions about the nature of American culture, assimilation and mobility, all of which will be discussed in succeeding sections, there are at least two other possible reasons for this phenomenon. Foremost, the history of the American reception of immigrants, especially during the period from the late nineteenth century to the rise of fascism in Europe was hardly in consonance with the established political dogma of the State. The nativist movement in America had its origins at least as early as the 1840's, with the formation of the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, a movement John Franklin asserts laid the organizational foundation for the Know-Nothing Party, a blatantly racist, anti-Catholic, pro-nordic and pro-nativist political movement.<sup>5</sup> Restrictive immigration laws reflecting this bias soon become the norm. Donald Taft, speaking to the popular image of the "new" immigrants in 1936 (immigrants

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urban police departments, especially in regard to Irish, Italian and Slovak concentrations, however, is well known. Differing styles of police administration, by ethnic origins, is discussed but not fully explored, also, in John A. McNamara, "Uncertainties in Police Work: The Relevance of Police Recruits' Backgrounds and Training," in The Police: Six Sociological Essays, ed. David J. Bordua (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), pp. 189-199.

<sup>5</sup> John Hope Franklin, "Ethnicity in American Life: The Historical Perspective," in Ethnicity in American Life, ed. John Hope Franklin, Thomas F. Pettigrew, Raymond W. Mack (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1971), p. 12.

from southern and eastern Europe, as opposed to the "old" migration from western and northern Europe), advises that image would be as follows:

Immigration has brought to the United States millions of inferior beings, who have demoralized politics, endangered religion, complicated education, lowered American wages, made democracy less possible, greatly increased crime, and created a serious problem of non-assimilable elements within our body politic. We have been too good to the immigrant and only recently have we begun to clean house. In short the immigrant is a distinct liability and never an asset. Moreover the whole thing is our problem and is no one else's business.<sup>6</sup>

Taft continues by noting that although such a view is one-sided, it "no doubt contains some elements of truth." In a 1933 volume entitled Current Social Problems, sociologists Gillette and Reinhardt commented as follows regarding the "new" immigrants and their problems:

Yet we have come to realize that the transition does carry a menace to our socio-cultural system. South and East European countries generally have lagged far behind West and North European nations, culturally and socially. Indications of this are seen in lack of public education, high rates of illiteracy, backward industry, low standards of scientific achievement, and a consequent inferior level of health and sanitation. The high mortality rates, especially among infants and young children, are the outcome of backward scientific developments. So too, their political systems and spirit are different from ours and those who come have often been slow to assimilate our outlook, attitudes and standards.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Donald R. Taft, Human Migration (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1936), pp. 179-180.

<sup>7</sup>John M. Gillette and James M. Reinhardt, Current Social Problems (New York: The American Book Company, 1933), pp. 506-507.

Both of these references were contained in books frankly sympathetic to the plight of the "new" immigrants, and the need for tolerance. It may be assumed that statements from nativist organizations of the day, the D.A.R., The American Legion, The National Security League, The American Defense Society and others were more directly worded.<sup>8</sup> Very shortly, however, this trend in public policy and thinking would run up against the fascistic hegemony of Europe, a situation which must have been perceived as creating a dilemma between a desired international posture and internal practice. The practical results of this era in our history may well be a tendency to avoid ethnicity in research (or otherwise), in favor of variables which are perceived as being more "neutral" in an egalitarian sense.<sup>9</sup>

Secondly, there is the strong possibility that the study of white ethnicity has been avoided by such ethnics themselves, to the extent they have been socialized and encouraged to reject their own

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<sup>8</sup>Taft, Human Migration, p. 269.

<sup>9</sup>Colin Greer, ed., Divided Society: The Ethnic Experience in America (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 1-38. Greer maintains that the host society has avoided its failure to realize its own egalitarian principles by maintaining the assimilative model as it relates to white ethnics, while artificially singling out blacks as a unique case. On one hand, the failures of white ethnics may thus be ascribed to class, with onus on the lack of motivation to rise in society. On the other, black failures are attributed to social repression, with little or no personal onus attaching. Class-based analyses of American blacks, moreover, have been severely criticized. See, for example, Edward C. Banfield, The Unheavenly City (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970), and The Unheavenly City Revisited (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1974).

ethnicity, perceive themselves to be occupationally mobile, or to focus only on the extrinsic features of their cultural heritage.<sup>10</sup>

Greeley, a long-time observer of the American ethnic experience, lends support to this view by noting that the process of ethnic assimilation involves a stage in which self-hatred and anti-militancy is the norm.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, assimilation has been impeded precisely because, among other things, ethnic membership has allowed access to occupations uniquely ethnic in composition. Thus it is possible to be mobile within an ethnic occupational pyramid while concurrently rejecting a sense of one's own ethnicity.

As this may relate to research endeavors, Greeley advises:

. . . anyone who argues that ethnic research is important is told that the question is quite irrelevant because of the workings of the assimilationist process, and second

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<sup>10</sup> Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 74-81. Gordon specifies extrinsic cultural traits as patterns of dress, emotional expression, manners and "minor oddities," all of which are clearly subordinate to religious beliefs, ethical values, literature, historical language, musical and recreational tastes. Concerning ethnic occupational mobility, the evidence indicates that the positive perceptions are not always objectively manifested by the facts. See, for example, Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), as well as Daniel Bell, The Radical Right (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1964), in which Bell treats with the dual phenomena of low actual occupational mobility among white ethnics from eastern and southern Europe, coupled with perceptions of high occupational opportunity.

<sup>11</sup> Andrew M. Greeley, Why Can't They Be Like Us? (New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1969). Greeley advises that it is only after the stages of culture shock, deprivation, ethnic organizing, security and the acquisition of middle-class functional skills that the ethnic recognizes the worth of his culture; i.e., becomes militant.



that it is a highly sensitive issue which might offend people if pushed too vigorously.

Relative to ethnic unwillingness to research the area, he surmises that the present generation has:

. . . repressed the possibility of ethnic research from their consciousness because of their own profound ambivalence about their ethnic backgrounds.<sup>12</sup>

These comments all serve to set the stage for this research, a stage that may involve past resistance due to political, ideological, intellectual and emotional avoidance of ethnicity as a "proper" independent variable worthy of research consideration. The remainder of this chapter will specify the organization and content of the study, establish a research definition of ethnicity, and delineate the purpose and need for a study of this nature focused at the police level.

#### Section I: Organization and Content of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters. Chapter I, Introduction, includes opening comments, a definition of ethnicity, organization of the study, and the purpose of and need for the study.

Chapter II, Review of the Literature, contains a review of ethnic studies and interpretive works, with primary emphasis on empirical studies relating to ethnic organization, values and

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

behavior. A final section of this chapter relates to the known impact of ethnicity on policing.

Chapter III, Research Methodology, includes the formulation of an ethnic classification system as well as presentation of the research hypotheses, the study design, sampling considerations and analytical techniques.

Chapter IV, Analysis of Data, contains a presentation of the information gathered in the study, as well as commentary regarding its meaning and significance.

Chapter V, Summary and Conclusions, contains a synopsis of the major findings of the study, as well as commentary regarding the nature of the conclusions which can be drawn.

### Section II: A Research Definition of Ethnicity

The term ethnicity is bandied about in the literature to such an extent and used for such a variety of purposes that it is often difficult to determine just exactly what kind of group or group characteristic is being identified, or how it is being used to explain behavior, social process or social fact of one sort or another. At the marginal end of usage, it is merely a contemptuous shorthand for bohunk, Polak, Wop--some "foreigner"--although the implication is usually clear that it is an American "foreigner" being referenced.<sup>13</sup> Even in the literature and studies proposing

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<sup>13</sup>Barbara MiKulski, "Who Speaks for Ethnic America," New York Times, 28 September 1970, p. 72.

to deal seriously with the subject it is not always clear just what is meant by the term. Not only does this increase the difficulty of constructing a conceptual model taking one from ethnicity to the phenomenon being explained, but it has the effect of turning many such presentations into editorial commentary. Wsevolod Isajiw conducted a survey of 65 sociological and anthropological studies concerned in one manner or another with ethnicity and found that 52 gave no explicit definition at all.<sup>14</sup>

The purpose of this section is to adopt a definition of ethnicity which contains sufficient elements so that a linkage with more general theory can be established, the primary direction of relationships indicated thus facilitating the formulation of a set of research hypotheses, while encompassing the major meanings of the term as it is currently employed.

A survey of the literature provides some insights into the explicit and implicit meanings various authors have ascribed to the term. Many such definitions are purely descriptive; others infer process. Abramson, as previously cited, defines ethnicity as:

A kind of distinctiveness defined by race, religion, national origin, and even geographical isolation.<sup>15</sup>

Greeley provides this definition:

. . . social diversity that is not related to age, social class, or sex. Hence it includes diversity that arises

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<sup>14</sup>Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," Ethnicity 1 (July 1974): 111-123.

<sup>15</sup>Abramson, "Ethnic Pluralism in the Central City," p. 17.

because of race, religion, nationality, language and even geography.<sup>16</sup>

R. A. Schermerhorn provides two somewhat differing interpretations of ethnicity:

. . . a collectivity within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry; memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. Examples of such symbolic elements are kinship patterns, physical contiguity (as in localism or sectionalism), religious affiliation, language or dialect forms, tribal affiliations, nationality, phenotypical features, or any combination of these.<sup>17</sup>

. . . a composite of shared beliefs, values, norms, taste, consciousness of kind within the group, shared in-group memories and loyalties, certain structural relationships within the group, and a trend towards continuity by preferential endogamy.<sup>18</sup>

Greeley and McCready define ethnicity simply as "collectivities based on presumed common origin."<sup>19</sup> Gordon uses the term to mean "any racial, religious or national-origins collectivity,"<sup>20</sup> while Hawkins and Lorinskas describe ethnicity in terms of national origin and recentness of immigration, adding that:

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<sup>16</sup>Andrew M. Greeley, "Editorial," Ethnicity 1 (April 1974): 17.

<sup>17</sup>R. A. Schermerhorn, "Ethnicity in the Perspective of the Sociology of Knowledge," Ethnicity 1 (April 1974): 1-14.

<sup>18</sup>R. A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations: A Framework for Theory and Research (New York: Random House, 1970), p. 12.

<sup>19</sup>Andrew M. Greeley and William C. McCready, "Does Ethnicity Matter?" Ethnicity 1 (April 1974): 91.

<sup>20</sup>Milton M. Gordon, "Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality," in The Ethnic Factor in American Politics, ed. Brett W. Hawkins and Robert A. Lorinskas (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1970), p. 25.

The ethnic factor can be viewed in cultural and psychological terms--as a pattern of behavioral norms, values, identification and background experiences.<sup>21</sup>

From these definitions and from the context of the various articles and studies from which they were taken it is possible to extract the following attributes of ethnicity, such attributes usually being stated or assumed by the authors:

1. Ethnicity is a group phenomenon in which unique cultural characteristics are in contrast with some other socio-cultural group within the same society.
2. Both groups, or as many culture-bearing groups as are identified, exist within the same political or territorial boundaries, in either a coterminous or superordinate/subordinate relationship.
3. The ethnic group maintains some degree of structural integrity which at once reflects cultural values, as well as providing the mechanisms of cultural continuance through the socialization of members born or accepted into that culture.
4. Structural integrity involves the capacity to transmit both intrinsic and extrinsic aspects of the culture to members, as well as to maintain a historical continuity within the bounds of cultural diffusion, evolution and situational demands of function.

A problem with some of the definitions cited is the implication of sufficiency of causality when referring to factors such as national origins, race, language and religion. Race has generally

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<sup>21</sup>Hawkins and Lorinskas, The Ethnic Factor, pp. 1-2, 15.

been discarded in the social sciences as not intrinsically causal. National origins may or may not reflect discrete cultural types, the balkanization of eastern Europe presenting a case in point. There is no compelling theoretical reason for the assumption that political boundaries are always coincident with cultural boundaries. Religion and language, on the other hand, are only two structural aspects of a society or group among many, and while they may be conceded to be culture bearing and even necessary causes of cultural transmission, their causal sufficiency is an empirical question.

Whether or not a group demonstrates the necessary structural integrity to maintain ethnic saliency through the socialization of its members via primary and secondary group exposure, in the objective sense, may be sought in an examination of structure itself, and contrasted with behavior. In this case the intervening socialization dynamic is assumed. Ethnic saliency may also be verified by an examination of intrinsic aspects of the presumed culture, such as the implied value sets defined or determined to be integral to the institutional forms of that culture, as contrasted with the stated or empirically determined values of the ethnic members. In this instance, the Theodorson and Theodorson definition of ethnicity as "a group with a common cultural tradition"<sup>22</sup> provides a linkage between the two examined value sets by implying an involuntary group association; i.e., being born and socialized

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<sup>22</sup>George A. Theodorson and Achilles G. Theodorson, A Modern Dictionary of Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969), p. 135.

into the culture, a process which is essential to ethnicity if it is conceptualized as a culture bearing group maintaining an historical continuity.

At this point, ethnicity can be partially defined as an involuntary culture bearing group, objectively or putatively unique in relation to one or more other culture bearing groups within the same political society, and maintaining sufficient structural integrity to insure cultural transmission. This is in line with Isajiw's determination that, in a survey of 27 definitions of ethnicity, the two most commonly listed attributes were common ancestors (common national or geographic origins), and "same culture or custom."<sup>23</sup> In this regard, this study will be oriented toward a determination of whether or not the national origins of police officers and the imputed cultural sameness of their particular ethnicity results in unique and distinguishable value orderings, values being assumed to be an intrinsic aspect of culture. Since the emphasis in this model is on value as reflected in and transmitted by virtue of the maintenance of structural integrity, a tentative classification system based on a structural analysis of social structures across societies will be employed so that various nationalities may be grouped based on structural similarities.

A summary focus of this study of ethnicity conforms to Weber's concept of what constitutes a meaningful social relationship. Weber asserts that a relationship is meaningful only if the content

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<sup>23</sup>Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," p. 17.

of the relationship remains relatively constant over time, and is capable of being expressed in axioms to which the parties involved can be expected to adhere at least approximately by their partners.<sup>24</sup>

Weber distinguishes four characteristic forms of social conduct:

rational (goal oriented); value related; affective; and tradi-

tional.<sup>25</sup> Within this context, ethnicity will be meaningful to the extent that unique value orderings or preferences can be specified, by group or by a category of groups. Furthermore, uniqueness vis-a-vis the other cultural groups with which interaction occurs must be demonstrated since a lack of value uniqueness makes value-predicated behavior essentially a society-wide reflex action and not relevant to an analysis of inter-ethnic social relations from a structural standpoint.

Cultural aspects of ethnicity aside, however, other characterizations of ethnicity are apparent in the literature which give a much more situational and subjective cast to the subject. Many such presentations describe ethnicity not as a group characteristic in the objective sense, but as a past or present reaction to political and social process in which ethnicity is created or "found" for the purpose of maintaining or constructing group solidarity and cohesion. Max Weber places ethnicity in much

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<sup>24</sup>Max Weber, Basic Concepts in Sociology, trans. H. P. Secher (New York: The Citadel Press, 1964), pp. 59-63.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.



the same category as nationalism, the result of found custom, created mythology and discovered social commonalities.<sup>26</sup> Other definitions bespeak this same dynamic:

Shibutani and Kwan:

. . . temporary alignments of people created by communications channels. . . . ethnic groups disappear when consciousness of kind is altered.<sup>27</sup>

Warner and Srole:

The term 'ethnic' refers to any individual who considers himself, or is considered to be, a member of a group with a foreign culture and who participates in the activities of the group.<sup>28</sup>

Glazer and Moynihan:

Groups may preexist in sociological reality, but they shape themselves by choice; they define their own categories.

Ethnics are interest groups, which continue in being because they are most appropriate to social, economic and political power.<sup>29</sup>

Finally, there is a third view of ethnicity which somewhat overlaps both the first and second themes; namely, that ethnicity is a general social phenomenon resulting from a dissatisfaction with the dominant American life style. In this model one can trace the

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<sup>26</sup>Max Weber, Economy and Society, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968), pp. 385-398.

<sup>27</sup>Tamotsu Shibutani and Kian M. Kwan, Ethnic Stratification, A Comparative Approach (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 216.

<sup>28</sup>W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p. 28.

<sup>29</sup>Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1960), Introduction, p. xiii.

"rediscovered" ethnicity generally to the ethnic culture, but the selection of appropriate tradition and value, or social technique, remains a function of situation. In this mode, Greeley advises:

The ethnic group was created only when the peasant commune broke up, and was essentially an attempt to keep some of the values, some of the informality, some of the support, some of the intimacy of the communal life in the midst of an impersonal, formalistic, rationalized urban, industrial society . . . .<sup>30</sup>

Novak, concurrently, finds that "almost everywhere," one can see the retreat to past cultural tradition as a defense against certain evils of modern life.<sup>31</sup>

The three major ethnic models indicated in the literature, then, seem to be as follows:

1. Ethnicity as cultural continuity based on structural integrity sufficient to maintain ethnic saliency.
2. Ethnicity as a "created" group characteristic in response to socio-political and possibly even economic decisions which provide the base-line identity of the group itself.
3. Ethnicity as a selective retreat to historical and often "rediscovered" ethnic traditions and values in response to the nature of a mature industrial society.

The first model allows for the constructing of hypotheses based on an examination of structural characteristics of historical group development, while assuming an involuntary exposure to

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<sup>30</sup>Greeley, Why Can't They Be Like Us? p. 8.

<sup>31</sup>Michael Novak, "Nervous System of the Planet," EMPAC 1 (April 1975): 1.

socialization. To some extent, the third model also fosters such hypothesizing based on the same criteria, although a selective "falling back" on tradition invites a much weaker total relationship with the historical cultural form. This latter model is much more situational in nature than the first, with the selection of tradition, so to speak, much more a function of placement in the political economy of society than the result of a strong linkage with the historical ethnic traditions. Model two has the potential for hypothesizing depending on where on the historical continuum the ethnic group falls subsequent to the decisions which provided the base-line identity previously discussed. The subjective premise which underlies this model, however, is intuitively more appropriate to national or at least regional identity. Moreover, the model does not contain any guide to prediction and demands a case-by-case examination of ethnicity to discover its form and nature.

For the purpose of this study, the definition suggested by Isajiw will be adopted, which includes both objective and subjective possibilities. It will be assumed throughout that ethnicity, as described, will gain social relevance by connoting a relationship between two or more such groups in which cultural differences form the primary basis of comparison. Isajiw's definition is as follows:

Ethnicity refers to an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>Isajiw, "Definitions of Ethnicity," p. 122.

### Section III: Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to identify significant relationships between the ethnicity of police officers, and their adherence to specifiabale and predictable life values as a reflection of the intrinsic nature of their cultural backgrounds, as well as their adherence to values and attitudes relating to occupation, the general public and to government. Additionally, significant relationships will be sought in the area of personality orientations pertinent to analysis of the police function; namely, measures of dogmatism, intolerance of ambiguity, faith-in-people and general authoritarianism. Stated in another form, the purpose of this study is to determine if ethnicity is a salient variable in predicting values, attitudes and psychological orientations vis-a-vis a number of the standard social science variables such as socioeconomic status (SES), education, job experience, age, and religious and political affiliations.

Since this study is essentially exploratory and descriptive in nature, it was felt necessary to gather data relative to such standard variables so that appropriate controls for them could be instituted during analysis. Additionally, the selection of dependent variables was consciously aimed at a wide array of factors so that a realistic appraisal of ethnicity could be made relative to its impact on police administration, organizational change, selection and training, job placement and police-citizen interaction.

#### Section IV: Need for the Study

Whether or not there is conscious or subconscious resistance to the study of ethnicity in general, or as it relates to policing, there would seem to be four rather substantial justifications in support of this study. Each will be considered below, but briefly stated they are: (1) there already exists a considerable body of theory suggesting a strong relationship between culture, values and behavior, none of which seriously suggests that culture is quite so superficial as is implied by some assimilationist theory; (2) the disarray of assimilationist theory in light of the real social progress and status of many ethnic groups as well as the development of alternative theory suggests that the issue is far from resolved; (3) the recent revival of interest in ethnicity coupled with or possibly in reaction to the actions of American Blacks within the past decade presents a potential conflict situation of the first social magnitude, bearing directly on police functioning; and (4) the nature of the police function as well as the unique ethnic input into American urban policing.

#### Cultural Values and Behavior

One of the basic areas of general consensus in the social sciences relates to the strength of the relationship between culture, values and behavior. Ruth Benedict views culture as "a blueprint for living" and advises that a determination of what a society views as the "good life" may be sought by an examination "of combinations of customs and institutions which conform to implicit

choices of basic values from the range of human possibilities."<sup>33</sup> Malinowski asserts the proper focus of any culture is its institutions, its cooperative endeavors, since these institutions reflect "an agreement on a set of traditional values for which human beings come together."<sup>34</sup> Malinowski differentiates between the institutional charter which reflects primary collective and individual values, and organizational by-laws which, though instrumentalities facilitating human and physical process, are also conditioned by cultural value patterns. Eric Fromm discusses the Freudian process of sublimation of biological drives into culturally valued forms, fully conceding the creative attributes of culture in this regard, while social-psychologists Mead and Homans both cite the unique socio-cultural development of societies as one source of value important in personal interaction.<sup>35</sup>

Kroeber and Kluckhohn have conducted a survey of several hundred definitions of culture, in an attempt to conclude a consensus definition of that term. They found relative consensus in the following:

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<sup>33</sup>Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), p. 35.

<sup>34</sup>Bronislaw Malinowski, A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 39, 52.

<sup>35</sup>Eric Fromm, Escape From Freedom (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1941), pp. 11-13; George Casper Homans, Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1961), p. 45; George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 262.

. . . the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning influences on further action. (*Italics mine.*)<sup>36</sup>

Moreover the literature of socialization proceeds, whether psychological, sociological or social-psychological, within a conceptual framework which involves an analysis of the process by which preferred action modes, roles and cultural values are internalized by the individual through interaction with primary and secondary contacts. Regardless of how this conceptual framework is delineated--i.e., the "looking-glass self" of Cooley, the "generalized other" of Mead, operant conditioning or exchange principles--nowhere is it suggested that in the main and within the constraints of class "culture" or subcultural variation does any society do other than utilize the socialization process to foster conduct predicated on cultural value and to avoid culturally unacceptable forms.<sup>37</sup> Ralph Linton, in a study of culture and personality traits, concludes that:

It is the transmission of this completely shared nucleus (family) of culture which provides the members of the society with common understandings and which makes it possible for the society, as such, to survive repeated turnover in its personnel.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions (Cambridge, Mass.: Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 47, No. 1).

<sup>37</sup> Frederick Elkin, The Child and Society, The Process of Socialization (New York: Random House, 1960); Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order (Boston: Charles Scribner, 1902).

<sup>38</sup> Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945), p. 58.

Assuming the legitimacy of such a position it still remains, however, to come to some conclusion about the relative durability of culture especially as it relates to emigration from one cultural context to another and the resultant cultural mix or separation that occurs. Kluckhohn finds that cultures have a way of maintaining certain aspects (values, artifacts, attitudes and styles), long beyond their functional response to need and environment, a view that is reinforced by Paul Bohannan who found that there is always a serious lag between even the functional unwritten norms of a society and the norms incorporated into the formal institutions of that society.<sup>39</sup> Thus, on one hand, it could be logically asserted that to the extent the migrant culture had a developed institutional structure upon arrival in America it would be substantially resistant to immediate change, and that in the long run, any uniquely ethnic values or behavior remaining were the result of cultural "survival." Malinowski and others, however, prefer to also examine the cultural realities in which such "survival" occurs prior to designating a cultural phenomenon merely an artifact of the past.<sup>40</sup> As an example, patronage politics may be viewed as a "survival" from pre-liberal societies, yet have high functional utility in some urban areas. Likewise, ethnicity may appear to

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<sup>39</sup>Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture and Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 31; Paul Bohannan, "The Differing Realms of the Law," in Law and Warfare: Studies in the Anthropology of Conflict, ed. Paul Bohannan (New York: The National History Press, 1967), p. 43.

<sup>40</sup>Malinowski, Scientific Theory of Culture, pp. 26-31.



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have survival characteristics in one instance (in western regions of the United States, as an example), while demonstrating strong functionality from a variety of standpoints--cultural, political, economic, educational--in the large urban areas of the central and eastern parts of the nation.

Functional aspects of ethnic cultural maintenance must include, especially in the case of the multiple ethnic groups immigrating to America, some analysis of the reception they received at the hands of the nativist Anglo host culture. Previous remarks have indicated a particular attitude relative to southern and eastern European immigrants; other commentators have implied a particular role for European immigrants in general. A very early reference to this role for both "old" and "new" immigrants alike is contained in a report to Congress compiled by Alexander Hamilton, December 5, 1791, in which he states:

It may be affirmed, therefore, in respect to hands for carrying on manufactures, that we shall in great measure trade upon a foreign stock, reserving our own for the cultivation of our lands and the manning of our ships, as far as character and circumstance shall incline.<sup>41</sup>

Nonetheless, the first wave of immigrants, from northern and western Europe, were remarkably similar to the host culture, a feature which Warner and Srole find important in explaining the relative ease with which they were assimilated into the host

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<sup>41</sup> Alexander Hamilton, "Report on Manufactures, December 5, 1791," in Alexander Hamilton's Papers on Public Credit, Commerce and Finance, ed. Samuel McKee (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957), p. 207.

society.<sup>42</sup> They maintain that the host willingness to accept new cultures into primary relationships is clearly a function of religion, language, functional and racial nearness. In that regard, it is enlightening to consider a description of the "old" immigrants versus the "new" immigrants by Morison and Commager:

Immigrants from northern and western Europe were usually literate, and often well-educated; they were predominantly Protestant; many of them were skilled workers or farmers, and a substantial number of them were from the professional classes. The vast majority of them came to stay, learned the language of their adopted country . . . and were soon indistinguishable from their American neighbors.

Immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were often illiterate and unskilled; they were for the most part Catholic, Greek Orthodox, or Jewish in religious faith; they congregated in the slums of large cities where they retained their native language and customs . . . .<sup>43</sup>

It is perhaps also salient to note that while many of the "old" immigrants did radiate toward the land, with a majority of the "new" immigrants settling in urban enclaves, that this settlement pattern may be less indicative of choice than the particular needs of American society during both immigratory periods. The period 1850-1900 ("old immigration") was one of westward expansion and land settlement, while the period from approximately 1890 into the twentieth century reflected a burgeoning industrial expansion. Table 1.1 contains the extent and periods of these two major migration patterns.

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<sup>42</sup> Warner and Srole, Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, pp. 283-296.

<sup>43</sup> Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, Vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 267-268.

TABLE 1.1.--Change in Source of Immigration from Europe, 1860-1930.

Period	Total Admitted	Northern and Western Europe		Southern and Eastern Europe	
		No.	%	No.	%
1861-1870	2,314,824	2,031,624	87.8	33,628	1.4
1871-1880	2,812,191	2,070,373	73.6	201,889	7.2
1881-1890	5,246,613	3,778,633	72.0	958,413	18.3
1891-1900	3,687,564	1,643,492	44.6	1,915,486	51.9
1901-1910	8,795,386	1,910,035	21.7	6,225,981	70.8
1911-1920	5,735,811	997,438	17.4	3,379,126	58.9
1921-1930	4,107,209	1,284,023	31.3	1,193,830	29.0

Source: Morison and Commager, The Growth of the American Republic, p. 262.

To the extent that the "new" immigrants have remained in urban areas, and to the extent that culture maintains naturally or as a function of necessity, the above suggests a potential for differential cultural maintenance in this society. Theoretical premises and historical data serve primarily to promote a healthy skepticism concerning the real viability of an oft-presumed assimilation.

### Assimilationist Theory and Ethnic Realities

The process by which variant cultures in this society have interacted as well as the results of that interaction remain

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ambiguous and subject to a wide spectrum of interpretation. Moreover, the theoretical models presented to explain that process and result may be more the result of ideological goals than an objective statement of the actual social development of this nation. The most common popular conception probably revolves around the melting-pot theory of cultural assimilation.<sup>44</sup> Under the terms of this model all ethnic groups contribute the best aspects of their cultural heritage, while divesting themselves of ancient animosities and differences to form a common American culture. This somewhat naive but highly idealistic statement is best exemplified by the character David in the drama, The Melting Pot, who utters these lines:

Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand in your fifty groups, with your fifty languages and histories . . . . But you won't be long like that, brothers, . . . Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians--into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American.<sup>45</sup>

This theory assumes a propensity to "melt" by host and immigrant culture alike which ignores the facts of cultural and social development, while specifying an end-product only in the most amorphous terms. Glazer and Moynihan conclude that one of the serious constraints on dropping ethnic identity lies precisely in the unavailability of a simple "American" identity, a problem also

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<sup>44</sup>Which takes its name from Israel Zangwill's 1908 drama, The Melting Pot.

<sup>45</sup>Israel Zangwill, The Melting Pot (New York: Macmillan, 1909), p. 37, quoted by Gordon, "Assimilation in America," p. 33.

cited by John Erskine as early as 1927. In that year Erskine was lamenting the perversion of puritan "Americanism" by the impact of industrialism and immigration, all of which resulted in a depersonalized social milieu and the gross sort of individualism which ignored tradition and substance.<sup>46</sup> A variation on the melting pot theory, possibly in reaction to this difficulty with defining the "new" American, was subsequently developed by Ruby Kennedy, in which she hypothesized three major cultural identities predicated on religious affiliation.<sup>47</sup> This model suffers from an emphasis on only one institutional aspect of culture, and essentially ignores ecological realities impacting on ethnic assimilation.

Another model of assimilation comes under the rubric of Anglo-Conformity, a concept which draws on the presumed desire of nativists to maintain (or perfect) the positive aspects of English political, economic and social traditions in the context of American development. The strength of this assumed need may be implied from the comments of European political philosophers such as Locke and Voltaire, who saw special virtue in the early American culture and actively promoted its survival. Bernard Bailyn, in a survey of early American writings, concludes that European illuminati strongly reinforced a view in the colonies that these early settlers

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<sup>46</sup> Glazer and Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, p. xxxiii; John Erskine, American Character, and Other Essays (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1927), Book I, pp. 35-37.

<sup>47</sup> Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot," American Journal of Sociology 49 (April 1944): 331-339.

were the "special preservers of virtue and liberty."<sup>48</sup> Remarks of this nature are also common in most writings of the founding fathers as well, and support the premise of this model that, at least during the nineteenth century, conformity of immigrants to Anglo culture was clearly the social goal of the host culture.

The most recent model of inter-cultural development is that of cultural pluralism, a theory Gordon asserts came into being well after the reality of ethnic enclaves was recognized, but only as a result of a growing awareness that the cultural coercion of immigrants by the host society begat serious social problems.<sup>49</sup> Cultural pluralism, a phrase originally coined by Horace Kallen to describe what was actually transpiring in American life, included the promoting of ethnic identification while encouraging a democratic development.<sup>50</sup> Greeley conceives of such pluralism as the Process by which all ethnics become American while concurrently retaining creative aspects of their cultural heritage, and more recently three distinct variations on this theme have become apparent. There is simple cultural pluralism; essentially the Process already described. Secondly, there is the model of ethno-genesis, in which cultural diffusion and amalgamation occur, concurrent with distinct cultural paths each of which differs in

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<sup>48</sup> Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), especially Chapters II and III.

<sup>49</sup> Gordon, "Assimilation in America," pp. 35-38.

<sup>50</sup> Horace M. Kallen, Culture and Democracy in the United States (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1924).



relation to the original form by virtue of factors such as time, social experiences, ecological needs and the like.<sup>51</sup> Thirdly, there is the model of acculturation but not assimilation. This model, developed by Gordon, proposes that complete assimilation (a state in which individuals from differing cultural heritages are no longer culturally or institutionally distinctive one from another), involves not only conformity with host cultural patterns (acculturation), but admittance to primary group relations. Primary group relations, according to Gordon, constitute the key element of assimilation, and until such interaction occurs mere acculturation will continue to describe much of the ethnic reality.<sup>52</sup> This position is anticipated by Taft, who argues that the interaction of any two cultures within some defined ecological circumstance involves the stages of segregation, conflict and assimilation, the prior two stages being characterized by symbiotic but secondary relationships.<sup>53</sup> Park finds that many ethnic groups have not currently advanced beyond the first two stages:

What one actually finds in cosmopolitan groups, then, is a superficial uniformity, a homogeneity in manners and fashion, associated with relatively profound differences in individual opinions, sentiments and beliefs.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Andrew M. Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States (New York: John Wiley, 1974), pp. 303-310.

<sup>52</sup> Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, pp. 68-81.

<sup>53</sup> Taft, Human Migration, pp. 245-246.

<sup>54</sup> Robert Ezra Park, Race and Culture: Essays in the Sociology of Contemporary Man (New York: The Free Press, 1964), pp. 204-205.

Park has explored the impact of migration, culture conflict and personality in a concept he specifies as "marginal man."<sup>55</sup>

According to this concept, assimilation, while inevitable, often produces cultural hybrids, individuals whose traditions, ethics and prejudices as well as their life perspectives, reflect the impact of both their original and host cultures. The result is an individual who exists on the margin of either culture in a more or less permanent state of moral dichotomy and personal conflict.

While Park's original concept was cast in a predominantly racial-cultural context, it may also have relevance where differing cultures interact short of considerations of racial difference.

Moreover, the concept of marginality may be operative not only during initial stages of assimilation, as implied by Park, but in any generational context in which ethnicity becomes a salient social force.

By almost any criteria, the possibility of a contemporary existence of some distinctive ethnic differences must be conceded; if anything, this position is only strengthened by recent increased attention to the subject. Michael Novak entitles his interpretive work on eastern and southern European immigrants The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, and he also edits a monthly newsletter for EMPAC (Ethnic Millions Political Action Committee), which is

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<sup>55</sup> Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," American Journal of Sociology 33 (May 1928): 881-893.

focused on the question and problems of white ethnicity.<sup>56</sup> A spate of national television shows deal directly with aspects of cultural pluralism, or at least purport to.<sup>57</sup> A new academic journal, Ethnicity, has been founded within the last two years. In short, the subject of ethnicity, particularly white ethnicity, is receiving increased attention in our society. A research need is thereby indicated to explore the extent and the nature of the asserted diversity.

### Ethnicity and the Black Movement

There is some evidence in the literature linking an asserted reemergence of ethnicity (an ethnic "regrouping" so to speak), with the social and political movement of Black Americans since the middle 1960's. This position is most precisely set forth by R. A. Schermerhorn, and involves considerations of historic white ethnic social gains, contemporary emphasis by the larger society on black progress, and a general public movement supportive of pluralism in all forms.<sup>58</sup> Schermerhorn's argument is essentially as follows: (1) prior to the 1960's the ethnic mind set was focused on notions of assimilation with the larger culture, and numerous hard-won

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<sup>56</sup> Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1971); EMPAC (Box 48, Bayville, New York).

<sup>57</sup> For example, see CBS, All in the Family, The Jeffersons, and NBC, Chico and The Man.

<sup>58</sup> Schermerhorn, "Ethnicity in the Perspective of the Sociology of Knowledge," pp. 1-14.

**s**ocial gains as well as mobility, however sporadic or slow, provided **t**he legitimation for such perceptions; (2) the 1960's brought about **n**ot only a general social tendency opting for pluralism of all types, **b**ut a demand by blacks for rapid integration and mobility, a position **w**hich was seen by many white ethnics to threaten their current and **f**uture mobility opportunities; and (3) the unfortunate focus of **b**lack demands became, in many cases, the drive for integrated housing **a**nd education in the ethnic enclaves of several major urban concentrations.<sup>59</sup> Schermerhorn concludes that not only was the "new" **e**thnicity born in the supercharged atmosphere of the past decade, **b**ut that as a reaction it may become a prime causal element in the **f**uture of ethnic development in this society.<sup>60</sup>

Radzialowski, in surveying the situation of Detroit Poles **i**n relation to the Black movement, sees the cutting edge of the **p**roblem in more economic terms. He advises:

Confrontation with the Blacks involves more than just a question of neighborhood, community, and traditional hostility to outsiders. . . . It doesn't take too many visits to workman's bars in the Polish neighborhoods to discover that the whole complex of fears surrounding the Black threat to jobs plays an important role in the general reaction to the Negro--that this fear becomes intensified in times of economic Depression.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> **h**igh **s**ituation **T**he **a**nd The school busing situation in South Boston, involving a level of conflict between the Irish and Blacks, presents a situation in which all of Schermerhorn's elements may be salient. The Irish, it should be noted, are a part of the "old" immigration and should, in theory, have been assimilated long ago.

<sup>60</sup> **S**ociology of Knowledge," p. 9. Schermerhorn, "Ethnicity in the Perspective of the

<sup>61</sup> **E**thnicity Thaddeus Radzialowski, "The View from a Polish Ghetto," **E**thnicity 1 (July 1974): 134.

**In** this same general vein, it is appropriate to consider a somewhat **prevalent** notion, that ethnicity in the limited definitional sense--**the** Irish, southern and eastern Europeans--is a surrogate for the **working** class, and that the working class is racist in orientation **as** well as decidedly conservative. A NORC study by Nie, Currie and Greeley challenges this assumption.<sup>62</sup> In a typology in which **western** European Protestants, hybrids and self-described "Americans" **are** considered non-ethnics, and western European Catholics, southern Europeans, eastern Europeans and Jews are designated as ethnics, **these** researchers found evidence in a national survey conducted in 1967 that:

White ethnic Americans reported attitudes no less liberal on the war in Vietnam and sometimes more liberal than other Americans, White ethnic Americans expressed attitudes sometimes more liberal and never less liberal on racial questions, and consistently more liberal on issues of economic and social welfare than other Americans.<sup>63</sup>

**They** conclude that assuming a conservative and racist stance among **ethnics** clouds the real issue: namely, that many ethnics **situationally** find themselves in what they consider an unfair competition **with** Black Americans. In other words the real source of conflict **is** ecological (in the Parkian sense) proximity, and not racism or **conservatism** arising from class placement or ethnic identification.

It is believed that rather serious exception can be taken **with** the typology used in Greeley's study, a subject that will be

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<sup>62</sup>Norman H. Nie, Barbara Currie, and Andrew M. Greeley, "Political Attitudes Among American Ethnics: A Study of Perceptual Distortion," Ethnicity 1 (December 1974): 317-343.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., pp. 328-331.

explored in Chapter II of this study. It is presented at this juncture only to specify the general concerns with ethnicity as the phenomenon is seen to interact with general social developments and the Black movement in particular. To the extent that ethnicity constitutes a potential point of serious conflict in society, the implications for law enforcement and policing in general are obvious.

### The Police Function and Police Ethnicity

America is a land in which every conceivable cultural type is represented. Much of the current dialogue in the criminal justice system concerns itself with the need for police officers to recognize and be sensitive to these cultural differences. Fossdick, writing in 1920, amply specifies the earlier police problem in terms of white ethnicity:

With rare exceptions the populations of European cities are homogeneous. The population of American cities is heterogeneous to an extent almost without parallel. . . . In America--to use only a few illustrations at random--New York's foreign-born population is 41%, Chicago and Boston 36% each, Cleveland and Providence 34% each, Detroit 33% . . . .

This contrast can be emphasized in another way. London has 14,000 Italians among her foreign-born; Paris has 26,000. New York has 340,000; Chicago has 45,000. London has 45,000 foreign-born Russians; Paris 18,000. New York has 485,000; Chicago 121,000. . . . New York's Italian-born population is greater than the combined populations of Bologna and Venice.

The consequences of this mixture of race and color are far reaching, particularly in their effect on such functions as policing. Homogeneity simplifies the task of government. Long-established traditions of order and standards of public conduct, well-understood customs and practices which smooth the rough edges of personal contact, a definite racial temperament and a fixed set of group

habits by which conflicting interests are more readily comprehended and adjusted--in short, the social solidarity and cohesiveness which come only from a common language and a common heritage--all these factors, so interwoven in French and English community life . . . are utterly unknown in many of the towns and cities of The United States.<sup>64</sup>

The current focus of this problem--cultural heterogeneity and policing--has changed, and recent emphasis has been placed on the special cultural needs of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans and other ethnic non-white minorities. This not only assumes that assimilation among the various white ethnics is an established fact but it disregards some rather unique ethnic characteristics manifested by American policing, especially in the eastern half of the nation. The Irish influence in the New York City Police Department is a case in point. A listing of individual members of the force as of May 1, 1885 reveals almost half had surnames which may be roughly equated with an Irish heritage (DeTaney, Kelly, Kennedy, Murphy, McCarthy, O'Malley, etc.).<sup>65</sup> A listing of the major police social and fraternal associations for New York City (March 1965) indicates that the Irish Emerald Society has a membership of 8,500 which would equate to roughly 42 percent of force strength.<sup>66</sup> McNamara found that the hierarchy of that

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<sup>64</sup>Raymond B. Fosdick, American Police Systems (Montclair, N.J.: Patterson Smith, 1969), pp. 4-8.

<sup>65</sup>Augustine E. Costello, Our Police Protectors: History of the New York Police (New York: Police Pension Fund, 1885; reprinted by Patterson-Smith Publishing Corporation, Montclair, N.J., 1972), pp. 527-559.

<sup>66</sup>Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1967), p. 135.

department was dominated by men with Irish-Catholic backgrounds.<sup>67</sup> Wilson, in a study of one large city department, found that while Irish represented only 2.6 percent of the city population, that 19.7 percent of the police (during the period 1951-1961) were of Irish heritage; that in the past twenty years the force had not appreciably changed in ethnic composition, and that over one-fifth of all Irish sergeants had three or more relatives involved in policing.<sup>68</sup> Comparisons of this nature are equally pertinent to other ethnic groups as well. These data, although limited in scope, suggest that some police departments may provide a mobility structure perceived as distinct by some ethnics from the overall society-wide occupational avenues, especially to the extent that the police department is organized and controlled as a reflection of particular styles of city government. This is a point suggested in Wilson's study of police styles, organization and city government in eight communities.<sup>69</sup> Although there is little precise data on the nature of ethnic inputs to policing across the nation, the common reference made by various practitioners in the field to the Irish, the Italians, the Poles, etc., and their alleged influence in various departments lends support to a view that the police occupation is not always representative of the ethnic spread in the

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<sup>67</sup>McNamara, "Uncertainties in Police Work," p. 199.

<sup>68</sup>James Q. Wilson, "Generational and Ethnic Differences Among Career Police Officers," American Journal of Sociology 69 (March 1964): 522-528.

<sup>69</sup>James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).



general population. The question that is raised in terms of representativeness is whether or not ethnicity is a powerful enough variable to be deemed important in terms of both predicting and planning for police behavior. The purpose of this research is to examine what is perceived to be an a priori assumption that ethnicity, among whites, is not of sufficient power to condition the orientations of police officers, thus need not be included in the full spectrum of police organizational actions.

Secondly, within policing there is some indication that ethnic considerations are operant over and above professional norms and associations. Table 1.2 reflects the major police fraternal and social organizations represented in the New York City Police Department in 1964. Intuitively, one must question the reason for the existence of such fraternities, especially their focus on ethnic membership (in view of the almost legendary pronouncements concerned with the brotherhood of police, their cohesiveness because of common danger, and the like), in lieu of a strong unified police professional organization. If, however, policing is viewed in terms of an ethnic mobility opportunity, such fraternities gain function by either protecting a perceived advantage, or by means of reacting in sufficient strength to overcome a perceived disadvantage. In this same regard, traditional police opposition to lateral entry may be viewed less the result of local, state or operational exigencies, and more a means to protect the internal mobility pattern.

**TABLE 1.2.--Comparison of Membership of Selected Police Societies.**

<b>Name of Association</b>	<b>Background of Membership</b>	<b>Number of Members</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>Emerald Society</b>	Irish	8,500	42
<b>Columbia Association</b>	Italian	5,000	25
<b>Shomrim Society</b>	Jewish	2,270	11.2
<b>Steuben Association</b>	German	1,500	7.4
<b>Guardians Association</b>	Negro	1,320	6.5
<b>Pulaski Association</b>	Polish	1,100	5.4
<b>St. Paul Society</b>	Greek and Russian	300	1.5
<b>Hispanic Society</b>	Puerto Rican and Spanish	250	1
		<u>20,240</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

**Source:** Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield, p. 135.

In a study of 293 police officers to explore the possibility of role strain predicated on two omnipresent life spaces (ethnic membership and police membership), one researcher found evidence that role strain of this nature did exist; further, that it was often resolved in favor of maintaining ethnic in-group/out-group relationships. Specifically, ambiguous interpersonal situations were avoided beyond the .001 level of statistical significance among Blacks, Irish, Italian, Polish and White Anglo-Saxons.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup>Frank G. Pogue, "A Study of Ethnic Background and Role Strain Among Policemen" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1973).

Stated another way, officers in this department advised they would allow themselves to become interpersonally close only with officers from the same ethnic background.

One of the earliest references to ethnicity within policing is indicative that ethnic discord has at least been recognized as a possible source of trouble for some time. The General Orders of the Watch, New York City, 1674, contain this warning:

. . . whosoever shall presume to make any quarrell upon the Wattch, upon the account of being different nations or any other pretense whatsoever, hee or they shall pay a whole fine . . . .<sup>71</sup>

It would seem reasonable, based on considerations such as these, that some extensive exploration of policing would be justified, focusing on ethnicity as a variable conceivably relating to the problems of policing. This has not been the case. For example, in a rather extensive study of police attitudes, utilizing SES as a causal variable, Watson and Sterling controlled for ethnicity by dividing respondents into three categories: White, Negro and "all others."<sup>72</sup> Other studies focus on the values police bring with them to the job, the effect of occupation on attitudes and behavior, or whether particular individuals self-select themselves into the

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<sup>71</sup>Costello, Our Police Protectors, p. 23.

<sup>72</sup>Nelson A. Watson and James W. Sterling, Police and Their Opinions of Police (Washington, D.C.: International Association of Chiefs of Police, 1969), p. 108.

police occupation.<sup>73</sup> None of these studies or interpretive works seriously attempt to either differentiate ethnicity in any structured fashion, or consider the subject as meriting comment. A survey of 153 white male policemen (1968) by Rokeach, and contrasted with a matched national sample, revealed that:

Police are more concerned than are white and black Americans in the national sample with certain personal values. They care more about a sense of accomplishment and about being capable, intellectual and logical. These findings suggest an image of the policeman as a person who, contrary to popular conception, sees himself as striving to perform his occupational functions in a professionally competent and responsible manner.<sup>74</sup>

In order to control for education and SES, these officers were matched with 153 white males from the general population. At a level of significance varying from .01 to .06, these officers ranked the values a comfortable life, pleasure, obedience and self-control higher, and beauty, equality, freedom and independence lower than the national white sample. In a pilot study undertaken in conjunction with this dissertation, however, this same department was found to be decidedly over-represented by officers of German, Scandinavian, English and German-Irish parentage, with less than

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<sup>73</sup>See, for example, Seymour Martin Lipset, "Why Cops Hate Liberals--and Visa Versa," Atlantic 223 (1969): 76-83; Hans H. Toch, "Psychological Consequences of the Police Role," Police 10 (1965): 22-25; Milton Rokeach, "The Value Gap Between Police and Policed," Journal of Social Issues 27 (1971): 155-171.

<sup>74</sup>Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York: The Free Press, 1973), pp. 150-152.

10 percent of responding officers of southern or eastern European heritage.<sup>75</sup> The failure of Rokeach to take into account such ethnicity may considerably dilute the inferential potential of his data to conclude anything about police values in general. Again, the question is one of assuming base-line cultural sameness with emphasis on psychological predispositions or occupational socialization. Whether or not this can be done with impunity remains an open question.

Police constitute one of the obvious sources of conflict in our society. Bittner has observed that in a society which constantly tends toward the elaborate symbolization of power, the police often present as blatantly coercive by their ability and often their responsibility to immediately enforce compliance. Bittner further observes that the nature of policing mandates rough-hewn decision making, and at any rate many in the general public will perceive the police as repressive agents of the status quo.<sup>76</sup> Major emphasis in recent years has been placed on upgrading police management, education and professionalization. Of major import to the success of these areas, to say nothing of selection, training, functional placement and promotion, is the basic question

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<sup>75</sup> Ethnic composition was determined by virtue of a survey instrument, as well as extended conversations with top police officials, and acquaintanceships with approximately 10% of the department. The results of the pilot study are contained in Appendix A of this dissertation.

<sup>76</sup> Egon Bittner, The Functions of the Police in Modern Society (Rockville, Md.: National Institute of Mental Health, Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, Publication No. 2059, 1970), pp. 15-21.

of what kind of individuals are in policing, and what values, attitudes and psychological orientations they bring with them or develop on the job. Subsumed within this larger question is the cultural diversity factor, and whether such cultural diversity manifests itself in terms of those values, attitudes and orientations. It has generally been assumed that such is not the case in contemporary society, at least among whites. If, however, as many assert, culture provides the framework within which values, attitudes and orientations are formed and in which they remain functional components of behavioral patterning; if either Anglo-conformity or melting pot theories fail to describe reality or if cultural pluralism pretends beyond extrinsic differences, then a closer examination of police ethnicity is clearly in order.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The interpretive literature of ethnicity is as rich and diverse as the subject itself, and it is as difficult to capsule the large mass of historical and developmental material as it is to adequately describe the total American experience itself. Not only did the motivational bases differ extensively among the immigrants--the seeking of political and religious freedom of many nativists, the Irish flight from starvation, the economic and social displacement of the mass of peasantry from the interior of the European continent, the opportunity for entrepreneurship or mere adventure--but each group arrived with differing social, political and economic skills as well as differing customs, norms and forms of social organization. Each group interacted with substantially different ecological stages of the American development. The great land-settling activities of the Old Immigration, coupled with their background of skilled tradecraft; the urban industrial experience of the New Immigration; the amalgam of nationalities that settled the West and created new institutions appropriate to that experience; the reception each immigrant group received at the hands of the host culture; all of these factors combined to promote distinctive adaptive behaviors, involved varying levels of conflict or consensus,

and perceptions of how best to deal with the human problems that beset all collectivities.

The bulk of the literature of ethnicity, especially those works detailing the American experiences of the New Immigration emphasize the processes and realities cited above. Oscar Handlin's The Uprooted, Pisani's The Italian in America, and Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,<sup>1</sup> are some of the best efforts in this field. In many ways they are chronologies of pride, of group survival in the face of political, social and economic exploitation, and of adaptive maintenance of group and individual integrity in spite of these problems.

Literature of this type, which characterizes the bulk of writing from the turn of the century into the 1950s and beyond, provides valuable insights into the organizing activities of various ethnic groups, their cultural antecedents and adaptive behavior; nonetheless, and in keeping with dominant assimilationist tendencies of the time, they usually assumed those processes were in full or partial operation even though esoteric ethnic customs and traditions were often asserted to maintain over time. In the main, consensus among all cultural groups was assumed in the arena of human values, as well as a similar rank ordering of those values. It was in the area of extrinsic cultural features--wedding customs, festivals,

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<sup>1</sup>Oscar Handlin, The Uprooted (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1951); Lawrence F. Pisani, The Italian in America (New York: The Exposition Press, 1954); and William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1918).



courting and the like--that ethnic saliency was assumed, an area of culture which poses small threat to host cultures or institutions.

By the 1950s, and especially in the 1960s, when cultural pluralism was becoming a legitimated concept within the framework of American social philosophy, it was already clear that either ethnics (however defined) were failing to assimilate, that assimilative progress had halted or even reversed itself, or that assimilation itself was a much more extensive process than previously thought. Whether or not this phenomenon was promoted by the civil rights activities of Blacks, student activism, or constituted a more general social reaction to the depersonalized nature of an advanced industrial society is, in this instance, secondary to the formation of the social milieu itself; a milieu in which cultural pluralism and a renewed emphasis on ethnicity emerged. This renewed emphasis on ethnicity, which seems to be gaining strength in the 1970s, however, is neither of equal emphasis throughout the social sciences or examined in any consistent manner within single disciplines as a general rule, a problem which makes inference and generalizing a hazardous undertaking. A review of major discipline journals reveals ethnicity has received intermittent attention in sociology and political science, less in psychology and virtually none, in the context of American ethnicity, in anthropology.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>The following journals were reviewed for the period 1960-1975: American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review, American Political Science Review, Western Political Quarterly, Journal of Social Psychology, American Anthropologist, Anthropological Quarterly, Journal of Psychology, American Journal of Psychology, Psychological Review, Psychology Today.

This is not to say, however, that there is any shortage of literature which proposes to examine ethnicity as defined by race. Copious treatises on Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans exist, a majority of which present a socio-cultural, political and economic model of repression and exploitation, and the concurrent need for the establishment or refinding of a salient group identity.<sup>3</sup> The problems associated with works of this nature, however, are that they inevitably make assumptions about the commonality of group or individual characteristics of the white aggregate, while asserting unique individual or group characteristics for the minority in question. Interpretive works of this nature have not been included in this study, although Chapter III will include Blacks in a predictive model of ethnicity. To the extent that Blacks are identified as a distinct group in more definitive ethnicity studies, the characteristics of that group will be discussed in this chapter.

There is even less empirical material to be found relating to ethnicity in policing, again with the possible exception of the racial minorities in the occupation. Studies of this nature have focused primarily on the inconsistencies and conflict inherent in policing for black officers, namely in relation to the widely divergent publics the black officer is asked to relate to.<sup>4</sup> These studies, with few exceptions, consider the white police group as

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<sup>3</sup>This kind of statement is explicit in works such as Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1968).

<sup>4</sup>Nickolas Alex, Black in Blue: A Study of the Black Policeman (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1969).

essentially homogeneous and having predictable group characteristics arising out of peer socialization, commonality of social class, and the like.

The focus of this chapter will be a review of the empirical and interpretive works concerned primarily with white ethnicity, regardless of how such ethnicity is defined. Section I will consider the political science material, Section II the literature concerned with the socio-psychological and anthropological aspects of ethnicity, and Section III, ethnicity and policing. A summary section will attempt to collate the various findings.

### Section I: Ethnic Politics

There can be little question that ethnicity has had a reasonably important impact on the development of American politics. Ethnic differences and needs were observed by Handlin as a fertile field of political mobilization, and appeals to ethnic constituencies remain to this day, especially in major urban concentrations.<sup>5</sup> Gans, in describing the political activities of Boston's Italian West Enders, asserts a highly personalized brand of political action in which representation occurs in the form of "ambassadorships" to the outside world, and a strong case can be made that reformism in American city government had as its primary impetus a white, Anglo,

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<sup>5</sup> Handlin, The Uprooted; see also Glazer and Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot, for a discussion of New York City ethnic politics.

middle-class reaction against ethnic machine politics.<sup>6</sup> Wilson and Banfield describe these reformers as the embodiment of "middle-class ethos" (translate as "nativist") in American politics.<sup>7</sup>

Although there is little disagreement concerning the initial impact and exploitation of ethnicity on the American political scene, primary research questions have revolved around considerations of the form of ethnic politics, models of action and whether or not unique ethnic political activity persists over time. One of the major studies of ethnic voting and party affiliative behavior, Robert Dahl's study of New Haven politics, rests on an assimilationist model of political action.<sup>8</sup> Dahl distinguished ethnicity in terms of national origin and religion. He analyzed the voting behavior of New Haven citizens from 1903 to 1959, and formulated a three-stage model of ethnic political development. Stage one is essentially the immigrant entry level, in which ethnic ties are strong and during which time the ethnic group occupies a homogeneous socio-economic position. Dahl advises that at this stage ethnicity and class problems converge thus creating "similar interests and political homogeneity."<sup>9</sup> Ethnic political behavior

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<sup>6</sup>Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New York: The Free Press, 1962); Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955); and William F. Whyte, Street Corner Society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

<sup>7</sup>James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield, City Politics (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963).

<sup>8</sup>Robert Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 1-60.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 35.

becomes more diversified in stage two, at which point differential economic achievements weaken stage one solidarity unless economic issues can be avoided during campaigns in favor of ethnic issues. Stage three occurs when ethnic members have achieved full economic differentiation and class considerations gain hegemony over ethnic membership. Dahl maintains, however, that the early effects of ethnicity remain in terms of ethnic-based party identification, although even this will diminish as a function of time.<sup>10</sup>

Dahl's model predicts the greatest impact of ethnicity on voting behavior in stage one, when there is the greatest coincidence of ethnicity with class placement. To test this, Dahl correlated the proportion of the New Haven Democratic vote for every mayoral election from 1903 to 1959, and for every presidential election from 1904 to 1956, with results in the direction of his prediction (see Figures 2.1 and 2.2).

Wolfinger, using the same New Haven data base, proposes a different theory of ethnic voting behavior and party identification.<sup>11</sup> Wolfinger questioned why, after fifty years of assimilation, ethnicity continued to be an influence in New Haven politics; specifically, why Italians were overrepresented among Republicans and Irish among Democrats. In answer to this question, he proposed a theory of ethnic mobilization. Pursuant to this model ethnic

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 59-60.

<sup>11</sup>Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting," American Political Science Review 59 (December 1965): 896-908.

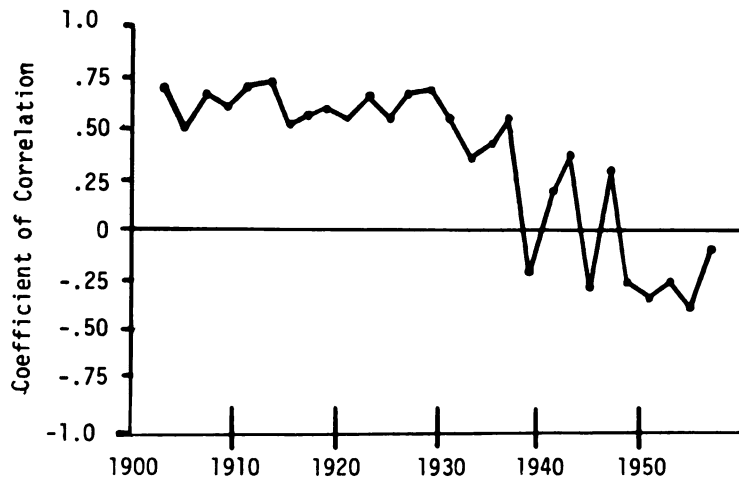


Figure 2.1.--Relation between Percentage of Foreign-Born Residents in New Haven Wards and Percentage of Two-party Vote Cast for Democratic Candidates for Mayor, 1903-1959. (Source: Dahl, Who Governs? p. 45, Figure 4.6.)

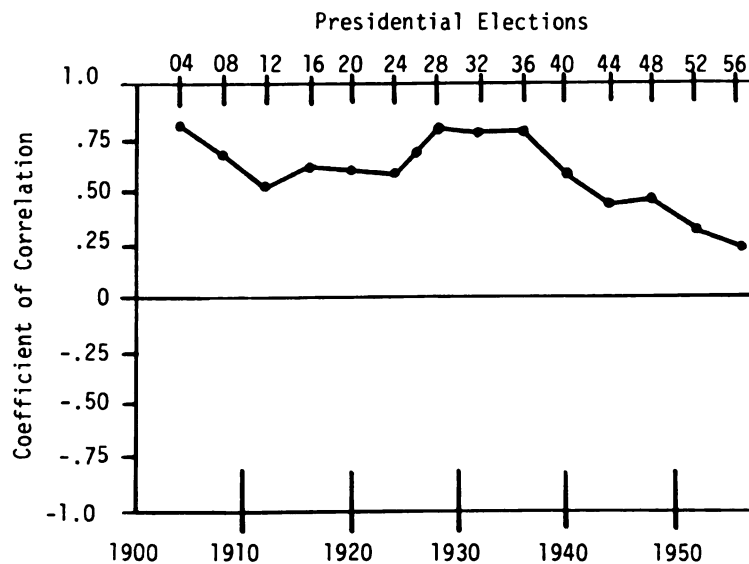


Figure 2.2.--Relation between Percentage of Foreign-born Residents in New Haven Wards and Percentage of Two-Party Vote Cast for Democratic Candidates for President, 1904-1956. (Source: Dahl, Who Governs? p. 46, Figure 4.7.)

party affiliation is a function of availability (i.e., when the Italians arrived, the Irish already dominated the Democratic Party and positions in city government; ergo, Republicanism became the only feasible route to political power), and in terms of greatest ethnic political strength, that it is only after substantial ethnic middle-class status is achieved that political strength in voting will be achieved. Wolfinger sums up:

The mobilization theory of ethnic voting states that: The strength of ethnic voting depends on both the intensity of ethnic identification and the level of ethnic relevance in the election. The most powerful and visible sign of ethnic political relevance is a fellow-ethnic's name at the head of the ticket, evident to everyone who enters the voting booth. Middle-class status is a virtual prerequisite for candidacy for major office; an ethnic group's development of sufficient political skill and influence to secure such a nomination also requires the development of a middle-class. Therefore ethnic voting will be greatest when the ethnic group has produced a middle-class, i.e., in the second and third generations, not in the first. Furthermore, the shifts in party identification resulting from this first major candidacy will persist beyond the election in which they occurred.

This is not to say that the growth of a middle class past the point of mobilization will necessarily produce increasing ethnic voting. Nor does the theory state that the resulting alignment is impervious to other political and social developments, or that more than one such shift cannot take place. But it does say that, in a given political arena and for a given nationality group, the development of voting solidarity is a product of leadership; that such leadership requires a middle class; and that such alignments are more durable than the political candidacies that produce them.<sup>12</sup>

The thrust of this model is to change the point of greatest ethnic strength to what essentially is Dahl's second stage. In support of his model, Wolfinger offers the fact that while the

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 905.

first Irish Alderman was elected in 1857, it was not until 1899 that they dominated New Haven politics, and that by 1930 they accounted for 49 percent of all government jobs; further, at that time the Italians (New Immigration), constituted 27 percent of a sample of 1600 family heads, but occupied no government positions. By the 1950s, however, a period of democratic successes, Italian Republicans occupied slightly more than their pro-rata share of municipal elective offices.<sup>13</sup>

It should be noted that regardless of model both Dahl and Wolfinger argue for the reasonably long-term impact of ethnicity by virtue of the continued unique party affiliation of different ethnic groups, and the potential for ethnicity to resurface as an election issue. Wolfinger also argues that ethnicity may be politically unimportant or important on a regional basis and weaker in the West. He reasons that where immigrants actively participated in creating status structures (the West), they would identify first with the total structure, whereas in the East, ethnics entered into a highly stratified system to begin with, thus promoting ethnic identification as a means of mobilization.<sup>14</sup>

Miller has criticized Wolfinger's analysis based on the inclusion of only three ethnic groups in that analysis (Irish, Italian, and Yankee), as well as the temporal span of the data

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 899-900.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 898.



(1949-1961), a period of relative political stability.<sup>15</sup> Using party identification as the dependent variable, Miller reanalyzed Dahl's original party affiliation data using a two-way analysis of variance in which class (manual and non-manual labor), and ethnicity (Negroes, Italian Catholics, European Catholics, European Jews, European Protestants, American Protestants and Irish Catholics), were utilized as independent variables. Results of that analysis (Table 2.1), indicate Dahl's model of ethnic assimilation in which socio-economic concerns replace ethnicity fails at the level of statistical significance; i.e., ethnicity may be on the wane, but SES does not replace it. The percentage

TABLE 2.1.--Two-way Analysis of Variance Testing the Effects of Ethnicity and Class on Party Identification in New Haven.

Source	Nesting	DF	SS	MS	F at .01
Ethnicity		6	33.91	5.65	8.70 sig.
Class		1	2.25	2.25	3.46 n.s.
Interaction		6	14.16	2.36	3.63 sig.
Replication	Ethnicity Class	398	258.35	.649	

Source: Miller, p. 486, Table 2.

<sup>15</sup> Abraham H. Miller, "Ethnicity and Political Behavior: A Review of Theories and an Attempt at Reformulation," Western Political Quarterly 24 (September 1971): 483-500.

of variance in party identification was determined to be:

(1) ethnicity--10 percent; (2) SES--1 percent; and (3) interaction--4 percent.<sup>16</sup>

Miller interpreted specific cell interaction effects (Table 2.2), as reflecting three distinct phenomena. The first, specified as mutually reinforcing effects, occurred with non-manual American and European Protestants and manual European Jews in that the first two groups should (and did) tend towards Republican membership; the latter to Democratic membership. The second interaction type, labelled incongruent forces, is exemplified among manual Protestants, where ethnic loyalty is eroded in favor of class considerations. The Irish constitute a third type, since they are consistently of Democratic affiliation, by class, in the right direction. Miller concludes that Dahl's basic model must be modified to provide both the negative and positive interaction effects of ethnicity and class, especially where cross-pressures resulting from ethnicity and class are not mutually reinforcing.

Other researchers have inquired into the underlying value systems which prompt ethnic political behavior. Wilson and Banfield have examined aggregate voting records in an attempt to infer values from voting behavior.<sup>17</sup> Proceeding on the premise that the voter will act in his own self-interest and will vote for those issues

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 490.

<sup>17</sup>James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield, "Public-Regardingness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior," American Political Science Review 58 (December 1964): 876-887.

TABLE 2.2.--Distribution of Interaction Effects (New Haven Data).

	Negroes	Italian Catholics	European Catholics	European Jews	European Protestants	American Protestants	Irish Catholics
<b>Nonmanual</b>							
$\Sigma X$	7	59	22	82	55	63	41
N	7	32	12	55	22	24	30
$\bar{X}$	1.00	1.85	1.83	1.49	2.50	2.61	1.36
Interaction	-.45	+.02	-.05	-.05	+.12	+.23	-.12
Interaction as percent of cell $\bar{X}$	-.45%*	1.81%	2.72%	3.32%	4.80%	8.78%	8.85%
Row $\bar{X}$	=1.81						
<b>Manual</b>							
$\Sigma X$	49	182	50	10	51	26	26
N	34	110	28	9	23	16	18
$\bar{X}$	1.44	1.63	1.78	1.11	2.21	1.61	1.44
Interaction	+.14	+.02	+.05	-.31	-.02	-.46	- 0
Interaction as percent of cell $\bar{X}$	9.7%	.63%	2.83%	21.10%	.09%	28.57%	0%
Row $\bar{X}$	=1.60						
Column $\bar{X}$	=1.37	1.71	1.80	1.46	2.30	2.20	1.40
Grand $\bar{X}$	=1.73						

\*Negative interaction is interaction in the Democratic direction.

Source: Miller, p. 492, Table 3.

yielding the largest dividends to him, Wilson and Banfield examined voting records in several midwestern urban areas. They found that with the exception of Blacks, a taste for public expenditures (operationalized as a vote for public hospitals, roads, welfare, parks, etc.), increased generally with income level, but controlling for income yielded significant differences among different ethnic groups.<sup>18</sup> In Cleveland, the Czechs and Poles, regardless of income, consistently opposed public expenditures, while Irish and Italian voters placed intermediately between them and Blacks, Anglo-Saxons and Jews. The researchers concluded, based on these findings, that some ethnic groups are more public-regarding than others. They advise:

. . . both the tendency of a voter to take a public-regarding view and the content of that view (e.g., whether or not he thinks a Korean war veterans' bonus is in the public interest) are largely functions of his participation in a subculture that is definable in ethnic and income terms. Each subcultural group, we think, has a more or less distinctive notion of how much a citizen ought to sacrifice for the sake of the community as well as of what the welfare of the community is constituted; in a word, each has its own idea of what justice requires and of the importance of acting justly. According to this hypothesis, the voter is presumed to act rationally; the ends he seeks are not always narrowly self-interested ones, however. On the contrary, depending upon his income and ethnic status they are more or less public-regarding.

That his income status does not by itself determine how public-regarding he is, or what content he gives to the public interest, can be shown from the voting data. As we explained above, generally the higher a home-owner's income the more likely he is to favor expenditures. . . . We do not think that income per se has this effect; rather it is

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<sup>18</sup> Ethnicity was defined as being foreign born or having one or more parents in that category.

the ethnic attributes, or culture empirically associated with it. It happens that most upper-income voters belong, if not by inheritance then by adoption, to an ethnic group (especially the Anglo-Saxon and the Jewish) that is relatively public-regarding in its outlook; hence ethnic influence on voting is hard to distinguish from income influence.<sup>19</sup>

The implications of this reasearch are wide-ranging, involving concepts of community, public and private "good," and even the form and content of city government. In an earlier work, City Politics, ethos theory was essentially dichotomized by Wilson and Banfield into public-regarding (Anglo-Saxons, Jewish and Negro), and private-regarding (New Immigrants), with the former conceptualized in terms of an interest in the whole community, merit government, efficiency, and objective political participation; the latter by personalized and parochial interests, individual loyalties, and a tendency toward ward politics, bossism and the machine.<sup>20</sup> Criticized for the normative implications of these terms and the use of aggregate data, Wilson and Banfield reformulated the terms (public-regarding became the unitary ethos; private-regarding became the individualist ethos), and conducted a more definitive study based on interviews of 1,059 Boston homeowners selected at random, in 1966-67.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, they specified three components in their "new" ethos model; namely, holist versus

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 885.

<sup>20</sup>Wilson and Banfield, City Politics, Chapters 3 and 16.

<sup>21</sup>James Q. Wilson and Edward C. Banfield, "Political Ethos Revisited," American Political Science Review 65 (December 1971): 1048-1062.

localists, community versus people. and good government versus benefits. The data collected in this instance reflected a good deal more diversity among ethnic groups than the prior research, in much the same manner as the subsequent analysis of Dahl's original data. Specifically, a high degree of ethos consistency was found among upper-class Yankees, as well as a general pattern of the individualist ethos among Italians. Other ethnics, however, did not show a degree of consistency allowing any firm conclusion. At one point in the analysis, Italian and Irish ethnics were collapsed into the category "catholic," a maneuver which may confound results since the ethos stance of these two groups among lower-class individuals was substantially different one from another. Banfield and Wilson conclude:

We think it likely that in times past each ethos was both more widespread and less often held in incomplete or attenuated form. When American city government was being organized into the forms we have today (in many cities this was in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries), differences in income and schooling were greater than they are now and conflict between old-stock Americans and the "newer races" was much more intense. The result may have been that persons with one or another well-defined ethos were more numerous among political activists and also that they were more keenly aware of their own and their opponent's distinctive attitudes. However this may be, it is clear that the processes of assimilation have not by any means eradicated the differences that were so conspicuous a few decades ago.<sup>22</sup>

A collateral research problem which has generated substantial interest concerns whether or not ethnicity (in this context, ethnic groups comprising the New Immigration), manifests itself in particular forms of city government. Hofstadter's commentary on

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 1062.

the differing political values of native Americans and the immigrants, which posited nativists as favoring a rational, disinterested model of political action in accordance with abstract principle as against an immigrant preference for a personalized "barter" system of action based on considerations of patronage and narrow group interest forms the premise upon which Wilson and Banfield relate ethnicity to the form of city government.<sup>23</sup> They advise:

There is a tendency to coalesce into two opposite patterns. These patterns reflect two conceptions of the public interest that are widely held. The first, which derives from the middle class ethos, favors what the municipal reform movement has always defined as "good government"--namely efficiency, impartiality, honesty, planning, strong executives, no favoritism, model legal codes . . . . The other conception of the public interest (one never explicitly formulated as such, but one all the same) derives from the "immigrant ethos." This is the conception of those people who identify with the ward or neighborhood rather than the city "as a whole," who look to politicians for "help" and "favors," . . . and who are far less interested in the efficiency, impartiality, and honesty of local government than in its readiness to confer material benefits of one sort or another upon them.<sup>24</sup>

The results of research in this area, however, have yielded contradictory results. Wolfinger and Field argue that if ethos theory is valid, simple logic would demand its transformation into specific form; namely, the public-regarding ethos would be manifested in city manager plans, non-partisan ballots and election of city council at large, while private-regarding values would be

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<sup>23</sup>Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, pp. 8-9.

<sup>24</sup>Wilson and Banfield, City Politics, p. 46.

reflected in the mayoral form of government, partisan ballots and ward election of councilmen.<sup>25</sup> In a survey of 309 incorporated cities of over 50,000 (1962, 1963), and controlling for region, social class, median family income and educational level, these researchers found little support for this theory with the exception of a weak relationship in the Midwest. They deemed the theory of little import in the South and West.<sup>26</sup> Wolfinger and Field explain their finding that ethos theory was not salient in terms of governmental form in the Northeast by speculating that the nativists may have anticipated ethnic hegemony by establishing reform governments or, conversely, nativists may have adopted a private-regarding ethos (and its city government form) as a device to secure for themselves at least minority representation.<sup>27</sup> Daniel Gordon, on the other hand, found that in a study of 268 American cities with populations in excess of 30,000, a high percentage of foreign-born did result in mayor-council forms of government, although a general decline was concurrently noted (1933--58 percent, 1940--61 percent, 1950--48 percent, and 1960--41 percent).<sup>28</sup> It should be noted, however, that if the two types of mayoral forms are combined (ward and

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<sup>25</sup> Raymond E. Wolfinger and John Osgood Field, "Political Ethos and the Structure of City Government," American Political Science Review 60 (June 1966): 306-326.

<sup>26</sup> Ethnicity was defined as percentage of foreign-born.

<sup>27</sup> Wolfinger and Field, "Political Ethos and the Structure of City Government," pp. 324-325.

<sup>28</sup> Daniel N. Gordon, "Immigrants and Urban Governmental Form in American Cities, 1933-60," American Journal of Sociology 74 (September 1968): 158-171.



at-large election of councilmen), a resurgence of the mayoral form occurred during the period 1950 to 1960, from 61 to 65 percent.<sup>29</sup>

Lineberry and Fowler have criticized the Wolfinger and Field control for region, asserting that regional differences are manifested in demographic uniqueness and that to relate ethnicity to governmental form and then control for region is, in effect, controlling for ethnicity itself.<sup>30</sup> In a study of 200 American cities, utilizing governmental type, election mode and ethnicity as primary independent variables, and policy outputs as dependent variables (operationalized as city tax/personal income tax ratio, and city expenditures/personal income ratio), they found general support for ethos theory in that partisan, mayor-council and ward cities were less willing to commit their resources to public purposes. As important, these researchers tentatively conclude that reform government may have the net effect of maximizing socio-economic cleavages while promoting ethnic politics to the extent ethnicity fills a void created by nonpartisanship elections. In this light, governmental institutions may serve as an independent variable prompting the continued saliency of ethnicity, a result hardly in consonance with reformist ideology.

Although the above comprise the more seminal research works dealing with ethnicity and political behavior, they do not

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 165-169.

<sup>30</sup>Robert L. Lineberry and Edmond P. Fowler, "Reformism and Public Policies in American Cities," American Political Science Review 61 (September 1967): 701-716.

exhaust the list of contemporary research on the subject. Greeley has conducted extensive inquiry on the political attitudes and behavior of ethnics, as has Kellstedt (voting behavior), Greeley and McCready (political attitudes and participation), Hamilton (a review of eleven studies generally supporting ethos theory), Lorinskas (voting behavior of Anglo-Saxon ethnics), Knoke and Felson (in which intergenerational ethnic socialization is proposed as the appropriate model explaining ethnic party affiliation), and Gordon (on the persistence of ethnic voter turnout in partisan cities), to cite only a few of the recent inquiries into the subject.<sup>31</sup> On the whole, these studies tend to confirm the existence and continuance of an ethnic factor in the political life of this country, one that is not satisfactorily resolved by recourse to social class, religion, region or occupation. The research by Greeley is especially instructive in this regard concerning the relative weight of ethnicity vis other standard independent variables (see Tables 2.3 and 2.4). Greeley gathered data in a NORC

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<sup>31</sup> Andrew M. Greeley, "Political Participation Among Ethnic Groups in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance," American Journal of Sociology 80 (July 1974): 170-204; David Knoke and Richard B. Felson, "Ethnic Stratification and Political Cleavage in the United States, 1952-69," American Journal of Sociology 80 (November 1974): 630-642; Daniel N. Gordon, "Immigrants and Municipal Voting Turnout: Implications for the Changing Ethnic Impact on Urban Politics," American Journal of Sociology 75 (August 1970): 665-681; Howard D. Hamilton, "Political Ethos: The Evidence in Referenda Survey Data," Ethnicity 2 (March 1975): 81-98; Greeley and McCready, "Does Ethnicity Matter?"; Lyman A. Kellstedt, "Ethnicity and Political Behavior: Inter-group and Inter-generational Differences," Ethnicity 1 (December 1974): 393-415; Lorinskas, "Political Impact of Anglo-Saxon Ethnicity," Ethnicity 1 (December 1974): 417-421.

TABLE 2.3.--Coefficients of Multiple Classification Analysis for  
Political Participation Variables, National Sample.

Predictor Variables	Voting	Campaigning	Civic Activity	Particularized Contact
Religion	.13	.09	.10	.08
Income	.17	.15	.16	.09
Education	.14	.20	.23	.06
Ethnicity	.17	.13	.14	.10
Region	.06	.09	.10	.06
Occupation	.11	.08	.13	.07

Source: Greeley, "Political Participation Among Ethnic Groups,"  
p. 192, Table 2.

TABLE 2.4.--Coefficients of Multiple Classification Analysis for  
Political Participation Variables, Northeast and North  
Central Only.

Predictor Variables	Voting	Campaigning	Civic Activity	Particularized Contact
Religion	.16	.12	.17	.04
Income	.17	.19	.15	.11
Education	.13	.21	.28	.09
Ethnicity	.20	.16	.16	.16
Occupation	.14	.06	.15	.06

Source: Greeley, Political Participation Among Ethnic Groups,"  
p. 192, Table 2.

random sample of over 3,000, in which the relationships between religion, income, education, ethnicity, region and occupation, and four measures of political participation were sought. Greeley summarizes his results:

An inspection reveals that ethnicity is a relatively important predictor of political behavior. It is stronger than religion, region, and occupation for all four of the variables, equal to or stronger than income on two variables (voting and contact), and stronger than education on two variables (voting and contact). It is the strongest predictor of both voting (though tied with income) and particularized contact, and in third place on both campaigning and civic activity. The differences among the various predictor variables are relatively small, and not much should be made of one predictor's being more powerful than another. However, it does seem safe to say that at least as far as political participation is concerned, ethnicity is not an unimportant variable compared with other predictors. One could as well omit occupation from a questionnaire as ethnicity.<sup>32</sup>

Michael Parenti suggests, as does Gordon, that to ask the question of why, despite assimilation, ethnics continue to behave politically as ethnics is to create a false problem, since assimilation (as distinct from occupational, educational or geographical mobility), has not occurred at the level of primary-group integration, while acculturation (the adopting of host culture forms), does not preclude and may even strengthen ethnic subcultural social systems.<sup>33</sup> Nor does the adoption of host cultural forms from pragmatic considerations of social necessity

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<sup>32</sup>Greeley, "Political Participation Among Ethnic Groups," pp. 192-193.

<sup>33</sup>Michael Parenti, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification," in The Ethnic Factor in American Politics, ed. Brett W. Hawkins and Robert A. Lorinskas (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 63-78.

necessarily dictate the adoption of the underlying value system especially where a majority of primary contacts remain at the ethnic level and specifically where established ethnic institutions coexist in the community with host institutions. Breton, in a study of Canadian immigrants, has demonstrated that the existence of only one ethnic institution is sufficient to cause a majority of ethnic in-group relations, especially where immigrants speak a foreign language, are accepted into the economic and social structure at a very low level, or otherwise have very few resources at their disposal.<sup>34</sup> On the face of it, this description is highly relevant to the realities of immigrants to America from southern and eastern Europe. A study of ethnic voting in Chicago as well as a rural Illinois county, utilizing the controlled election technique, among voters with Polish surnames revealed approximately two-thirds of urban voters in the sample keyed on the ethnicity of the candidate specified in the ballot regardless of party label. Rural voters, on the other hand, selected candidates based primarily on party affiliation (considered to be the modal vehicle of political expression in the host culture).<sup>35</sup> These results suggest that assimilationist theory may be much more salient

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<sup>34</sup>Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," American Journal of Sociology 70 (July-May 1964-1965): 193-205.

<sup>35</sup>Robert A. Lorinskas, Brett W. Hawkins, and Stephen D. Edwards, "The Persistence of Ethnic Voting in Urban and Rural Areas--Results from the Controlled Election Method," in The Ethnic Factor in American Politics, ed. Brett W. Hawkins and Robert A. Lorinskas (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 124-133.

in rural areas of America, a notion reinforced by the relative lack of uniquely ethnic institutions outside urban areas and the much easier assimilative process experienced by the "Old Immigrants," a large percentage of whom settled on the land.

While some degree of ethnic effect on political behavior persisting over time may be manifestly asserted based on the existing data, the model of ethnic persistence suggested by the data contains elements of the native culture, elements of ecological adaptation (reception, degree of existing stratification, institutional resources, etc.), and ideological and situationally promoted action as, for example, the New Haven Italian Republicanism. It is thereby difficult to specify a model having causal elegance. A further difficulty relates to making a determination under what conditions ethnicity becomes a key factor in behavior, although it would appear that an urban environment which already has achieved a highly differentiated social system coupled with low entry-level language and occupational skills provides sufficient conflict to promote ethnic cohesiveness and mobilization by providing a clientele for ethnic institutions and politicians. The general question of ethnic generational transmission, and the conditions necessary for that phenomenon are unanswered, especially where substantial objective educational and occupational mobility has occurred. In general, the ad hoc approach to ethnic classification has also created a problem in finding baseline distinctions among ethnic groups, and by extension, clouds the inferential potential of the existing studies.

The compounding effects of region on ethnic behavior, within the same ethnic group, is heightened by the unavailability of a precise behavioral model, since one cannot be sure if a political attitude, value or act will depend on the unique context of ethnic socialization, purely situational factors which cue ethnic considerations in the absence of other more salient cues (or visa-versa), or the regional political culture itself. Thus, while Borowiec finds that Polish political leaders in Buffalo perceive their role in terms of providing a highly personalized service to their constituents, inference beyond the immediate locale is tenuous.<sup>36</sup> The literature of political socialization promotes the picture of children of all social stations having a positive image of political actors, promoted in great part by the influence of public schooling, an image that may be even stronger among lower-class children. Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron, nonetheless, found that Appalachian children demonstrated a substantially negative orientation to politics and political leaders, the apparent result of a regional political culture.<sup>37</sup>

The larger issue, whether the context be political action, social mobility, or organization, is one of determining the most

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<sup>36</sup>Walter A. Borowiec, "The Effect of Bureaucratization on Ethnic Group Leadership: The Case of the Polish American," Paper delivered to the 1974 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, August 29-September 2, 1974.

<sup>37</sup>Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic J. Fleron Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-culture," American Journal of Political Science 62 (June 1968): 564-575.

appropriate model of ethnic effect or input into a socio-cultural system such as ours. The literature of political science suggests that in addition to merely reacting to the economic, political and social realities which greeted them upon arrival, many immigrants drew heavily on their own cultural backgrounds in defining the appropriate form of that reaction. Additionally, the long lasting phenomenon of "ethnicity" is indicative of a basic cultural adherence to social values and techniques which exceed the needs of mere situational survival. F. M. Barnard has observed that when two widely divergent cultures come into close contact, and especially if "techniques and values" differ markedly, the result is usually alienation on both sides.<sup>38</sup> Coupled with urban and occupational isolation in the case of the "New Immigrants," and an initial unwillingness of the host culture to welcome them into primary relationships, an alienation may have occurred which impeded real assimilation on one hand, while fostering the development and maintenance of ethnic life styles on the other; both well out of proportion to the objective cultural differences which originally separated the "host" from the immigrant groups.

Alienation, conflict and the maintenance of separate cultures take on serious meaning not only in relation to politics, but to policing as well. Policing serves as one social technique to enforce political decisions and to maintain social system

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<sup>38</sup>F. M. Barnard, "Culture and Political Development: Herder's Suggestive Insights," American Political Science Review 63 (June 1969): 379-397.



balance.<sup>39</sup> To the extent that ethnicity ramifies beyond political action to the full range of human considerations (and this again involves the question of just what is contained in ethnicity as a group phenomenon), it gains importance in policing as well, especially in view of the abusive potential of policing. Succeeding sections of this chapter will review the literature relative to this point.

### Section II: Socio-Psychological and Anthropological Aspects of Ethnicity

In spite of the reasonably extensive historical literature concerned with the conditions promoting immigration to America, the social, economic and political reception each immigrant group received and how they organized in response to the new environment, it is only in the recent past (and probably based on some skepticism about melting pot theories of assimilation), that any detailed exploration of such diverse topics as occupational achievement and mobility, kinship and migration patterns, social structure, labor antagonism, criminology, racial attitudes and even sociomedical variation--as they relate to ethnicity--has been undertaken. The sum results of these studies, as in the case of the political science material, tends to promote a belief in the contemporary viability of ethnicity, although interpretation again suffers from a multiplicity of definitions of ethnicity and often from a failure

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<sup>39</sup> A point made strongly by Bittner, as well as in James R. Klonoski and Robert I. Mendelsohn, eds., The Politics of Local Justice (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970), especially Chapters 3 and 4.

to relate the findings to some generic quality or attribute of the ethnic group in question.

One clearly important area has been an exploration of ethnic occupational mobility. The usual contrasts made in this area are ones between nativists, "old immigrants" and members of the "new immigration." Warner and Srole found that in New Haven, during the period 1930-1935, the Irish, French Canadians, Jews, Italians, Armenians, Greeks and Russians could be grouped based on the extent to which they were represented in manual, non-manual and professional occupations; further, that such representation could be directly related to both the functional needs of New Haven as well as the occupational backgrounds of the immigrants.<sup>40</sup> They found that four-fifths of all Italians were of rural farm backgrounds, as were the Poles (86 percent), and to a lesser extent the Armenians (53 percent). In contrast, 50 percent of Greeks had prior experience and expertise in handicrafts, mercantilism or the professions, and the majority of Jews were of urban business or professional origins regardless of their country of origin, a characteristic Warner and Srole maintain accounted for their rapid climb in SES in contrast to Catholic immigrants.<sup>41</sup>

Rosen, on the other hand, prefers to focus on ethnic group psychological and cultural orientations towards achievement to explain differential occupational mobility; in short, the

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<sup>40</sup> Warner and Srole, Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, pp. 53-54.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 53-55.

psychological need to achieve as well as the cultural emphasis on occupational mobility as a means of gaining social status.<sup>42</sup>

Rosen combines these elements into a concept he calls "achievement syndrome," and adds an educational aspiration level factor to the cultural element since this factor relates to the attaining of mandated entry-level skills in many occupations. Rosen hypothesized that the differential occupational success of ethnic groups could be explained by recourse to how each group perceived of status in relation to occupational mobility. To test his theory, he selected 427 mother-son pairs residing in 62 communities in the Northeast, of nativist white-Protestant, black, Italian, Greek, East European Jewish and French Canadian origins. The latter four groups were equalized by selection based on similar period of residence in this country. Achievement motivation of the sons was determined through use of projective tests, and each mother was interviewed to determine the value she placed on occupational status-seeking and education. Rosen found that class accounted for more of the variance than ethnicity, but that Jews, Greeks and Protestants consistently expressed indications of higher motivation than the other groups. In terms of achievement values (dichotomized as activistic-passivistic, individualistic-collectivistic, present-future orientations), both social class and ethnicity were significant predictors beyond the .001 level in a two-way analysis of

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<sup>42</sup>Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity and the Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review 24 (February 1959): 47-60.

variance. Significantly higher values were indicated (i.e., more activistic, individualistic, future oriented), for Greeks, Jews, Protestants and Blacks; lower values for Italians and French Canadians. Vocational occupational aspirations were in the same direction with the exception of Blacks, who placed lowest of all groups. In this regard, ethnicity was a stronger predictor of occupational aspirations in the vocational field than was class.

A recent national study of occupational mobility has reconfirmed the occupational stratification of many immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, although controls for SES greatly attenuate the impact of ethnicity. The researchers felt that the remaining difference was less a question of intrinsic ethnic attributes than it was a problem of occupational discrimination and differential access to educational opportunity.<sup>43</sup> Featherman, however, in another national survey and using religious affiliation-national origin categories, found that there were substantial differences in levels of education achieved net of social class. He was unable to determine if such was the result of discrimination, achievement related motivation, or both.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Beverly Duncan and Otis D. Duncan, "Minorities and the Process of Stratification," American Sociological Review 33 (June 1968): 356-364.

<sup>44</sup>David L. Featherman, "The Socioeconomic Achievement of White Religio-ethnic Subgroups: Social and Psychological Explanations," American Sociological Review 36 (April 1971): 207-221. The following religio-ethnic categories were defined: Jewish, all ethnic; Anglo-Saxon Protestant, Other; Roman Catholic except Italian and Mexican; Italian and Mexican Roman Catholics; Others.

Edna Bonacich observes that ethnics in the lower spectrum of the labor market are often less concerned with mobility per se than with maintenance of the status-quo; that a good deal of effort goes towards protecting a reasonably comfortable labor opportunity from inroads by other "ethnics."<sup>45</sup> Bonacich believes this phenomenon is especially pertinent when labor markets are already split along ethnic lines, in which case management can play one ethnic group off against another, keeping wages low in the process. She cites an example from depression days:

During the depression years, "Old Stock"--that is, white, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon Americans, from Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas--were roundly denounced in California as "interlopers." The same charges were made against them that were made against the Japanese: they were "dirty;" they had "enormous families"; they engaged in unfair competition; they threatened to "invade" the state and to "undermine" its institutions.<sup>46</sup>

The relevance of Bonacich's proposition in relation to the urban industrial (and unionized) realities of many ethnics and the occupational demands of Blacks is suggestive. In short, the lower eastern and southern European ethnic occupational mobility aspiration level may well be a synergism reflecting both a cultural orientation to occupation as well as a perceived threat to mere occupational maintenance. Recent research by Greeley contrasting the positive attitudes of American Jews with the negative attitudes

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<sup>45</sup>Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market," American Journal of Sociology 37 (October 1972): 547-559.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp. 82-83.

of Poles toward Blacks is somewhat supportive of this model.<sup>47</sup> Greeley found that education was not adequate to explain these differences, but that alienation based on low relative occupational success and a fear that Blacks were receiving unfair advantage was a factor possibly related to the phenomenon, even though other factors such as the urban, rural backgrounds of Jews and Poles, respectively, might also account for the differences. A collateral finding--that the Irish were highly supportive of black mobility (though also of peasant and rural background)--caused Greeley to place much less emphasis on a cultural model of explanation in favor of the alienation-threat model.

The finding that a particular ethnic group--in this case the Irish--deviates from what might be expected culturally does not necessarily mandate dismissing culture as an aspect of explanation. Although the peasant origins of both the Irish and the Poles is a matter of historical fact, the Irish were a part of the "old immigration" (i.e., a longer assimilative experience in the United States), and were highly politicized as a society prior to arrival (versus the Poles, for whom national identity did not even become a reality until after formation of the Polish State in 1918. The magnitude of the Irish emigration, their admittedly hostile reception by a host society who viewed their Catholicism in a predominantly Protestant society as a real threat, their ability to organize so

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<sup>47</sup> Andrew C. Greeley, "Ethnicity and Racial Attitudes: The Case of the Jews and the Poles," American Journal of Sociology 80 (January 1975): 909-933.

as to maximize host institutions (especially politics), all suggest that the Irish constitute a special cultural case in relation to other ethnics. This does not require dismissing the possible cultural antecedents of Polish behavior; rather, the construction of a developmental typology into which all ethnic groups can be placed.

Still within the context of occupational achievement, the problem of ethnic cultural predispositions is compounded by the fact that ethnicity has often been virtually coterminous with social class and religious identification, the resulting question being one of whether mobility (or lack of it), is best attributed to ethnic predispositions, class attributes, the values intrinsic to religious organizations, or a combination thereof. Since Max Weber's seminal work on the Protestant Ethic, a theory Lenski found support for in the United States (namely, that Catholics adhere to a set of values that hinder achievement and hence are at an economic disadvantage vis-a-vis Protestants), conflicting evidence characterizes the literature.<sup>48</sup> Many studies indicate no contemporary occupational differences between Protestant, Catholic and Jew; others support a view that Protestants and Jews are more upwardly as well as consistently upwardly mobile. In an attempt to arrive at a more definitive conclusion on the subject, Jackson, Fox and Crockett analyzed a national random sample of American-born,

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<sup>48</sup>Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958); Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (New York: Anchor Books, 1963).

white Protestants and Catholics, controlling for ethnicity (only persons with origins in northwestern Europe were included in the analysis), age, generation, occupation of father, region and education. They concluded that Protestants enjoy an advantage in entering professional and business occupations, while Catholics radiate towards white-collar positions (clerical, technical and sales); further, that Protestants were more likely to be radically upwardly mobile and Catholics more radically downward mobile.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, limiting ethnicity to those from northwestern Europe makes a cross-cultural comparison impossible, although it is interesting to note the independent strength of religion within a cultural region having a high degree of ascribed homogeneity.

Other inquiry into ethnicity has been concerned with spatial distribution, life styles, kinship patterns and other aspects of social organization. Challenging the assumption that the urban poor constitute either a homogeneous subculture with pathological attributes promoting self-continuance, or an exploited subculture of poverty, Johnson and Sanday interviewed 675 heads of households in poor neighborhoods in Pittsburgh with an emphasis on determining if variant cultural themes were evidenced by these individuals. Operationalizing was in the form of degree of adherence to the work ethic, as well as present or future orientedness and

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<sup>49</sup>Elton F. Jackson, William S. Fox, and Harry J. Crockett, Jr., "Religion and Occupational Achievement," American Sociological Review 35 (February 1970): 48-62.



and trust in people.<sup>50</sup> Germans, English and East Europeans were excluded from the analysis because of their limited numbers. A subsequent comparison of the categories Irish, Italian, self-identified "whites," and Blacks revealed that the Irish and Italians were more future oriented, had more trust in people and adhered more to the work ethic than Blacks, with "whites" occupying an intermediate position. In the area of future orientation, however, "whites" indicated the least of all groups, with 62 percent reflecting a span of one day. Italian and Irish were then reclassified as Whites, and contrasted with Blacks; contrasts being in the direction already indicated. The authors concluded the Black variations are the result of structural pluralism and isolation. This research leaves unanswered many questions, not the least of which are: (1) to what extent do the Irish and Italians represent poor white society, or other ethnic groups in that stratum? (2) are Blacks in a "poor" neighborhood representative of one SES level or several? and, (3) which groups, in fact, have been longer under the influence of structural pluralism, especially in an urban environment? There are obvious similarities between feudal and plantation system (or post Civil War tenant farmer arrangements), social structures, while Irish and Italians have experienced a longer (as well as a somewhat isolated), urban tenure than most Blacks. While the parallel should not be overdrawn, it casts doubt on the interpretation given to the data in this case.

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<sup>50</sup>Norman J. Johnson and Peggy R. Sanday, "Subcultural Variations in an Urban Poor Population," American Anthropologist 73 (February 1971): 128-143.

Other studies, essentially descriptive in nature, are important to the extent they suggest the continuing saliency of an ethnic factor as well as the need to further explore the factor as an independent variable in social science research. In a very limited exploration of the conceptual tempo of Oriental Americans in Hawaii (an Asian melting pot), Ayabe and Santo were able to relate the cultural values of the Chinese and Japanese (patience and perseverance), to the success their school-aged children had in problem solving under stress conditions. Comparing their performance with that of Filipino, Hawaiian, Samoan and Portuguese children, they found higher performance at the .01 level of significance, and concluded that the cultural values of patience and perseverance served to moderate the created stress (time limitations in problem solving), by keeping the Chinese and Japanese children calm yet focused on the task at hand.<sup>51</sup>

Among white ethnics, there is substantial evidence in the literature indicating that they differ from nativists in terms of spatial mobility and kinship patterns. Nathan Kantrowitz, in an analysis of spatial distribution in New York City from 1930 to 1960 discovered that ethnic segregation has remained high, and he suggests that resistance to racial integration may collaterally promote the maintenance of separatist premises among white ethnics

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<sup>51</sup>Harold I. Ayabe and Susan Santo, "Conceptual Tempo and the Oriental American," The Journal of Psychology 81 (May 1972): 121-123.

themselves.<sup>52</sup> Kantrowitz found that among white ethnics two primary clusters in segregation could be distinguished. Cluster one included members from eastern Europe, the second a combination of Anglo-Saxons, Germans, Irish and Swedes. Italians and Scandinavians remained segregated from all others to a high degree.

Apart from the fact of ethnic segregation, however, there is the question of whether or not ethnicity can be determined to impact on the maintenance of unique kinship patterns affecting residential mobility or stability, and even differential life occupational chances. The usual model presented to explain the mobility and kinship patterns of urban ethnics is one in which ethnicity implies differential occupational access, occupational concentration (especially as regards the "New Immigration," most of whom supplied the labor force in the expanding American industrial sector), and a concurrent residential stability with the natural development of extensive kinship ties. Using religious affiliation to define ethnicity, Winch, Greer and Blumberg conducted a study of the relationship between ethnicity, migration and kinship patterns.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Nathan Kantrowitz, "Ethnic and Racial Segregation in the New York Metropolis, 1960," American Journal of Sociology 74 (May 1969): 685-695; see also Edward O. Laumann, "The Social Structure of Religious and Ethnoreligious Groups in a Metropolitan Community," American Sociological Review 34 (April 1969): 182-197, in which Laumann was able to establish broad social divisions in American society based on a three-way model including considerations of national origin, religion and SES, all of which suggests the strong interrelationship between these factors.

<sup>53</sup>Robert F. Winch, Scott Greer, Rae Lesser Blumberg, "Ethnicity and Extended Familism in an Upper-Middle-Class Suburb," American Sociological Review 32 (April 1967): 265-272.

They found, contrary to the above model, that occupation and migration did not intervene between ethnicity and extended familism; rather, that ethnicity was most closely related to extended familism (Catholics and Jews high; Protestants low), and that extended familism intervened between ethnicity and migration as well as occupational mobility. Although the interpretation of this data is constrained by the nature of the sample population, an upper-middle-class neighborhood, these results cast some doubts on discrimination and stratification as a totally satisfactory answer to ethnic occupational life chances and the authors conclude by citing a need for research into the possible cultural differences among ethnic groups in the way of developing a more complete explanation of this phenomenon.

A final area of research relates to the interplay between ethnicity, ethnic social structure, and society-wide institutions such as the criminal justice system and medicine. Relative to medical care and the objective ability to maximize the potential of this social institution, various studies have shown that particular ethnic membership attenuates that potential.<sup>54</sup> Ethnic social structure has even been related to the probability of criminal recidivism in the case of Italian and Polish offenders.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>See, for example, Edward A. Suchman, "Socio-Medical Variations Among Ethnic Groups," American Journal of Sociology 70 (November 1964): 319-331.

<sup>55</sup>Harold Finestone, "Reformation and Recidivism Among Italian and Polish Criminal Offenders," American Journal of Sociology 72 (May 1967): 575-588.

In the latter instance, Finestone found that the rate and type of recidivism was influenced by the role structure of males in the ethnic community, the community orientation to "law and order," and the degree of acceptability the offender would find in the ethnic community upon release. Results such as these reflect both a cultural value statement as well as pointing up the need, in penology, to tailor release options to ethnic social realities.

In toto, the literature reviewed in this section again indicates that ethnicity remains a relatively important factor both in describing American social attributes, and in predicting the direction of future social adjustment. Very little of the latter potential has been realized to date, however, due in part to the general inadequacy of most ethnic models as well as the lack of in-depth national studies designed to both describe the actual extent of ethnic identification, and the true impact of regional differences. Some constancy in ethnic definition must also be achieved, as well as a determination of the relative strength of the ethnic factor as a result of generational removal from the culture of origin and the effects of inter-ethnic amalgamation.

### Section III: Policing and Ethnicity

It is not excessive, in reviewing the existing literature, to conclude that, considerations of race aside, no definitive work has occurred to date which fully explores the impact of ethnicity in policing, nor has ethnicity been related to any of the key

aspects of policing; namely, police behavior, organizational development and policy-making, or the process of innovation and change. The model of white ethnic homogeneity prevails, premised on assumptions of cultural assimilation. Yet few public agencies have come under more scrutiny in the past two decades, in an attempt to explain and moderate their real or perceived excesses, their apparent inability to maintain public order or an acceptable level of criminal deviancy, and their abrasive position in relation to the several minority groups in the general public.

Primary theoretical emphasis has been placed on the psychological and sociological aspects of the occupation itself, in combination with class antecedents, to explain the attitudes and behavior of the police. In this light, Banton and Westley speak to the group isolation of the police from the public, and the development of norms independent of the community being served. Skolnick, among others, characterizes policing as an occupational subculture in which the officer's need to be suspicious, to maintain his status in an unruly world and to deal effectively with danger all combine to produce a rigid personality, one which subscribes irrationally to the concept of "law and order" as a means of reducing the painful cognitions brought about by the basic ambiguities contained in his function.<sup>56</sup> A multiplicity of other

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<sup>56</sup>Michael Banton, The Policeman in the Community (London: Tavistock Publications, 1964); William Westley, "Violence and the Police," American Journal of Sociology 59 (July 1953): 34-41; Jerome H. Skolnick, Justice Without Trial (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), especially Chapter 3.

researchers have expanded on this basic theme and its ramifications for a free society.

In response to the perceived behavioral pathologies arising out of this situation, various suggestions ranging from structural changes (decentralization, "civilianizing the police," police-community review, etc.), to increasing officer sensitivity have been formulated.<sup>57</sup> High emphasis has been placed on education to achieve these goals. The Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (1967), recommended that, by 1975, a minimum two years of college be mandatory for entry into police work; The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals (1973) recommended that standard be raised to four years of college by 1982.<sup>58</sup>

In response to the politization of some minorities and the increased conflict at the police-citizen level, current emphasis has also been placed on an examination of the cultural needs and styles of such minorities, and increasing the police officer's awareness of this uniqueness as well as the appropriate ways in which he can relate to it. The President's Commission advises that police-community relations officers "need special training in such

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<sup>57</sup> See, for example, George E. Berkley, The Democratic Policeman (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), in which a variety of structural changes are suggested and discussed.

<sup>58</sup> President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 125-126; National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals, Report on the Police (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 369.

fields as the psychology, culture and problems of minority groups."<sup>59</sup> Bayley and Mendelsohn, in a study of the police and racial minorities, conclude that police enter into contacts with minority groups "holding the stereotypes and prejudices of the community as a whole."<sup>60</sup> They define ethnicity in terms of White (Dominants), Negroes and Spanish, asserting "it should be understood that these divisions within the community are a result of a combination of cultural and racial factors."<sup>61</sup> Again, White homogeneity is assumed, and cultural differences are asserted but not delineated.

There is, however, some fragmentary evidence that white ethnicity impacts at the police level although much must be inferred from material not dealing directly with the subject. Sherman's cross-cultural description and analysis of police corruption in America, England and India indicates that such corruption may be distinguished from society to society in terms of public expectations about government, the organization of public functions and the prevailing ethos (which defines the threshold level as well as the nature of the corruption).<sup>62</sup> Sherman proposes a sociological model of corruption wherein the

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<sup>59</sup>President's Commission, Task Force Report, p. 156.

<sup>60</sup>David H. Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police (New York: The Free Press, 1968), Preface, pp. v, 163.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Lawrence W. Sherman, Police Corruption: A Sociological Perspective (New York: Anchor Books, 1974).



extent of that corruption, among other things, is inversely proportional to the degree to which the community adheres to a public-regarding ethos and manifests cultural homogeneity. It has already been pointed out that many urban police departments reflect unique ethnic concentrations. While Sherman offers very little in the way of empirical evidence to support his model, it does imply at least the possibility of normative conflicts among different ethnic group members in relation to the usual "good government" definitions of what constitutes corruption, as well as the political, social and work styles of the differing groups. Not only does such conflict include the possibility of conditions amenable to the objective occurrence of "corrupt" behavior, but the differing interpersonal and occupational styles--if such exist among ethnic groupings--may promote accusations of corruption. In regard to the question of differing ethnic interpersonal and occupational style, Wilson's interview of a large city high ranking police official is enlightening. Wilson asked if there were differences in behavior, to which the official replied:

Of course; no question about it. I have often thought, half-seriously, that if you want to change a police department rapidly and effectively by putting new men at the top who will be loyal to the commissioner and do everything by the book and according to standard operating procedures, you could just about throw away the elaborate personnel tests and screening procedures we have devised and simply promote the northern European officers--the Germans, Scandinavians, English, and the like. You would get the same desired result with less money and time.

(Q: Why is that?)

It's hard to explain. It's not that they are necessarily any more honest than the Irish Catholic officers or that they are any smarter. It's more that they have a much greater and more obvious commitment to some set of rules, standards, or general principles as a way of doing and seeing things. The most striking fact about the Irish Catholic command officers in this department is the extent to which they rely on personal loyalties and the exchange of personal favors as a way of doing things. If there is a perfectly legal, routine way of doing something, you can almost be certain that many of your Irish Catholic officers will prefer to do it through some informal means instead. They deliberately step outside the formal system to do things informally. There is often, in fact usually, nothing at all wrong with what they are doing, it is just that they seem to feel more comfortable working through "contacts," intermediaries, and friends. This makes things hard for us at the top, of course. We set up routines and they work around them. You set up a black-or-white situation and the German or Scandinavian officer will see it just that way: an either-or, black-or-white proposition. And he will do it strictly by the book. The Irish Catholic officer seems to find it hard to live with a black-or-white situation; he will muddy it up with qualifications, most of which will be based on considerations of personalities, personal circumstances, and personal loyalties.

(Q? What might be the reason for this?)

Maybe it goes back to Ireland itself. In Ireland, the Irish for seven hundred years had to live with English rule. To live with it, it was necessary to create an informal system of authority to subvert the formal system of authority and even to make it work. Maybe you find the same thing in politics and in police departments.

(Q: Has this led Irish officers to favor other Irish officers in promotions?)

I used to think so. I am not so sure any more. I think that in the past promotions in this department were based on who you know, not on what you knew. But the "who" referred to individual men, not to "the Irish" as a group. Naturally, because of their associations outside the department, Irishmen were more likely to know other Irishmen . . . .<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>James Q. Wilson, "Generational and Ethnic Differences Among Career Police Officers," pp. 527-528.

Conversely, it is appropriate to observe that the values subsumed in the creation of formal bureaucracies, especially the legal-rational model of action, are the cultural values of nativist Americans and the majority of the "Old Immigration," antedated by institutional transformations occurring as early as the sixteenth century in England, and later, in Northern Europe.<sup>64</sup>

To the extent that ethnic origin may connote differing styles of police management, it would seem reasonable to expand the concept to police-citizen interactions as well. There is only scant evidence in this regard, although some indications of ethnicity, role expectations and police-citizen interaction is contained in a Black and Reiss study of policing in several major metropolitan areas.<sup>65</sup> It was found that while many police officers verbalized racist attitudes, they were inclined to treat blacks in a formal, bureaucratic fashion, and that occurrences of abusive police conduct were more frequent among white than among black citizens. In addition, factors which seemed to condition police reaction to citizens included agitation levels, and deference/aggression levels in offenders and/or complainants.<sup>66</sup> The authors

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<sup>64</sup>Here I am referring to transformation in economic, religious and political institutions, with collateral impact on other aspects of social life such as kinship, mobility, etc. This subject will be expanded upon in Chapter III.

<sup>65</sup>Donald T. Black, and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., Field Survey III: Studies in Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas (Washington: Government Printing Office, n.d.), Vol. II, pp. 42-45.

<sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 51-67.

reason that since white police officers tend to relate on a personal level to white citizens, they also tend to place greater weight on a "proper" reciprocity during the exchange, and that if such reciprocity is not perceived as within proper bounds, hostility is much more likely by both parties. Black and Reiss do not explore this area in terms of ethnicity among whites, but there is at least the possibility that such interactive expectations are conditioned by the cultural content of ethnicity, by occasion, clientele and type of offense. Concurrently, there may be a "most appropriate" mode of police behavior depending on the cultural content of the situation; i.e., negotiation, "curb-stone justice," ignoring the offense, formal arrest, etc., which promotes status maintenance by both parties and public order, regardless of the formalistic mandates subsumed and organizationally required under the "rule of law."

The previously cited study by Pogue lends some general support to this extension of ethnicity into the realm of interpersonal transactions regarding both police-police, and police-citizen relationships. Pogue hypothesized that ethnicity (defined in terms of race and nationality), and occupation constituted two omni-present life spaces for the officer, which might promote role conflicts, and which could be adjusted for in a variety of ways. In his study of Pittsburgh police officers, he found that Blacks, Anglos, Italians, Irish and Polish officers rejected close interpersonal relationships with officers from ethnic backgrounds different from theirs, this rejection being interpreted by Pogue as

the way in which role and value ambiguities were resolved. Controls for rank, education and functional placement in the department still resulted in significant levels of "rejection." In terms of perceptions of behavior toward the public, and the expected reciprocal of that behavior ethnicity produced significant results again. Asked if police courtesy would evoke citizen courtesy (for example), 92 and 63 percent of black and Anglo officers agreed, respectively, while 62, 54 and 58 percent of Irish, Italian and Polish officers, respectively, disagreed.<sup>67</sup>

#### Section IV: Summary

As asserted in Chapter I, the interpretive and empirical literature of ethnicity implies at least three models explaining ethnicity, all of which would allow for the development of an ethnic factor in the social life of this country: (1) ethnicity as a cultural continuity based on structural integrity; (2) ethnicity as a "created" group characteristic in response to socio-political realities; and (3) ethnicity as a selective retreat to prior tradition in the way of an "anchor" against the amorphous parameters of social action in an advanced society. The cited research, although admittedly of short historical scope, reflects consistent behavioral options are occurring in a relatively wide range of social activities, and that ethnicity manifests some degree of core culture continuation. There is also

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<sup>67</sup>Pogue, Ethnic Background and Role Strain Among Policemen, p. 145.

little doubt that the strength of adherence to this core is moderated by the ecological conditions in which various ethnic groups have found themselves.

The remaining chapters of this study will attempt an exploration of the first model; i.e., the extent to which ethnicity reflects the continuation of culture itself. The following chapter will detail the reasons for the selection of this model, and will specify the research design, a predictive model of ethnicity, the methodology utilized in the analysis, and a statement of the hypotheses.

### CHAPTER III

#### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The literature of ethnicity as well as the available empirical studies strongly suggest a phenomenon which is long-lasting, and which can have substantial impact in terms of conditioning the form and context of social organization, attitudes, life styles and behavior. At the same time, the general lack of a systematic approach to the subject, an apparent inability to precisely describe ethnicity, and a tendency to operationalize it alternatively in terms of religion, race, nationality, recency of immigration, etc., singly or in combination, often results in analytical sets which contain widely divergent culture groups, historically, and on the face of it. In toto, however, the existing information does support the position that further investigation is warranted. For reasons previously articulated the police have been selected as the relevant population, and it is within that occupational context that the variable will be explored. This chapter is organized into eight sections, each of which relates to a methodological or theoretical aspect of the research undertaken. Section I states the theoretical issues involved and the basic questions to which this research speaks. Section II contains the design. Sections III and IV specify the measures employed and

sampling considerations, respectively, while Sections V and VI are concerned with the tentative formulation of a classificatory scheme of ethnicity and a statement of the research hypotheses. Section VII contains an overview of the analytical techniques utilized in the study, and Section VIII summarizes the chapter.

### Section I: Theoretical Issues

There are four basic theoretical issues involved in this research project: (1) the extent to which ethnicity systematically ramifies to meaningful aspects of human behavior or antecedents of that behavior, (2) the strength of the variable, singly and in interaction with other variables, (3) the extent to which ethnicity "fits" the models previously cited, and (4) the substantive significance of each of these models. Each of these questions will be examined in this project within a defined police population. The questions, however, and how they are ultimately answered should also contain some inferential potential as regards ethnicity and its use as a variable throughout the social sciences.

In considering the extent to which ethnicity has real meaning as a behavioral factor, an initial requirement exists that the phenomenon be conceptually linked with the existing models already established in the social sciences; as, for example, role and exchange theory, socialization, and social stratification in sociology and social-psychology, psychological models of personality formation, or anthropological considerations of culture, i.e., the known processes which stabilize societies over time, and protect



the social techniques of survival. Culture, specifically as manifested in the structural configuration of a society, was selected as the conceptual focus of this study for several reasons. First, culture, in addition to its virtually universal acceptance as an input to social analysis, finds form in the institutions of a society. These institutions may be examined historically and generalizations deduced relative to the functional priorities of the society, the attached values which promote as well as legitimate that form of social organization, role and status definitions, the nature and forms of exchange, the conditions under which socialization occurs and the psychological orientations most functional to that cultural form. Secondly, cross-cultural analysis holds forth the possibility of classifying on the basis of cultural (institutional) similarity or sameness, an approach which avoids the hazard of assuming that nationality alone subsumes cultural uniqueness, the selection of a single social institution (religion, for example) as a surrogate for ethnicity, or the selection of only temporal aspects (recency of immigration) as the premise upon which ethnic uniqueness is asserted. Thirdly, a cultural model contains, by definition, the mechanisms necessary to its own survival. Thus, the model allows for the formulation of behavioral or sub-behavioral hypotheses. In this regard, and in relation to ethnicity within the American context, these hypotheses are adaptable to the moderating effects of immigrant functional and cultural sameness, host society reception, and the amalgamated cultural development

or ethnogenesis which may occur in reaction to the sweep of broad socio-economic or political developments.

There is also the problem of substantive importance. Ethnicity is at once given credit for high initial affect even under melting pot theory of assimilation, while the substantive importance of that affect is subordinated to the assumed host culture--immigrant culture drive towards an amalgamated American identity. Models that propose to describe the antecedent conditions under which ethnicity emerges and/or maintains gain substance by virtue of the long term behavioral premises which are employed, the applicability of the model to the widest scope of the behavioral sciences, and the predictive potential of the model. The cultural model has this potential, since it centers on objective group attributes. The Weberian model of ethnicity has far less of this potential, while the ad hoc "retreat to tradition" model contains even less.

This is not to imply that the Weberian model, that of a subjective group "finding" of commonalities based on antecedent political decisions, does not have some of the same survival potential as the cultural model, since there is no sure way to demand that found areas of commonality need be based on objective fact as a condition of their being incorporated into the value and institutional structure of succeeding generations. The difference in the models is one of degree and stability as well as of the assumed underlying causal processes necessary to change.

The Weberian model focuses essentially on political acts as causal in creating conditions under which a legally defined political subdivision, a group, manifests a need to make cohesive what are otherwise artificial group boundaries, thus the creation of an ethnic identity. In this instance not only is the emphasis on politics as the primary initiating mechanism, but in many ways ethnicity can become merely a surrogate for nationality. The model of cultural continuance, however, is more expansive, drawing on the full spectrum of ecological factors--in the Parkian sense--under which the social collectivity interacts with environment, the sum of that interaction determining the cultural, social, economic and political structures of the developing society, its attached values, and its probable direction. In short, and barring cataclysmic changes in environment, the latter model--if operative--pretends toward greater stability over time, as well as an ability to incorporate all institutional aspects of the social development. Its predictive ability, one based on an examination of the historical cultural and social context, far surpasses that of the Weberian model, one in which prediction must be based on contemporary needs and goals, and the enabling mechanisms perceived as both available and appropriate to those needs and goals.

In assessing the substantive meaning of ethnicity, data must be gathered which is relatable to the models presented, and a determination made whether ethnicity is merely an esoteric factor, a latent force which comes into play in times of institutional

failure, or a serious conditioner of individual and group behavior over time.

In addition to exploring the possible impact of ethnic membership on police values and attitudes, an attempt will be made to assign a weighted factor to ethnicity so that its relative importance vis-a-vis the standard set of social science variables may be established, as well as the extent to which ethnicity interacts with these other variables, life-orienting statements, as well as the major factors impacting on the immigrant group upon arrival in the host culture and subsequent development. In short, an examination of basic group attributes must be undertaken in the way of determining if commonalities conducive to the formation of a typology exist. A major focus of this chapter, in addition to considerations of design, measures and analytical techniques will be the tentative establishment of such a typology, as a basis for the presentation of the research hypotheses.

## Section II: Design

Research purposes in the social sciences may be categorized into four broad groupings: (1) to gain familiarity with a phenomenon as a basis for the formulation of more precise research problems or to specify a series of hypotheses; (2) to portray accurately the characteristics of an individual or a group; (3) to determine the frequency with which something occurs or with which it is associated with something else; and (4) to test a hypothesis of causal relationship between two or more variables. Studies of the first

type are generally specified as "formulative" or "exploratory." Studies of the second and third type are generally termed "descriptive." Studies related to causality are usually termed "experimental."<sup>1</sup> This research combines elements of the first three groupings. It is formulative in terms of the tentative models of ethnicity asserted and exploratory insofar as it is an open question just which is the appropriate model or the extent to which any model is operative. Stated another way, it is exploratory to the extent it examines the phenomenon of ethnicity and if and how it ramifies to specifiable group attributes regardless of how operationalized. It is descriptive in that it attempts to examine an identified population with the goal of describing accurately its characteristics in terms of ethnicity, and to statistically assess the impact of ethnicity in terms of effect or no effect.

Concurrently, it is recognized that there are clear causal implications in the primary model utilized in this study. Cultural continuance involves time ordering, a mechanism (socialization), and particular types of variable associations, all of which (combined with the controlling for other variables) constitute the required aspects of causal research.<sup>2</sup> This research, however, will not examine in any depth the total possible mechanics of ethnic socialization except as certain ethnic experiences (intensity of

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<sup>1</sup>Clair Selltitz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), p. 50.

<sup>2</sup>Tony Tripodi, Phillip Fellin and Henry J. Meyer, The Assessment of Social Research (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock Publishers, 1969), p. 35.

exposure to purely ethnic institutions, for example), condition the extent to which ethnicity relates to the selected measures. Thus, while a model having causal potential is integral to the formulation of the hypotheses, the precise process of causality is not examined in favor of an attempt to initially determine the manifestations of ethnicity in policing and the intensity of relationship between the behavioral antecedents of police officers and their ethnicity.

### Section III: Measures

The measures selected for this research are designed to delineate the value structure of individuals at two levels; one relating to an overall consideration of the life values, and one relating to the values individuals seek in the occupational milieu. Additionally, it was felt important in an exploratory analysis of ethnicity to relate that variable to several social-psychological and political orientations in order that a gross estimate of the scope of impact of ethnicity at the police level could be ascertained. In the selection of these latter measures, consideration was given to those orientations in terms of their importance in behavioral equations in a police context, as well as their inferential value in the areas of contemporary management trends in policing, police-citizen interaction, training, selection, policy-making and policy receptiveness. The measures were administered via a mailed survey questionnaire, a complete copy of which is contained in Appendix B of this dissertation.

Prior to describing the specific measures selected, it is appropriate to set out the reasoning which conditioned the selection of values as the operational focus of this study. The problem was one of research resources, the difficulties inherent in direct observation of police behavior and the selection of an intermediate variable having wide-ranging and substantive conceptual applicability in social analysis. At the onset, the difficulty in observing police behavior, in a context of which the full range of behavioral alternatives open to the officer may be assumed to be free of a conditioning effect by the observer, is virtually impossible to achieve, especially if one hopes to observe a wide range of behavior beyond a contrived experimental design. The need for independent and multiple subjective interpretations as a check on validity of interpretation also requires a manpower resource beyond the capabilities of the researcher. The time involved in gaining the "in-group" identification necessary to reasonably conclude an acceptable level of null-effect of the observer, especially in policing, would also be extensive beyond the limitations of this study. On the other hand, the concept of value, whether object or person connected, is fairly consistently employed in the behavioral sciences, and it is in the latter mode that it will be utilized in this study. Robin Williams asserts that values serve as the personal "criteria, or standards in terms of which evaluations are made," while Rokeach specifies a value as an:

enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence. A value system is an enduring organization of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of relative importance.<sup>3</sup>

In this context, values represent an important intermediate step between experiencing a stimulus and reacting to that stimulus in behavioral terms. While not disallowing the full scope of other intervening variables--legal mandates, peer pressure, situational exigencies, et al., values are viewed as a primary orienting statement, with inferential potential even if only at the level of gross behavioral propensities.

Additionally, values have other properties which make their selection as a key dependent variable appropriate to research endeavors. Rokeach concludes five reasons in support of their selection:

(1) the total number of values that a person possesses is relatively small; (2) all men everywhere possess the same values to different degrees; (3) values are organized into value systems; (4) the antecedents of human values can be traced to culture, society and its institutions, and personality; (5) the consequences of human values will be manifested in virtually all phenomena that social scientists might consider worth investigating and understanding.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, Rokeach distinguishes between values on one hand and attitudes on the other, in that values transcend situation and

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<sup>3</sup>Robin M. Williams, "Values," in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. E. Sills (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), pp. 268, 283; Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Rokeach, Human Values, p. 3.



constitute an "ought" statement, whereas an attitude refers to the organization of several value beliefs around a specific object or situation. As such, attitudes are much more transient than values, and inferring behavior from an explication of them is much more hazardous. In the same manner, interests can be subsumed under the value concept in that they are merely a value focus on object or situation.<sup>5</sup>

Values, then, constitute a key link in the behavioral formula, and it is a basic proposition of this project that since they can be related to culture and acquire institutional form, an examination of institutions will provide a guide to hypothesizing about ethnic values; further, that if ethnicity has a stable and continuous impact on the social sciences (and policing), that stability will be reflected in the form of differing rank orders of the available human values.

Following is a description of the measures selected for this study.

#### Rokeach Value Survey

This survey consists of 18 terminal (ought) values and 18 instrumental (means) values. Respondents are asked to rank order the values to coincide with their own value system. Reliability of the instrument is reported as in the .70 range (Form D).

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-23.

Predictive validity has been confirmed in several value areas when contrasted with occupational choice.<sup>6</sup>

#### Kilpatrick Occupational Value Scale

This scale consists of 30 scaled agree-disagree items designed to measure those values most sought after in the occupational milieu, the spectrum of values condensed from random sample interviewing of over 5,000 respondents in federal service, students, the teaching profession and business. Reliability is indicated by high consistency of scaled items with respondent answers to free response questions.<sup>7</sup> While no validation data is reflected, Robinson, Athanasiou and Head advise the occupational value differences cited by Kilpatrick are "in line with previous (research) results."<sup>8</sup> Based on an analysis of pilot study data (see Appendix A), eight scale items were deleted, thus the scale as utilized in this study consists of 22 items.

#### Troldahl and Powell Short Dogmatism Scale

This scale consists of 10 agree-disagree items, and is a shortened form of the original Rokeach dogmatism scale. It is

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<sup>6</sup>Milton Rokeach, Beliefs, Attitudes and Values (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1968), pp. 156-178, and Rokeach, Human Values, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup>Franklin P. Kilpatrick, Milton C. Cummings, Jr., and Kent M. Jennings, The Image of the Federal Service (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1964), pp. 58-85.

<sup>8</sup>John P. Robinson, Robert Athanasiou, and Kendra B. Head, Measures of Occupational Attitudes and Occupational Characteristics (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1973), p. 229.

designed to measure the openness or closedness of an individual's belief system. Rokeach states that the extent to which a person's belief system is open is:

. . . the extent to which the person can receive, evaluate, and act on relevant information received from the outside on its own intrinsic merits, unencumbered by irrelevant factors in the situation arising from within the person or from the outside.<sup>9</sup>

Rokeach concluded, after extensive sampling, that the dogmatism scale was a better approximation of general authoritarianism than was the earlier fascism scale, since it was able to measure opinionation from both the left and the right. The shortened scale used in this study yielded a reliability of approximately .66, and was validated by correlation with the 40-item scale, yielding a correlation of .79.<sup>10</sup>

#### Martin and Westie Intolerance of Ambiguity Scale

Intolerance of ambiguity is a dimension of the authoritarian personality concept. According to this concept, authoritarian personalities tend to perceive dimensionalized stimulus as highly dichotomized, seek unambiguous solutions for complex problems and to demonstrate rigid and categorical thinking; in short, psychological inflexibility. Robinson and Shaver report this scale has substantial validity, with results highly consistent

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<sup>9</sup>Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind (New York: Basic Books, 1960), p. 57.

<sup>10</sup>Verling C. Trol Dahl and Fredric A. Powell, "A Short Form Dogmatism Scale for Use in Field Studies," Social Forces 44 (December 1965): 211-214.

with the original work by Adorno, on authoritarianism, and significantly correlated with other aspects of the concept such as nationalism, superstition, and threat-competition.<sup>11</sup>

#### Lane Four-Item F Scale

This is a short form of earlier authoritarianism scales, which are focused on the right, and which include such concepts as punitive morality, conventionality, lack of self-confidence, cynicism and circumscribed aggression. Lane established a coefficient of reproducibility on this scale of 90.4, and asserted construct validity in terms of scale scores and respondent positions on world affairs and party identification.<sup>12</sup>

#### Olsen Political Alienation Scale

Olsen has conceptualized political alienation as being of two distinct types: attitudes of incapability and attitudes of discontent. The former indicates a personal feeling of being unable to exert political leverage and a feeling of futility vis-a-vis political activities. The second construct reflects a basic dissatisfaction with the direction of political activity as well as its ability to deal effectively with problems. A coefficient

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<sup>11</sup>James G. Martin and Frank R. Westie, "The Tolerant Personality," American Sociological Review 24 (August 1959): 521-528. See also John P. Robinson and Phillip R. Shaver, Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1973), pp. 406-408.

<sup>12</sup>Robert E. Lane, "Political Personality and Electoral Choice," American Political Science Review 49 (March 1955): 173-190.

of reproducibility for the two scales is reported as .893 and .921, while validity considerations were reinforced by comparison of scale scores (high, low) with measures of political activity (political media exposure, political discussion, voting participation and political involvement).<sup>13</sup>

#### Rosenberg Faith in People Scale

This scale measures the general orientation of the individual to others, i.e., whether they are viewed as essentially trustworthy and the degree to which they can be relied on for supportive or threatening interactions. The scale consists of five items. Validity has been indicated by a finding that individuals in people-related occupations scored consistently higher than those in business, advertising and sales-promotion.<sup>14</sup> Concerning the reliability of the measure, Robinson and Shaver report that in a nation-wide survey conducted by the University of Michigan Institute for Social Research, "inter-item correlations are very impressive and hold when controlled for educational level."<sup>15</sup>

To the extent possible controls will be instituted for independent variables other than ethnicity. Data relative to age, sex, marital status, religious affiliation, political party

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<sup>13</sup>Marvin E. Olsen, "Two Categories of Political Alienation," Social Forces 47 (March 1969): 288-299.

<sup>14</sup>Morris Rosenberg, Occupations and Values (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 25-35.

<sup>15</sup>Robinson and Shaver, Social Psychological Attitudes, p. 588.

preference, socioeconomic status will be collected. In order to assess the relative intensity of ethnicity, information will be solicited which will reflect the number of generations in America, the region of the United States in which the respondent grew up, his frequency of contact with uniquely ethnic institutions, his cognition of his ethnic heritage and whether or not he speaks a foreign language reflecting his ethnicity. Controls relative to the conditioning effect of policing itself on the value structure of respondents will include years of police experience, functional assignment and present rank.

#### Section IV: Sample

Obtaining an adequate sample in policing presents some special problems. At base, there has been and still is a tendency for many police administrators and officers to perceive themselves as under unfair attack by the social sciences and to feel threatened by the suggestion of social science research projects dealing with the police.<sup>16</sup> To the extent police actually feel themselves to be occupationally and socially isolated from the larger society, this factor may also condition a negative receptiveness to sampling. Recent affirmative action police personnel

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<sup>16</sup>This is based on personal experience, i.e., professional and personal contacts the writer has had with police administrators and line officers in New York City, Northern California, Texas and Midwestern departments. Although subjective and interpretive, this analysis is generally confirmed by various academics researching police organizations, and is implicit in many articles appearing in the police professional journal, Police Chief.

acquisition mandates by the courts (Detroit and Chicago, for example), which involve the required hiring of Blacks and/or females only compound both gaining access as well as very possibly modifying individual response to a degree not controllable within the resources of this study, i.e., as in a national random sample of police officers.

Wayne County Sheriff's Department, Michigan, was selected as the focal police population. Additionally, a census of the department was undertaken as opposed to randomized or other sampling techniques. The rationale for the location of the study and the census method of data collection are as follows: (1) Wayne County includes metropolitan Detroit, Michigan, a city of over one and one-half million, with a substantial industrial base. As such, it presents a police functional milieu roughly equatable with any large urban collectivity; additionally, research previously cited is indicative that large midwestern cities have substantial numbers of "New Immigration" ethnics, creating a high potential for good overall ethnic representation on the force;<sup>17</sup> (2) the force is racially integrated, and no serious interpersonal conflicts have occurred as a result of this integration. Additionally, the force does not have a history of police-citizen racial conflict, nor has Detroit proper nor Wayne County been the situs of any

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<sup>17</sup>This was generally confirmed through an initial examination of the department personnel roster by Dr. John Troyanovich, Professor of Languages, Illinois Wesleyan University. Dr. Troyanovich was able to distinguish approximately 150 surnames reflecting an eastern and southern European heritage; the remainder were Anglo, of "Old Immigration" or Black origin.





major racial disorders within the past several years.<sup>18</sup> While this study is not focused on black/white ethnic contrasts, the above does indicate a department and an individual occupational setting which may reasonably be assumed not to be severely conditioning individual response, except to the possible extent that black social and political assertiveness in the past decade has altered the perceptions and behavior of all members of our society, and policing in particular; (3) the size of the department (604 as of July 22, 1975), offered the possibility of sufficient returns so that meaningful results could be obtained through statistical analysis. In order to maximize that return, census collection of data was selected.

The single site of the data collection constrains inference to a national police population; however, limited potential does exist if inferences are extended only to urban policing in the Midwest. Given the historical evidence indicating a high concentration of "New Immigration" ethnics in the Northeast and Midwest, selection of this department should also maximize the potential of achieving representation from a wide variety of ethnic groups. Finally, this department should serve the purposes of an exploratory and descriptive study, since it would seem important to demonstrate the ethnic impact in a police organization operating in an urban milieu, a focus of virtually all police research in the past several decades.

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<sup>18</sup> Historical background concerning the Wayne County Sheriff's Department was furnished by Mr. Franz Heideman, Administrative Assistant to the Sheriff.

The survey instrument was mailed directly to each respondent, and returned by mail to the writer, commencing on July 25, 1975. Direct mailing was utilized so that organizational contamination of responses could be minimized, as well as anonymity assured. Of the 592 surveys mailed, 221 were returned, for a response rate of 37.3 percent. A follow-up letter was circulated throughout the department approximately 30 days after the questionnaire was first mailed, and completed returns were also solicited by police union personnel within the department.

Of the 221 surveys returned, 82 indicated parentage from northern and western Europe (including England), 50 from southern and eastern Europe, 30 of black descent, and 25 Irish, for a total of 187. These 187 surveys constitute the sample utilized in the analysis of data. The others were excluded for a variety of reasons. Six respondents were police women, excluded to obviate the possible effect of gender on responses. Thirteen surveys were either returned incomplete, or failed to indicate ethnic origins. Fifteen respondents indicated "Canadian" as their ethnic origin, thus obviating their use within the context of this study.

The exploratory nature of this study is such that it was deemed more important to gain sufficient ethnic subgroup representation prior to and in lieu of gaining a sample truly representative of either the department itself or policing in general. The latter is almost totally constrained by the single-site nature of the research at any rate. Nonetheless, there is some indication that the sample does provide reasonable representation for the

department, and may not be drastically different from the national police population. Table 3.1 contains a comparison of the sample, the department and a national sample of policing, although this comparison is restricted greatly by the lack of demographic data known relative to the department itself.

TABLE 3.1.--Comparison of Sample, Department, and a National Police Sample Characteristics.

Characteristic	Sample	Department*	National Sample**
Mean age in years	35.13	34.68	39.7
Percentage with some college	60.9%	72.6%	51.9%
Mean experience in years	***	8.24****	13.8
Percentage with rank of deputy	78.6%	79.8%	--
Percentage assigned to patrol	27.8%	27.7%	--

\*Source: John K. Hudzik and Jack R. Greene, Organizational and Policy Perceptions of Personnel: Wayne County Sheriff's Department (East Lansing: Michigan State University, Criminal Justice Systems Center, 1975), p. 5.

\*\*Source: Watson and Sterling, pp. 17-31.

\*\*\*Experience was measured in terms of year categories. The mean sample respondent indicated from six to ten years experience.

\*\*\*\*Only experience with Wayne County is indicated.

There is close correlation between department and sample characteristics, to the extent that department characteristics were available, with the exception that the educational level of the sample respondents is somewhat higher than that of the department as a whole. In relation to the national survey, the sample indicates less age as well as more education, a tendency which must be assumed to represent society in general. Although the comparison is very restricted, there is some justification for concluding that the sample respondents do reasonably represent the department, and that the sample is not radically dissimilar to policing in general.

#### Section V: A Tentative Ethnic Classification Scheme

##### General Considerations

The myriad cultural groups present in America, if defined by national origins, present such a wide array of variables that analysis becomes unwieldy to the point of impossibility. Nor are such fine distinctions necessarily appropriate to the research at hand. It can at once be conceded that no two groups are identical while concurrently inquiring into the possibility that multiple groups may manifest common or gross attributes from which similar attitudes and behavior may be inferred. The purpose of this section is to propose a limited classification system which will facilitate such inferences. It is limited in that the classification categories do not pretend to the inclusiveness demanded of a typology. The primary focus of this research, an inquiry into

white ethnicity at the police level, does not mandate a world-wide cultural classification system, and the construction of one is at any rate well beyond the limitations of this study. In constructing the system, however, primary emphasis was directed to descriptive parameters under which all ethnic groups present in America could be classified, or the classification system itself expanded as appropriate.

In constructing the classification scheme, consideration was given to those factors which relate to either a determination of cultural nearness or dissimilarity in relation to a native culture, or the course of events following entry into American society from which amalgamation with or relative cultural isolation from the host culture might be inferred. The first set of factors, which center on the nature of social institutions and the values subsumed within them, form the basis of the hypotheses set forth in Section VI. The second set of factors relate to the extent to which the basic value sets are assumed to be operative in our contemporary society.

#### Classificatory Possibilities

There have been previous attempts at classification, both implicit and explicit, in the literature. Triple-melting pot theory, for example, while speaking to the nature of assimilation, implicitly makes the assumption that religious affiliation (and religion as an institution), involves behavioral antecedents which condition intermarriage, occupational mobility, migration and other

social activities.<sup>19</sup> Warner and Srole assert that cultural nearness may be operationalized in terms of language and religion, as well as an English or non-English origins dichotomy, with a resulting permutation of culture "types" ranging from nativist English-speaking Protestant to non-English, non-Christian, non-English speaking.<sup>20</sup> Newcomb suggests that cultures may be distinguished in terms of the emphasis each places on competition and cooperation. In this conceptual framework, competitive cultures emphasize individual achievement, perceive of role success as a zero-sum game and view the acquisition of valued things as predicated in holding power, while the cooperative culture emphasizes group needs, views role success as non zero-sum, and sees acquisition as a function of reciprocity.<sup>21</sup> Harold Fallding, in a discussion of the proper study of cultural values, perceives the primary bifurcation in terms of Parson's fifth pattern variable, self-collectivity, a contrast inherent in the human situation and having primacy over all other possible contrasts. Within the continuum, ownership and interest values are the modal value sets subsumed under values of self, while membership and partisan values are modal within the collectivity-centered position.<sup>22</sup> Fallding

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<sup>19</sup>Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot?" pp. 331-339.

<sup>20</sup>Warner and Srole, Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, pp. 283-296.

<sup>21</sup>Theodore M. Newcomb, Social Psychology (New York: The Dryden Press, 1950), pp. 424-426.

<sup>22</sup>Harold Fallding, "A Proposal for the Empirical Study of Values," American Sociological Review 30 (April 1965): 223-233.

advises this model of values lends itself to cross-cultural analyses, in which the stable patterns of preference from one society to another are identified in terms of self-collectivity. Like Parsons, Fallding perceives of values as generalized ends, constituting social facts by virtue of their symbolization in social institutions, and as guiding behavior toward uniformity under a variety of circumstances.<sup>23</sup>

Malinowski, as previously stated, asserts that the study of culture is properly centered on the nature of the cooperative endeavors of a society, the institutions of any society implying "an agreement on a set of traditional values for which human beings come together."<sup>24</sup> His comparative interest, however, is at the level of primitive-modern societies, which provides only limited immediate guidance in classifying a group of cultures all of which are well beyond the stage of primitive existence (i.e., cultural isolation, a lack of formalized structures, minimal technology, etc.). Nonetheless, and regardless of the cultural state of the societies under examination, Malinowski maintains the integrity of the analytical position that certain types of organization are to be found in every society, to wit: reproductive, territorial, physiological, voluntary associations, occupations and professions, rank and status, and comprehensive.<sup>25</sup> How a society solves its

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>24</sup>Malinowski, Theory of Culture, p. 39.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 62-65.

human problems--i.e., economic stability, political integrity, reproduction etc.--determines the form of the institutions as specified, from which primary value statements can be deduced. This premise is useful in the formulation of an ethnic classification system based on institutional similarities since it allows for grouping aside from considerations or assumptions of linearity in cultural evolution, as well as the normative implication of just such assumptions. In short, it allows for an analysis of social institutions based on similarities in problem solving (as reflected in structure), from which classification may occur, apart from a discussion of which group is more or less "civilized," a distinction Gusfield advises is analytically inappropriate at any rate.<sup>26</sup>

Another approach to cultural classification is suggested by Stanley Stark, in his cultural consideration of dogmatism, a discussion he characterizes as the anthropologizing of the psychology of dogmatism.<sup>27</sup> Stark identifies two archetypic personality types within the cultural context of the United States: modern and traditional man. Although Stark stops short of equating one or another type with the various ethnic cultures available in America,

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<sup>26</sup> Joseph R. Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change," American Journal of Sociology 72 (January 1967): 351-362. Gusfield maintains that normative considerations in this regard are simply manifestations of ethnocentrism, that tradition and modernity can as easily be viewed as complementary forces.

<sup>27</sup> Stanley Stark, "Towards an Anthropology of Dogmatism: Maladjustment, Modernization and Martin Luther King," Psychological Reports 27 (August 1970): 291-309.



he does indicate that dogmatism is best viewed from within particular cultural contexts. As such, it is not pathology which necessarily antedates a high score but considerations of cultural functionality. He asks:

Is not widespread use of the Dogmatism scale incongruous in a society with a slave class? a theocratic society? a society of one-man-one-party rule? an overwhelmingly peasant society?<sup>28</sup>

Stark proceeds with a delineation of the relative attributes of both modern and traditional man.<sup>29</sup> The conceptual connection between these personality types and "traditional" versus "modern" society are obvious if viewed from a functional standpoint.

1. Modern Man:

- a. open to innovation and change
- b. acceptance of social diversity
- c. belief in ability to dominate the environment
- d. a calculative social stance
- e. belief in a lawful world under human control
- f. tendency to question authority
- g. psychological apartness, detachment, neutrality

2. Traditional Man:

- a. authoritarian
- b. fatalistic
- c. strong family orientation
- d. deference to authority
- e. preference for role rigidity
- f. avoidance of planning
- g. perceptions of high stratification in life chances
- h. absolutist, affiliative, ethnocentric, parochial

In a later treatise on the same subject, Stark again speaks to the attributes of modern and traditional man:

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 298.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 293-294.

Modernistic rationality . . . treats the issue . . .  
 distinct from its source . . . (the traditionalist) mind  
 does not, and believes it should not, separate or dis-  
 tinguish the act from the actor . . . .

. . . traditional man . . . is someone who appreciates the  
 anological, the animistic, the ascriptive, the artistic,  
 the charismatic, the communionistic . . . .<sup>30</sup>

All of these approaches offer a general guideline to the formation of a classificatory system. Intuitively, "modern man," a competitive orientation and a focus on "self" values can be related, while "traditional man," a cooperative orientation and values focused on the collectivity provide the other cluster. Within the context of western civilization modernism has been associated with radical transformations in economic, political, religious and social institutions, while traditional societies have represented an older institutional structure and arrangement highly consistent across national boundaries. The following subsection will examine the differences.

A concurrent problem, however, relates to the evolutionary development of a cultural entity subsequent to arrival in America. The various models already presented offer unidirectional solutions when, in fact, the situation may be one in which melting pot characterizes one group, acculturation but not assimilation another, and ethnogenesis is a third, to mention only three possibilities. Rothstein has suggested a three-factor model of intergroup contacts

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<sup>30</sup>Stanley Stark, "Towards an Anthropology of Dogmatism II. Traditionalism, Modernism, Existentialism and the Counter Culture: All in the Family," Psychological Reports 29 (December 1971), pp. 819-830.

which offers an alternative to the problem of opting for one or another of the unidirectional presentations.<sup>31</sup> He proposes that the nature and scope of cultural intergroup relations is a function of cultural compatibility (defined as value orientations), the structural compatibility of either group (roles, institutions), as well as the use or nonuse of coercion by the host culture when interacting with the immigrant group.<sup>32</sup> Based on the interaction of these three factors, Rothstein theorizes four modal patterns of cultural development by the immigrant culture, as specified in Figure 3.1. In relation to the factors considered in Rothstein's paradigm, placement and predictability may be improved by a consideration of the following: (1) functional needs of host society at time of immigrant's arrival, (2) the relative time since arrival of the immigrant group, and (3) the motivations underlying the emigrative impulse from the home society. Each of these additional factors is rather easily determined, if only in a modal sense, from historical works. They are important intervening variables since they specify a social environment, the degree of motivation toward assimilation or separation, or the magnitude of cultural diffusion, evolution or isolation which may have occurred over time.

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<sup>31</sup>David Rothstein, "Culture Creation and Social Reconstruction: The Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Intergroup Contact," American Journal of Sociology 37 (December 1972): 671-678.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

Cultural (A) and Structural (B) Compatibility			
		High	Low
Host Culture Coercion Level:	HIGH	A1, B1	A3, B3
	LOW	A2, B2	A4, B4

Predicted modal immigrant cultural development:

- A. A1 and B1: Under conditions of high cultural and structural compatibility, and high host culture coercion (to maintain a stratified system, for example), little assimilation will occur, and structural segregation will predominate.
- B. A2 and B2: Under conditions of high compatibility and low coercion, acculturation and assimilation will occur, concurrent with a merging towards the host institutions of immigrant institutional forms.
- C. A3 and B3: Under conditions of low compatibility and high coercion, culture creation will occur; culture creation in the form of salient old forms combined with host forms deemed of value for survival, or otherwise innocuous.
- D. A4 and B4: Conditions of low compatibility and low coercion result in a situation of relatively isolated co-existence, accompanied by the persistence of dual roles and institutions.

Source: As adapted from Rothstein, "Culture Creation and Social Reconstruction," pp. 671-678.

Figure 3.1.--Modal Forms of Cultural Development Based on Host Culture Coercion, Cultural and Structural Compatibility.

### Ethnic Classification

The most obvious contrast, when grouping cultures, is apparent between the modernism having its roots in England and northwestern Europe and pre-modern (or traditional) societies. The archetypic traditional society is Feudalism, a land-based, highly stratified social system, otherwise typified as peasant society. An examination of major institutions in each--economics, politics and religion--reflect structural differences from which substantially different rank orderings of values can be predicted. Additionally, special culture cases exist--namely Blacks, Jews and the Irish--which groups for a variety of reasons deviate from the value ordering expected under traditionalism or modernism.

Modern Ethnics.--Modern ethnics personify the values explicit in a form of economic endeavor based on capital accumulation and market exploitation, a religious suasion which places a moral value on self-maximization and industry, and a political system which frees all individuals from clientilist or feudal bonds. One of the most definitive expositions of the phenomenon of modernism has been made by Max Weber. In this work Weber identifies modernism as a historic meeting of old world (family) capitalism and Protestant asceticism, best exemplified in Calvinism.<sup>33</sup> The new capitalism differed from traditional capitalism not only in that it was a more calculative, accumulative and

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<sup>33</sup>Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), pp. 95-144.

organized endeavor, involving the specialization and rational organization of both work site and market, but also in that it required a free labor market. As a result, new concepts of civil liberty radically different from aristocratic notions of status and responsibility served to provide the milieu in which such enterprise could flourish. In the extreme the concept of predestination was quickly equated to the seeking for an appropriate "sign" that the individual was destined for salvation. The sign was most often material accumulation, thus providing the keystone to successful capitalism, the ability to accumulate, reinvest and accumulate further. Protestantism, in all its modified forms, kept primary emphasis on the concurrent concepts of the basic moral worthlessness of man coupled with individual responsibility to aggressively seek manifestations of his moral development in the righteous development of his own talents. Erich Fromm observes, in contrasting modern man from traditional man, that the following characteristics exemplify the modern:

1. an obsessional craving for work for its own sake
2. a conceptual break between the individual and his organic social ties; a "freedom" and independence from traditional dogma
3. a tendency to attach moral value to efficiency and materialism, as well as the instrumental perception of men as objects to produce wealth
4. an adherence to the principles of rationalism in an attempt to objectively specify his world; i.e., empiricism to facilitate the success of individual endeavor

5. a basic ambivalence towards authority of any type; all authority constituting a felt constraint on individual needs and goals.<sup>34</sup>

In terms of the development of modern man, Eisenstadt asserts that transformation in economics, politics and the church resulted in the following "modern" attributes:

First was their 'openness' toward the wider social structure, rooted in the 'this-worldly' orientations which were not limited to economic spheres, but were gradually extended to demands for wider political participation, and new, broader, political frameworks. . . .

Second, their status orientations were characterized by a certain autonomy and self-sufficiency.<sup>35</sup>

The attributes of modern society are well known, and are bound integrally to Protestantism, capitalism and government. In religion man is cast out from a basic trust in either God or other men to aid his salvation. Since faith and salvation is a subjective experience, the responsibility is on the individual to exert himself since success in a calling may reflect God's favor. Economically, capital accumulation requires planning, an emphasis on the future, a need to objectively control and exploit environment and other men, also assumed to be working out of their own self-interest. Standards of work performance, merit advancement and rationality must attach to self-maximization. Opportunity takes precedence over security. Politically, the rational-activist model is assumed; i.e., issues and candidates are judged on the objective

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<sup>34</sup>Erich Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1941), see chapters one and two especially.

<sup>35</sup>S. N. Eisenstadt, "Transformation in Social, Political, and Cultural Order in Modernization," American Sociological Review 30 (October 1965): 659-673.

merits of their positions, and the individual is politically responsive to the obligations of citizenship. Government is generally perceived as a necessary evil, to be limited to the minimum necessary to promote individualism. Orientation is to the state. Physical and occupational mobility are sought, with family loyalties devolving to the nuclear family. Role structures are only loosely interwoven, if at all. Institutional overlap is limited by strict definitional constructions.

All countries in northwestern Europe, including England and Scotland but excluding Ireland, are included herein as a cultural group specified as modern ethnics. The emergence of rationalism, the Reformation, liberal democratic traditions and early steps in capitalism are all associated with these countries, in one combination or another. It is recognized, nonetheless, that there are English Catholics, or stated another way, that few individuals or groups will demonstrate the total perquisites of modern culture. This classification system, however, pretends only to establishment of dominant cultural factors, constituting a measure of central tendency from one cultural grouping to another.

Traditional Ethnics.--There is substantial consensus, across disciplines, that the phenomenon of peasantry, connoting a unique institutional arrangement, can be identified in time and place without recourse to political or geographic boundaries almost everywhere in the world. Barrington Moore treats with the peasantry as a relatively stable group throughout Europe and Asia in his



historical analysis of the development of various forms of government.<sup>36</sup> Anthropologist Redfield maintains that peasant societies represent a kind of arrangement of humanity with similarities all over the world.<sup>37</sup> Sociologist Sjoberg defines peasant society as follows:

. . . a small minority (an elite) supported by and 'exploiting' a large subservient populace which passively accepts its role. The elite include the literati who are official carriers of the classical written tradition which provides the social system with a sophisticated and elaborate justification for its continued existence.<sup>38</sup>

Political scientist Powell, in a survey of peasant cultures, finds that the social organization of peasantry results in clientelist politics, a system of political action characterized by face-to-face exchanges between parties of unequal status in which brokerage, patronage, and status-associated rights and obligations condition the nature and extent of exchange. Such a system is functional in a peasant society, one in which scarcity is the norm, role definitions are rigid, mobility is virtually non-existent, and only certain avenues are available to secure even a limited share of the "good life."<sup>39</sup> An analysis of Italian rural social structure

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<sup>36</sup>Barrington Moore, Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pp. 3-149.

<sup>37</sup>Robert Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

<sup>38</sup>Gideon Sjoberg, "Folk and Feudal Societies," American Journal of Sociology 58 (November 1952): 231-239.

<sup>39</sup>John Duncan Powell, "Peasant Society and Clientelist Politics," American Political Science Review 64 (June 1970): 411-425.

by Silverman led him to conclude that the agricultural realities of peasant society condition the ethos of southern Italy, an ethos which is notable for the absence of the concept of "common good" and an unwillingness to identify oneself with a "public" interest.<sup>40</sup> Finally, Goldschmidt and Kunkel, in an examination of family structure in peasant society (agri-based, subsistence level, state-organized political system), throughout the world, found that the vast majority were similar in terms of patrilineage, a rarity of polygamy, and extended families but rarely extended family corporate ownership of the land.<sup>41</sup>

A good deal is known about the structural realities of peasant society (hereafter referred to as traditional society). Redfield finds that the combination of territorial restriction based on agriculture, the role rigidity, the intensiveness of face-to-face relationships all combined to produce an ethos that included an intense attachment to the land, a reverent disposition to tradition and custom, a restraint on individual self-seeking in favor of family interests and a high emphasis on competence. Competence was valued precisely because it led to some security in physical needs, status in terms of community respect, and a sense

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<sup>40</sup>Sydel F. Silverman, "Agricultural Organization, Social Structure and Values in Italy: Amoral Familism Reconsidered," American Anthropologist 70 (February 1968): 1-20.

<sup>41</sup>Walter Goldschmidt, Evalyn J. Kunkel, "The Structure of the Peasant Family," American Anthropologist 73 (October 1971): 1058-1071.

of morality, in that good work glorified God.<sup>42</sup> In Redfield's description, the church functioned to legitimate the community hierarchy, while the nobility (or elite regardless of title), served to translate a dialogue between the state government and the peasantry. In speaking to the relationship of the peasants and the elites, Handlin maintains there was inequality, but also a sense of unity; i.e., an acceptance of the existing social order based on a type of reciprocity reminiscent of Malinowski's concept of that term:

The Lord was expected to be proud and luxurious, but human and generous, just as the peasant was expected to be thrifty and respectful.<sup>43</sup>

To this point, the picture emerges of a social structure that is organic and territorially bounded, in which status and role structures are rigidly determined by birth, and inequality is an accepted way of life. Agricultural activities do not include the accumulation of capital, and this economic stance moderates the need for any long range planning or future orientedness beyond seasonal considerations. Even the latter is moderated by the knowledge that much of agricultural success or failure is a function of fate. Basic inequalities among men are accepted apart from objective criteria of worth, but are tempered by a reciprocity in exchange which lends a sense of security and stability to the society. Not having elected his elite nor having had to rationalize

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<sup>42</sup>Redfield, Peasant Society, pp. 111-142.

<sup>43</sup>Handlin, The Uprooted, p. 23.

that status in terms of merit or morality, the peasant can easily recognize the personal imperfections of priest or noble and dismiss them as trivial so long as the established exchanges are within traditional bounds and are mutually beneficial. That is, clientilist politics, for example, does not insist on some abstract principle such as democracy, but on a reasonably confined spectrum of needs, an ordering of those needs, and the ability of each party to provide a valued service to each other. Legalities, to cite another example, are trivial when face-to-face relationships, a tightly knit community and a traditional set of rights and obligations are brought to bear.

The Catholic church provides a substantial contrast to Protestantism in the context of Western civilization. Fromm believes the medieval church stressed the basic dignity of man, who was perceived as often laboring under unfortunate circumstances but who also had a free will and whose efforts toward salvation were of avail. In short, the Church provided a sanctuary against anxiety, and encouraged a trust in God, Church and mankind to maintain against substantial odds. In economics, the contrast is likewise substantial. Peasant agriculture was a direct response to external pressure, the need to survive, and was seldom seen as instrumental in gaining either capital accumulation or merit. Even in the guild structure, "break-even" economics were the norm, with morality superceding economics where the two interests came into conflict. On the land, obvious routes to increased productivity (the land utilized for hunting preserves, common pastures, etc.)

were ignored in favor of the traditions dictating appropriate land use. In terms of political philosophy, it is difficult to contrast an aristocratic structure with liberal democracy, since they involve considerations of self-awareness and social contract unknown to peasant or lord alike. Fromm asserts that freedom, as Americans experience it, was unknown to traditional society nor was the individual aware of his "relative deprivation." Fromm states ". . . society did not deprive the individual of his freedom, because the 'individual' did not exist."<sup>44</sup> The highly personalized and integrated manner of clientelist politics, conversely, specified the proper boundaries of freedom for lord and peasant alike. The role established by birth also established the correct exercise of that freedom. Some of the flavor of the total institutional effects in this setting may be gained from a description of European society by Tocqueville:

Amongst aristocratic nations, . . . a man almost always knows his forefathers, and respects them: he thinks he already sees his remote descendants, and he loves them. He willingly imposes duties on himself towards the former and the latter; and he will frequently sacrifice his personal gratifications to those who went before and to those who will come after him.

Aristocratic institutions have, moreover, the effect of closely binding every man to several of his fellow-citizens. As the classes of an aristocratic people are strongly marked and permanent, each of them is regarded by its own members as a sort of lesser country, more tangible and more cherished than the country at large. As in aristocratic communities all the citizens occupy fixed positions, one above the other, the result is that each of them always sees a man above himself whose patronage is necessary to him, and below himself another man whose cooperation he may claim.

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<sup>44</sup>Fromm, Escape From Freedom, p. 43.

. . . it is true that in those ages the notion of human fellowship is faint, and that men seldom think of sacrificing themselves for mankind; but they often sacrifice themselves for other men.

He concludes:

Feelings and opinions are recruited, the heart is enlarged, and the human mind is developed by no other means than by the reciprocal influence of men upon each other. I have shown that these influences are almost null in democratic countries.<sup>45</sup>

This is obviously a radically different cultural environment, and connotes radically different value orientations than those of a modern ethnic, who views the entire universe as an environment in which he can maximize opportunity and exercise hegemony. The traditional ethos, on the other hand, is a conservative statement of the status quo, where stability is desired in lieu of expansiveness, and where personal success or failure is dependent upon sub-systems of loyalty, patronage and cooperation.

An introduction to a recent work on ethnic politics contains this description of a Polish community leader, and may be appropriate to other successful American "traditional" ethnics: "Their characteristic mien was baronial, their basic style benevolent paternalism."<sup>46</sup>

Within the context of this study, traditional ethnicity will include all groups emigrating from southern and eastern Europe, as well as Latin America. To the extent that other nationalities

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<sup>45</sup>Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, trans. Henry Reeves (New York: Schocken Books, 1961), Vol. II, Book 2, pp. 114-115.

<sup>46</sup>Hawkins and Lorinskas, The Ethnic Factor, p. vi.

are represented in the target police population fulfilling the same or similar structural circumstances they will also be included. It is recognized here too that urban life and its impact on culture was already a substantial reality in Europe at the time of the "New Immigration;" nonetheless, it is well established that the bulk of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were from the land,<sup>47</sup> thus traditionalism may be assumed to be the modal characteristic of these groups.

Special Cases.--Blacks, Jews and the Irish are seen to constitute special cases in relation to modernism and traditionalism; Jews and Blacks because of the high state of repression under which each culture developed, the Irish by virtue of a peculiar combination of temporal, political and motivational factors. The history of European Jewry needs little explication, and is essentially an urban enclave experience. Their culture emphasizes learning and functionality, which may in part be traced to a felt need to provide valuable services to hostile or tolerant (at best) host societies. Highly politicized, democratic liberalism provided the best hope for the maintenance of their religious and cultural uniqueness. The need to excel in a hostile world manifests itself in individual aggressiveness and a group unity which may be mobilized for political or economic survival or advantage. Their motivation in emigrating from Europe must be assumed to have been perceived as a permanent resettlement. It

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<sup>47</sup> Morison and Commager, American Republic, pp. 256-270.

would be expected that Jews would manifest much of the same value ordering as modern ethnics, especially in regard to individualism, personal responsibility, mobility and rationalism. Conversely, political values may include more emphasis on governmental activity in behalf of the lower social strata since the liberal ethic is so deeply rooted in the realities of their own historical development.

The Irish, while of peasant origin, are unique for several reasons. First, they were essentially a part of the "Old Immigration," though they differed from that group in terms of religion, functional skills, and ecological placement in America, thus their tenure under the host culture is extensive and one might expect the effects of cultural diffusion and evolution to differentiate the Irish from the "New Immigration." Greeley also finds the Irish unique in that, unlike other traditional cultures, the English domination of and influence over Ireland had politicized the Irish to a high degree, thus they had a cultural impetus and ability to acquire political power in their new environment.<sup>48</sup> Empirically, the Irish demonstrate the fatalism one might expect of a traditional culture, but not the authoritarianism; a traditionalist tendency toward conformity and trust, concurrent with extremely high levels of political activity, even higher than nativists, and focused on the liberal side of the political continuum regardless

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<sup>48</sup>Greeley, "Does Ethnicity Matter?" p. 94.



of class placement.<sup>49</sup> If ethnogenesis has meaning at all as a model, it seemingly applies to the Irish.

Black Americans constitute an especially unique case, since the repression of slavery can be presumed to have altered almost every level of their African heritage to the demands of a plantation economy. It is difficult to conceptualize how, in this milieu, any cultural continuance of substance could have maintained, a position concurred in by Glazer and Moynihan, who advise:

It is not possible for Negroes to view themselves as other ethnic groups viewed themselves because--and this is the key to much in the Negro world--the Negro is only an American, and nothing else. He has no values and culture to guard and protect. He insists that the white world deal with his problems, because . . . he is so much the product of America.<sup>50</sup>

Further, the politicization of Blacks is of such recent vintage that few inferences about value systems can be drawn from their political behavior. Some insight and predictive potential may accrue to a contrast between rural southern Blacks and northern urban Blacks to the extent that one is willing to ascribe modal traditional attributes to the South, and modal modern attributes to the North; however, considerations of tenure in either place, the need to find a viable political position within the American political scheme, occupational placement and a multi-SES level ghetto existence for many Blacks all intervene to compound prediction. In the end it is expected that Black Americans have

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., pp. 97-98.

<sup>50</sup>Glazer and Moynihan, Melting Pot, p. xx.

essentially been socialized in the tradition of modern man, a socialization which should be more evident in the values of urban Blacks than those from the South.

Combining the above classificatory types with the factors previously discussed; host society coercion, cultural closeness, functional needs, motivation of immigrant groups and tenure in America, it is possible to predict both the assimilative model in force as well as the extent to which each classificatory type will adhere to the base-line value ordering suggested by the literature concerned with modern and traditional societies. The assimilative factors as well as the predicted assimilative direction is reflected in Figure 3.2.

The following section is concerned with the explication of the research hypotheses, especially as regards modern and traditional ethnics. Figure 3.2 constitutes a summary of the material already presented, and forms a further rationale for maintaining the possible existence of distinct cultural types within the American social system, and within policing.

#### Section VI: Research Hypotheses

Nine research hypotheses are examined in this study. The first three are stated in general terms, and subsumed within each is a series of specific hypotheses stated in terms that are statistically viable. The preceding section provides the rationale for the main classifications of ethnicity utilized, modern and traditional, and directional hypotheses related to contrasts

Ethnic Class	Cultural Closeness	Host Society Coercion	Immigrant Motivation	Approximate Tenure	Assimilation Direction (modal)
<b>Modern</b>					
<u>Nativists</u>					
"Old Immigrants" excepting Irish	highly congruent	very low	permanent settlement	prior to 1890's	assimilation and acculturation
<b>Traditional</b>					
"New Immigrants"	incongruent	moderate	mixed: some permanent settlement desired; some transiency based on motivation to return to homeland	1880's to 1920's	isolated co-existence; dual roles and institutions. Acculturations, but not assimilation
<b>Blacks</b>					
	highly congruent	very high	N/A	prior to 1850's	culture creation based on host culture system
<b>Jews</b>					
	moderately congruent	moderate	permanent settlement	1880's to 1920's	tendency towards host culture current with ethnic maintenance and isolation
<b>Irish</b>					
	moderately incongruent	moderate to high	permanent settlement	1880's to 1920's	a mix of culture creation, assimilation, and acculturation, and ethnogenesis

Figure 3.2.--Assimilative Factors, by Ethnic Classification with Modal Form of Cultural Development.

between these two groups comprise the extent of prediction in this study. The special characteristics of the Blacks, Jews and Irish impede such prediction. In the course of analysis, however, each of these special cases will be examined in terms of the measures utilized in contrast with the other classifications toward a determination of the propriety of classifying them as special cultural entities. It should be understood that the null hypothesis is assumed in each case, and as is the standard technique, the null is tested first before examining the specific research hypothesis.

The hypotheses examined in this study are:

1. There is a significant difference between police officers representing the ethnic categories of traditionalism and modernism in their rank ordering of terminal life values.
  - 1.1 Modern ethnics will rank order the value freedom higher than traditional ethnics.
  - 1.2 Modern ethnics will rank order the value equality higher than traditional ethnics.
  - 1.3 Modern ethnics will rank order the value accomplishment higher than traditional ethnics.
  - 1.4 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value social recognition higher than modern ethnics.
  - 1.5 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value family security higher than modern ethnics.
  - 1.6 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value national security higher than modern ethnics.
  - 1.7 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value happiness higher than modern ethnics.

- 1.8 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value comfortable life higher than modern ethnics.
- 1.9 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value true friendship higher than modern ethnics.
2. There is a significant difference between police officers representing the ethnic categories of traditionalism and modernism in their rank ordering of instrumental life values.
  - 2.1 Modern ethnics will rank order the value responsibility higher than traditional ethnics.
  - 2.2 Modern ethnics will rank order the value ambition higher than traditional ethnics.
  - 2.3 Modern ethnics will rank order the value independence higher than traditional ethnics.
  - 2.4 Modern ethnics will rank order the value logic higher than traditional ethnics.
  - 2.5 Modern ethnics will rank order the value self-control higher than traditional ethnics.
  - 2.6 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value capable higher than modern ethnics.
  - 2.7 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value obedience higher than modern ethnics.
  - 2.8 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value courageousness higher than modern ethnics.
  - 2.9 Traditional ethnics will rank order the value forgiveness higher than modern ethnics.

3. There is a significant difference between police officers representing the ethnic categories of traditionalism and modernism in their orientation to work.
  - 3.1 Traditional ethnics will differ from modern ethnics in their higher perception of work as merely a life instrumentality.
  - 3.2 Modern ethnics will differ from traditional ethnics in their higher valuation of individual opportunities in the work environment.
  - 3.3 Traditional ethnics will differ from modern ethnics in their higher perception of work as the opportunity to enhance community welfare.
  - 3.4 Modern ethnics will differ from traditional ethnics in the higher relative importance they accord to peer competition and personal recognition.
  - 3.5 Traditional ethnics will differ from modern ethnics in the higher degree to which they prefer positive social interactions and relationships in the work environment.
  - 3.6 Modern ethnics will differ from traditional ethnics in their greater adherence to the work ethic.
4. Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures testing faith in people.
5. Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of dogmatism.
6. Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of intolerance of ambiguity.

7. Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of authoritarianism.
8. Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of political futility.
9. Modern ethnics will differ significantly from traditional ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of political discontent.

#### Section VII: Analytical Techniques

Several modes of analysis are utilized in this study. In regard to the Rokeach Value Survey, the rank ordering of discrete categories is involved. Rokeach has advised that extensive research utilizing the survey has indicated that the individual value distributions are often uniquely skewed, and that parametric assumptions of normality are strained, further, that the measure of central tendency most appropriate when using this instrument is the median position.<sup>51</sup> Analysis of this phase of the study will be conducted using the median test, a chi-square technique testing the significance of difference between the number of individuals in two or more subgroups scoring above and below the group median. The remainder of the measures will be analyzed utilizing analysis of variance (ANOVA), a parametric procedure which examines the significance of differences in means. Chi-square will be utilized where the existence of a relationship between two non-metric variables is in question.

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<sup>51</sup>Rokeach, Human Values, pp. 56-57.

### Section VIII: Summary

This chapter has specified the theoretical issues to be approached, the source of data and the measures utilized. It was perceived to be of primary importance to be able to arrive at a tentative conclusion relative to the underlying mechanisms reflected in the ethnic phenomenon, and the model of cultural continuance was asserted to be not only of the greatest value in terms of prediction, but suggested by various aspects of the literature itself. It is the general premise of this research that if ethnicity has value as a variable, over time, that it will be a result of finding manifestations of cultural continuance in the values and attitudes of police officers. A review of the literature suggested a "natural" contrast could be found, based on institutional comparisons, between modern cultures and traditional cultures. This contrast formed the basis for establishing a tentative ethnic classification scheme which was utilized as the basis for predicting police officer values and attitudes.

Hypotheses were set forth relative to the expected contrasts between the categories of modern and traditional ethnics. Blacks, Jews and the Irish were, due to their unique cultural development, specified as special cultural cases, and no hypotheses were established relative to these groups.

Wayne County Sheriff's Department was selected because of its urban characteristics, regional location, and ethnic "mix," as well as for its convergence with the research capabilities of the writer. While the inferential potential of the analysis is



thereby constrained, the exploratory nature of this research proceeds on the assumption that it is more important to first arrive at some tentative conclusions about the nature of the ethnic phenomenon itself as a means by which more specific theory can be articulated, prior to considerations of obtaining representative sampling having inferential ability in regard to the American police population.

## CHAPTER IV

### PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The data pertinent to the acceptance or rejection of the hypotheses enumerated in Chapter III are presented in this chapter, which is organized into four sections as follows: (1) General Considerations, (2) Rokeach Values, (3) Orientation Toward Work, and (4) Social-Psychological Attributes. Section I will be concerned with the unique problems inherent in exploring ethnicity, the question of instrument sensitivity as well as the criteria which will be utilized in accepting or rejecting the research hypotheses. Section II will present the data pertinent to the Rokeach Value Survey, the research hypotheses and commentary relative to rejection, acceptance and/or alternative formulations based on the findings. Sections III and IV will follow the same format as Section II relating to work orientations and social-psychological attributes, respectively. Sections II through IV will each contain a summary. A final summation as well as a discussion of the theoretical construct utilized in this study and its importance in criminal justice will be the subject of Chapter V.

### Section I: General Considerations

The study of ethnicity and in particular the study of ethnicity in policing presents some special problems in the analysis of data. The literature of ethnicity makes clear the fact that ethnicity is hardly a monolithic concept, nor is it at all clear under just what circumstances ethnicity may be expected to present strongly in behavior or behavioral antecedents, or as a mere historical vestige. This situation has also been compounded by the timing of the various waves of immigration within the context of a developing society in such a way that ethnicity has often been coterminous with social class, particular occupational pursuits and even religion. Although not approached in this limited study, there are certainly important regional considerations relevant to the strength or weakness of the concept. Finally, the problem of having to simultaneously deal with both a definitional model (the generic content of ethnicity), as well as a developmental model (assimilation, ethnogenesis, acculturation, etc.), offers the possibility of several model sets each of which may demonstrate unique strengths and weaknesses in any spectrum of measures selected for the analysis.

A major obstacle in a study of this nature is the problem of instrument sensitivity, and lacking any indication that the measures available and pertinent to a study of ethnicity in policing were designed or otherwise shown to be sensitive to cultural variation, it is the premise of this presentation that such sensitivity can be assumed to be somewhat lacking, although the extent of this

failure is uncertain. Given the historical covariance of ethnicity and educational, occupational and religious progress and identification, it can only be assumed that the net effect will be to moderate downward the ability of most measurement instruments to tap this variable.

Other special factors may also serve to make difficult the full delineation of ethnicity in the data collected. One such factor is the normative constraints present in any occupational milieu. The police occupation may constitute a rather special case in point, with its emphasis on toughness, order, ability to "handle" tense or dangerous situations and the like. In short, cultural values and orientations may be consciously or subconsciously repressed in favor of those values and orientations perceived as most acceptable to peers and superiors. Additionally, the selection of responses in this area may also be tainted by perceptions of just what is expected of police officers by the general public, an important consideration when respondents are part of an occupation which has come under some rather widespread and serious criticisms in the past fifteen years. Finally, the single-site nature of the sample as well as the relatively small number of respondents in each ethnic category provides for the possibility of some social or ecological factors operating in that location unbeknownst to the researcher which could moderate results, as well as simple sample error.

All of the above considerations impact on the level of statistical significance which will be demanded in relation to the acceptance or rejection of the stated hypotheses. It is recognized that the .05 level is the accepted convention in social science research as the level at which the probability of chance occurrence is usually resolved in favor of accepting the research hypothesis. Concurrently, in an exploratory study of this nature dealing with a subject as illusive as ethnicity often is, it is as important to avoid and minimize to the extent possible the chance for type II error (retaining the null when the null is false), as it is to minimize the decision to reject the null when it is true. In short, the topic and the nature of the study demand some additional latitude in regard to the .05 acceptance/rejection level of statistical significance. In order to comply with the spirit of convention as well as to maximize the exploratory possibilities of the study, two levels of acceptance of the research hypotheses will be utilized. Categorical acceptance will be based on the data demonstrating differences in ethnic categories significant at or beyond the .05 level. Provisional acceptance of the research hypotheses will be based on the following four conditions, all of which must be met in order to justify such provisional acceptance: (1) the stated relationship is consistently demonstrated in the data, by virtue of the appropriate directional differences in mean scores, etc., across control groups, even though high statistical significance is lacking; i.e., there is a clear trend in the data in the direction specified in the research hypothesis, (2) some

reasonable level of statistical significance (.1 and .2 levels) is achieved concurrent with the introduction of controls, lending strength to the trend of the data, (3) no results across controls are in a negative direction at or approaching the .05 level, and (4) no tendency is evident in the data indicative of the operation of another or alternative construct not specified in the cultural continuance model which forms the basis of the research hypotheses.

The intermix of the ethnic experience with a great many other aspects of American life make the introduction of controls mandatory in the analysis of the data. So that the greatest pragmatic impact of ethnicity in policing could be ascertained, only male respondents are included in the analysis. Additionally, five major controls or partial controls were introduced; partial controls being a function of limited cell size as a result of the sample size and the requirements of the statistical techniques utilized. General maturational changes as well as changes possible through an increase in police experience levels were controlled for by dividing the respondents into three experience level groups: 5 years or less, 6 to 15 years, and over 16 years. Religion was controlled for by comparison of Catholic officers. Socioeconomic status was measured and controlled for by two factors: educational level of the respondent (three levels--high school or less, 1 to 2 years college, and 3 years college or more), and father's occupation. Father's occupation was condensed into two categories: professional or white collar and working class (blue collar, low level public employees, police officers, trades).

A final factor was introduced, designed to identify the intensity of the respondent's ethnic socialization experience, the premise being that the higher the socialization intensity, the higher the probability of responses in the hypothesized direction. Six questionnaire items (exposure to ethnic institutions during childhood, exposure at present, life-long ethnic self-awareness and any contemporary increase or decrease in that awareness, number of generations in America, and knowledge of a foreign language reflecting ethnic background), were combined into an ethnic socialization scale. All respondents were then categorized into a high or a low socialization group in relation to the total sample scale mean.

## Section II: Rokeach Value Survey

Rokeach has constructed a behavioral model in which two kinds of values, terminal and instrumental, are subsumed immediately under basic cognitions of self at a level substantially higher than attitudes, opinions and interests, all of which are constantly being modified by situation and need. Terminal values identify preferable end-states of existence, while instrumental values relate to competency and/or ethics in the means utilized in attaining the terminal goals. The relationship between these two types of values is specified by Rokeach:

At this stage of theoretical thinking, it is safest to assume that they represent two separate yet functionally interconnected systems, wherein all the values concerning

modes of behavior are instrumental to the attainment of all of the values concerning end-states.<sup>1</sup>

The assertion of such an ends-means relationship justifies the extension of hypotheses based on cultural continuance and terminal values to a set of hypotheses concerned with instrumental values as well. Both types form the subject of separate hypotheses, stated in general terms, under which a series of statistically viable statements are tested. Since hypotheses in this section relate to two basic rank-ordering processes, combined terminal and combined instrumental tables will be utilized from which data pertinent to the testable hypotheses will be extracted. Additionally, and to the extent possible, all four ethnic groups will be described in the tables since the propriety of the ethnic categorization system will also be approached concurrent with the analysis of specific hypotheses.

### Hypothesis One

Hypothesis One states:

There is a significant difference between police officers representing the ethnic categories of traditionalism and modernism in their rank ordering of terminal life values.

An initial comparison of all four ethnic groups is contained in Table 4.1. The data clearly indicates a substantial difference between the ethnic groupings in 8 out of the 18 values rank-ordered by the respondents; namely, equality, freedom,

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<sup>1</sup>Rokeach, Human Values, p. 12. See also pp. 216-235 for paradigm.



TABLE 4.1.--Terminal Value Medians and Composite Rank Orders for Police Officers by Ethnic Category.

	1 Modern (N=82)	2 Traditional (N=50)	3 Irish (N=25)	4 Black (N=30)	p*
A comfortable life	8.00 (7)	7.00 (5)	7.75 (6)	7.25 (6)	
An exciting life	10.50 (10)	11.00 (11)	10.20 (10)	11.50 (12)	
A sense of accomplishment	6.70 (6)	6.50 (4)	5.75 (4)	5.38 (4)	
A world at peace	10.75 (12)	11.75 (13)	11.00 (11)	13.50 (14)	
A world of beauty	15.39 (17)	14.30 (18)	14.75 (18)	15.00 (16)	
Equality	12.50 (14)	13.00 (15)	13.33 (13)	6.75 (5)	<u>.001</u>
Family security	2.64 (1)	1.93 (1)	2.63 (1)	4.33 (3)	<u>.144</u>
Freedom	5.50 (2)	8.00 (7)	4.75 (3)	8.56 (9)	<u>.036</u>
Happiness	6.65 (5)	4.36 (2)	7.00 (5)	7.50 (7)	<u>.045</u>
Inner harmony	8.50 (9)	10.00 (9)	9.33 (8)	8.25 (8)	
Mature love	8.25 (8)	10.50 (10)	9.33 (9)	12.30 (13)	<u>.029</u>
National Security	13.50 (16)	14.00 (16)	13.60 (14)	16.62 (18)	<u>.001</u>
Pleasure	12.25 (13)	12.70 (14)	13.62 (15)	13.64 (15)	
Salvation	15.64 (18)	14.17 (17)	14.75 (17)	15.50 (17)	
Self-respect	6.34 (4)	6.00 (3)	3.78 (2)	4.33 (2)	<u>.002</u>
Social recognition	13.50 (15)	11.07 (12)	14.75 (16)	11.37 (11)	<u>.176</u>
True friendship	10.64 (11)	9.50 (8)	11.33 (12)	9.88 (10)	<u>.041</u>
Wisdom	6.38 (3)	8.00 (6)	8.00 (7)	3.80 (1)	<u>.009</u>

\*Median test.

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders. Probabilities at or beyond the .05 level are underlined.

happiness, mature love, national security, self-respect, true friendship and wisdom. Two other values, social recognition and family security were rank-ordered differently at a marginal statistical level. In the main, officers from all or most ethnic groups placed highest value on family security and self-respect, and low emphasis on salvation, national security and a world of beauty. This result is highly consistent with the results of the pilot study (see Appendix A), but differs somewhat from an earlier (1971) police survey, conducted by Rokeach and his associates, in which national security was ranked in the twelfth position and a world of peace second.<sup>2</sup>

Comparison of terminal value differences among all possible subsets of ethnic police officer categories is contained in Table 4.2. A number of substantial differences exist between black officers and all other ethnic groups, although the contrast between modern and black ethnics is strongest. The contrast between modern and traditional officers reflects that freedom and true friendship are valued differently while a number of other values differ at the .1 to .3 level of significance, indicating a possible trend in the data. The Irish show a close alignment with the value preferences of modern ethnics with the exception of the value self-respect, while both traditional and Irish officers rank order values substantially different than blacks, but not to the extent exhibited in the modern/black comparison.

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 150-151.

TABLE 4.2.--Terminal Value Differences Between Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins.

	1 Modern (N=82)	2 Traditional (N=50)	3 Irish (N=25)	4 Black (N=30)	1-2	1-3	1-4	2-3	2-4	3-4
A comfortable life	8.00 (7)	7.00 (5)	7.75 (6)	7.25 (6)						
An exciting life	10.50 (10)	11.00 (11)	10.20 (10)	11.50 (12)						
A sense of accomplishment	6.70 (6)	6.50 (4)	5.75 (4)	5.38 (4)			.180		.270	
A world at peace	10.75 (12)	11.75 (13)	11.00 (11)	13.50 (14)						
A world of beauty	15.39 (17)	14.30 (18)	14.75 (18)	15.00 (16)						
Equality	12.50 (14)	13.00 (15)	13.33 (13)	6.75 (5)			<u>.001</u>		<u>.006</u>	<u>.006</u>
Family security	2.64 (1)	1.93 (1)	2.63 (1)	4.33 (3)	.325		<u>.050</u>		<u>.086</u>	<u>.165</u>
Freedom	5.50 (2)	8.00 (7)	4.75 (3)	8.56 (9)	<u>.013</u>		<u>.014</u>	.164		<u>.165</u>
Happiness	6.65 (5)	4.36 (2)	7.00 (5)	7.50 (7)	<u>.209</u>			<u>.120</u>	<u>.177</u>	
Inner harmony	8.50 (9)	10.00 (9)	9.33 (8)	8.25 (8)	.278				.312	
Mature love	8.25 (8)	10.50 (10)	9.33 (9)	12.30 (13)	.344		<u>.006</u>		<u>.068</u>	<u>.272</u>
National security	13.50 (16)	14.00 (16)	13.60 (14)	16.62 (18)			<u>.001</u>		<u>.071</u>	<u>.001</u>
Pleasure	12.25 (13)	12.70 (14)	13.62 (15)	13.64 (15)			<u>.262</u>			
Salvation	15.64 (18)	14.17 (17)	14.75 (17)	15.50 (17)	.283				.238	
Self-respect	6.34 (4)	6.00 (3)	3.78 (2)	4.33 (2)		<u>.001</u>	.075	<u>.004</u>	.114	.117
Social recognition	13.50 (15)	11.07 (12)	14.75 (16)	11.37 (11)	.105		.220	<u>.164</u>		<u>.275</u>
True friendship	10.64 (11)	9.50 (8)	11.33 (12)	9.88 (10)	<u>.026</u>			<u>.025</u>		<u>.275</u>
Wisdom	6.38 (3)	8.00 (6)	8.00 (7)	3.80 (1)			<u>.034</u>		<u>.002</u>	<u>.031</u>

\*Median test

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders. Probabilities at or beyond the .05 level are underlined.

The small number of Irish and Black respondents severely limits a four-group comparison with controls and subset contrasts, the only possibility being among ethnic officers from working-class backgrounds (based on father's occupation). Tables 4.3 and 4.4 contain this data, which maintains the level of significant differences between all groups. While Tables 4.1 through 4.4 are introduced here primarily for descriptive purposes, they also serve to tentatively support the ethnic categorization utilized in this study and justify the use of that system pending analysis of all measures analyzed. Table 4.2 also contains the basic contrasts upon which the following two hypotheses will be evaluated. Additional tables containing data relative to the introduction of controls will be specified in the course of considering Hypothesis 1.1, but will be utilized in all subsequent analysis relative to Hypothesis One. All of these latter restrict contrasts to modern and traditional officers.

Hypothesis 1.1.--Hypothesis 1.1 states:

Modern ethnics will rank order the value freedom higher than traditional ethnics.

There is considerable justification in the data for the categorical acceptance of this hypothesis. Table 4.2 reflects a rank ordering of this value by moderns in second position, while traditional officers rank order freedom in seventh position, with a chance occurrence probability of .013. Table 4.5, which contrasts Catholic officers of modern and traditional origins,

TABLE 4.3.--Terminal Value Medians of Police Officers from Working Class Families, by Ethnic Origin.

	1 Modern (N=55)	2 Traditional (N=29)	3 Irish (N=16)	4 Black (N=20)	P*
A comfortable life	9.60 (9)	6.33 (4)	9.00 (9)	9.00 (9)	.29
An exciting life	12.00 (14)	9.75 (10)	10.25 (10)	12.83 (14)	
A sense of accomplishment	6.33 (4)	7.25 (5)	4.00 (3)	5.13 (4)	.2
A world at peace	10.00 (10)	11.75 (12)	7.00 (5)	11.00 (11)	
A world of beauty	15.40 (18)	14.31 (18)	15.50 (18)	14.83 (16)	
Equality	10.40 (11)	13.13 (15)	13.50 (13)	6.25 (5)	.005
Family security	2.71 (1)	2.00 (1)	3.00 (1)	3.38 (1)	
Freedom	5.60 (2)	7.80 (6)	6.50 (4)	8.58 (8)	
Happiness	6.85 (6)	5.63 (2)	7.83 (6)	8.00 (6)	.22
Inner harmony	7.92 (7)	11.75 (13)	8.50 (8)	8.25 (7)	.1
Mature love	8.63 (8)	9.00 (8)	11.50 (12)	11.83 (12)	
National security	11.88 (13)	14.12 (16)	13.83 (15)	16.70 (18)	.009
Pleasure	12.12 (15)	12.87 (14)	13.83 (14)	13.75 (15)	
Salvation	15.00 (17)	14.20 (17)	15.00 (17)	15.00 (17)	
Self-respect	6.42 (5)	6.25 (3)	3.93 (2)	4.88 (3)	.018
Social recognition	13.67 (16)	10.60 (11)	15.00 (16)	12.00 (13)	.13
True friendship	11.12 (12)	9.38 (9)	11.00 (11)	10.00 (10)	.29
Wisdom	6.14 (3)	8.25 (7)	8.50 (7)	3.67 (2)	.005

\*Median test.

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders.

TABLE 4.4.--Terminal Value Medians of Police Officers from Working Class Families, by Ethnic Origin,  
with Contrasts of All Possible Pairs.

	1 Modern (N=55)	2 Traditional (N=29)	3 Irish (N=16)	4 Black (N=20)	1-2 p*	1-3 p*	1-4 p*	2-3 p*	2-4 p*	3-4 p*
A comfortable life	9.60 (9)	6.33 (4)	9.00 (9)	9.00 (9)						
An exciting life	12.00 (14)	9.75 (10)	10.25 (10)	12.83 (14)						
A sense of accomplishment	6.33 (4)	7.25 (5)	4.00 (3)	5.13 (4)						
A world at peace	10.00 (10)	11.75 (12)	7.00 (5)	11.00 (11)						
A world of beauty	15.40 (18)	14.31 (18)	15.50 (18)	14.83 (16)						
Equality	10.40 (11)	13.13 (15)	13.50 (13)	6.25 (5)			.05		.006	.06
Family security	2.71 (1)	2.00 (1)	3.00 (1)	3.38 (1)						
Freedom	5.60 (2)	7.80 (6)	6.50 (4)	8.58 (8)			.08			
Happiness	6.85 (6)	5.63 (2)	7.83 (6)	8.00 (6)				.09		
Inner harmony	7.92 (7)	11.75 (13)	8.50 (8)	8.25 (7)	.03					
Mature love	8.63 (8)	9.00 (8)	11.50 (12)	11.83 (12)						
National security	11.88 (13)	14.12 (16)	13.83 (15)	16.70 (18)			.002			.005
Pleasure	12.12 (15)	12.87 (14)	13.83 (14)	13.75 (15)						
Salvation	15.00 (17)	14.20 (17)	15.00 (17)	15.00 (17)						
Self-respect	6.42 (5)	6.25 (3)	3.93 (2)	4.88 (3)		.02		.04		
Social recognition	13.67 (16)	10.60 (11)	15.00 (16)	12.00 (13)	.07					
True friendship	11.12 (12)	9.38 (9)	11.00 (11)	10.00 (10)						
Wisdom	6.14 (3)	8.25 (7)	8.50 (7)	3.67 (2)		.03			.002	.07

\*Median test.

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders.

TABLE 4.5.--Terminal Value Medians of Catholic Police Officers of Modern and Traditional Ethnic Origin.

	Modern (N=32)		Traditional (N=39)		p*
A comfortable life	7.30	(7)	7.60	(5)	
An exciting life	11.50	(12)	12.25	(10)	
A sense of accomplishment	7.00	(5)	6.25	(4)	
A world at peace	9.83	(10)	11.67	(13)	
A world of beauty	15.75	(18)	14.43	(18)	
Equality	12.50	(15)	13.33	(15)	
Family security	2.50	(1)	1.71	(1)	
Freedom	5.83	(3)	8.20	(7)	.06
Happiness	5.50	(2)	4.40	(2)	
Inner harmony	7.17	(6)	10.00	(9)	
Mature love	8.00	(8)	10.60	(11)	
National security	11.50	(11)	14.00	(16)	
Pleasure	12.50	(14)	11.75	(14)	
Salvation	15.17	(17)	14.06	(17)	
Self-respect	6.50	(4)	6.00	(3)	
Social recognition	12.67	(16)	10.75	(12)	.13
True friendship	11.90	(13)	9.67	(8)	.003
Wisdom	9.50	(9)	8.00	(6)	

\* Median Test.

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders.

indicates a slight alteration of this preference relationship, but still at the .06 level of chance probability. Among officers from working-class and upper-class origins (Table 4.6) the relationship is constant in the .2 range, although among officers from upper-class origins there is less emphasis generally on this value. Concurrently, there is some indication that the educational level attained impacts on the rank ordering of this value, apart from ethnic impact. Table 4.7, which controls for three levels of education, shows only a slight preference for the value freedom by modern ethnics among officers with a high school education or less, while in the two higher levels (1 to 2, and 3 or more years college), a sharp contrast in medians and rank orders reasserts itself. Combined with the relatively close rank ordering of this value among working-class origin officers (Table 4.6), the data suggests that lower-class origins in general tend to blunt a natural preference tendency among traditional ethnics to value freedom substantially less than modern ethnics. Some indication of the cultural origins of this value preference may be found in a comparison of modern and traditional officers evidencing high and low ethnic socialization patterns (Table 4.8), in which only marginal median differences exist among officers scoring low on this factor, but in which the difference in median and rank ordering of this value among high socialization pattern officers shows substantial differences in the predicted direction. The substantive importance of holding a value in second as opposed to eighth position is apparent.



TABLE 4.6.--Terminal Value Medians of Modern and Traditional Police Officers, Controlling for Two Levels of Socioeconomic Status (Father's Occupation).

	Working Class			Upper Class		
	Modern (N=55)	Traditional (N=20)	P*	Modern (N=22)	Traditional (N=11)	P*
A comfortable life	9.60 (9)	6.30 (4)	.09	5.50 (2)	6.00 (5)	
An exciting life	12.00 (14)	9.75 (10)		9.50 (10)	12.00 (12)	
A sense of accomplishment	6.33 (4)	7.25 (5)		6.50 (5)	5.75 (4)	
A world at peace	10.00 (10)	11.75 (12)		9.50 (9)	12.00 (13)	
A world of beauty	15.40 (18)	14.31 (18)		15.75 (17)	15.67 (18)	
Equality	10.40 (11)	13.13 (15)	.28	14.00 (15)	13.75 (15)	
Family security	2.71 (1)	2.00 (1)	.36	2.10 (1)	1.42 (1)	
Freedom	5.60 (2)	7.80 (6)	.22	6.00 (3)	10.00 (11)	.27
Happiness	6.85 (6)	5.63 (2)	.17	6.83 (6)	3.33 (2)	.03
Inner harmony	7.92 (7)	11.75 (13)	.03	10.17 (12)	5.75 (3)	.17
Mature love	8.63 (8)	9.00 (8)		9.00 (8)	9.25 (8)	
National security	11.88 (13)	14.12 (16)		14.10 (16)	15.00 (17)	
Pleasure	12.12 (15)	12.87 (14)		12.50 (13)	10.00 (10)	
Salvation	15.00 (17)	14.20 (17)		16.25 (18)	14.00 (16)	
Self-respect	6.42 (5)	6.25 (3)		6.00 (4)	8.00 (6)	
Social recognition	13.67 (16)	10.60 (11)	.07	13.00 (14)	13.00 (14)	
True friendship	11.12 (12)	9.38 (9)	.13	9.83 (11)	9.75 (9)	
Wisdom	6.14 (3)	8.25 (7)		7.00 (7)	8.75 (7)	

\*Median test

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders.

TABLE 4.7.--Terminal Value Medians of Modern and Traditional Police Officers, Controlling for Three Levels of Education.

	High School or Less			1-2 Years College			3 or More Years College**		
	Modern (N=34)	Traditional (N=23)	p*	Modern (N=32)	Traditional (N=20)	p*	Modern (N=16)	Traditional (N=6)	
A comfortable life	7.17 (6)	5.67 (4)		8.50 (8)	7.50 (6)		9.50 (10)	10.00 (11)	
An exciting life	11.50 (12)	7.40 (6)		11.00 (12)	12.50 (13)		9.50 (11)	9.75 (9)	
A sense of accomplishment	7.50 (7)	8.00 (7)		7.00 (6)	4.50 (2)		5.25 (3)	9.00 (7)	
A world at peace	10.00 (10)	12.25 (13)		11.00 (11)	13.00 (14)		10.50 (13)	11.00 (12)	
A world of beauty	15.70 (18)	14.25 (16)		15.50 (18)	15.17 (18)		13.17 (15)	13.25 (16)	
Equality	13.00 (15)	15.67 (18)		13.00 (14)	9.50 (9)	.2	10.00 (12)	12.25 (14)	
Family security	3.10 (1)	1.46 (1)	.13	2.21 (1)	2.25 (1)		2.70 (1)	6.00 (4)	
Freedom	6.50 (5)	7.33 (5)		5.50 (2)	9.50 (10)	.014	4.00 (2)	9.00 (8)	
Happiness	5.38 (2)	4.75 (2)		6.50 (5)	5.50 (3)		8.17 (6)	3.38 (2)	
Inner harmony	9.10 (8)	11.62 (11)		7.90 (7)	7.00 (5)		9.00 (8)	8.00 (6)	
Mature love	9.50 (9)	11.67 (12)	.09	8.50 (9)	6.30 (4)		6.17 (4)	10.00 (10)	
National security	11.83 (13)	13.62 (15)		13.87 (16)	14.50 (17)		14.75 (16)	16.75 (18)	
Pleasure	12.50 (14)	12.62 (14)		11.50 (13)	13.00 (15)		12.50 (14)	13.00 (15)	
Salvation	15.50 (17)	15.67 (17)		15.50 (17)	13.83 (16)	.117	17.00 (18)	14.33 (17)	
Self-respect	5.50 (3)	5.25 (3)		6.00 (3)	7.50 (7)		9.00 (7)	2.25 (1)	
Social recognition	13.19 (16)	11.12 (10)		13.10 (15)	10.00 (11)	.153	16.00 (17)	11.75 (13)	
True friendship	11.50 (11)	8.88 (9)	.002	10.50 (10)	10.75 (12)		9.50 (9)	7.00 (5)	
Wisdom	6.50 (4)	8.33 (8)		6.25 (4)	8.50 (8)		6.50 (5)	5.25 (3)	

\*Median test

\*\*No median test conducted due to small cell n of traditional officers in this group.

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank order.

TABLE 4.8.--Terminal Value Medians of Modern and Traditional Police Officers, Controlling for Levels of Ethnic Socialization.

	Low Ethnic Socialization		High Ethnic Socialization		p*
	Modern (N=59)	Traditional (N=22)	Modern (N=20)	Traditional (N=23)	
A comfortable life	7.75 (7)	6.33 (6)	9.00 (8)	7.88 (5)	
An exciting life	10.43 (10)	12.25 (13)	11.00 (13)	9.00 (7)	
A sense of accomplishment	6.40 (5)	5.75 (3)	12.00 (14)	8.00 (6)	
A world at peace	11.00 (12)	12.33 (14)	4.00 (3)	10.00 (10)	
A world of beauty	15.33 (17)	14.20 (17)	15.67 (18)	14.41 (17)	
Equality	12.87 (14)	13.25 (15)	9.00 (7)	12.74 (14)	.39
Family security	2.69 (1)	1.63 (1)	2.26 (1)	2.33 (1)	
Freedom	5.57 (2)	6.25 (5)	4.00 (2)	9.00 (8)	.12
Happiness	6.54 (6)	4.08 (2)	8.00 (6)	5.25 (2)	.2
Inner harmony	8.43 (9)	9.75 (10)	9.00 (9)	10.25 (11)	
Mature love	8.38 (8)	9.13 (8)	5.33 (4)	11.75 (13)	.18
National security	13.55 (15)	13.92 (16)	7.25 (5)	15.67 (18)	
Pleasure	12.00 (13)	11.33 (11)	13.25 (16)	13.13 (15)	
Salvation	15.71 (18)	15.67 (18)	14.00 (17)	13.62 (16)	
Self-respect	6.08 (3)	5.75 (4)	9.00 (10)	6.75 (3)	
Social recognition	13.62 (16)	11.37 (12)	13.00 (15)	10.67 (12)	
True friendship	10.58 (11)	9.60 (9)	11.00 (12)	9.33 (9)	
Wisdom	6.31 (4)	8.33 (7)	10.00 (11)	7.33 (4)	

\*Median test.

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders.

Introducing controls for three levels of police experience (Table 4.9) does not attenuate the basic relationship between ethnicity and the valuation of freedom with the possible exception of modern officers with from 6 to 15 years experience, who exhibit an increased preference for this value. Although speculative, it is possible that modern police officers, culturally socialized to place a high premium on freedom and independence of action encounter some conflict in the middle years of organizational life during which time both the constraints of occupational commitment and the full impact of organizational life on behavior (and especially middle management levels) clash with the modern ethnic's preference for independence of action.

In toto, the data indicates proper direction in every category of control, and three median differences beyond the .05 level. Hypothesis 1.1 is accepted.

Hypothesis 1.2.--Hypothesis 1.2 states:

Modern ethnics will rank order the value equality higher than traditional ethnics.

While the rationale for hypothesizing a preference for freedom is clearly evident in the functionality of this value in a modern society, the rationale for hypothesizing a concurrent preference for equality by modern ethnics over traditional ethnics is somewhat more tenuous. There is a basic conflict between the concepts of freedom and equality; freedom inviting inequality and equality promoting a system of leveling. Nonetheless, the hypothesis was stated as above for two reasons: (1) in traditional

TABLE 4.9.--Terminal Value Medians of Police Officers of Modern and Traditional Origins, Controlling for Years of Police Experience.

	1-5 Years			6-15 Years			Over 16 Years		
	Modern (N=32)	Traditional (N=24)	p*	Modern (N=31)	Traditional (N=12)	p*	Modern (N=19)	Traditional (N=14)	p*
A comfortable life	10.50 (10)	8.25 (7)		7.00 (5)	3.83 (2)	.1	7.00 (6)	8.00 (7)	
An exciting life	9.83 (8)	12.00 (12)		10.75 (11)	12.17 (13)		14.67 (16)	9.76 (10)	
A sense of accomplishment	5.36 (3)	8.75 (9)		7.75 (8)	4.00 (3)	.1	7.25 (7)	7.00 (6)	
A world at peace	10.50 (11)	11.00 (11)		11.88 (14)	14.70 (15)	.01	9.00 (10)	6.00 (3)	
A world of beauty	15.50 (17)	14.38 (18)		14.75 (16)	14.50 (14)		15.63 (18)	13.67 (17)	.2
Equality	13.00 (14)	13.75 (17)		11.00 (12)	16.00 (18)		13.75 (15)	11.75 (13)	
Family security	3.00 (1)	1.75 (1)		2.31 (1)	1.70 (1)	.16	2.63 (1)	2.75 (1)	
Freedom	6.00 (5)	8.00 (5)		4.25 (2)	7.50 (6)	.19	6.25 (4)	8.75 (8)	
Happiness	7.00 (6)	3.88 (2)	.01	5.44 (3)	4.00 (4)		5.25 (2)	6.25 (4)	
Inner harmony	7.25 (7)	8.25 (6)		10.25 (10)	6.50 (5)		8.75 (9)	11.00 (12)	
Mature love	9.83 (9)	9.00 (10)		6.67 (4)	9.50 (10)		8.25 (8)	11.75 (14)	.2
National security	12.17 (13)	13.33 (15)		14.40 (15)	15.83 (17)	.15	10.75 (11)	13.00 (16)	
Pleasure	13.50 (16)	13.00 (14)		11.88 (13)	11.17 (12)		12.00 (12)	12.75 (15)	
Salvation	16.75 (18)	13.62 (16)	.07	15.33 (18)	15.50 (16)		15.00 (17)	13.75 (18)	
Self-respect	5.25 (2)	5.13 (3)		7.25 (7)	7.75 (7)		7.00 (5)	4.25 (2)	
Social recognition	13.50 (15)	13.00 (13)		15.00 (17)	9.10 (8)	.001	12.75 (14)	11.00 (11)	
True friendship	10.64 (12)	8.33 (8)	.1	9.42 (9)	10.17 (11)		12.62 (13)	9.60 (9)	.01
Wisdom	5.83 (4)	7.75 (4)	.29	7.25 (6)	9.50 (9)		6.25 (3)	7.00 (5)	

\*Median test

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders.

society inequality is generic to the social structure and legitimated, and (2) modernism requires equality in the sense that the rational expression of individualism requires a minimum number of socially contrived inequalities; the work ethic itself makes a general assumption about the inherent social possibilities open to each individual.

There are only minimal indications in the data to support this hypothesis. Although the median placement of modern officers is higher than that of traditional officers in the absence of controls and in eight out of eleven control levels, the best level of significance achieved is .28 (officers of working-class origins) and among officers with from one to two years college, the median ranking of traditional officers is higher than modern officers on this value at the .2 level. High or low socialization exposure provides for only marginal differentiation. The extremely low rank ordering of equality by both modern and traditional categories (from eleventh to eighteenth position) is in sharp contrast with the rank order of this value among black officers (ranked fifth), possibly indicating that among white officers equality has come to be perceived as a series of occupational and organizational impediments. In such a case, a consistently low and undifferentiated rank ordering of this value would be expected. Although there is a slight indication in the data that preference for equality may be marginally distinguished by cultural origin, this tendency is extremely faint. Hypothesis 1.2 is rejected.

Hypothesis 1.3.--Hypothesis 1.3 states:

Modern ethnics will rank order the value  
accomplishment higher than traditional ethnics.

The rationale for this hypothesis relates both to the origin of the Protestant Ethic, i.e., the Calvinistic belief in predestination and the sign of God's favor which would be implicit in accomplishment (or, as alternatively stated on the survey, "lasting contribution"), and, more contemporarily to the American host culture, the early colonial emphasis on the obligations of calling.<sup>3</sup> Conversely, the theoretically greater organic integrity of traditional society with its traditions of noblesse oblige also admits of some striving in this area. Again, accomplishing, in the sense of striving to maximize opportunity and exploit the environment in general is characteristic of accumulating (modern) societies. The data does not support this contention and Hypothesis 1.3 is rejected. If anything, there would seem to be a slight tendency among traditional officers to rank order this value higher than modern officers. All officers tend to rate this value in the top half of the 18 values presented, the only exception being modern officers with a high ethnic socialization index, in which case accomplishment dropped to the fourteenth rank. The lack of difference throughout control categories even approaching conventional levels of acceptance indicates that police officers, in the main, all prescribe to a public service ethic which they rank

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<sup>3</sup>See, for example, "William Perkins on Callings (1603)," in Puritan Political Ideas, ed. Edmund S. Morgan (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1965), pp. 35-58.

reasonably high in order to legitimate their occupational choice and to compensate for the relatively low level of recompense they receive from society, and that no difference exists between ethnic categories.

Hypothesis 1.4.--Hypothesis 1.4 states:

Traditional ethnics will rank order the value social recognition higher than modern ethnics.

Social recognition (also specified in the survey as admiration and respect) is somewhat difficult to define and predict about in relation to ethnicity, since it could also take the form of economic or political leadership roles, financial competition and remuneration, respect accruing to entrepreneurship, and the like, in which case the value would be highly pertinent to modern officers and individualism in general. In terms of admiration and respect, however, the symbolization which probably occurs is that of occupational and community exchange at the interpersonal level--the respect the policeman receives by virtue of his function; the respect and admiration of peers via competence, "styles," etc. In general, it is probable that traditional ethnics are more interested in such recognition than they are in tangible signs of upward mobility. In theory, the traditional ethnic, less mobile-oriented than his modern counterpart, would be more interested in promoting just such admiration and respect. The data indicates this to be the case. In every category except officers from upper-class origins (in which instance identical rank ordering occurred) the direction of the data is correct, with five control



categories yielding probability levels in the immediate vicinity of .1. In two instances--officers from working-class origins, and officers having from 6 to 15 years--the significance level was .07 and .001 respectively. Although this value obviously is not of paramount importance to traditional officers, their rank ordering of social recognition in the general range of from eighth to thirteenth place is still substantially higher than the fourteenth to seventeenth place positions selected by modern officers. Hypothesis 1.4 is provisionally accepted by virtue of a clear and consistent trend in the data, accompanied by a series of significance levels which, in toto, reflect operation of the theoretical construct.

Hypothesis 1.5.--Hypothesis 1.5 states:

Traditional ethnics will rank order the value family security higher than modern ethnics.

Officers from all ethnic origins place a premium on family security, and even among black officers, where the median rank is lower, it is still valued in the top 25 percent of the value spectrum. In general, however, traditional ethnics, like Jews, have tended to be less spatially mobile in America, indicating a greater emphasis on maintenance of family structure extending beyond the immediate generation. The data support this contention although the relationship is very slight. In eight test categories traditionals rank order the value slightly higher than modern ethnics, in five of which significance levels from the .1 to .3 ranges are achieved. Among officers with 1 to 2 years of college,

officers with over 16 years service and among officers with a high level of ethnic socialization, the difference fades out almost completely; with 3 or more years college, traditional officers indicate a sharp decrease in emphasis on this value. This tendency reflects the survival function the family unit has played for all ethnic groups and especially traditional ethnics, a function which is moderated downward as education increases social competency, when reasonable financial security is achieved through job tenure or when the basic raising of children is essentially completed. Nonetheless, the data reflect a reasonable and consistent ranking of this value higher by traditional officers, and Hypothesis 1.5 is provisionally accepted.

Hypothesis 1.6.--Hypothesis 1.6 states:

Traditional ethnics will rank order the value national security higher than modern ethnics.

The rationale for this hypothesis consisted of several elements. Although it was recognized that nationalism has little meaning in traditional society, and that some indication of private regardingness has been reflected in the policy preferences of traditional ethnics, the strong sense of social boundary and stability reflected in traditional society also dictates a need to socialize members to the maintenance of those boundaries. Daniel Bell has commented on the high intensity nationalism of "new Immigration" ethnics.

The data reflect just the opposite. In every test category modern officers rank ordered this value higher, indicating that

national security probably functions directly in relation to perceived vested interest. Examination of the median ranks for all four ethnic groups (refer to Tables 4.3 and 4.4) indicates that the closer one gets to the host culture, in assimilative time regarding white ethnics, or social progress in general, the higher premium is placed on security. Thus modern officers rank order the value highest, followed by the Irish, traditional and black officers. The fact that the value is rank ordered in the bottom third of the value spectrum is probably indicative only of contemporary world stability vis-a-vis actual national survival, as well as detente. Hypothesis 1.6 is rejected. The propriety of relating culture to national security may be extremely tenuous, thus no reformulation of this hypothesis to reflect the tendency in the data is justified based on institutional uniqueness in modernism.

Hypothesis 1.7.--Hypothesis 1.7 states:

Traditional ethnics will rank order the value happiness higher than modern ethnics.

The rationale for this hypothesis is relatively straightforward, and applies to Hypotheses 1.8 and 1.9 as well. It is, namely, that to the extent a culture values social stability and a rigidly structured social system, it will find functional the socialization of its members to seek happiness, comfort and friendship in their given role and status-placement; in short, a maximization of the contemporary reality. Conversely, a culture which values striving, mobility and deferment of gratification will

place less emphasis on these values. These premises can be applied generally to traditional and modern cultures, respectively.

The data support this hypothesis, and the hypothesis is provisionally accepted. In 11 out of 12 test categories traditional officers valued happiness over modern officers, and in two of these categories the level of significance is beyond the .05 level. It is noteworthy that as educational level increases modern officers tend to value happiness less, while traditional officers maintain the same essential rank order. Among modern officers with over 16 years experience the tendency to downgrade this value is reversed, possibly reflecting a realization among this group that they have not achieved the mobility specified in the cultural ideal, with a concurrent reordering of their value priorities.

Hypothesis 1.8.--Hypothesis 1.8 states:

Traditional ethnics will rank order the value comfortable life higher than modern ethnics.

There is general support for this hypothesis in the data. Although there is no essential difference in the median rank accorded this value among officers with 3 or more years college and with over 16 years experience, the direction of median scores is consistent with the predicted direction in 9 out of 12 test categories. The only clear reversal in direction occurs among officers from upper-class backgrounds, in which case modern officers value a comfortable life second while traditional officers place it fifth. This is not inconsistent with a possible decrease in striving and an increased emphasis on comfort which might accompany the

attainment of high social status and financial remuneration, an orientation which would naturally be reflected in the value structure of the officers falling in this category. Hypothesis 1.8, though not demonstrated in high statistical levels of significance in the data, is supported by the median tendencies and by several low levels of significance. This hypothesis is provisionally accepted.

Hypothesis 1.9.--Hypothesis 1.9 states:

Traditional ethnics will rank order the value true friendship higher than modern ethnics.

There is strong support for this hypothesis in the data. A simple contrast with no controls introduced yields a median difference in the proper direction at the .026 level of significance, a difference which is increased among Catholic officers (.003), officers with high school education or less (.002) or with over 16 years of experience (.01). In only two instances does the direction of median ranks differ from the hypothesized direction: among officers with from 1 to 2 years of college and with over 16 years police experience. In neither case is the difference substantial in terms of relative rank order placement or the significance level achieved in probability testing. Hypothesis 1.9 is accepted.

A summary of the data pertinent to the acceptance or rejection of Hypotheses 1.1 through 1.9 is contained in Table 4.10. Two hypotheses were categorically accepted: Hypothesis 1.1, which

TABLE 4.10.--Directional Tendencies in Nine Subhypotheses Related to General Hypothesis One, with Associated Probability Levels.

Control	Hyp 1.1	Hyp 1.2	Hyp 1.3	Hyp 1.4	Hyp 1.5	Hyp 1.6	Hyp 1.7	Hyp 1.8	Hyp 1.9						
Male Officers	+	(.013)	+	-	+	(.1)	+	(.33)	-	+	+	+	(.026)		
Catholic Officers	+	(.06)	+	-	+	(.13)	+	-	+	+	+	+	(.003)		
Working Class	+	(.22)	+	(.28)	+	(.07)	+	(.36)	-	+	(.17)	+	(.09)	+	(.13)
Upper Class	+	(.27)	-	-	0 (N.D.)	+	-	+	(.03)	-	+	+	+	+	(.002)
High School or Less	+		+	+	+	(.13)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(.002)
1-2 Years College	+	(.014)	-	(.2)	+	(.15)	0 (N.D.)	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
3 or More Years College	+		+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1-5 Years Police Experience	+		+	+	+	(.1)	+	+	+	+	(.01)	+	+	+	(.1)
6-15 Years Police Experience	+	(.19)	+	-	+	(.001)	+	(.16)	-	+	+	+	(.1)	-	-
16 or More Years Experience	+		-	-	+	+	0 (N.D.)	+	(.15)	-	+	+	+	+	(.01)
Low Ethnic Socialization	+		+	+	+	+	+	(.22)	-	+	+	(.2)	+	+	(.18)
High Ethnic Socialization	+	(.12)	+	-	+	+	0 (N.D.)	-	+	+	(.2)	+	+	+	+

+ or - indicates whether or not the data is in the direction predicted by the hypothesis. The numbers in parentheses is the associated probability. "N.D." = No Difference (scores within .1 of a point or even).

predicted a higher rank ordering of the value freedom by modern officers, and Hypothesis 1.9, which predicted traditional officers would place higher emphasis on the value friendship. Hypotheses 1.2 and 1.3, which predicted modern officers would value equality and accomplishment higher than traditional officers, were rejected although a possible marginal tendency in support of Hypothesis 1.2 (equality) is evident in the presentation in Table 4.10. Hypotheses 1.4 (social recognition), 1.5 (family security), 1.7 (happiness), and 1.8 (comfortable life), all of which predicted higher scores by traditional officers, were provisionally accepted based on a combination of data trend, the demonstration of some significance levels indicative of other than the exercise of mere chance, and the lack of significant negative trends in the data. Hypothesis 1.6, which indicated a greater emphasis on national security by traditional ethnics was rejected; however, the valuing of national security may be a function of vested interests, a probability which seems to be reflected in the hierarchy of ethnic groups ascribing to this value in general accordance with the distribution of scarce social resources and assimilative time (as opposed to a cultural attribute) in this country. For this reason the hypothesis was not reformulated to reflect the direction of the data.

In toto, six of the nine stated hypotheses were accepted. In addition, a visual inspection of Tables 4.4 through 4.9 reveals a slight tendency for modern officers to rank order both the values wisdom and mature love over traditional ethnics, with traditional ethnics favoring the value salvation over modern

officers. These additional tendencies are important insofar as they are not judged to be clearly incompatible with the cultural continuance model asserted as the basis of the stated hypotheses. Additionally, no differences were detected in the entire spectrum of the value rank ordering which would dictate the operation of an alternative theory of ethnic continuance. While the strength of the ethnic origin-value preference is clearly conditioned by the operation of social class, and other factors, the persistence of the ethnic factor is evident throughout, even though some values (which may be unique but possibly of lower priority within a specific culture type) may be moderated by a particular set of social circumstances so that no distinction between culture types is possible. In view of these data, which provide strong overall support, Hypothesis One is accepted.

### Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis Two states:

There is a significant difference between police officers representing the ethnic categories of traditionalism and modernism in their rank ordering of instrumental life values.

There are nine subhypotheses subsumed under this general predictive statement, as follows: Hypotheses 2.1 through 2.5 predict a higher rank ordering among modern officers regarding the values responsibility, ambition, independence, logic and self-control, respectively, while Hypotheses 2.6 through 2.9 predict a higher rank ordering of the values capable, obedience, courageousness and forgivingness, respectively, by traditional officers.



The data relative to the general hypothesis and the nine subhypotheses are reflected in Tables 4.11 and 4.12. Table 4.11 contains all four ethnic categories considered in the study and a four-group median test for significance of difference in median scores on 18 instrumental values. No differences exist at the .05 level, although the value imagination is very close to this level, and even this result is not noteworthy given the possibility of 18 chances for median differences. Table 4.12, which contains the same median scores, with probability testing among all possible ethnic subsets, indicates that differences in median scores are virtually non-existent, with no ethnic group among the four demonstrating any substantive difference. Hypothesis Two (and subhypotheses 2.1 through 2.9) is not justified in the data and is rejected.

There is an obvious discrepancy between a rather substantial difference in terminal values among officers with differing ethnic backgrounds and a singular lack of difference among these same officers in the spectrum of instrumental values. While Rokeach asserts that a functional relationship exists between the various ends and means values, it is apparent that this premise is not borne out in this instance. There are several possible explanations for this phenomenon. One relates to the organizational constraints possibly existing in policing as an occupation if such constraints are conceived to be extremely binding. Coupled with this possibly would be the operation of a strong police ethos

TABLE 4.11.--Instrumental Value Medians and Composite Rank Orders for Police Officers by Ethnic Category.

	1 Modern (N=82)	2 Traditional (N=50)	3 Irish (N=25)	4 Black (N=30)	p*
Ambitious	6.67 (4)	6.21 (4)	6.00 (3)	8.50 (8)	
Broadminded	7.75 (7)	7.30 (5)	10.50 (11)	5.92 (5)	
Capable	6.39 (3)	5.61 (3)	6.50 (4)	3.30 (1)	
Cheerful	13.19 (17)	13.50 (17)	13.90 (15)	14.50 (15)	
Clean	11.50 (13)	10.50 (11)	12.25 (12)	9.75 (13)	
Courageous	9.00 (8)	9.07 (9)	8.17 (7)	7.00 (6)	
Forgiving	12.50 (15)	12.83 (14)	14.50 (16)	15.25 (17)	
Helpful	11.30 (10)	11.25 (13)	10.00 (10)	9.33 (11)	
Honest	2.37 (1)	3.17 (2)	1.50 (1)	3.63 (2)	
Imaginative	12.25 (14)	15.00 (18)	15.00 (18)	9.50 (12)	.054
Independent	9.67 (9)	9.00 (8)	9.00 (8)	8.75 (10)	
Intellectual	11.30 (11)	9.83 (10)	9.50 (9)	8.00 (7)	
Logical	7.38 (6)	8.10 (7)	7.50 (6)	8.50 (9)	
Loving	12.50 (16)	13.00 (15)	14.83 (17)	14.83 (16)	
Obedient	13.61 (18)	13.17 (16)	13.00 (14)	15.79 (18)	
Polite	11.50 (12)	11.10 (12)	12.50 (13)	11.80 (14)	
Responsible	4.00 (2)	2.75 (1)	4.17 (2)	5.25 (3)	
Self-controlled	7.05 (5)	7.50 (6)	7.00 (5)	5.75 (4)	

\*Median test.

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders.

TABLE 4.12.--Instrumental Value Differences Between Police Officers by Ethnic Category.

	1 Modern (N=82)	2 Traditional (N=50)	3 Irish (N=25)	4 Black (N=30)	1-2 P*	1-3 P*	1-4 P*	2-3 P*	2-4 P*	3-4 P*
Ambitious	6.67 (4)	6.21 (4)	6.00 (3)	8.50 (8)			.321		.164	.256
Broadminded	7.75 (7)	7.30 (5)	10.50 (11)	5.92 (5)		.263	.259	.365		.085
Capable	6.39 (3)	5.61 (3)	6.50 (4)	3.30 (1)	.137		.189		.145	.106
Cheerful	13.19 (17)	13.50 (17)	13.90 (15)	14.50 (15)		.364				
Clean	11.50 (13)	10.50 (11)	12.25 (12)	9.75 (13)			.367	.160		.132
Courageous	9.00 (8)	9.07 (9)	8.17 (7)	7.00 (6)						
Forgiving	12.50 (15)	12.83 (14)	14.50 (16)	15.25 (17)		.364	.152		.090	
Helpful	11.50 (10)	11.25 (13)	10.00 (10)	9.33 (11)						
Honest	2.37 (1)	3.17 (2)	1.50 (1)	3.63 (2)		.317	.228	.081		.088
Imaginative	12.25 (14)	15.00 (18)	15.00 (18)	9.50 (12)	.080	.263			.033	.275
Independent	9.67 (9)	9.00 (8)	9.00 (8)	8.75 (10)						
Intellectual	11.30 (11)	9.83 (10)	9.50 (9)	8.00 (7)						.352
Logical	7.38 (6)	8.10 (7)	7.50 (6)	8.50 (9)						
Loving	12.50 (16)	13.00 (15)	14.83 (17)	14.83 (16)		.205	.379	.216	.380	
Obedient	13.61 (18)	13.17 (16)	13.00 (14)	15.79 (18)			.097		.128	.016
Polite	11.50 (12)	11.10 (12)	12.50 (13)	11.80 (14)						
Responsible	4.00 (2)	2.71 (1)	4.17 (2)	5.25 (3)	.240			.365	.075	
Self-controlled	7.05 (5)	7.50 (6)	7.00 (5)	5.75 (4)						

\*Median test.

Figures shown are median rankings and, in parentheses, composite rank orders. Probabilities at or beyond the .05 level are underlined.

in which the "techniques" of competence, honesty, being responsible, etc.--values which are consistently selected as highest by most ethnic groups--are mandated by the realities of police functioning or public demand. Neither of these approaches, however, explains the lack of difference in selection based on ethnicity assuming that private (and cultural) preferences stated in a survey might be expected to differ from those techniques avowed publicly and/or utilized on the job. The almost complete lack of difference at the .05 level of probability indicates that, in fact, the ethnic factor is not operating at the level of instrumental values. In surveying the assimilative models available, mere "assimilation" is belied by the established difference in terminal values, while "cultural pluralism" is lacking in the data relative to the instrumental values, and ethnogenesis is supported by neither of the value spectrum selections. The "acculturation but not assimilation" model constructed by Gordon, on the other hand, is supported by both results. To reiterate this model, Gordon maintains that all new immigrants, faced with survival, rather quickly became behaviorally assimilated into the new culture (acculturation) but that structural assimilation (the entering into primary relationships with the host culture, with an intermixing of values or adoption of host values) is a much longer process; one which cannot, as yet, be assumed to have occurred.<sup>4</sup> As a result of this model, one would predictably expect substantial differences in

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<sup>4</sup>Gordon, "Assimilation in America," pp. 24-44.

terminal values (a reflection of the ethnic culture), but only marginal or even no differences in the valuation placed on the techniques pertinent to success in the new host environment.

### Summary

Hypothesis One, which predicted significant terminal value differences among traditional and modern ethnics, was generally supported in six out of nine specific subhypotheses which predicted differences in value preference by virtue of the cultural aspects of each ethnic group. Hypothesis Two, which predicted a significant difference, by ethnicity, among instrumental values was not supported by the data and the hypothesis was rejected. The assimilative model proposed by Gordon, namely, "acculturation but not assimilation," accurately describes the data collected in which terminal values differed while instrumental values did not. This model is strengthened by virtue of the functional relationship which might logically be expected to exist between the two value spectrums.

### Section III: Orientation Towards Work

While differing ethnics may not vary substantially in the instrumentalities they feel are most appropriate to American life or specific occupations, the substantial difference in their rank ordering of the terminal values is indicative that work may represent differentially perceived opportunities and somewhat different parameters for officers of divergent ethnic origins. In short, while competence, honesty and responsibility may head the list of

"approved" techniques within the context of policing, what is actually sought out in the work environment may also be conditioned by the cultural context of the officer's ethnicity.

Orientation toward work was measured by a series of 22 questions (items 28 through 49 of the survey questionnaire) in which respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement or disagreement with statements related to the nature of work itself, its importance beyond mere instrumentality, success, interpersonal relations and the like. In order to increase the power of the data to maximize any differences in response between ethnic groups these 22 questions were collapsed into six indices, each of which relates to a specific parameter of work life.<sup>5</sup> Additionally, several questions were directionalized to conform to the direction of the hypotheses.

Questions 28, 29, 30 and 40 probe the degree to which work is perceived less as an integral element of the self, and more as an instrumentality pertinent to survival. Questions 37, 41, 45 and 46 are concerned with job opportunity, the importance of knowing the "right people" and self-development, all of which may be summarized as the emphasis on individualism in the work milieu. The relationship of work to social welfare is reflected in questions 43 and 44, while the importance of peer standing and competition on

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<sup>5</sup>The 22 questions relating to work were factor analyzed utilizing a varimax rotation, as an aid in construction of these indices. Questions loading on several factors were deleted in order to isolate to the maximum degree possible each work parameter.

the job is reflected in questions 32, 38 and 39. A fifth index consists of one item, question 42 (success is a function of hard work), which specifies the work ethic associated with modernism. Questions 31, 33, 35 and 36 relate to the importance of positive social interactions in work.

### Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis Three states:

There is a significant difference between police officers representing the ethnic categories of traditionalism and modernism in their orientation to work.

Hypothesis Three becomes subject to verification by recourse to six testable hypotheses, as follows:

#### Hypothesis 3.1.--Hypothesis 3.1 states:

Traditional ethnics will differ from modern ethnics in their higher perception of work as merely a life instrumentality.

Data relative to this prediction are contained in Table 4.13, and indicate support for the hypothesis. In 11 out of 12 categories, traditional officers score higher on this index, and while differences are maximized among officers with high ethnic socialization scores, of working-class origins with high school or less, and extensive police experience, the tendency is maintained throughout the control categories. The .05 significance level is achieved in only one instance (officers with more than 16 years of experience), thus categorical acceptance of this hypothesis would be inappropriate. The tendency of the data, however, provides clear support for its provisional acceptance.

TABLE 4.13.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring the Degree to Which Work is Perceived as a Life Instrumentality, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 P*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	14.8780 (N=82)	16.1400 (N=50)	15.9200 (N=24)	15.1667 (N=30)	.17	
Low Socialization	15.4237 (N=59)	16.3500 (N=20)	15.8333 (N=18)	***		
High Socialization	13.5000 (N=20)	15.8462 (N=26)	16.0000 (N=6)	14.7600 (N=25)	.15	
Catholic	14.5313 (N=32)	16.2821 (N=39)	16.5833 (N=12)	***	.15	
Upper Class	16.4091 (N=22)	16.5455 (N=11)	15.8571 (N=7)	***		
Working Class	14.3455 (N=55)	15.7931 (N=29)	16.1875 (N=16)	16.1000 (N=20)	.21	
High School	14.0588 (N=34)	16.6364 (N=22)	15.4444 (N=9)	17.5000 (N=8)	.08	
1-2 years College	15.3438 (N=32)	15.4737 (N=19)	16.3750 (N=8)	14.1250 (N=8)		
3 or more years College	15.6875 (N=16)	16.8750 (N=8)	14.8571 (N=7)	14.4286 (N=14)		
1-5 years Police exp.	15.0938 (N=32)	16.3750 (N=32)	15.7143 (N=7)	14.6364 (N=11)	.28	
6-15 years Police exp.	15.7419 (N=31)	14.0909 (N=11)	16.0000 (N=13)	14.9286 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	13.1053 (N=19)	17.6429 (N=14)	16.0000 (N=5)	17.0000 (N=5)	.04	

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*no post hoc comparisons were significant at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).



This difference between traditional and modern officers suggests that different motivational approaches to job performance may be appropriate under certain circumstances, i.e., that traditional ethnics may respond more to financial remuneration, tenure, etc. (either positive or punitive in direction) than modern officers, who may respond more to ethical or self-image maintenance. It should be noted, however, that with a possible range of scores from 4 to 36, all ethnic categories scored in the 13 to 17 range, indicating reasonably low general agreement with the more instrumental aspects of work. Additionally, all ethnic contrasts consist of very small variations in actual score.

Hypothesis 3.2.--Hypothesis 3.2 states:

Modern ethnics will differ from traditional ethnics in their higher valuation of individual opportunities in the work environment.

Examination of the data contained in Table 4.14 indicates no differences between modern and traditional ethnics at the level of significance, nor can any trend in the data, in comparing these two ethnic categories, be discerned. With a possible range of scores from 4 to 36, the data reflect a middle-range interest by all ethnic groups in developing individual abilities and being afforded in the job milieu a chance at top positions. Among all groups, the general tendency is for scores to increase with education, and decrease with time on the job. In the latter instance, such change may be a function of the relatively flat organizational

TABLE 4.14.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring the Degree of Individualism Sought in the Work Environment, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 p*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	21.6341 (N=82)	21.8200 (N=50)	22.0400 (N=24)	23.3000 (N=30)		
Low Socialization	22.1864 (N=59)	22.0000 (N=20)	22.0000 (N=18)	***		
High Socialization	20.7000 (N=20)	21.7308 (N=26)	22.5000 (N=6)	23.8800 (N=25)		
Catholic	22.4063 (N=32)	21.7949 (N=39)	22.6667 (N=12)	***		
Upper Class	21.6364 (N=22)	22.0000 (N=11)	23.1429 (N=7)	***		
Working Class	21.4727 (N=55)	22.6897 (N=29)	21.7500 (N=16)	23.2000 (N=20)		
High School	19.9118 (N=34)	21.5455 (N=22)	21.7778 (N=9)	22.5000 (N=8)	.23	
1-2 years College	22.6563 (N=32)	21.5789 (N=19)	21.5000 (N=8)	21.7500 (N=8)		
3 or more years College	23.2500 (N=16)	23.2500 (N=8)	22.7143 (N=7)	24.6429 (N=16)		
1-5 years Police exp.	23.7500 (N=32)	22.2500 (N=24)	22.5714 (N=7)	22.5455 (N=11)	.16	
6-15 years Police exp.	20.6774 (N=31)	22.1818 (N=11)	22.5385 (N=13)	24.6429 (N=14)		1 & 4
16+ years Police exp.	19.6316 (N=19)	20.9286 (N=14)	20.0000 (N=5)	21.2000 (N=5)		

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*post hoc comparisons specified at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).

structure of policing in general, the lack of horizontal mobility between departments and the long-term nature of most upward mobility in policing. The lone exception to this tendency (black police officers with between 6 and 15 years of service), may be prompted by increased aspiration arising out of equal opportunity laws, programs, and court edicts.

In toto, the data do not justify even a tentative assertion of difference in the degree of individuality sought by police officers from differing ethnic backgrounds, and Hypothesis 3.2 is rejected. Since individuality, mobility and mobility aspiration are assumed to be integral to the modern cultural orientation, some further exploration of the lack of difference between modern and traditional scores is in order. There are three possible explanations for the lack of predicted difference, the first being the already noted disparity between the Rokeach terminal and instrumental value rank orderings. To the extent that traditional ethnics are acculturated and have adopted the life style modes of the host culture, it might be assumed that they would not manifest any real differences in individual striving, especially in the economic sphere. Secondly, and while family, social, political and religious structures often take on unique "ethnic" characteristics, the economic institution in American society may be so pervasive as to engender a homogeneous approach to the individual striving parameter of work orientation, regardless of ethnic origin or the degree to which other social institutions, ethnic in nature, still maintain in contemporary society. Finally, to the extent

that policing is perceived as a distinct ethnic mobility structure, individual striving may be increased over a theoretical ethnic norm, thus moderating the finding of any real difference in policing which may exist society-wide.

Hypothesis 3.3.--Hypothesis 3.3 states:

Traditional ethnics will differ from modern ethnics in their higher perception of work as the opportunity to enhance community welfare.

The data set out in Table 4.15 provide strong overall support for this hypothesis. In two categories (male officers, and officers with 3 or more years college), the difference between modern and traditional officers is in the hypothesized direction at or beyond the .05 level; in 11 out of 12 categories, the direction of the difference is correct. The only exception occurs when the control for high ethnic socialization is introduced, the result being essentially similar scores for both ethnic categories. It is notable that mean scores of traditional ethnics are remarkably consistent regardless of control introduced, suggesting a generic quality to the individual community linkage established within that cultural entity, one that is only minimally affected by factors such as education, religion, years of experience or social class. Modern, Irish and black officers, on the other hand, reflect a much wider range of scores, by control variable, although no clear pattern could be discerned as a result of those controls. This lack of clear patterning suggests that, among modern, black and Irish officers, a perception of work as an opportunity to serve

TABLE 4.15.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring the Degree to Which Work is Perceived as an Opportunity to Enhance Community Welfare, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 p*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	12.3049 (N=82)	31.6400 (N=50)	12.5200 (N=24)	13.2000 (N=30)	.05	
Low Socialization	12.0339 (N=59)	13.6000 (N=20)	12.6667 (N=18)	***	.1	
High Socialization	13.5500 (N=20)	13.2308 (N=26)	11.8333 (N=6)	13.6000 (N=25)		
Catholic	14.0313 (N=32)	14.0769 (N=39)	13.2500 (N=12)	***		
Upper Class	11.5909 (N=22)	13.0000 (N=11)	12.7143 (N=7)	***		
Working Class	12.5455 (N=55)	13.7241 (N=29)	12.5000 (N=16)	12.2500 (N=20)	.19	
High School	12.8235 (N=34)	13.3182 (N=22)	11.6667 (N=9)	12.8750 (N=8)	.23	
1-2 years College	13.0313 (N=32)	13.8947 (N=19)	13.5000 (N=8)	13.3750 (N=8)		
3 or more years College	9.7500 (N=16)	13.8750 (N=8)	11.7143 (N=7)	13.2857 (N=14)	.006	1 & 4
1-5 years Police exp.	12.8750 (N=32)	13.6250 (N=24)	12.8571 (N=7)	12.7273 (N=11)		
6-15 years Police exp.	12.4584 (N=31)	13.3636 (N=11)	12.3846 (N=13)	14.1429 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	10.9474 (N=19)	13.7857 (N=14)	12.4000 (N=5)	11.6000 (N=5)	.12	

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*post hoc comparisons specified at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).

society and/or help people is a situational function of a wide variety of social or work circumstances, thus while the mean scores of all officer categories is substantial in terms of the maximum score possible (18), assumptions concerning this parameter of working life are much more certain in relation to traditional ethnics. Hypothesis 3.3 is accepted.

Hypothesis 3.4.--Hypothesis 3.4 states:

Modern ethnics will differ from traditional ethnics in the higher relative importance they accord to peer competition and personal recognition.

The rationale for this hypothesis relates to the ascribed mobility goals of the modern ethnics, from which it follows that such officers would express a higher need to define organizational (internal) criteria of success, the most obvious of which would be their standing vis other officers of equal experience or skill, and personal recognition for their job contribution. Conversely, traditional officers, while interested in competency, should be somewhat less concerned with this parameter, defining success more in terms of positive social relationships, respect and stability than modern officers. The data generally support Hypothesis 3.4 in that of 12 test categories, moderns do score higher in 9, one of which (officers from upper-class origins) is at the .01 level of significance. In two categories (officers with high school education or less, and officers with 6 to 15 years experience), the difference in means is very close (.5 and .6 of a point) while in a third (working-class officers), the actual difference in means is

so minimal (.02), as to indicate no difference in scores. No substantive negative direction is thereby indicated.

Some additional support for this hypothesis is furnished by an inquiry into the aspiration levels of the various ethnic groups represented in this department. If a competitive peer orientation and the need for personal recognition is related to mobility aspirations, one would expect to find some distinctions among ethnic groups in the extent of their aspiration. Officers were asked at what organizational level they felt they would be most productive and happy. The responses were then collapsed to two categories (any line, but non-command function; any staff or command function), and modern and traditional officers compared. Table 4.17 reflects the result of that comparison.

The data in Table 4.17, although not at a high level of significance, support the trend reflected in Table 4.16; namely, that a higher organizational aspiration level among modern officers is associated with higher scores relative to peer competition. A further comparison of all four ethnic groups tends to confirm this relationship (see Table 4.18), with the substantially higher aspiration level of black officers again running parallel with their higher scores on peer placement and personal recognition.

Hypothesis 3.4 is provisionally accepted, based on the tendency of the data in the direction of the hypothesis and a similar tendency in ethnic group aspiration levels, conceptually related to the hypothesis under test.

TABLE 4.16.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring the Relative Importance of Peer Competition and Personal Recognition, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 p*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	14.5488 (N=82)	14.0000 (N=50)	14.6400 (N=24)	16.0000 (N=30)		
Low Socialization	14.9153 (N=59)	13.5000 (N=20)	14.3889 (N=18)	***	.16	
High Socialization	14.3077 (N=20)	13.6000 (N=26)	15.6667 (N=6)	16.0800 (N=25)		
Catholic	14.1250 (N=32)	14.0000 (N=39)	15.1667 (N=12)	***		
Upper Class	15.5000 (N=22)	11.9091 (N=11)	14.4286 (N=7)	***	.01	
Working Class	14.2182 (N=55)	14.2414 (N=29)	15.0000 (N=16)	16.4500 (N=20)		
High School	13.7059 (N=34)	14.2273 (N=22)	14.1111 (N=9)	15.7500 (N=8)		
1-2 years College	14.7500 (N=32)	13.0000 (N=19)	14.2500 (N=8)	17.2500 (N=8)	.15	
3 or more years College	15.9375 (N=16)	15.5000 (N=8)	15.1429 (N=7)	15.4286 (N=14)		
1-5 years Police exp.	15.1250 (N=32)	14.2500 (N=24)	14.0000 (N=7)	16.6364 (N=11)		
6-15 years Police exp.	13.7419 (N=31)	14.3636 (N=11)	14.5385 (N=13)	15.5714 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	14.8947 (N=19)	14.0714 (N=14)	15.8000 (N=5)	15.8000 (N=5)		

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*no post hoc comparisons were significant at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).



TABLE 4.17.--Comparison of Modern and Traditional Police Officer Aspiration Levels.

Ethnic Category	Aspiration Level	
	Line/Non-Command	Staff/Any Command
Modern	56 (69.1%)	25 (30.9%)
Traditional	40 (80.0%)	10 (20.0%)

Chi Square = 1.35015  
df = 1  
p = .2453

TABLE 4.18.--Comparison of Aspiration Levels Among Modern, Traditional, Irish and Black Police Officers.

Ethnic Category	Aspiration Level	
	Line/Non-Command	Staff/Any Command
Black	17 (56.7%)	13 (43.3%)
Modern	56 (69.1%)	25 (30.9%)
Irish	18 (75%)	6 (25%)
Traditional	40 (80%)	10 (20%)

Chi Square = 5.26012  
df = 3  
p = .1537

Hypothesis 3.5.--Hypothesis 3.5 states:

Traditional ethnics will differ from modern ethnics in the higher degree to which they prefer positive social interactions and relationships in the work environment.

The data concerning this hypothesis (which are contained in Table 4.19) contain some limited evidence in support of the hypothesis; namely, in 8 of 12 control tests, traditional ethnics did score higher than modern ethnics; however, none were at or beyond the .05 level, and in some instances (1-2 years college, upper-class origins and low socialization intensity), moderns scored at a reasonably substantial level above traditional ethnics. While the hypothesis is supported among modern and traditional ethnics with a high socialization score, of working-class origins with a high school or less education and with in excess of six years police experience, this relationship is severely attenuated by upper-class origins, a low ethnic socialization experience and higher education. The lack of any relationships at the .05 level and the possibility that the eight correct directions were the result of chance require rejection of this hypothesis based on the measures utilized. The lack of evidence regarding this parameter may again possibly be ascribed to the thesis that traditional ethnics have acculturated to a point where they do not differ appreciably from modern ethnics in their perception of work as the appropriate arena to cultivate personal relationships.

Hypothesis 3.6.--Hypothesis 3.6 states:

Modern ethnics will differ from traditional ethnics in their greater adherence to the work ethic.

A basic premise of what is commonly labeled the "Protestant Ethic" is the high value placed on work, and the belief that success

TABLE 4.19.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring the Importance of Positive Social Interactions in the Work Environment, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 p*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	20.6341 (N=82)	21.3200 (N=50)	19.8400 (N=24)	21.9000 (N=30)		
Low Socialization	21.2034 (N=59)	20.1000 (N=20)	19.7778 (N=18)	***		
High Socialization	19.2000 (N=20)	21.9615 (N=26)	19.1667 (N=6)	22.0800 (N=25)	.08	
Catholic	21.0625 (N=32)	21.4615 (N=39)	19.7500 (N=12)	***		
Upper Class	22.0455 (N=22)	20.8182 (N=11)	18.5714 (N=7)	***		
Working Class	20.2182 (N=55)	21.4828 (N=29)	19.6875 (N=16)	22.1000 (N=20)	.3	
High School	20.8529 (N=34)	23.4545 (N=22)	20.0000 (N=9)	19.7500 (N=8)	.1	
1-2 years College	21.9688 (N=32)	20.0000 (N=19)	21.5000 (N=8)	24.5000 (N=8)	.1	
3 or more years College	17.5000 (N=16)	19.2500 (N=8)	16.8571 (N=7)	21.6429 (N=14)		3 & 4 1 & 4
1-5 years Police exp.	21.2813 (N=32)	20.8333 (N=24)	21.4286 (N=7)	22.6364 (N=11)		
6-15 years Police exp.	20.9677 (N=31)	22.8182 (N=11)	18.6154 (N=13)	21.3571 (N=14)	.2	
16+ years Police exp.	19.0000 (N=19)	21.0714 (N=14)	20.8000 (N=5)	21.8000 (N=5)		

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*post hoc comparisons specified at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).

is a function of the amount of effort one is willing to allocate to succeeding in any given endeavor. As reflected in Table 4.20, the data support concluding that modern ethnic officers hold to that premise significantly more than traditional ethnics. Modern officers score higher than traditional officers in 11 out of 12 control situations with both upper-class origins and a high socialization score leading to differences significant beyond the .05 level. The only exception to this occurs among traditional officers with three or more years of college, who scored higher on this factor than modern officers. The data reflect a tendency among moderns to adhere less to this precept as education increases, with traditionals adhering more closely as education also increases. In the first instance, this decrease on the part of modern officers may result from an intellectual inquiry of what heretofore had been an unquestioned article of faith; traditional officers, on the other hand, may adhere closer to this precept the more they perceive themselves to be educationally competent to compete favorably in a host culture milieu in which such a standard is believed to be operant. There is also evident in the data a general tendency among officers of all ethnic origins to cleave less to the premise that hard work equals success as police experience increases, a decrease which may naturally accompany work life in the majority of occupations as the discrepancy between desired and the attainable mobility sought is faced by the worker. The data also suggest that adherence to the work ethic is much more situational for Irish officers, and generally lowest among

TABLE 4.20.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on Adherence to the Work Ethic, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 P*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	6.3704 (N=82)	5.8000 (N=50)	6.4800 (N=24)	5.4000 (N=30)	.19	
Low Socialization	6.2000 (N=59)	6.0678 (N=20)	6.7778 (N=18)	***		
High Socialization	7.2632 (N=20)	5.4615 (N=26)	6.5000 (N=6)	5.4000 (N=25)	.02	
Catholic	6.5313 (N=32)	5.9487 (N=39)	7.5000 (N=12)	***		
Upper Class	6.9545 (N=22)	5.1818 (N=11)	6.1429 (N=7)	***	.02	
Working Class	6.2778 (N=55)	6.1034 (N=29)	7.0625 (N=16)	5.1500 (N=20)		
High School	6.6667 (N=34)	5.3182 (N=22)	6.8889 (N=9)	4.3750 (N=8)	.07	
1-2 years College	6.4063 (N=32)	6.1053 (N=19)	5.7500 (N=8)	5.7500 (N=8)		
3 or more years College	5.6875 (N=16)	6.2500 (N=8)	6.7143 (N=7)	5.7857 (N=14)		
1-5 years Police exp.	6.9688 (N=32)	6.4167 (N=24)	8.4286 (N=7)	6.4545 (N=11)	.29	
6-15 years Police exp.	5.6452 (N=31)	5.4545 (N=11)	6.1538 (N=13)	4.8571 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	6.5556 (N=19)	5.3571 (N=14)	4.6000 (N=5)	4.6000 (N=5)	.25	

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*no post hoc comparisons were significant at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).

black officers, no doubt a function of their realization that other factors impact heavily on success in addition to a willingness to work hard.

### Summary

Hypothesis Three predicts that significant differences exist between modern and traditional officers in their orientation to work. Four out of six specific subhypotheses probing specific parameters of the work environment support the general hypothesis, two being accepted categorically and two provisionally based on the combination of tendency in the data, the absence of serious deviation from the hypothesized direction and probabilities at a reasonable level. Traditional officers were found to perceive of work in more instrumental terms than modern officers, to relate work more to community welfare, while modern officers stressed the work ethic and the importance of peer competition. No trends in the data indicated the operation of other models of ethnicity, and Hypothesis Three is accepted.

The failure of modern officers to exceed traditional ethnics in their preference for individualism in work, and the failure of traditional officers to score higher than modern officers in the degree of positive interpersonal relationship sought in work may relate to the behavioral assimilation reflected in the instrumental value test. It may also indicate that while the cultural continuance model is accurate in describing reality, it may operate only to the extent that major cultural distinctions are

strong enough to be reflected in the measures utilized, the remainder of the distinctions melting into a multi-cultural normative and perceptual pool, molded most by the exigencies of strictly American social realities.

#### Section IV: Social-Psychological and Political Attributes

A major linkage in the theoretical construct utilized in this study relates to the relationship between the ethnic cultural context (structural realities), and the social-psychological attributes necessary to the maintenance of that culture, a linkage which is assumed to operate as a function of the primary socialization processes.<sup>6</sup> In contrasting modern and traditional ethnics, four measures were selected from the many possible measures available due to the high theoretical conditioning effect they might have on both police-citizen interactions and organizational behavior. The communal, people-intensive nature of traditional structures indicated such officers would be socialized to believe in the inherent trustworthiness, generosity, goodness and honesty of people in general, thus indicating a higher faith in people. The static nature of traditional structures, a constricted time orientation and narrowed nature of both individual and social options also indicated a tendency for traditional ethnics to be more dogmatic and intolerant of ambiguity than the modern ethnic,

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<sup>6</sup>See Newcomb, Social Psychology, for a discussion of socialization and role transmission, especially the model on p. 448.

since a completely open and/or tolerant orientation would be less functional to the traditional than to the modern ethnic, and his cultural world. The relatively closed nature of traditional society (and, by definition, its "anti-democratic" elements) also gave rise to the possibility of greater authoritarian impulses on the part of traditional ethnics. All of these hypotheses are examined in this section.

A final area of inquiry concerns itself with two aspects of political alienation; namely, the extent to which individuals feel themselves to be incapable or helpless in exerting political leverage, and the extent to which the individual is cynical of the ability of the existing political power structure to effectively deal with social problems. These parameters are relatable to an ethnic contrast, especially modern (host culture) and traditional (immigrant) ethnics, since modern ethnics should feel a greater basic familiarity with dominant political structures in general and evidence lower scores on political incapacity, while, conversely, they might well evidence a higher degree of cynicism that political power was being exercised effectively.

#### Hypothesis Four

Hypothesis Four states:

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures testing faith in people.

There is no indication in the data (see Table 4.21) that traditional ethnics have more faith in people and in fact, exactly



TABLE 4.21.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring Faith in People, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 P*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	3.0610 (N=82)	2.7800 (N=50)	3.3200 (N=24)	2.8000 (N=30)	.29	2 & 3
Low Socialization	2.9153 (N=59)	2.8000 (N=20)	3.0000 (N=18)	***		
High Socialization	3.5000 (N=20)	2.7308 (N=26)	4.5000 (N=6)	2.9600 (N=25)	.06	
Catholic	3.2813 (N=32)	2.7179 (N=39)	3.5833 (N=12)	***	.12	
Upper Class	3.1364 (N=22)	2.8182 (N=11)	3.0000 (N=7)	***		
Working Class	3.0000 (N=55)	2.6552 (N=29)	3.4375 (N=16)	2.7500 (N=20)		
High School	3.2941 (N=34)	2.5455 (N=22)	3.3333 (N=9)	2.5000 (N=8)	.07	
1-2 years College	2.5938 (N=32)	3.0000 (N=19)	2.7500 (N=8)	3.0000 (N=8)		
3 or more years College	3.5000 (N=16)	2.7500 (N=8)	4.0000 (N=7)	2.8571 (N=14)	.2	
1-5 years Police exp.	2.7188 (N=32)	2.3750 (N=24)	3.8571 (N=7)	2.5455 (N=11)		
6-15 years Police exp.	3.2258 (N=31)	3.0909 (N=11)	3.1538 (N=13)	2.9286 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	3.3684 (N=19)	3.2143 (N=14)	3.0000 (N=5)	3.0000 (N=5)		

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*post hoc comparisons specified at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).

the converse is true. In 11 out of 12 categories, modern officers scores higher on this measure, two of which reached reasonably high levels of significance (highly socialized officers, .06, and officers with a high school education or less, .07). Blacks, in general, scored lowest on faith, while the Irish scored highest. The hypothesis is rejected. The results require a re-examination of the construct.

A re-examination of modern and traditional social interaction suggests that it was perhaps conceptually incorrect to equate a closed social system (with its attendant greater emphasis on primary face-to-face social interactions) with a concomitant high belief or reliance on the basic righteousness of human nature. In politics, the traditional patronage system is based less on generosity or goodness, and more on the quid pro quo of power maintenance, although certainly some informal system of weighing costs/benefits can be conceded to be operating in the socio-cultural system. In social relations, the same quid pro quo may exist. Novak, in speaking to both traditional political and social relationships, asserts both the organic and tightly woven nature of community interactions as well as the realism and pragmatism each party may bring to an exchange. While specifying that the (traditional) immigrant arrived in America with a profound respect for authority, Novak cites the same immigrant as having brought with him a "cynicism regarding the high claims of authority," which indicate a differential perception of political office and

political office holders.<sup>7</sup> He further advises "social life is more a matter of 'trade-offs' than a 'march of progress,'" that (traditional) ethnics anticipate human weakness and are seldom surprised or overly indignant about it.<sup>8</sup>

By contrast, modernism may involve an increased faith in people, in the Jeffersonian sense that man is considered to be basically good, honest and amenable to rational appeal, precepts that are integral to the rise of rationalism and a secular society, as well as the well-being of a liberal democracy. It is also possible that a faith in people at a level above that of the traditional ethnic is psychologically promoted to moderate the anxiety that modern individuals may feel by living in a cultural context with far fewer boundaries than traditional society, and far greater individual responsibility for action. In short, the need to establish maximum certainty in a social setting characterized by individual initiative and greatly expanded personal options may, in the case of modern police officers, encourage a basic faith in people over and above that of traditional officers regardless of whether such a faith is justified by the social evidence.

On a scale of from one to six (one indicating minimal faith; six indicating high faith) it is instructive to note that the scores of most police officers are consistently in the mid-ranges around three, the only exception being the Irish, whose scores occasionally indicate a rather high faith in people. While

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<sup>7</sup> Novak, Unmeltable Ethnics, p. 245.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 118-119, 124-125.

it would be a mistake to overly extend the implications of very limited mean differences in this measure among police officers, a faith in people orientation may promote a greater climate or feeling of democratic policing in order maintenance situations. Conversely, a high faith in people may be patently dysfunctional in many other police situations, such as high danger encounters. In the explication and maintenance of policy, it may be speculated that the saturation of a policy-making organizational level by a particular ethnic group might have the effect of conditioning both the scope and the techniques of policy making and implementation.

#### Hypothesis Five

Hypothesis Five states:

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of dogmatism.

Rokeach has defined dogmatism as the inability to receive, evaluate and act on information independent of the source of the information; in short, a measure of openmindedness regarding input and an ability to rationally process that input. Modern societies promote an expansive and expanded social milieu, one in which increased individual options and responsibility demand extensive information processing and maximized rational decision-making. Traditional societies, on the other hand, are, by comparison, constricted, static and constrained by non-rational elements (in a comparative sense only), and information is often evaluated very much in terms of the information source. In terms of

social-psychological attributes, then, the prediction is that traditional ethnics should demonstrate more of this attribute. The data in Table 4.22, which relates to this hypothesis, do not support either a categorical or even a tentative acceptance of the hypothesis, and the evidence indicates no essential difference between ethnic groups on this attribute. With a possible range of scores from 10 to 60, all groups demonstrated a middle-range score on the dogmatism scale, and the only tendency in the data was a general decline in dogmatism with increased exposure to the educational process among modern, traditional and Irish officers. That this tendency among black officers is reversed (especially between officers with high school or less and officers having one or two years college), may be indicative that some degree of militance is promoted by the threshold levels of higher education, and that such militance includes an increased degree of information screening based on race, ideological labels, community position and like factors. Given the nature of police work, and especially the tensions inherent in uncertainty, danger and exposure to public reprobation, the mean levels of all officer groups do not seem indicative of any pathological tendencies.

In summary, the data collected do not substantiate the stated hypothesis and it is rejected.

TABLE 4.22.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring Dogmatism, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 p*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	30.9878 (N=82)	31.6600 (N=50)	32.5000 (N=24)	32.0667 (N=30)		
Low Socialization	30.2542 (N=59)	29.1500 (N=20)	32.0000 (N=18)	***		
High Socialization	33.1500 (N=20)	32.5000 (N=26)	34.1667 (N=6)	32.5200 (N=25)		
Catholic	31.1563 (N=32)	32.0769 (N=39)	33.3636 (N=12)	***		
Upper Class	32.4091 (N=22)	29.8182 (N=11)	34.1429 (N=7)	***	.24	
Working Class	30.4364 (N=55)	32.9310 (N=29)	31.8000 (N=16)	31.5500 (N=20)	.12	
High School	32.8824 (N=34)	32.6364 (N=22)	33.2500 (N=9)	30.7500 (N=8)		
1-2 years College	30.9063 (N=32)	31.8947 (N=19)	32.6250 (N=8)	34.1250 (N=8)		
3 or more years College	27.1250 (N=16)	28.1250 (N=8)	31.0000 (N=7)	31.6429 (N=14)		
1-5 years Police exp.	30.7188 (N=32)	30.2917 (N=24)	33.8333 (N=7)	31.7273 (N=11)		
6-15 years Police exp.	29.8065 (N=31)	31.6364 (N=11)	32.3846 (N=13)	33.5714 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	33.3684 (N=19)	33.6429 (N=14)	31.2000 (N=5)	28.6000 (N=5)		

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*no post hoc comparisons were significant at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).

### Hypothesis Six

Hypothesis Six states:

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of intolerance of ambiguity.

The rationale for this hypothesis is that an ambiguity tolerance level is relatable not only to the unique psychological history of the individual, but to the level of ambiguity which exists and is functional in the structural context of a society. Data reflected in Table 4.23 reflect general support for the premise that since modern society is more structurally open and thus more ambiguous regardless of the degree to which the future may be calculated and controlled, individuals socialized in that culture will demonstrate a greater tolerance for just such ambiguity. Among working-class officers, traditional ethnics were more intolerant of ambiguity at the .05 level of significance; among all officers, traditionals differed in the hypothesized direction at the .11 level and among officers with 16 years or more experience, that difference was at the .09 level. Across control groups, 8 out of 12 categories reflect scores in support of the hypothesis. In two instances where the direction of mean scores runs contrary to the hypothesis (1 to 2 years college, and 1 to 5 years experience), the difference is less than one-tenth of one point. Among ethnic groups indicating a low level of ethnic socialization, the increased toleration of ambiguity is noteworthy (three points in the case of the traditional), and the

TABLE 4.23.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring Intolerance of Ambiguity, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 p*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	23.6098 (N=82)	25.6200 (N=50)	26.3750 (N=24)	22.8667 (N=30)	.11	
Low Socialization	23.3559 (N=59)	22.6000 (N=20)	25.9412 (N=18)	***		
High Socialization	24.6500 (N=20)	26.7308 (N=26)	28.5000 (N=6)	22.4800 (N=25)		
Catholic	25.1250 (N=32)	25.9744 (N=39)	27.5455 (N=12)	***		
Upper Class	25.5455 (N=22)	21.9091 (N=11)	25.4286 (N=7)	***		
Working Class	23.1636 (N=55)	26.1034 (N=29)	26.9333 (N=16)	22.1500 (N=20)	.05	
High School	24.8529 (N=34)	28.3636 (N=22)	26.3750 (N=9)	24.8750 (N=8)		
1-2 years College	23.9688 (N=32)	23.9474 (N=19)	25.3750 (N=8)	24.5000		
3 or more years College	20.2500 (N=16)	20.8750 (N=8)	26.7143 (N=7)	20.7857 (N=14)		
1-5 years Police exp.	23.6563 (N=32)	23.5000 (N=24)	28.3333 (N=7)	21.4545 (N=11)		
6-15 years Police exp.	23.3871 (N=31)	26.0000 (N=11)	25.6923 (N=13)	23.0714 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	23.6429 (N=19)	28.6429 (N=14)	25.8000 (N=5)	25.4000 (N=5)	.09	

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*no post hoc comparisons were significant at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).



differential in Irish and traditional scores in the high and low socialization categories is indicative of the substantial impact of this factor, a factor which relates directly to the structural attributes already discussed.

It should be noted that among black officers, intolerance is at and occasionally below the level expressed by white modern officers. This may be accounted for by the general forced historical socialization of blacks to the dominant cultural scheme, as well as by the structural ambiguities often encountered in the black culture; for example, the frequency of fragmented nuclear families and economic insecurity.

Hypothesis Six is provisionally accepted.

#### Hypothesis Seven

Hypothesis Seven is:

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of authoritarianism.

Data relative to the mean scores of police officers on a four-item measure of general authoritarianism are set out in Table 4.24. The range of possible scores is from 4 to 24, with higher authoritarianism indicated by higher scores. The data does not support the contention that traditional ethnics are more authoritarian than modern ethnics; rather, that modern ethnics tend to exhibit more authoritarianism than traditionals. In 8 out of 12 categories, moderns scored higher, and among officers from upper-class origins, this difference is at the .01 level of statistical significance. The hypothesis is rejected.

TABLE 4.24.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring General Authoritarianism, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 P*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	14.6341 (N=82)	13.8400 (N=50)	14.0833 (N=24)	12.1667 (N=30)		
Low Socialization	14.8814 (N=59)	12.9000 (N=20)	13.1765 (N=18)	***	.23	
High Socialization	14.1000 (N=20)	14.5769 (N=26)	16.3333 (N=6)	12.0800 (N=25)		
Catholic	14.4375 (N=32)	14.1026 (N=39)	14.0000 (N=12)	***		
Upper Class	14.8636 (N=22)	12.5455 (N=11)	15.1429 (N=7)	***	.01	
Working Class	14.7091 (N=55)	14.3448 (N=29)	13.2000 (N=16)	11.7000 (N=20)		
High School	14.3824 (N=34)	14.5455 (N=22)	14.1250 (N=9)	12.1250 (N=8)		
1-2 years College	14.0000 (N=32)	13.3684 (N=19)	14.7500 (N=8)	14.1250 (N=8)		
3 or more years College	16.4375 (N=16)	12.8750 (N=8)	13.0000 (N=7)	11.0714 (N=14)		
1-5 years Police exp.	15.6563 (N=32)	13.0833 (N=24)	13.1667 (N=7)	11.9091 (N=11)	.18	
6-15 years Police exp.	13.4839 (N=31)	13.5455 (N=11)	14.0769 (N=13)	12.0000 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	14.7895 (N=19)	15.0000 (N=14)	15.2000 (N=5)	13.2000 (N=5)		

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*no post hoc comparisons were significant at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).

A problem in the use of a measure of general authoritarianism relates to the question of just what is being measured, since the concept is hardly monolithic. The four-item measure utilized is a shortened version of the ten-item F scale, designed to measure personality isolates such as political and economic conservatism, concern with status, a rigid cognitive style, ethnocentrism, adherence to in-group authorities and generally rigid personalities. Although traditional society might involve a tendency to promote conservatism in most or all social endeavors, there is no generic attribute of that cultural setting which, per se, demands the conclusion that traditional police officers would tend to exhibit the other authoritarian attributes over modern ethnics. The authoritarian hypothesis was decided upon, rather, based on the related concepts of faith in people, intolerance of ambiguity and dogmatism, each of which was pertinent to the ethnic comparisons, and the common assertion that all of these measures constitute aspects of authoritarianism.

The data may be reflecting two entirely different social and psychological dynamics. It will be noted that, among traditional and Irish officers, mean scores increase substantially between low and high socialization, suggesting some limited support for the original hypothesis; also, that scores decrease as education increases and increase with police experience. These data indicate that high socialization for both ethnic groups involves increased authoritarian tendencies; tendencies which logically would decrease as exposure to a liberal education system increased, but tendencies

which would be favored by the passage of time in a pseudo-military organization with the coercive actualities of policing. Modern officers, on the other hand, reflect an increase in mean scores under conditions of low ethnic socialization (relative anomia?), and an uneven tendency toward increased scores concurrent with educational exposure and decreasing scores with the passage of time in policing. Modern officers may be reflecting the model previously suggested by Fromm, i.e., that modern man reacts to his relatively boundary-free culture by either acquiescing to authority in order to relieve the anxiety caused by this freedom, or by rejecting most or all authority, a syndrome not unlike that described in a psycho-analytic analysis of Martin Luther, his early subservience to the Catholic church and a domineering father, and his later rejection of all authority, culminating in the Reformation.<sup>9</sup>

The reasonably consistent nature of the scores achieved by modern officers, and the fact they do not seem to be moderated by recourse to controls usually thought to decrease authoritarian attributes suggests at least the possibility that some self-selection into policing, by personality predisposition, may be occurring, specifically in the case of modern officers. The erratic nature of mean scores for these officers with the increase in experience may only be illustrative of the basic ambivalence Fromm maintains is characteristic of this cultural type.

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<sup>9</sup>Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther: A Study in Psycho-analysis and History (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1958).

### Hypotheses Eight and Nine

Hypotheses Eight and Nine are directly related one to another and are considered together.

Hypothesis Eight states:

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of political futility.

Hypothesis Nine states:

Modern ethnics will differ significantly from traditional ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of political discontent.

Data relative to these hypotheses are contained in Tables 4.25 and 4.26. The range in both tables for mean scores is from one to six, with the intensity of the attitude measured increasing with increase in score. Table 4.25 contains no contrasts between modern and traditional officers at the level of significance, and although highly socialized, Catholic traditional officers with high school or less education from working-class families score higher on political incapacity, the extreme closeness of the mean scores of each group in all control categories and the fact that four contrasts are in the opposite direction of Hypothesis Eight dictate against inferring any substantive difference between these two ethnic groups. Hypothesis Eight is rejected. Hypothesis Nine is likewise rejected, the mean scores on political cynicism (Table 4.26) noteworthy only for their extreme level of consistency across all levels of control and between the four ethnic groups.

TABLE 4.25.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring Political Incapacity, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 p*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	2.7317 (N=82)	2.8600 (N=50)	3.0417 (N=24)	2.7667 (N=30)		
Low Socialization	2.7288 (N=59)	2.6000 (N=20)	3.2353 (N=18)	***		
High Socialization	2.8000 (N=20)	3.0000 (N=26)	2.6667 (N=6)	2.5200 (N=25)		
Catholic	2.5000 (N=32)	2.9487 (N=39)	2.9091 (N=12)	***	.1	
Upper Class	3.1818 (N=22)	2.7273 (N=11)	3.1429 (N=7)	***		
Working Class	2.6364 (N=55)	2.7931 (N=29)	3.0000 (N=16)	2.8000 (N=20)		
High School	2.7941 (N=34)	3.0455 (N=22)	3.3750 (N=9)	3.5000 (N=8)		
1-2 years College	2.9375 (N=32)	2.7893 (N=19)	3.1250 (N=8)	2.8750 (N=8)		
3 or more years College	2.1875 (N=16)	2.3750 (N=8)	2.8571 (N=7)	2.2857 (N=14)		
1-5 years Police exp.	3.0313 (N=32)	2.8750 (N=24)	4.0000 (N=7)	2.6364 (N=11)		
6-15 years Police exp.	2.5161 (N=31)	2.8182 (N=11)	3.1538 (N=13)	2.6429 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	2.5789 (N=19)	2.8571 (N=14)	1.6000 (N=5)	3.4000 (N=5)		

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*no post hoc comparisons were significant at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).

TABLE 4.26.--Mean Scores of Police Officers from Differing Ethnic Origins on an Index Measuring Political Cynicism, by Control Groups.

Control	1 Modern	2 Traditional	3 Irish	4 Black	1&2 P*	Post Hoc Compari- sons**
Male Officers	3.7683 (N=82)	3.7600 (N=50)	4.0833 (N=24)	3.9000 (N=30)		
Low Socialization	3.8136 (N=59)	3.5500 (N=20)	4.1176 (N=18)	***		
High Socialization	3.7000 (N=20)	3.8077 (N=26)	4.1667 (N=6)	3.8400 (N=25)		
Catholic	3.8750 (N=32)	3.7949 (N=39)	3.7273 (N=12)	***		
Upper Class	3.8636 (N=22)	3.7273 (N=11)	3.8571 (N=7)	***		
Working Class	3.7273 (N=55)	3.6897 (N=29)	4.2000 (N=16)	4.0000 (N=20)		
High School	3.6176 (N=34)	3.7273 (N=22)	3.8750 (N=9)	3.7500 (N=8)		
1-2 years College	3.9688 (N=32)	3.6314 (N=19)	4.2500 (N=8)	4.0000 (N=8)		
3 or more years College	3.6875 (N=16)	4.0000 (N=8)	4.2857 (N=7)	3.9286 (N=14)		
1-5 years Police exp.	3.9373 (N=32)	3.7083 (N=24)	4.1667 (N=7)	4.0909 (N=11)		
6-15 years Police exp.	3.6129 (N=31)	3.8182 (N=11)	4.0769 (N=13)	3.7857 (N=14)		
16+ years Police exp.	3.7368 (N=19)	3.7143 (N=14)	4.0000 (N=5)	3.8000 (N=5)		

\*a priori contrasts, t value.

\*\*no post hoc comparisons were significant at or beyond the .05 alpha level.

\*\*\*excluded from analysis due to small cell size (under 5).

Although the hypothesis relative to political incapacity has been rejected, it is still possible that ethnicity may be having a marginal impact on the scores of traditional officers, i.e., that an immigrant culture may exhibit more perceptions of political incapacity, perceptions which may be moderated by the existence of even a nominal ethnic political machinery. While Detroit does not exhibit the ethnic political history of Chicago, New York, or Boston, it is advertised frequently as "Ethnic City" in the local paper, and it is conceivable that even the feeling of community engenders heightened perceptions of political clout.<sup>10</sup>

The uniformity in scores in Table 4.26 (political cynicism) indicates, on the other hand, the impact of occupation on the level of political cynicism, as well as a reasonably high consensus among police officers that political decisions are not being made which reflect their desires or goals. This dysjuncture between goals may be further indicative of a potential police-citizen and system conflict since, regardless of the oft-advertised good government goal of removing the police from "politics," it is well established that one of the primary functions of the police is to enforce and legitimate political decisions, and to be

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<sup>10</sup> During the period July-September 1975, well over 100 specific references were made, in the Detroit Free Press, to white ethnic groups, their festivals, church organization and unique social organizations.



sensitive to shifts in the priorities of local politics as those priorities relate to the police function.<sup>11</sup>

### Summary

Traditional and modern officers were found to differ in two of four social-psychological attributes, all of which are generally related to the authoritarian concept; namely, in terms of faith in people (higher for modern officers) and intolerance of ambiguity (higher for traditional officers). Although there was a very slight tendency reflected in the data indicating traditional officers may be more dogmatic, the evidence was not sufficient for even provisional acceptance of the hypothesis. Two related measures of political alienation, political incapacity and political cynicism, failed to provide any evidence of significant differences between the two ethnic groups being contrasted.

Chapter V will summarize the results of all hypothesis testing, and discuss the substantive impact of the findings.

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<sup>11</sup>A critical presentation of the extent and nature of such linkage is contained in Klonoski and Mendelsohn, Politics of Local Justice.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The basic question approached in this research has been whether or not ethnicity--a factor displaying reasonable strength in political behavior and other areas of social life--is a salient independent variable within the context of policing. The great complexity of the police function as well as the variety of behavior encountered in the performance of that function, a complexity and variety well documented in the literature and often experienced by the writer, coupled with the "ethnic" attributes of many urban police departments, led to a questioning of the sufficiency of personality, class, occupational-based, or other one-factor theory seeking to explain police behavior. It was felt that in order for ethnicity to be considered as a legitimate social variable, it would have to be reduced to a definition which would identify some generic content capable of resulting in predictable phenomena. Subsequent to defining ethnicity as an involuntary association with a culture-bearing group, a typology of culture types based on structural attributes was developed, the major division being modern and traditional societies. Several specific groups--the Irish, Jews and Blacks, were excluded from classification due to their special cultural or assimilative experiences and history.

A series of research hypotheses was specified based on a contrast between the two major cultural groups--modern and traditional ethnics--and data was collected from the Wayne County Sheriff's Department, which is headquartered in and services Detroit, Michigan. Value structures, work orientations and several social-psychological attributes were selected as the operational measures of ethnicity, premised on the assumption that each of these factors orient and condition behavior. In addition, the spectrum of measures was kept purposely broad so that a determination could be made relative to the overall impact of ethnicity, if any.

This chapter is divided into four sections. Section I contains a restatement of the hypotheses and the results of the data analysis in terms of acceptance or rejection. Section II contains a modern and traditional "profile," and a discussion of the consistency of the profile with the cultural continuance model and assimilative considerations. Section III relates the research findings to policing, and discusses the probable substantive impact of ethnicity in this occupational field. Section IV contains concluding remarks.

#### Section I: Summary of Research Findings

Nine major hypotheses were examined in this study. Hypotheses One and Two relate to the rank ordering of terminal and instrumental life values; Hypothesis Three to work orientations; and Hypotheses Four through Nine to social-psychological

attributes. Each hypothesis is restated below, followed by a statement reflecting its acceptance or rejection.

### Hypothesis One

There is a significant difference between police officers representing the ethnic categories of traditionalism and modernism in their rank ordering of terminal life values.

This hypothesis was tested by recourse to nine specific hypotheses, each of which predicted a higher or lower rank ordering of a particular terminal value. Hypotheses 1.1 (modern ethnics value freedom higher), and 1.4, 1.5, 1.7 through 1.9 (traditional ethnics value social recognition, family security, happiness, comfortable lives and friendship higher) were all accepted. Hypotheses 1.2 and 1.3 (modern ethnics value equality and accomplishment higher), as well as 1.6 (traditional ethnics value national security higher), were rejected. In the case of national security, the data indicated modern ethnics ranked this value higher, a finding that may be more consistent with vested interest than any generic aspect of modern culture itself. Based on the acceptance of six of the nine subhypotheses, Hypothesis One was accepted.

### Hypothesis Two

There is a significant difference between police officers representing the ethnic categories of traditionalism and modernism in their rank ordering of instrumental life values.

Initial comparison of the median scores of all four ethnic groups identified in the study revealed no differences in scores

at or beyond the .05 level of statistical significance, nor any differences reasonably close to this level. This lack of difference was maintained when comparing officers of working-class backgrounds, a category most descriptive of policing throughout the nation. Hypothesis Two, which subsumed nine specific value predictive hypotheses, was rejected in toto. The finding of substantial differences in terminal values, yet none in instrumental (with the possible exception of the value imagination, ranked higher by modern officers), indicates that Gordon's model of acculturation but not assimilation is very probably operative.

### Hypothesis Three

There is a significant difference between police officers representing the ethnic categories of traditionalism and modernism in their orientation to work.

Six indices, each bearing on a unique parameter of the work environment, were developed from the individual survey questions. Each parameter became the subject of a subhypothesis of the general predictive statement, contrasting modern and traditional officers. Hypotheses 3.2 and 3.4, which predicted modern ethnics would place a higher valuation on individual opportunities, and traditional ethnics a higher valuation on positive social interactions, respectively, were rejected based on the data, which indicated no difference between the two groups. The data did indicate, however, that traditional ethnics do perceive of work more as an instrumentality (Hypothesis 3.1), perceive of work as an

opportunity to enhance community welfare (Hypothesis 3.3), while modern ethnics place higher importance on peer competition and personal recognition (Hypothesis 3.4), and adhere more to the work ethic (Hypothesis 3.6). No negative trends in the data, indicating another model of ethnicity was in effect, could be discerned. The lack of difference in the areas of individual opportunity and positive social interaction may be a function of police organization and ethos. Hypothesis Three was accepted.

#### Hypothesis Four

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures testing faith in people.

The data indicated that just the opposite was in effect; namely, that modern ethnics evidenced a consistently higher faith in people. Re-examination of the premise underlying this hypothesis indicated it had been incorrectly formulated, and that while traditional societies are people-intensive, that social interaction is based more on pragmatic evaluations of the social quid pro quo and a healthy skepticism about any assumptions of basic human goodness; conversely, rationalism--a critical aspect of modern societies--is closely associated with a belief that man will either act morally given sufficient information or, at least he has that basic potential. Hypothesis Four was rejected as stated, and reformulated to reflect the higher score on measures of faith in people by modern ethnics.

### Hypothesis Five

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of dogmatism.

The evidence did not support this assertion. Although there was a faint tendency for traditional officers to score higher on this measure, sufficient direction did not exist for even provisional acceptance. The hypothesis was rejected.

### Hypothesis Six

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of intolerance of ambiguity.

The rationale for this hypothesis related to the expanded social milieu of modern societies, the stress on planning, and the much wider range of individual options available vis traditional societies. In such a cultural context, greater emphasis during socialization relative to tolerating ambiguity should occur. The data indicated support for this hypothesis and it was accepted. It was noteworthy that traditional ethnics indicating a high level of ethnic socialization scored four points higher on the intolerance of ambiguity scale, indicating that even within the context of an advanced modern society, ethnic socialization to a much more limited social framework is possibly occurring.

Hypothesis Seven

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of authoritarianism.

This hypothesis was not justified in the data, and it was rejected. It was found that although authoritarianism tended to increase substantially among traditional and Irish officers when contrasting low and high ethnic socialization, modern officers scored higher in 8 out of 12 control categories. This latter result indicates some support for Fromm's assertion that ethnics in the modern category tend to react to freedom by acquiescing to or totally rejecting authority, as well as some possible vacillation in these extremes. The general decrease in authoritarianism among modern officers with the gaining of police experience does not support the view that police work creates authoritarian attitudes; rather, that some degree of self-selection into policing may be occurring. This is further supported by the high consistency in scores among modern officers across controls. Where three or more years college is indicated, however, the mean score of modern officers jumps over two points, indicating that as education increases, so may a fuller realization of the boundaries of modern "freedom," and the subsequent reaction.



### Hypotheses Eight and Nine

Traditional ethnics will differ significantly from modern ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of political futility.

Modern ethnics will differ significantly from traditional ethnics in the degree to which they score higher on measures of political discontent.

Although all officers evidenced a middle range of political futility (approximately three on a six point scale), and higher political discontent (approximately four on a six point scale), the data failed to show any substantial differentiation based on ethnicity, and both hypotheses were rejected. To the extent that police officers are politically alienated in terms of political priorities and policy, a certain level of tension and conflict is indicated, especially if policing is viewed as a legitimating function of the political system.

### Section II: A Tentative Ethnic Profile

It is important to note that although some substantial differences in median or mean scores were disclosed in the analysis, most differences were not of a great actual magnitude, and most variance was in the range of from two to three points. Police officers, across ethnic lines, indicated some rather consistent preference patterns, such as family security and self-respect, a concern for honesty and personal responsibility, a tendency to perceive of their function less in terms of a mere life instrumentality and more in terms of public service, a rather

healthy cynicism relative to faith in people, moderate dogmatism and intolerance of ambiguity as well as a rather sharp degree of political discontent. Most of these tendencies are relatable to the known realities of urban policing, possibly to the working-class origins of most police officers and perhaps even to some personality predispositions.

Apart from these tendencies, however, the data allows for the general formulation of both a modern and a traditional police profile, a profile that is highly consistent with the cultural continuance model. The data indicate that modern officers are unique in their stress on independence of action and freedom, the seeking of peer competition and an adherence to the work ethic. They also evidence a higher faith in people as well as a heightened ability to tolerate ambiguity. They appear less concerned with the organic (community) aspects of policing and with work as a milieu in which close interpersonal relationships are fostered, and more in work for the sake of self-image maintenance and ego-building. The traditional officer, on the other hand, presents much more organically in terms of both organization and community. Work itself is valued less for its intrinsic ability to serve as a competitive arena, but as a necessity of life; social recognition, true friendships, comfort and happiness are valued, possibly reflecting a desire to establish and maintain closer organizational and community contacts where less mobility is desired. Although orientation is to face-to-face social relationships, this orientation is accompanied by a reticence to assume a great deal about the

basic goodness of man, resulting in less faith in people than expressed by modern officers. Socialized to a more static culture, the traditional officer exhibits more intolerance of ambiguity.

In short, the range of preferences and attributes of each ethnic group describes the cultural characteristics of modern and traditional societies in general; one of which promotes individualism, existential life styles and expansive social options, the other a tightly woven, more socially stable and people-intensive tradition. In questioning the propriety of the cultural continuance model of ethnicity utilized, the data was examined not only for the stated hypotheses, but for any results which would indicate the existence of alternative models. In the majority of cases where hypotheses were rejected, the data did not indicate an opposite direction; rather, a situation of no difference between the two groups. In two instances where results were in a consistently negative direction (stress on national security, and faith in people), recourse to either a re-examination of the theoretical premise or a tentative finding that culture was not operant in guiding the factor seemed more reasonable than an alternative theory. In toto, and in relation to ethnicity, no tendencies in the data could be discerned other than cultural continuance. While these findings promote an acceptance of defining ethnicity in cultural terms, and prediction based on the characteristics of ethnic cultures (as opposed to defining ethnicity in

situational terms, as per mobilization theory, even though such theory may be descriptive of reality in certain social situations), a second question relates to the assimilative model which is being demonstrated in the data.

There would seem to be strong support for Gordon's model of acculturation but not assimilation, less for ethnogenesis, and moderate support for limited melting pot theory. The latter is supported not only by the across-ethnic-group consistency in instrumental scores, but by the failure of the data to demonstrate differences based on cultural identification except in what is perceived to be the high priority cultural value range. In other words, while acculturation but not assimilation may be appropriate to describe the difference between terminal and instrumental value selections, within the terminal value spectrum, a full articulation of values based on the structure in question is not demonstrated; rather, what seems to be only major cultural premises; i.e., modernism and freedom, etc. Secondly, while serious reservation has already been stated relative to the ability of the measures utilized to pick up cultural differences at all, the overall lack of major (substantive point) differences in scores suggests that some melting has certainly occurred.

As important, the failure of modern officers to strongly exhibit modern cultural traits in contrast to traditional officers may be less a question of traditional officers reaching a state of assimilation in which values and attributes are closely aligned with a modern "ideal," but equally a question of the attenuation

of historic modern cultural attributes by virtue of a cultural-structural disjunction in a post-industrial society. This is a theme developed by Daniel Bell, among others, which questions the assumption of a primary organicity in modern structural, social and individual life.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, the data contains reasonable support for maintaining the propriety of the tentative ethnic classification system used in this study. Blacks clearly demonstrate substantial variation in many of the measures utilized. The Irish, although demonstrating some closeness with the modern host culture, also frequently demonstrate more extreme variation in scores, nor does the direction of their responses always remain consistent with either modern or traditional models of predicted response. It is probable that to the extent that ethnogenesis is a salient concept, it applies most to the Irish.

### Section III: Ethnicity and Policing

The intensity of ethnicity in policing is difficult to gauge. Certainly, the data do not justify specifying this

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<sup>1</sup>Daniel Bell, The Coming of Post-Industrial Society (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973). See especially "Coda," pp. 369-475. On page 477, Bell advises that the social evidence is such that both Weber's and Parsons' organic conceptions of society are no longer operative. He states: "Contrary to these conceptions, what has been happening in Western society for the past hundred years, I believe, is a widening disjunction between the social structure (the economy, technology, and occupational system) and the culture (the symbolic expression of meanings), each of which is ruled by a different axial principle. The social structure is rooted in functional rationality and efficiency, the culture in the antinomian justification of the enhancement of the self."

variable as preeminent in guiding behavior. Nonetheless, the data do suggest that ethnicity does not manifest itself in purely ad hoc ways, but as a reasonably consistent factor in terms of cultural structure. As such, the synergistic process allows for the possibility of the intermixing and focusing of several weaker cultural preferences, values or attributes based on ethnicity at the behavioral level with possibly much greater force than would be indicated by consideration of any single factor by itself.

Conversely, policing must be viewed as a reasonably highly constrained occupation, one in which a great deal of policy latitude is seldom experienced at the highest levels of organization.

Policy is limited by severe budgetary restrictions, restrictions that are presumed to be articulated mostly in terms of jurisdictional political priorities. Policy is likewise seldom independently articulated even within this context, since police also react to the mandates and realities of other aspects of the criminal justice system.

Some factors within policing limit the inherent potential of ethnicity more than others. The legal developments of the past decade have sharply limited police discretion in the handling of complainants and offenders, as well as the more mundane order-maintenance type of police-citizen interaction. The utilization of specialized techniques has been sharply curtailed. Both state and federal agencies have dulled the prerogatives of local policing by the establishment of training and certification standards, but

mostly by their ability to fund those police programs and activities most congruent with state or federal perceptions of what constitutes the appropriate police function. Increased emphasis by the public on policing relative to a fuller articulation of civil libertarian concepts has also raised the visibility of policing to a level where the normally highly discretionary role of the individual patrolman is often the subject of sharp and critical scrutiny. Lastly, blanket condemnation of policing in the recent past, often coupled with a lack of sensitivity to the operational exigencies as well as the extensive ethical conduct which has often typified this endeavor, has resulted in administrators and police officers alike reacting to the possibility of further condemnation or public reprobation by recourse to bureaucratic procedures and standards even though such procedures and standards may ultimately have a negative impact on crime suppression, resolution and public safety.

Even within this context, however, and at the highest levels of organization, ethnicity may have some limited impact. This is especially true where police administrators, city politicians and influential citizens all enjoy the same or similar ethnic backgrounds. Ethnic politics and ethnic policing are not unknown phenomena. Whether the police function is order-maintenance, legalistic or watchman in style, to use Wilson's paradigm, may depend on just such congruence.<sup>2</sup>

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

Apart from the question of whether or not a candidate for a top police administrative post can even be selected without demonstrating a reasonable level of such congruence, the modern-traditional contrast suggests that legalism and legalistic policing is much more an attribute of modern society, while the more organic and less formalized order maintenance style is more appropriate to traditional cultures. It may also be speculated that traditional ethnics do not, in a relative sense, sanctify the law as do modern ethnics, a sanctity which for modern cultures is fully demonstrated in English history, puritan life styles, and in the dialogue preceding as well as the form of the American constitution. While "good government" orientations and movements may have had their origins in the efforts of nativists to blunt the perceived abuses of ethnic politics, such an orientation also demands the specification of expansive public frames of references as well as a rational bureaucratic set of policies and procedures applicable to all. The existence of disparate styles of policing is antithetical to this premise. Thus, while the traditional officer might theoretically be sensitive and amenable to policing by virtue of cultural need (as in a concept of neighborhood policing and the modification of police behavior by neighborhood), for the modern officer this same concept might engender perceptions of system breakdown and the violation (or disregarding) of law itself.

It is at the lower levels of policing, however, that ethnicity is liable to have the greatest impact. The ability to



relate to department policy, communicate that policy or even feel the need to enforce such policy may be conditioned by ethnic origin. Due to the notorious span-of-control gap in policing and the relative anonymity still exercised by individual officers at the operational level, the most extensively articulated policy is liable to failure unless considerations beyond mere punitive enforcement of that policy are undertaken. How policy is communicated by first-line supervisors and how it is related to department as well as individual goals will help condition its acceptance. Such communication and such acceptance may be influenced by ethnicity. A policy relative to the handling of complainants and suspects may, for example, be perceived by one ethnic as dysfunctional to his notion of community integrity and welfare, to another only in terms of another organizational criteria the adherence to which will facilitate occupational progress. A policy on the proper wearing of the police uniform may be related to status in the community by one ethnic officer, and perceived as trivial in that respect by another. The enforcement priorities of a division may be viewed as a great to-do about nothing (as, for example, some or most of the victimless crimes), or as critical to system maintenance and moral integrity. In these instances, it may be less important to decide upon the ethnic composition of the police audience in question than to specify and operationalize policy in such a manner that it is perceived to be relevant to a variety of major ethnic preferences and perceptual fields. The question is one of increasing the effectiveness of policy decisions (regardless

of content), by taking into consideration not only function, experience levels, technical competence and the like, but cultural diversity as well.

At the phenomenological level, the nature of social exchange between police officers and citizens is yet to be fully explored. At base, ethnicity has the high potential for being a critical element in the spectrum of investments that police officers and citizens bring to that exchange. For the theoretically "ideal" modernist, the emphasis is on information processing and procedure, with little emphasis on the subtle social nuances of the inter-exchange. For this individual, success and self-image maintenance may well reside in the ultimate disposition or investigative product attained, and not in the on-scene or occupational status maintenance vis the other immediate actors. For the "ideal" traditional officer, procedure and ultimate system product may be far less important than perceptions that the social integrity of the situation itself was managed properly, in terms of community ethos, roles and statuses. Thus, the mutual respect posture of the involved parties, as well as the nature of the act under inquiry may also tailor action. Loyalty to a departmental style or to other officers at the scene may also take some precedence over a mandated bureaucratic approach to a police problem. Consistency with community ethos may involve the enforcement of some minor offenses as well as ignoring some major (per the law) offenses as well.

To the extent that ethnicity colors social exchange and especially to the extent that ethnicity results in misinterpreted

communications, the coercive potential of policing as well as the danger of violence to the officer is increased. The whole question of ethnicity and communication should constitute a major aspect of research in the future. The same implications relate to the need to explore ethnicity within the context of police training, which is still heavily oriented at present to police technique as opposed to interpersonal communication. Training should aim at the goal of facilitating among all ethnic officers--modern, traditional, Blacks and Irish, et al.--the ability to intellectually recognize their own cultural orientations and constraints, and to expand their spectrum of interpersonal techniques so that various approaches can be called upon and utilized to maximize police input into any social situation while minimizing danger.

The functional placement of officers based on ethnicity is another area of potential development, in addition to considerations of experience, tenure and technical competence. This may be especially relevant to those police functions which involve high risk or expensive ventures. For example, in the formation of an intelligence gathering team (the exploitation of sourcing, for example, in relation to a specific area of criminal activity), or where multi-faceted public audiences are predictable (as in the case of a community-wide narcotics effort focusing not on a specific group, but all levels of the social entity), specific ethnic officers may be recruited so that maximum team flexibility is achieved and the probability of success increased. This may also be extended to the placement of ethnic types in tense public order

situations; i.e., selection of the officer most able to relate to the tension, evaluate and communicate it accurately to the appropriate decision-making levels. At the staff level of the police organization, it may be appropriate to order the ratio of ethnic composition (an ordering which can occur in terms of particular staff function as opposed to what may normatively be objectionable, as in a straight quota system), so that maximum differential perceptions can be brought to bear on the staffing of a particular problem and the delineation and evaluation of organizational options. In other words, a certain increased level of staff flexibility may accrue to efforts to ensure a good ethnic mix at that level.

Ethnicity seems relevant, lastly, to the subject of organizational change itself, and the facilitation of change. Ethnicity is a normative statement. In addition to the police ethos, community proclivities and the like, ethnic norms may condition when and where change is appropriate as well as the form of such change. How change itself is regarded in principle may well be a partial function of cultural identification. Given a superimposed change mandate, the identification and mobilization of change agents will become critical, agents who not only are able to relate personally to the content of the change, but who have the ability to exercise logic, persuasion and interpersonal networks (singly or in combination as appropriate), to facilitate that change. To the degree that ethnicity is conceded to be relevant to change, its form and content, it might also be surmised that

monolithic state or federal standards in granting funds to local jurisdiction will impede change that is inconsistent with the occupational, jurisdictional or community needs at hand, at least to some degree. Since change in policing is designed to ultimately reduce criminality, a difficult task under the best of circumstances, the need to maximize the operational potential of each department by encouraging change consistent with the uniqueness of that department (within obvious limits) should be apparent. Ethnicity is a factor which should be included in such an appraisal.

#### Section IV: Concluding Remarks

There are unfortunate normative overtones in any discussion of ethnicity, and there can be no denying the implicit connection often made between class and ethnicity. In addition, the equalitarian tendencies of American society tend to make many individuals uneasy with any inquiry into the subject. In a recent issue of a national news magazine, one commentator testifies to the uneasiness she feels at the plethora of "ethnic" television programs, the seeming increase in ethnic identification throughout the country, and the prospect of all of this resulting in the unfair and prejudicial treatment of individuals.<sup>3</sup> In a follow-up letter to the editor, another individual advised that the situation was so bad in regard

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<sup>3</sup>Meg Greenfield, "Ethnic and Son," Newsweek, September 29, 1975, p. 96.

to this emergence of ethnicity that one must go to Europe in order to feel like an "American."<sup>4</sup>

The American mania for equality, while ignoring the creative potential of a society in which differing cultures coexist and maintain, has often resulted in "I'm as good or better than you" kind of research, or research which interprets any variance lower than the host culture in terms of discriminatory treatment. A recent example of such research is a Ford Foundation study in which the data indicated that Catholics and Jews now have more education and income than Protestant nativists, but still occupy fewer executive and high prestige positions as well as experiencing less occupational mobility. Speaking of the progress of Irish Catholics, the report advises:

. . . they have the best education and best income of any gentile group in the country. . . . Still, in cities in the north, British Protestants have a higher rate of occupational mobility than do Irish Catholics--they get higher prestige jobs than do Irish Catholics with the same education.<sup>5</sup>

The report goes on to advise that, in regard to Italian Catholics, this disparity is much greater, this group not getting ". . . jobs nearly as prestigious as do other Americans with the same educational background." The report advises the data reflect possible discrimination based on ethnicity.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>See "Letters to the Editor," Newsweek, October 20, 1975, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Detroit Free Press, October 19, 1975, sec. A, pp. 1, 15A, quoting from a recently released Ford Foundation study conducted by Andrew Greeley.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

Interpretations such as these bespeak a rather myopic view of what constitutes social success; more importantly, variables are identified in research and interpretations given without any real inquiry into the generic and possibly causative content of those very same variables. Research of this nature assumes a normative linearity in cultural forms, a very tenuous assumption. Ethnicity cannot at once be cited as a unique factor, then case aside as superficial in a behavioral sense. To assert such a view is to cast society itself and the culture or cultures it represents in an existential mode, a philosophical statement seldom achieved by individuals, let alone social collectivities.

The failure to realize and promote the creative potential of differing cultures within a general American cultural context--the failure to maximize and encourage that 5 or 10 or even 25 percent cultural marginality that most or all Americans experience--is indicative of the roughshod and unsophisticated nature of this society. Options are lost or repressed by virtue of recourse to procedures, efficiency techniques and an impersonal style of life typifying "Americana," but with which few ethnics of any variety can identify fully.

To state the obvious, policing occupies an extremely sensitive role in American life. Rapid social change and development have a way of focusing at the police-citizen level in conflict which, under the best of resolutions, leaves many unhappy. The dismal failure of policing and the entire criminal justice system to either prevent or repress crime or to rehabilitate identified

offenders suggests that we have been captured by our own American traditions--the sanctity of the law, the righteousness of bureaucracy, the unbounded limits of rationalism. Nowhere is questioning so demanded and creative thought so needed as within the criminal justice system. The source of such creativity may lie squarely in the cultural diversity which already exists there, a diversity which needs only to be nurtured and developed.



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## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PILOT STUDY RESULTS

## APPENDIX A

### PILOT STUDY RESULTS

A pilot study was undertaken in order to minimize ambiguities in the questionnaire as well as to provide data from which the established research hypotheses could be refined, expanded and/or reformulated. The Lansing Police Department, Lansing, Michigan, was selected as the site of the pilot study, and officials of that department agreed to distribution of the questionnaire to volunteers among the force. In order to maximize the possibility of testing a sufficient number of both traditional and modern ethnics, an initial letter was distributed to all department members, inviting their participation and inquiring into their ethnic origins. Of the 295 letters distributed, 117 were returned. Of this latter number, however, only seven officers indicated ethnic origins which would place them in the traditional category. Surveys were distributed to those seven, as well as 68 officers indicating modern and/or Irish ethnic origins. In addition, 25 surveys were distributed to members of an advanced undergraduate sociology class peopled exclusively by students actively engaged in police or related work at the local, state or federal level. A total of 51 surveys were returned, of which 34 were classified as modern ethnic, 7 as traditional ethnic, 8 as Irish, and 2 as non-classifiable.

The respondents in the pilot study do not constitute a random sample; further, the extremely small subsample sizes make any inferences of very limited value. As a result, the second objective of the study; i.e., to refine, expand and/or reformulate the research hypotheses, was resolved in favor of using the theoretical foundations as presented in Chapter III as the exclusive basis for prediction. In the matter of the ethnic classification scheme, however, the pilot study did result in the separation of the Irish from the category modern ethnic, a category in which they had originally been included based on a presumed cultural nearness with Great Britain, as well as their length of time in America, much longer than that of the "New Immigration." Isolating the Irish was predicated primarily on their rank-ordering of the Rokeach values, and some indication in the literature that the Irish often demonstrate unique values and behavior (refer to Chapter II, Review of the Literature).

The length of the survey instrument, because of the felt need to explore a wide range of dependent and independent variables, was of primary concern in the pilot study, as was the need to resolve any difficulties in gaining responses to specific questions which would allow maximum use of the data. Respondents reported that time spent in completing the questionnaire ranged from thirty minutes to one hour and fifteen minutes. Although the 51 surveys returned were almost all completed, this high rate of completion was assumed to be more a function of the special nature of the respondents themselves (volunteers and/or students in a class in which the



researcher was known to the students), rather than a hard indication of the completion rate to be expected from a random sample or census. As a result, several measures used in the pilot study were deleted from the instrument as finally distributed in order to minimize the time necessary to complete the survey while maximizing the extent to which each survey would be completely filled out. A localism-cosmopolitanism scale (Dye, 1966) was deleted, as was an alternate work value measure (Rosenburg, 1957). The Rosenberg measure was essentially a duplication of the Kilpatrick measure already described, and involved rather intricate instructions to the respondent. Some respondents complained of confusion in this regard, while it was obvious from other returns that the instructions were often misunderstood. The Dye localism-cosmopolitanism scale, while not duplicated in the final survey instrument, was felt to be of lesser importance conceptually than the other measures utilized; further, it was felt that the limits of the social milieu perceived to be significant to respondents might be somewhat inferred from responses to the Rokeach value scale as well as from scores on the dogmatism, intolerance of ambiguity and even the Kilpatrick work value measures.

Questions concerned with specification of independent variables and background information were streamlined, clarified and in several cases deleted entirely. A question on perception of the importance of ethnicity in conditioning individual response in life situations, as well as a question concerned with the

respondent's perceptions of family affluence during childhood were deleted since they elicited abrasive responses or may have served to adversely condition responses later on in the questionnaire. Other questions were refined (as, for example, a caveat on a question relating to father's occupation to specify that occupation even if the father was retired or deceased), and/or modified (on questions relating to political philosophy, the terms denoting the extremes of the political spectrum were modified from radical liberal and conservative, to very conservative or liberal) in an attempt to neutralize any normative conditioning effects as well as to hopefully elicit a wider range of responses. Another question, which attempted to measure the number of differing assignments each officer had held, as a means of comparing the respondent's aspiration level with his actual mobility, was also deleted since it failed to provide exact information or to discriminate among officers with in excess of five years of police experience. Further, it was felt that an alternate method of comparison, current rank, was already available with much more valid results.

Results of the Rokeach value survey are reflected in Tables A-1 and A-2. These results are reasonably consistent with a survey of this same department in 1971, by Rokeach, Miller and Snyder, in which the terminal values family security, a world of peace, freedom, self-respect, and a sense of accomplishment were ranked from first to fifth, respectively, and the instrumental

values of honesty, responsibility, ambition, self-control and capable were rank-ordered from one to five, respectively.<sup>1</sup> In the pilot study, the total sample ranked the terminal values family security, self-respect, happiness, freedom and accomplishment highest, while the value a world of peace dropped to eleventh position, and happiness was ranked third. This may be indicative of a 1971 reaction to the social turmoil of the 1960s, a period in which policing came under severe operational stress as well as general public castigation, and a return to more traditional values as the unrest subsided and policing regained some measure of public trust. Within group comparison, however, revealed that while modern and traditional ethnics consistently valued happiness, that the Irish officers considered this value only of medium (eighth) importance, and while all groups rated equality very low, modern origin officers placed high value on freedom (independence), while both Irish and traditional ethnics ranked this value quite low. Further comparison indicates the Irish value social recognition higher than both other groups; traditional officers pleasure; the Irish accomplishment, and both Irish and traditional value true friendship above modern ethnics, although none of these value differences were at the level of .05 statistical significance.

Relative to the rank-ordering of instrumental values, the value honesty, in the current survey, has dropped from first placement to rank order 11, while broadmindedness has moved from seventh

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<sup>1</sup>Rokeach, "The Value Gap Between Police and Policed."

TABLE A-1.--Terminal Value Means and Composite Rank Orders for Lansing Police Officers, and Ethnic Subgroups.

Value	Sample Mean (N=49)	Modern Ethnic (N=34)	Irish Ethnic (N=8)	Traditional Ethnic (N=7)
Comfortable life	9.294 (10)	9.471 (10)	8.875 (8)	9.714 (10)
Exciting life	11.059 (12)	11.206 (12)	11.500 (14)	11.571 (14)
Accomplishment	7.569 (5)	7.088 (5)	5.768 (3)	6.571 (4)
Peace	10.706 (11)	10.588 (11)	11.125 (13)	9.286 (8)
Beauty	15.039 (18)	15.176 (18)	15.125 (18)	13.857 (17)
Equality	13.431 (16)	13.441 (16)	13.000 (16)	12.857 (16)
Family security	3.196 (1)	3.235 (1)	4.250 (1)	2.286 (1)
Freedom	7.412 (4)	6.294 (4)	9.125 (11)	10.429 (12)*
Happiness	6.118 (3)	5.559 (3)	8.875 (8)*	4.000 (2)
Mature love	8.314 (8)	8.647 (8)	6.750 (4)	9.286 (8)
National security	13.686 (17)	13.529 (17)	11.500 (14)	16.143 (18)
Pleasure	12.157 (15)	12.265 (14)	13.125 (17)	10.857 (13)
Salvation	11.745 (14)	13.176 (15)	8.375 (7)	9.714 (10)
Self-respect	5.000 (2)	4.912 (2)	4.250 (1)	5.857 (3)
Social recognition	11.588 (13)	12.000 (13)	8.875 (8)	12.571 (15)
True friendship	8.882 (9)	9.059 (9)	7.750 (6)	8.857 (6)
Wisdom	7.843 (6)	7.882 (7)	7.625 (5)	8.857 (6)
Inner Harmony	7.961 (7)	7.471 (6)	10.750 (12)	8.286 (5)

\*Rank orders on the values freedom and happiness were significant at the .07 and .007 levels, in an analysis of variance. Rokeach has advised that, in extensive analyses, analysis of variance yielded essentially the same results as use of the chi square median test.

to fifth position. Obedience has dropped from fifteenth to last place, while independence has risen from fourteenth to sixth position. Again, the need to gain more public legitimation via honesty, obedience and adherence to policy and law may account for the earlier rank orderings, with the current values being a return to prior values or merely a moderation of instrumentalities perceived as most appropriate to the contemporary police milieu.

No between group differences were noted beyond the .05 level of significance although comparison reveals the Irish value self-control and intellect substantially less than both modern and traditional ethnics, while valuing courage more. Modern officers rank the value obedience last, as opposed to a ranking of thirteenth for this value by traditional ethnics. Both Irish and traditional officers rank ambition higher than modern officers, while traditional officers value logic and competence above both modern and Irish officers. Both traditional and Irish officers tended to value helpfulness less than modern officers.

In classifying respondents during the pilot study, traditional origins of either mother or father were considered sufficient to allow the assignment of a traditional label, although the patriarchal nature of American society is well established with the exception of the black community. This was necessary in order to have even minimal representation in this subgroup. This manner of classification, however, may partially account for the absence of variations in value ordering at the level of statistical significance,

TABLE A-2.--Instrumental Value Means and Composite Rank Orders for Lansing Police Officers, and Ethnic Subgroups.

Value	Sample Mean (N=49)	Modern Ethnic (N=34)	Irish Ethnic (N=8)	Traditional Ethnic (N=7)
Ambition	7.520 (3)	8.000 (4)	6.000 (2)	6.286 (2)
Broadminded	8.320 (5)	8.235 (6)	8.714 (5)	8.714 (6)
Capable	6.380 (2)	6.412 (2)	8.000 (4)	4.000 (1)
Cheerful	12.720 (17)	12.412 (15)	12.857 (17)	13.714 (18)
Clean	11.900 (15)	12.471 (16)	9.714 (9)	11.571 (12)
Courageous	9.020 (8)	9.588 (8)	6.143 (3)	8.714 (6)
Forgiving	12.680 (16)	12.559 (17)	13.429 (18)	12.857 (13)
Honesty	11.400 (11)	10.794 (11)	11.714 (14)	13.286 (16)
Imaginative	11.880 (13)	11.882 (13)	10.714 (10)	13.000 (15)
Independence	8.360 (6)	8.000 (4)	9.571 (7)	8.714 (6)
Intellectual	10.420 (9)	10.441 (9)	11.286 (13)	9.571 (9)
Logical	8.800 (7)	8.618 (7)	9.571 (7)	8.429 (5)
Loving	10.720 (10)	10.647 (10)	10.857 (11)	10.571 (10)
Obedient	12.840 (18)	13.500 (18)	12.000 (16)	12.857 (13)
Polite	11.800 (13)	11.941 (14)	11.000 (12)	10.857 (11)
Responsible	5.200 (1)	4.941 (1)	5.714 (1)	6.286 (2)
Self-controlled	7.640 (4)	7.559 (3)	9.429 (6)	7.286 (4)
Helpful	11.400 (11)	10.794 (11)	11.714 (14)	13.286 (17)

as well as considerations of the non-random nature of the sample, the nature of the respondents or merely operation of the null hypothesis.

Analysis of variance was utilized to contrast ethnic subgroups with measures of dogmatism, localism-cosmopolitanism, authoritarianism and intolerance of ambiguity. No controls were instituted for SES due to the small sample size, although it was noted that a clear majority of the respondents emanated from working-class backgrounds in factory or farm, and most had college credit ranging from one to three years. Also, most respondents were from the local area. During this phase of the analysis, Irish and traditional ethnics were collapsed into one category, and contrasted with the category modern ethnics as well as the non-classifiable category (two respondents who indicated ethnicity as "American"). In this latter regard, the mean response of these two respondents were observed to be very close to that of the modern category. Analysis of variance of the dogmatism and intolerance of ambiguity scales yielded results at or beyond the .05 level of significance, with traditional ethnics being more dogmatic and more intolerant of ambiguity than modern ethnics or the non-classifiable group. Tables A-3 and A-4 contain the data regarding these analyses. Analysis of the localism-cosmopolitanism as well as the authoritarianism scales yielded results below the level of significance (.37 and .2 respectively), although both results were in the predicted direction; i.e., modern officers

tended to be more cosmopolitan and less authoritarian than the combined category of traditional and Irish officers.

TABLE A-3.--One-Way Analysis of Variance Testing the Effects of Ethnicity on Intolerance of Ambiguity.

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	2	1.9595	.9797	5.9038*
Within Groups	48	7.7996	.1659	

\* Significant at the .005 level.

TABLE A-4.--One-Way Analysis of Variance Testing the Effects of Ethnicity on Dogmatism.

Source of Variation	DF	SS	MS	F
Between Groups	2	2.3088	1.1544	3.0905*
Within Groups	48	17.5562	.3735	

\* Significant at the .05 level.

An analysis of mean scores on the Kilpatrick work values, utilizing the subgroups modern, traditional and Irish yielded few results at the level of significance, with traditionalists equating work as service to God more than the other two groups at the .02 level, while valuing opportunity over security more than both



modern and Irish officers at the .02 level. The meaning of either of these findings, for reasons previously cited, is tenuous. In an effort to group some of the Kilpatrick items based on conceptual commonality, a factor analysis was conducted, with results indicated in Table A-5. It will be noted that factor one contains a majority of items which could be roughly equated with modernism, while factor two can be roughly equated with traditionalism.

TABLE A-5.--Results of a Factor Analysis of the Kilpatrick Occupational Value Scale.

Item	Factor One	Factor Two	Factor Three
Importance of personal recognition	.707		
Importance of a top chance	.672		
Importance of peer competition	.955		
Importance of seeing results	.568		
Importance of developing ind. abilities	.654		
Work is a way of building character	.513		
Work is a means to an end		.779	
Concern with forgetting about work at end of day		.823	
Concern with monetary aspects of work		.244	
Concern with community status via occupation			.657
Extent to which competition is favored over friendship			.688
Relative importance of peer competition			.291

The items identified in the factor analysis were retained in the main survey, as well as those items relating directly to the research hypotheses developed in Chapter III. Eight other items, which either did not discriminate among subgroups in the pilot study or could not be predicted based on the theoretical formulations established were deleted from the survey. A primary concern here, as with other aspects of the survey instrument, was to condense it to the extent possible in order to obviate incomplete returns, as well as to obtain data most pertinent to the subject at hand.

The pilot study, in addition to the modification of the survey instrument, served several other purposes. Although the nature of the sample constrains any inference, the results of the analyses lent some support to the theoretical position that ethnics could be differentiated on the basis of modern or traditional attributes, and with some exceptions, the evidence is in the direction of the hypothesized relationships. Again, within the constraints of the sample, the strength of those relationships remains in doubt. Secondly, the pilot study promoted the need to anticipate rather poor returns, since even under the best of conditions, only 51 percent of the surveys were returned. The rate of returns pointed up the need to select as a main survey site a police department of sufficient size and ethnic composition that even in spite of a marginal return rate sufficient subgroup representation might be reasonably achieved.

In relation to the reason for anticipated poor survey returns, it may be speculated that police officers, in general, have the perception of threat when confronted with a survey instrument of any sort, especially since the bulk of social science research relative to policing in the past decade has often resulted in findings uncomplementary to police management, policy, or the police personality. It is also possible that poor returns may result from ethnic avoidance itself, a possibility previously suggested by Greeley. As a result of the pilot study, strong combined management and labor endorsement was sought in preparing and distributing the main survey, in hopes of maximizing returns.

APPENDIX B

THE QUESTIONNAIRE



July 22, 1975

To All Personnel:

Each of you was recently asked to fill out a survey prepared by the School of Criminal Justice, Michigan State University. As you know, the MSU Research Team is here at the Sheriff's invitation.

We would like you to respond to a second survey, which will allow you to specify the work and social values you feel are most important. We do not contemplate asking you to fill out any more surveys in the immediate future.

This department has a justifiably proud record of public service, a record which more than anything reflects the quality of its officers. The attached survey is an excellent opportunity for you to make your individual views known, since these views no doubt account for the majority of the good you have done.

This second survey is being mailed to you and will be directly returned by mail to Forrest Moss, an MSU doctoral candidate directing this phase of the research. Direct mailing will insure your complete anonymity, as before.

Every survey is vital. The researchers need to gain information which reflects the views of the entire department. Please fill it out completely and mail it as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

William Lucas, Sheriff  
Wayne County Sheriff's Department

Forrest M. Moss  
Michigan State University

Jamil Akhtar, President  
Wayne County Sheriff Local 502  
National Union of Police  
Officers  
SEIU, AFL-CIO

Lt. James Bonmarito, President  
Local 1917 of the  
A.P.S.C.M.E., AFO-CIO

This questionnaire has been drawn up to find out how police officers feel about several areas of critical interest in our society. Your opinions and thoughts in these areas are important and valued. There are no wrong or right answers, and this is not a test in any sense of the word. Please do not put your name on the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your time and effort.

#### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Your age \_\_\_\_\_
2. Education level (circle last year completed, and include any credit earned through high school equivalency, night classes, etc.)  

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
(grade school)								(high school)				(college)				(graduate work)		
3. Sex \_\_\_\_\_
4. Are you single \_\_\_\_; married \_\_\_\_; divorced \_\_\_\_; widowed \_\_\_\_?
5. Religious preference (please state fully) \_\_\_\_\_.
6. Do you attend church (circle one):  

Regularly	Frequently	Sometimes	Not at all
-----------	------------	-----------	------------
7. Political party preference (check one):  

_____	Democrat
_____	Republican
_____	Independent
_____	Other (please specify): _____.
8. In general, do you consider yourself as politically (check one):  

_____	Very liberal
_____	Liberal
_____	Moderate
_____	Conservative
_____	Very conservative
_____	Don't know

9. What would you say in regards to your father's political opinions? (check one):

☐ Very liberal  
☐ Liberal  
☐ Moderate  
☐ Conservative  
☐ Very conservative  
☐ Don't know

10. Present hometown \_\_\_\_\_.

11. Population \_\_\_\_\_.

12. Years lived there \_\_\_\_\_.

13. Where did you grow up? (Be specific: i.e., "on a farm in central Illinois," "in Memphis, Tennessee," etc.)

\_\_\_\_\_.

14. Population \_\_\_\_\_.

15. Years lived there \_\_\_\_\_.

16. What is or was your father's occupation? (Please specify even if father is deceased or presently retired):

\_\_\_\_\_.

17. Most Americans can trace their ethnicity back to one or more countries. Please tell us about your ethnic heritage. The ethnic origins of my family are:

Father \_\_\_\_\_.

Mother \_\_\_\_\_.

18. My family came to America (check one):

☐ One generation ago (my parents)  
☐ Two generations ago (grandparents)  
☐ Three generations ago (great grandparents)  
☐ More than three generations ago

19. During your youth, what was your frequency of contact with social, church or work organizations that reflected the ethnic background you have described above: (check one, and consider such organizations as predominantly Irish, German, etc., church, parochial school, social clubs, neighborhood/political/welfare organizations, including exposure to an ethnic newspaper.)

☐ Daily association  
☐ Weekly association  
☐ Monthly association  
☐ Very infrequent association  
☐ No association of this type

20. In terms of the above question, what is your current contact with ethnic organizations?

☐ Daily association  
☐ Weekly association  
☐ Monthly association  
☐ Very infrequent association  
☐ No association of this type

21. In my day-to-day life, I (check one):

☐ Very often think of myself in terms of my ethnic origins  
☐ Often think of myself in such terms  
☐ Sometimes think of myself in such terms  
☐ Seldom think of myself in such terms  
☐ Never think of myself in such terms

22. Within the past ten years, I have (check one):

☐ Become much more aware of my ethnic heritage  
☐ Become more aware of my ethnic heritage  
☐ Experienced no increase or decrease in awareness  
☐ Become less aware of my ethnic heritage

23. Do you speak or understand any foreign languages reflecting your ethnic background? If so, where did you learn them?

☐ At home  
☐ At school (public)  
☐ At school (parochial)  
☐ I do not speak any foreign languages  
☐ Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_



## PROFESSIONAL INFORMATION

24. Number of years, to closest year, you have served as a police officer: \_\_\_\_\_.

25. Please describe your present assignment (be specific):

---

26. Present rank (be specific): \_\_\_\_\_

27. Generally, I feel I would be most productive and happiest in which of the following police areas (check one):

- ☐ Line operations, production  
☐ Line operations, command and supervision  
☐ Staff level, researcher/analyst/policy development  
☐ Chief of a staff-level division or unit  
☐ Chief or Assistant Chief of police  
☐ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

\*\*\*\*\*

In the following series of questions, circle the number from 1 to 9 that best reflects your disagreement or agreement with the statement. The number 1 indicates total disagreement; the number 9 total agreement, etc.

28. To me, work is nothing more than a way of making a living.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
Disagree Agree

29. I like the kind of work you can forget about after the work day is over.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9

30. To be really successful in life, you have to care about making money.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9

31. To me gaining the increased respect of family and friends is one of the important rewards of getting ahead in an occupation.

1      2      3      4      5      6      7      8      9

32. Getting recognition for my work is important to me.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
Disagree Agree

33. To me, a very important part of work is the opportunity to make friends.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

34. Sometimes it may be right for a person to lose friends in order to get ahead in his work.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

35. It is satisfying to direct the work of others.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

36. It is more important for a job to offer opportunity than security.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

37. To me, it is important in an occupation to have a chance to get to the top.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

38. It would be hard to live with the feeling that others are passing you up in your occupation.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

39. It's important to do a better job than the next person.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

40. Success in an occupation is mainly a matter of luck.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

41. Success in an occupation is mainly a matter of knowing the right people.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

42. Success in an occupation is mainly a matter of hard work.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

43. The main satisfaction a person can get out of work is helping other people.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9  
Disagree Agree

44. To me, almost the only thing that matters about a job is the chance to do work that is worthwhile to society.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

45. To me, it is important that a person be able to see the results of his own work.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

46. To me, it's important to have the kind of work that gives me a chance to develop my own special abilities.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

47. Even if you dislike your work, you should do your best.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

48. Work is a good builder of character.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

49. Work is a way of being of service to God.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

\* \* \* \* \*

CHECK OR CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE ANSWER IN THE FOLLOWING:

50. Some people say that most people can be trusted. Others say you can't be too careful in your dealings with people. How do you feel about it?

\_\_\_ Most people can be trusted.

\_\_\_ You can't be too careful.

51. Would you say that most people are more inclined to help others, or more inclined to look out for themselves?

\_\_\_ To help others.

\_\_\_ To look out for themselves.

52. If you don't watch yourself, people will take advantage of you (circle one):

Agree                      ?                      Disagree

53. No one is going to care much what happens to you, when you get right down to it.

Agree                      ?                      Disagree

54. Human nature is fundamentally cooperative.

Agree                      ?                      Disagree

IN THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF QUESTIONS, PLACE THE NUMBER WHICH MOST CLOSELY CORRESPONDS WITH YOUR OPINION OF EACH QUESTION ON THE LINE PRECEDING THE QUESTION.

- |                       |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Agree a little     | 4. Disagree a little     |
| 2. Agree on the whole | 5. Disagree on the whole |
| 3. Agree very much    | 6. Disagree very much    |

\_\_\_ 55. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.

\_\_\_ 56. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.

\_\_\_ 57. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.

\_\_\_ 58. Most people just don't know what's good for them.

\_\_\_ 59. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one that is correct.

\_\_\_ 60. The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are the most intelligent.

\_\_\_ 61. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.

\_\_\_ 62. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.

\_\_\_ 63. Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.

- |                       |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Agree a little     | 4. Disagree a little     |
| 2. Agree on the whole | 5. Disagree on the whole |
| 3. Agree very much    | 6. Disagree very much    |

- \_\_\_ 64. Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.
- \_\_\_ 65. There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.
- \_\_\_ 66. A person is either a 100% American or he isn't.
- \_\_\_ 67. A person either knows the answer to a question or he doesn't.
- \_\_\_ 68. There are two kinds of women: the pure and the bad.
- \_\_\_ 69. You can classify almost all people as either honest or crooked.
- \_\_\_ 70. First impressions are very important.
- \_\_\_ 71. It doesn't take very long to find out if you can trust a person.
- \_\_\_ 72. There is only one right way to do anything.
- \_\_\_ 73. What young people need most of all is strict discipline by their parents.
- \_\_\_ 74. Most people who don't get ahead just don't have enough will power.
- \_\_\_ 75. A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk.
- \_\_\_ 76. People sometimes say that an insult to your honor should not be forgotten. Do you agree or disagree with that?

CIRCLE THE ANSWER IN THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS WHICH BEST CORRESPONDS TO YOUR FEELINGS:

77. I believe that public officials don't care much what people like me think.
- Agree          Disagree
78. There is no way other than voting that people like me can influence actions of the government.
- Agree          Disagree

79. Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that I can't really understand what's going on.

Agree Disagree

80. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

Agree Disagree

81. These days the government is trying to do too many things, including some activities that I don't think it has the right to do.

Agree Disagree

82. For the most part, the government serves the interests of a few organized groups, such as business and labor, and isn't very concerned about the needs of people like myself.

Agree Disagree

83. It seems to me that the government often fails to take necessary actions on important matters, even when most people favor such actions.

Agree Disagree

84. As the government is now organized and operated, I think it is hopelessly incapable of dealing with all the crucial problems facing the country today.

Agree Disagree

\* \* \* \* \*

This concludes this survey. I appreciate very much the time and effort you took to complete it. If you have any comments about any of the above areas, I would like to have the benefit of them:

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PLEASE FOLD QUESTIONNAIRE AND RETURN IN THE ENCLOSED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE. THANK YOU!

# VALUE SURVEY

BIRTH DATE \_\_\_\_\_ SEX: MALE \_\_\_\_\_ FEMALE \_\_\_\_\_

CITY and STATE OF BIRTH \_\_\_\_\_

NAME (FILL IN ONLY IF REQUESTED) \_\_\_\_\_

## INSTRUCTIONS

On the next page are 18 values listed in alphabetical order. Your task is to arrange them in order of their importance to YOU, as guiding principles in YOUR life. Each value is printed on a gummed label which can be easily peeled off and pasted in the boxes on the left-hand side of the page.

Study the list carefully and pick out the one value which is the most important for you. Peel it off and paste it in Box 1 on the left.

Then pick out the value which is second most important for you. Peel it off and paste it in Box 2. Then do the same for each of the remaining values. The value which is least important goes in Box 18.

Work slowly and think carefully. If you change your mind, feel free to change your answers. The labels peel off easily and can be moved from place to place. The end result should truly show how you really feel.



1		<b>A COMFORTABLE LIFE</b> (a prosperous life)
2		<b>AN EXCITING LIFE</b> (a stimulating, active life)
3		<b>A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT</b> (lasting contribution)
4		<b>A WORLD AT PEACE</b> (free of war and conflict)
5		<b>A WORLD OF BEAUTY</b> (beauty of nature and the arts)
6		<b>EQUALITY</b> (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
7		<b>FAMILY SECURITY</b> (taking care of loved ones)
8		<b>FREEDOM</b> (independence, free choice)
9		<b>HAPPINESS</b> (contentedness)
10		<b>INNER HARMONY</b> (freedom from inner conflict)
11		<b>MATURE LOVE</b> (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
12		<b>NATIONAL SECURITY</b> (protection from attack)
13		<b>PLEASURE</b> (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
14		<b>SALVATION</b> (saved, eternal life)
15		<b>SELF-RESPECT</b> (self-esteem)
16		<b>SOCIAL RECOGNITION</b> (respect, admiration)
17		<b>TRUE FRIENDSHIP</b> (close companionship)
18		<b>WISDOM</b> (a mature understanding of life)

WHEN YOU HAVE FINISHED, GO TO THE NEXT PAGE.

Below is another list of 18 values. Arrange them in order of importance, the same as before.

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- AMBITIOUS**  
(hard-working, aspiring)
- BROADMINDED**  
(open-minded)
- CAPABLE**  
(competent, effective)
- CHEERFUL**  
(lighthearted, joyful)
- CLEAN**  
(neat, tidy)
- COURAGEOUS**  
(standing up for your beliefs)
- FORGIVING**  
(willing to pardon others)
- HELPFUL** (working  
for the welfare of others)
- HONEST**  
(sincere, truthful)
- IMAGINATIVE**  
(daring, creative)
- INDEPENDENT**  
(self-reliant, self-sufficient)
- INTELLECTUAL**  
(intelligent, reflective)
- LOGICAL**  
(consistent, rational)
- LOVING**  
(affectionate, tender)
- OBEDIENT**  
(dutiful, respectful)
- POLITE**  
(courteous, well-mannered)
- RESPONSIBLE**  
(dependable, reliable)
- SELF-CONTROLLED**  
(restrained, self-disciplined)

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