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DIMENSIONS OF POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION:

A SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

by

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ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: Dimensions of Police-Citizen Interaction:
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An attempt is made, in this study, to construct a model
of police-citizen interaction which delineates the major
dimensions of police-citizen interaction and which describes
relationships among and between dimensions and dimensional
factors. The theoretical model is based upon an inter-
actionist perspective. Three dimensions are categorized:
1) the situation dimension which represents the boundaries
of a police-citizen encounter, e.g., race, age, and prior
experience with police; 2) the exchange dimension which
depicts the ongoing give and take of the encounter, e.g.,
how citizen is treated by police, use of professional argot,
and the intensification of conflict; 3) the perception
dimension which includes one's perception of other and self
which in turn influences role expectations, e.g., the police
officer who views himself as a tough cop, the police officer
who believes that people choose to live in poverty areas, and
the citizen who feels that the police do a good job.

The study is conducted in a police district in Washington,
D.C. with cooperation of the Pilot District Project, a citizens

group funded to study and improve police-community relations, and the police department. Data were gathered by interviewing a sample of the community residents, by administering a questionnaire to the police officers working a typical day, and by observing police-citizen encounters in the field.

A major contribution of the study is assembling current and new knowledge about police-citizen interaction in such a way which addresses the encounter or the interaction as a unit and which accentuates the process qualities of police-citizen interaction. It is empirically shown that how one perceives himself being treated by police is associated with how one perceives police in general. Quality of one's experience with police seems to be more saliently associated with perception of police for whites, people over thirty-five and females. Blacks, persons under thirty-five, and males tend to perceive police as they had previous to any encounter. It is also suggested that determination of encounter outcomes is often influenced by the presence of significant others and the role they choose to play. The significant other may reduce or intensify conflict; typically he becomes an intervening actor who either pleads the officer's or the suspect's case in order to diminish the possibility of arrest. In both the citizen and the police survey race is associated with perception of police and/or citizens. The young black is typically the most antagonistic toward police while the older white is the most supportive of police.

A police role identity typology is also explored in the study. By asking police what they consider to be the

most important policing function, a typology of salient role identities is constructed which includes 1) the abusive legalist officer, 2) the task officer, and 3) the community service officer. The typology is then used as an analytical tool for considering police perception of general community issues, minority relations issues, and law enforcement issues. The typology appears to adequately discriminate between types of police officers.

The study also contains a number of programmatic recommendations for improving the quality of police-citizen interaction.

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CHAPTER I.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

At a time in our nation's history when a dichotomized society seems a distinct possibility and as that society places increased emphasis upon secondary controls to shore up the socialization process, it is necessary to scrutinize the role of the policeman as a major secondary control agent and as a focal point for potential conflict. As we consider the present and look toward the future, certain questions need to be queried. What is the police contribution to conflict? What can police departments do to reduce conflict? Will the reaction of the New York police to the "hard hat" march on City Hall, May 8, 1970, be the norm?[1] What are the significant variables which determine the quality of police-citizen interaction? What will the role of a professional policeman be in the next decade? Although this study of police-citizen interaction is limited in scope, it does produce some insights concerning answers to the above questions. The specific objectives of the study are three-fold.

The first is to construct a theoretical model of police-citizen interaction which describes the process of police-citizen interaction. The major variables determining the

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1. Martin Arnold, "War foes Here Attacked by Construction Workers: Police were told of plan," New York Times, CXIX (May 9, 1970), 1 and 10; Maurice Carroll, "Police Assailed by Mayor on Laxity at Peace Rally," New York Times, CXIX (May 10, 1970), 1 and 25.

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flow and outcome of police-citizen interaction will be
indicated. The underpinning of the model is the existing
knowledge about the nature of social interaction and
contributions of previous studies on police-citizen rela-
tions. The interaction literature provides a general
structure from which to analyze police-citizen interaction
while previous police-citizen interaction studies provide
an empirical basis from which to begin construction of the
model. Because of its focus on police-citizen interaction,
this study is more limited than many studies done in the
general area of police-community relations,[2] but is broader
than those studies which have only focused on specific
sub-populations, e.g., youth or blacks.[3] Because ultimately
it is desirable to put the model to some empirical test, the
study will involve a cross-section of individuals (adult-
juvenile, rich-poor, majority-minority) as they encounter

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2. Joseph D. Lohman and Gordon E. Misner, Police and the
Community: The Dynamics of Their Relationship in a Changing
Society, Vols. I and II, Field Survey IV, President's
Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of
Justice, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office,
1967); Raymond M. Momboisse, Community Relations and Riot
Prevention, (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas,
Publishers, 1967); National Center on Police and Community
Relations, School of Public Administration and Public Safety,
Michigan State University, A National Survey of Police and
Community Relations, Field Survey V, President's Commission
on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (Washington,
D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

3. Such as Donald J. Black and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Police
Control of Juveniles," American Sociological Review, 35 (Feb-
ruary 1970), 63-77; David H. Bayley and Harold Mendelsohn,
Minorities and the Police (New York: The Free Press, 1969);
Irving Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with
Juveniles," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (September
1964), 206-214; and Robert M. Terry, "The Screening of
Juvenile Offenders," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology
and Police Science, 58 (1967), 173-181.

police. A major contribution of the study should be to
enhance the awareness that police-citizen interaction is
an unfolding process which is influenced by a number of
impinging factors.

The second objective is to demonstrate the efficacy
of the model by using it to describe the major variables
of police-citizen interaction as reflected by data gathered
on citizens and policemen in a police district within a
large metropolitan area. Of primary significance is the
isolation of concomitant independent variables which
impinge upon police-citizen interaction. Three sets of
factors are considered: 1) situation factors such as
location of encounter, presence of significant others, and
force potential; 2) exchange factors such as citizen
evaluation of how police treat citizens, police estimates
of citizen cooperation, and cumulative effect of encounters
for police officers; and 3) perception factors including
perception of self or one's role identity, perception of
police by citizens, and perception of citizens by police.
The data analyzed within this study provide a base which
yields some theoretical insight into how these and other
variables interact to influence encounter outcomes. This
objective is achieved by a series of survey questionnaires
and field interviews administered to citizens and police
officers and by direct observation of police-citizen encounters.
The survey data direct attention toward those factors which
impinge upon police-citizen interaction while the observation
data provide adequate opportunity for describing the

dynamics of interaction. This assimilated quantitative/ qualitative methodological approach generates a wide range of reference points for verification of the model.

The third major objective is to provide a basis for rational decision making concerning modification of police and citizen behavior. A data base which contributes to the theoretical and descriptive understanding of police-citizen interaction should also provide a foundation for realistic, pragmatic recommendations.

CHAPTER II.

BACKGROUND AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL

A.   INTRODUCTION: SCOPE OF THE MODEL

A theoretical model may have one of two primary objectives: to increase understanding of a particular social phenomenon or to increase the power to predict the consequences of a change occurring in factor A for factor B.[4] In most instances both considerations are somehow managed within the model, but not to an equal extent. Increasing understanding of what, how, and why police-citizen interaction unfolds as it does is the principal focus of this study. However, it is also believed that the data enhance, at least to some degree, the ability to predict police-citizen encounter outcomes when a few critical variables are known.

Before it is possible to develop a theoretical model of police-citizen interaction, it will be necessary to lay some essential groundwork so that the reader has a general understanding of the nature of the delimited subject of police-citizen interaction and the general theoretical stance employed in analyzing that subject. To this end, in very brief fashion the role of policeman as social control agent, the stage upon which the policeman works, and the scope of police-citizen interaction will be described. Once the

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4.   Robert Dubin, Theory Building, (New York: The Free Press, 1969) 9-10.

subject of the study is adequately defined, two parallel tasks will be carried out. First, it will be necessary to develop a theoretical framework within which a model of police-citizen interaction may be constructed. Second, it will be necessary to consider as possible model components those variables which have been indicated by other police-citizen interaction studies to be important for understanding the unfolding of police-citizen interaction. At that point the police-citizen interaction model may be more fully explicated.

1.   Social Control and the Police Officer. Maintenance of human societies is dependent upon adherence to rudimentary belief systems which incorporate role expectations, norms, and general guidelines for collective interaction. Sharing of belief systems provides social behavior with a relatively predictable character. However, to suggest that societies exist due to shared belief systems is not to advocate a static model of societies nor to deny the existence of deviant individuals and groups. Change occurs, often through conflict -- even the basic shared belief systems may be discarded for new ones -- but some shared system is fundamental for the changing society to continue, and change via conflict may establish stability by making society aware of differences and similarities among its members.[5]   Societies nurture a tolerance level which

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5.   Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1956), 34.

permits individual and group deviancy. However, the belief

systems tolerate only certain levels of deviance before the

protectors (formal and informal) of the system attempt to

alter the deviants in some manner to insure balance within

the system.

Societies use two means for insuring adherence to the

common belief system. The primary means is referred to as

the socialization process. Members of the new generation

are admitted into full partnership within the society via

a series of rites of passage. Children are taught appro-

priate sex roles, achievement goals, and how to handle

emotions. The nuclear family, the school, and the church

have principal responsibility for socialization. If

adolescents move through the process without accepting the

major tenets of the belief system and deviate beyond the

tolerance levels established by society, a second means is

manifested, that is, formal agents of social control such

as police, courts, and correctional systems are brought to

bear upon the deviant individual in order to bring about the

desired conforming behavior.[6]

One of the principal subjects of this project is a

secondary control agent -- the policeman. The responsibilities

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6. Non-deviants are also reacted to by police. The
individual policeman will exercise considerable discretion
as to which juveniles will be processed or reacted to
officially. See Black and Reiss, "Police Control of
Juveniles." Nathan Goldman, The Differential Selection of
Juvenile Offenders for Court Appearance, (New York: National
Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1963); and Piliavin and
Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles."

of the contemporary law enforcement officer are almost over-
whelming, even more so today because of his increasingly
pivotal role in conflicts between vested interest groups.
These responsibilities may ideally be categorized in the
following manner:

1)   to maintain order, that is, to insure a relative
     degree of tranquility within the social system
     so that individuals and groups are allowed to
     co-exist without undue fear of danger or restraint;

2)   to enforce the law, that is, to carry out the
     wishes of legislators by enforcing the laws which
     they have enacted;

3)   to insure justice, that is, to enforce the law
     equitably within a community regardless of an
     individual's states of affairs, race, or
     ideology.

The manner in which these responsibilities are carried out
will have significant impact on police-community relations.
Police are in a unique position in that they must be re-
sponsive to the needs of the community (specific laws,
fairness of enforcement) while at the same time remain a
restraining force upon that community. Ability to be both
responsive and restraining depends upon and influences the
quality of police-community relations.

2.   The Stage Upon which Police Function: Police-
Community Relations. By police-community relations, one
implies the obvious -- that police perform their task within
the community setting. The community generally does not
remain passive during social control activity but shares
certain expectations concerning police behavior. Sectors
of the community, for example, will compete for power to

have the police department more directly serve their own vested interests.

As one considers the means by which the police and the community relate, it is necessary to distinguish police-community relations from public relations. Public relations such as bill boards, talk shows, etc. are directed from the department to the public with little or no inter- action with the public. Public relations is similar to an advertising campaign which may sell the department to the people. Community relations, however, expresses the idea that the community is in partnership with the police department to insure that the responsibilities of the law enforcement agency are fulfilled.[7] Programs ranging from Officer Friendly to citizen review boards are grouped under this category.

3. Police-Citizen Interaction: A Component of Police-Community Relations. Police community relations, then involves 1) interaction between formal or informal community networks or organizations to bring about changes in police service, 2) interaction between police depart- ment representatives and citizens to diminish citizen hostilities toward police, and 3) the interaction between

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7. Mary E. Leary, "The Trouble with Troubleshooting," The Atlantic, CCXXIII (March, 1969), 95; Linda McVeigh Matthews, "Chief Reddin: New Style at the Top," The Atlantic, CCXXIII (March, 1969), 85; Raymond M. Momboisse, Community Relations and Riot Prevention, (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas Publishers, 1967), 100.

citizen and police officer which occurs within the specific day to day run-of-the-job police-citizen encounters. The full range of police-community relations, thus described, is too broad to be handled in a study of the present kind. Police-citizen interaction, then, which is only one aspect, but a very central aspect, of police-community relations is the principal target for analysis here. Our analysis of police-citizen interaction is therefore encounter-centered. The encounters in question may range in style from casual contact to occasions when the citizen is being sought as a suspect by the police. Our study of police-citizen interaction will include the structure, the process, and the outcome of such encounters. Theoretically and ideally it will embody all of the factors which combine to determine encounter outcomes.

B. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR DESCRIBING INTERACTION

A number of differing theoretical postures may be utilized in the analysis of interaction. The selection of a particular theoretical position as the central source for model building and methodological directions rests upon two criteria: first, the position's apparent breadth for describing and explaining interaction, particularly the facility with which it enables breaking down interaction into a number of dimensional components; and, second, the position's capability for operationalizing focal concepts for survey and field research strategies. These guidelines have led to the adoption of a general theoretical position

of symbolic interaction complemented by role theory.

Symbolic interaction is often handled as an umbrella perspective which shelters role theory, reference group theory, self theory, and the dramaturgical school.[8] The general approach of symbolic interaction directs attention toward the idea that man is a manipulator of symbols and to the idea that he communicates and interacts through a variety of complex symbolic processes. It functions to underscore: 1) the process by which individuals derive and maintain identities, and 2) the dynamics of achieving con-census on the identities and meanings of other objects.[9]

While symbolic interaction is the general theoretical perspective which underpins this study, role theory has been selected as the focal theoretical position. Role theory provides a number of critical concepts which permit analysis of social interaction via the three sets of factors: 1) situation, 2) exchange, and 3) perception. Such concepts as role identity, role taking, role behavior, facilitating and hindering factors, and identity bargaining

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8. Manford H. Kuhn, "Major Trends in Symbolic Interaction in the Past Twenty-Five Years," The Sociological Quarterly, V (Winter, 1964), 51-84. To further illustrate this general umbrella position, a number of assumptions and propositions described by Arnold Rose appear in "A Systematic Summary of Symbolic Interaction Theory," 3-19, Human Behavior and Social Processes, edited by Arnold Rose, (Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962).

9.. Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, Social Psychology, (New York: Holt, Rinehard and Winston, 1968), 13; George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons, Identities and Interactions, (New York: The Free Press, 1966), 61 and 62.

not only provide theoretical import, but are readily
operationalized.

The role theory approach to interaction suggests a
three-stage developmental process for explaining inter-
action. The first stage is cognitive. The second stage
is consideration of situations in which the interaction
arises. The last stage, negotiation of social identities,
is the actual interaction which occurs within the encounter.
The cognitive and situational stages set the scene on which
the actual negotiation of social identities is to occur.
Thus, any comprehensive description or explanation of social
interaction must take into account each stage or set of
factors. To further explicate the dimensions of social
interaction from the interactionist perspective, each stage
will be described separately. The cognitive stage may be
used to delineate how one perceives himself and others.
The manner in which one views himself is analogous to his
role identity.[10] There exists for most individuals a hierarchy
of identities, for example, one man may be a policeman, a
father, a son, a brother, a teacher, and a student at the
same time. Beyond that kind of multiplicity of identities,
identity for a policeman may not only be that he is a
policeman, but more specifically that he is a certain type
of policeman -- touch cop, fair, friendly.

Identity maintenance is a continual process. One seeks

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10. Ibid., 67. Role identity as defined by McCall and
Simmons and used in this study is quite similar to self-
concept of self theory.

support for his role identity through a number of means.
For example, the stronger one's commitment to an identity
the more likely he is to perceive situations as means for
reacting in such a manner to support his identity.[11] Support
for a particular identity may come from significant others,
from situations, or from such material items as the uniform
that one wears.[12] Self-evaluation is a major means of role
support. Police who see themselves as tough may need or
seek out conflict to reinforce their self image. On the
other hand, those who view themselves as congenial may seek
out community service tasks. Similarly, the citizen who
perceives police to be only extensions of the white middle
class and themselves as the deprived, oppressed people may
provoke police confrontation in order to support their own
chosen identities. These and other perceptions of self
affect the outcome of police-citizen interaction.

A second element of the cognitive stage is perception
of others. How does one learn to respond to others? The
learning process is described as role-taking. It may lead
to both the anticipation of other's behavior and the attempt
to impute motive for specific behavior.[13] Role taking

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11. Sheldon Styker, "Identity Salience and Role Performance:
The Relevance of Symbolic Interaction Theory for Family
Research," Journal of Marriage and the Family, 30 (November
1968), 563.

12. Gregory P. Stone, "Appearance and the Self," Human
Behavior and Social Processes, Arnold M. Rose (ed.), (Boston,
Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1962), 68-118.

13. R. H. Turner, "Role-Taking, Role Standpoint, and Reference
Group Behavior," American Journal of Sociology, 61 (September
1956), 317.

provides a basis for manipulation and/or adjustment to others. Thus, we may say that how one perceives others or is predisposed toward them partially determines one's interaction with others. How one actually reacts in a given situation, however, may be altered by additional cues.[14] As the consideration of attitudes and their relationship to overt behavior teaches us, it is appropriate to suggest that, while in an ideal situation predispositions toward police may determine specific behavioral patterns, other factors may interfere in actual situations. For example, even if a black perceives police to be basically constructive components within the community, an unruly crowd composed of significant referents watching him may alter his interaction with the police. When considering perception of others, in Howard Becker's words, side-betting becomes another interesting influence.[15] For instance, the policeman whose task it is to reduce crime and maintain order may look to general debilitating characteristics of the community to explain difficulties in fulfilling his tasks rather than considering the police departmental structure.[16]

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14. Ibid., 319-321.

15. Howard S. Becker, "Notes on the Concept of Commitment," American Journal of Sociology, 66 (July, 1960), 32-40. In a specific action, the actor incorporates vested interests normally foreign to the action. He then has something to gain or lose on the action's outcome and will attempt to protect his gains by side-betting.

16. Police are continually side-betting as they carry out their professional work. Decisions are often made to act when overt behavior is not present. One must weigh the possible risks when questioning citizens. Police will side-bet on the value of a citizen's complaint. If the complaint is minor but the individual making the complaint

The manner in which information concerning cognitive factors is gained is necessarily ex post facto. The information remains crucial for an understanding of police-community relations, however, for the manner in which police and citizens define their relationship are real for the actors and in turn will influence police-citizen interaction.

The second stage of role analysis of social interaction is consideration of the situations in which interaction occurs. There are various facilitating and hindering conditions existing in the situation.[17] In an analysis of deviance, Lofland has determined a number of facilitating conditions.[18] Some of these include facilitating places, facilitating hardware, and facilitating others. Whether a police-citizen encounter occurs at night or day, in front of a crowd or in a private place, between black and white, young and old, lower class or middle class -- may operate as facilitants or hinderances of harmonious police-citizen interaction.

To illustrate possible situational influences, it may be that police are aware of potential risks to a greater degree at night than they are in the daytime; they may

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16. (continued) is important, policemen will probably act upon the complaint.

17. Edwin J. Thomas and Bruce J. Biddle, "Basic Concepts for the Properties of Role Phenomena," in Role Theory: Concepts and Research, B. J. Biddle and E. J. Thomas (eds.), (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966), 60-61.

18. John Lofland, Deviance and Identity, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 62.

therefore be more cautious in what may appear to be a routine event, and the citizen involved may be put off by being treated as a potentially dangerous person. Likewise, the presence of a crowd may threaten the policeman and provide a significant audience for the citizen, while the private place may permit relaxation of official responses or may quite contrarily allow for physical or mental abuse of the citizen. If police and citizen are of the same race, this common identity may serve to facilitate relations. Similarly, if the citizen is older and of the same class, the actors may more readily identify with each other. In the latter case, class, identification of police officer with middle or upper class citizen may be one of necessity due to fear of reprisal. How each of these situational factors impinge upon police-citizen interaction will be crucial for interpreting police-community relations in this study.[19]

The third stage of social interaction is the actual negotiation of social identities or exchange factors. At this juncture, the participants of an encounter actively seek to establish and support their own role identities. The possibility of exchange is both a threat to one's role and a possibility for enhancing his identity. In the initial stages of negotiations, two factors of importance

19. Arthur Stinchcombe, "Institutions of Privacy in the Determination of Police Administrative Practice," American Journal of Sociology, 69 (September 1963), 150-160; Bayley and Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police; Black and Reiss, "Police Control of Juveniles;" Piliavin and Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles."

may be demeanor and deference. It may be the case that physical demeanor or appearance, which symbolizes an ideology foreign to police officers, may bring about negative responses. For example, a young adult dressed in "hippie style" may symbolize certain things for the officer which in turn brings about specific actions. Likewise, deference may be of considerable import. Black and Reiss have established deference categories ranging from antagonistic to very deferential and have illustrated the relationship between deference of citizen and arrest possibilities.[20] It may also be possible that police deference in situations may tend to contribute to or subtract from the quality of police-community relations. The process of exchange is a give-and-take affair concordant with Gouldner's norm of reciprocity.[21] That is, there exist norms which support reciprocation or like benefits. If a policeman sees his role identity as an outreach of the middle-class value system, the deference he exhibits to members of the middle class may be quite dissimilar from the deference shown to members of the lower class.

Analysis of the exchange dimension requires consideration of the actual process or dynamics of the encounter. Specific behavioral patterns, for example, may tend to alienate the citizen from the police officer. For instance police officers

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20.   Black and Reiss, "Police Control of Juveniles," 74-75.

21.   Alvin Gouldner, "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement," American Sociological Review, 25 (April 1960), 160-178.

may rely "too much" on professional argot. This reliance may be symptomatic of an incessant sense of danger which necessitates secrecy. The citizen may or may not realize this. In any case, one may discover that the encounter interactants respond to the symbolic meanings of gestures of the other actors as much as they respond to the explicit behavior.

While this approach to the study of social interaction is very helpful, certain modifications will be made to more appropriately adopt it as a means for analyzing police-citizen interaction. Because interaction is regarded as a developmental process one may actually analyze the process at any number of points, where this analysis begins and ends is largely determined by the nature of the data to be analyzed. A crucial link is missing from the approach as thus far developed. And, that is, allowance for feedback of encounter outcomes within encounters, or for feedback from time one to the next encounter. Before actually employing this inter- actionist approach as means for constructing a model of police-citizen interaction, it will be useful to consider some previous studies as they have generated some of the more important variables.

C. CRITICAL POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION VARIABLES DERIVED
    FROM OTHER STUDIES

A number of studies have contributed to the under- standing of which factors tend to shape police-citizen interaction. Because one of the major objectives of this

study is to develop a descriptive model of police-citizen interaction, it may be useful to look at previous studies to provide some indications of the basic variables to be included in the model. A general consensus seems to emerge from these studies which suggests that the following variables are of interest for constructing a police-citizen interaction model: age of citizen, race of actors, sex of citizen, general level of deference in the interaction between citizen and police officer, and police officer's job satisfaction. Relationships between these variables which influence police-citizen interaction will be discussed below by briefly considering the major conclusions of selected studies.

Age of the citizen has been regarded as one of two principal factors related to police-citizen interaction. Teenagers and young adults were cited by Peter Rossi as the groups providing police with the greatest relational problems.[22] In a study of the Denver Police Department, Bayley and Mendelsohn also discovered that police officers believed teenagers to present more interactional problems than any other age group.[23] One of the more definitive studies of youthful attitudes toward police considered the overall youth perception of police and perception of police fairness separately. While differences between

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22. Peter A. Rossi, et. al., "Between Black and White -- The Faces of American Institutions in the Ghetto," Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 106.

23. Bayley and Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police, 45-46.

blacks and whites were apparent, kids as a group were not found to be overwhelmingly negative toward police.[24] The police within this department, however, perceived the kids to be much more negative toward police officers than the kids were, as reflected by the data gathered on kid-attitudes.[25] In a study conducted by Reiss, it was also discovered that encounters with juveniles are exacerbated regardless of race.[26] On the basis of this information it is to be expected that age will be a critical variable to be included in any model of police-citizen interaction.

Race is the second principal factor which is often related to police-citizen interaction. Bayley and Mendelsohn indicated that minority groups assess the police less favorably than does the dominant sector of society.[27] However, the writers also found that unfavorable attitudes notwithstanding, there was considerable support for police within the minority community.[28] They conclude that ethnicity is the single most important information for understanding

24. Donald H. Bouma, Kids and Cops, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1969), 47.

25. Ibid., 119.

26. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Career Orientation, Job Satisfaction, and the Assessment of Law Enforcement Problems by Police Officers," in Studies of Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas, Field Survey III, Section II, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), 83-89.

27. Bayley and Mendelsohn, Minorities and the Police, 110.

28. Ibid., 112.

police-citizen interaction. Age, sex, and social class

are considerably less important.[29] In a study by Phillip

Ennis, blacks were seen to be more critical than whites

of police, regardless of income level.[30] Similar findings

have been generated by Campbell and Schuman, the Kerner

Commission, Bordua and Tift, and Hahn.[31] While blacks

are somewhat unfavorably disposed toward police, police

are likewise unfavorably disposed toward blacks. Black

and Reiss discovered that over three-fourths of their white

police sample expressed prejudicial sentime ts toward blacks.[32]

This was particularly the case for officers who worked in

predominantly black precincts.[33] Groves and Rossi found

that the "highly prejudiced, out of touch, white policeman

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29. _Ibid._, 113.

30. Phillip H. Ennis, _Criminal Victimization in the U.S.:_
A Report of A National Survey, Field Surveys II, President's
Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of
Justice, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office,
1967), 58.

31. Agnus Campbell and Howard Schuman, "Racial Attitudes in
Fifteen American Cities," _Supplemental Studies for the_
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (Washington,
D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), 43; _Report of_
the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (New
York: Bantam Books, 1968), 299-300; President's Commission
on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, _Task Force_
Report: The Police (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing
Office, 1967), 146; Harlan Hahn, "Ghetto Assessment of Police
Protection and Authority," _Law and Society Review_, 6 (November
1971), 191-192.

32. Donald J. Black and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Patterns of
Behavior in Police and Citizen Transactions," in _Studies of_
Crime and Law Enforcement in Major Metropolitan Areas, Field
Survey III, Vol. II, Section I, President's Commission on
Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, (Washington,
D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), 136.

33. _Ibid._, 136.

-- regardless of his age -- believes the residents to be antagonistic."[34] Thus, race is perceived as a pivotal variable of police-citizen interaction whether the perspective be that of the citizen or that of the police officer.

Sex differences have been shown to be slightly related to police-citizen interaction. Females tend to be somewhat more favorable than males in their assessment of police.[35]

Deference in the interaction between the citizen and the police officer has been studied to some extent. Piliavin and Briar, in an analysis of juvenile encounters discovered an association "between youth demeanor and the severity of police disposition."[36] A major source of data is that gathered by Black and Reiss for the President's Crime Commission.[37] Black and Reiss found a relationship to exist between the quality of exchange and the disposition of the encounter. It is their contention that there is a greater likelihood for an arrest to occur when the citizen is either antagonistic or overly deferential toward the

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34. W. Eugene Groves and Peter H. Rossi, "Police Perceptions of a Hostile Ghetto: Realism or Projection," American Behavioral Scientist, 13 (May, June, July and August 1970), 739.

35. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: The Police, 146.

36. Irving Piliavin and Scott Briar, "Police Encounters with Juveniles," American Journal of Sociology, 70 (Sept. 1964), 21_

37. Black and Reiss, "Patterns of Behavior in Police and Citizen Transactions."

police.[38]

A study done by Richard Lundman also attempted to get at the quality of exchange within the encounter. While Black and Reiss underscored the deferential posture of the citizen toward the police officer, this study suggests that the disposition of the encounter will actually depend upon the police reaction to the citizen's action.[39] While the latter point may at least be implicitly assumed within the Black and Reiss works, it seems to this writer that both conclusions are missing the major thrust of police-citizen interaction, the process of interaction. Neither actor solely determines the outcome of an encounter. While it is recognized that the police officer in this case has more power at his disposal, it is the reciprocity between the interactants which will determine what kinds of power will ultimately be used to handle the situation. In his latest work Reiss picks up on the reciprocity of civility; one of the interesting questions which he poses is why police officers do not respond alike to citizen uncivility.[40] Some will react with more force than will others. It may be interesting, therefore to look for intervening variables

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38. Donald J. Black and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "Police Control of Juveniles," 74-75.

39. Richard J. Lundman, et. al., "Drunkenness in Police-Citizen Encounters," in Observations, James Fox, et. al., (eds.), (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota, 1971), 26.

40. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., The Police and the Public, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971). See pages 144-147 for an additional discussion of reciprocity; for a further elaboration of the topic pages 183-185 should be considered.

between the citizen uncivility and the action taken by the officer.

Because it is assumed in this study that what the police officer feels about the citizen may predispose him to make certain kinds of responses when he interacts with particular citizens, it is interesting to note that police morale or job satisfaction has been shown to be realted to perception of citizens as hostile or not hostile. Wilson suggests that the police officer with low morale is more likely to perceive the citizen as hostile.[41] And, it may be expected that such perception would tend to influence that policeman's interaction capacity.

Together these studies reflect a number of variables which describe certain aspects of police-citizen interaction. Most of these studies, however, tend to focus on two variable structural relationships rather than acknowledge that the encounter is a gestalt with many interacting elements. What seems to be needed at this point in the study of police-citizen interaction is a theoretical structure which also: 1) adequately depicts the dynamic process of interaction, and 2) permits analysis of associations among the variables which do influence encounter outcomes.

The model in its totality consists of three major dimensions. Each dimension is composed by a number of

41.   James A. Wilson, "Police Morale, Reform, and Citizen Respect: The Chicago Case," in The Police: Six Sociological Essays, David J. Bordua (ed.), (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), 149.

variables or factors. The three dimensions are the situation dimension which sets the boundaries of the ensuing interaction; the exchange dimension which reflects the actual flow of interaction; and the perception dimension which includes for this police-citizen interaction study the major component of the encounter outcome.

D.   POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL

Construction of the police-citizen interaction model procedes in the following manner: dimensions and dimension factors will be defined as they reflect the nature of police-citizen interaction. Three dimensions will be developed: situation, exchange, and perception. They will be discussed in that order, because the data best fits the model by starting at that point and proceeding in that direction. A discussion of dynamic qualities of the encounter follows along with some consideration of the questions which the model can generate and answer. It should be noted that at this point the model is described in considerable detail to approximate its completeness and descriptive capacity. Analysis of data supportive of the model will be somewhat less complete, i.e., some of the factors described as being a part of the overall model may not be included in the available data base. The data "goodness of fit" will be discussed in a later section.

1.   Situation Dimension and Situation Factors.
The situation dimension of interaction consists of

those factors which represent the boundaries of the encounter. Encounters take place between people with different social demographic characteristics, between people with different life experiences, and occur in different physical settings. Together these factors make up the framework in which the encounter takes place.

It is apparent from the previous discussion of police-citizen interaction studies that age of the interactant, particularly that of the citizen, may be critical for understanding how police-citizen interaction evolves. On the basis of the previous findings mentioned above it is expected that the younger age group will be more unfavorably disposed toward the police, and that the police will in turn view the younger person as providing many interaction problems.

Race of the citizen and race of the police officer will also be of importance for understanding police-citizen interaction. It has been shown in the studies discussed above that many police-citizen conflicts have had racial overtones. Particularly, blacks are less favorably disposed toward police than whites. In turn, the black officer, due to his common heritage with the black minority, may be expected to reflect more understanding of the black man's problem and less willing to be reactive in potentially conflictual situations. One of the interesting patterns analyzed in this study is how race interacts with other situation, exchange and perception factors. Although it has been recognized that race is a major influencing factor of negative attitudes toward police, those attitudes are probably much more the result of how blacks have been treated.

Sex is included in the model primarily because it has been depicted as somewhat related to police-citizen interaction. Females generally perceive the police in a very positive vein.

Consideration of the effect of the presence of significant others which stems from the interactional approach is one of the central situational factors considered in this work. Very little consideration has been directed toward this factor in other police-citizen interaction studies. Looking at police-citizen interaction from an interactionist perspective raises the question of significant other effects on the encounter. Imagine a situation where a police officer is coping with a distraught citizen. The citizen may hassle the police officer because a friend is standing by and the hassle supports the man's 'bravado.' Or the man's friend may see the officer as encouraging the man to be quiet or to leave the bar, then the friend may intervene by taking the man home and perhaps no police action is taken. Any consideration of police-citizen interaction as an ongoing process needs to recognize the potential and the real effect of other significant persons.

Force potential, that is, the amount of visible or perceived hardware which may be utilized during the course of interaction may also influence the kind of exchange and the encounter outcome. Citizens may react to a display of force and police officers may be more likely to utilize force if it is readily available.

Citizen community orientation is included as a component

because it is believed that how one regards his community may have an important effect on his perception of police. Specifically community orientation represents, in part, the citizen's evaluation of how crime is being handled in his area. It is anticipated that a negative orientation toward the community will be related to an unfavorable image of the police, for the police are seen as having primary responsibility for keeping the community crime free and for reducing the potentiality of victimization.

The experience factor refers to past experience with police. It is rather generally believed that interaction with a stereotypical group will often serve to dilute the stereotype, and enhance realistic appraisal of the perceived person or group. However with the unique adversary functions of police, this assumption may prove to be incorrect. Because most encounters with police usually involve stress, it may be the case that the stereotype is a more positive image than actual experience would support.

Experience of police officer, measured by number of years on the force, is also an interesting situation variable for two reasons: first from a practical point of view, the officer with the most experience will engage in new encounters expecting citizens to react to stimulii within certain response sets; these expectations may or may not be accurate, but the officer will have developed expectation sets approximating stereotypes or typologies of encounters, and he will act according to the cues discovered in the new encounters. Second, one may expect the younger man to still retain an

idealistic zeal for being a policeman, while the older officer may have become cynical after a number of semi-tragic experiences in the community. This increase in cynicism has been documented in a study by Niederhoffer who claims that cynicism is well developed by the fifth year on the force.[42]

Educational achievement of the officer is another situation factor within the model. It has been argued that police need to be better educated;[43] education sensitizes a person to the community problems and increases police awareness of differing subcultural mannerisms. It is expected, then, that policemen with higher levels of educational achievement are more likely to have positive perceptions of the community and its residents.

As seen in the discussion of earlier studies, job satisfaction is an important indicator of how one sees his role, whether that role is an industrial manager or a policeman. If an industrial manager has high scores on job satisfaction, it is expected that he also has positive reactions toward his superiors, his subordinates, and the general environment in which he is employed. Similarly, if a policeman is quite satisfied with his work, it is expected that he favorably views his superiors and the community which he serves.

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42. Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield: The Police in Urban Society, (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1967), 105.

43. President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, Task Force Report: Police, 126-128.

Place of policeman's residence has also been regarded by many citizens as an important factor relating to the officer's understanding and commitment to the community. It is generally assumed that the more proximate one lives to the community he serves the more likely he is to understand the underlying problems of that community. According to these arguments, it is expected that those officers residing within the city of which the department is a part will be more favorably disposed toward the community and its residents than those officers residing in the suburbs.

2.   Exchange Dimension and Exchange Factors. The exchange dimension includes the actual process which occurs during the course of an encounter. It represents the give-and-take or process of social interaction. Put in another way the exchange dimension represents how one person actually relates to another. It is probably the most difficult dimension to empirically measure.

It was noted earlier that deference of citizen toward police and deference of police toward citizen has been handled to some extent in previous studies. However, in each instance whether the citizen treated the police officer in an antagonistic, civil or overly deferential manner or vice versa the degree of deference was handled as a discrete occurrence with a one way effect upon other. In this study, deference is also handled as a major exchange factor, but it is not viewed as a discrete factor. It is more appropriately viewed as evolving out of the situation where each actor

responds to the other actor's cues. The actual outcome of
the encounter will depend in part on how the deference exchange
is negotiated. Likewise, this negotiation does not occur
in a vacuum. Thus the process may be influenced by the
presence of significant others or by a number of other
intervening situation factors.

Apart from the process of deference negotiation,
deference, or at least perceived deference in the sense of
how one perceives himself being treated by other, may have
a major effect upon how he perceives and evaluates other.
Some of the more interesting relationships to be scrutinized
within the model is that between how one evaluates the police
based on evaluation of one's experience compared with assess-
ment of police based on citizen age, sex, and race aggregates.
It would seem likely that how one is actually treated will
be even more important than one's race or age.

Demeanor of the actors may also influence encounter
outcomes. Obvious examples are the expectations which are
conjured in the mind of the police officer when he sees
a youth attired in a hippie style, or the officer's response
to a car with peace symbols painted over its entire surface.
Demeanor of citizen or demeanor of police may trigger certain
reactions on the part of the other.

Another exchange factor pertains to the police officer
specifically. It is the cumulative effect on the officer
of the officer's encounters within the same shift. It may
be expected that a frustrating or conflictual encounter may
have carry-over effects into   succeeding encounters.

3.   <u>Perception Dimension and Perception Factors</u>. The
perception dimension includes two major sets: perception
of self and perception of others. The perception dimension
both influences and is influenced by the encounter. How one
sees himself and how one sees police will influence the
manner in which one interacts with the police officer, and
one's evaluation of how the interaction was handled by the
police officer will in turn shape one's perception of police
and may even cause some rethinking of self.

a)   <u>Perception of Self</u>. Perception of self or one's
master role identity supplies a set of expectations and
responses which guide the citizen as he interacts with the
police and which guide the police as they relate with certain
kinds of citizens. For example, if the citizen sees himself
as a conservative or a radical that self perception may pre-
dispose him to relate differently with the officer than if
he were not. Similarly, if the officer sees himself as a
tough cop he will seek out reinforcing   experiences and
will probably be very hesitant to let citizens go with only
verbal warnings. Officers with different role identities
will seek out other kinds of reinforcing experiences.

It would be helpful to be able to develop some means
of differentiating between role identities for citizens and
for police. Because of the nature of the citizen data such
a continuum or typology cannot be herein developed for the
citizens. However, the police data do provide a basis for
developing a typology of police role identities. Therefore
such a typology will conceptually be considered at this juncture.

It is possible to construct a typology of police role
identities by conceptualizing the possible police roles as
forming a continuum. The major divisions along this con-
tinuum become the ideal type role identities. As ideal
types, they are most likely not to be realized in pure or
"ideal" form in the real world. The types are principally
analytical tools.[44]

Anyone attempting the construction of a police role
typology needs to acknowledge the preceding efforts of Banton
and of Wilson.[45] Banton dichotomized types of police officers
according to their principal police functions: peace officers
and law enforcement officers.[46] Wilson was primarily
interested in differentiating police department strategies
by the community in which the department functioned but
ultimately did develop a typology of police behavior. Three
departmental types emerged from his work: legalist, order
maintenance, and service.[47] Three different modes of police
behavior were found to be consistent with the departmental
types: watchman, legalist, and service.[48]

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44. John C. McKinney, "Constructive Typology: Explication of
a Procedure," in An Introduction to Social Research, John T.
Doby (ed.), (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), 228-229.

45. Michael Banton, The Policeman in the Community; James Q.
Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior: The Management of Law
and Order in Eight Communities, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard
University Press, 1968).

46. Michael Banton, The Policeman in the Community, 6-7.

47. James Q. Wilson, Varieties of Police Behavior, 200.

48. Ibid., 140, 172, 200.

The typology developed within this study is focused more on the officer's role identity as measured by his perception of himself as a law enforcement officer within the community. The role patterns or ideal types described herein include abusive legalist officer, task officer, and community service officer. While any one officer may act out all three roles at some point in his career or act out different role patterns in specific situations, it is contended that one mode or pattern of behaving is dominant. This dominant pattern may be regarded as a master role identity for the officer. For example, while one may act as an abusive legalist on occasions he predominantly acts as a task officer or vice versa. These three ideal role identities are more fully defined and described below and in Figure 1.

1) <u>Abusive Legalist Officer</u>. The ideal type abusive legalist role is performed by officers who see themselves as protectors, defenders, and advocates of the right, moral standards. These standards are to be acknowledged and obeyed by all regardless of class, race, etc. Policing is consciously or unconsciously considered to be a means of protecting certain vested interests or power groups, e.g., a means of thwarting the demands of minority and militant groups who share ideologies which pose a threat to the officer's overall orientation. The abusive legalist will reflect the authoritarian personality in its extreme form. He will feel very free to use the maximum amount of discretion to enforce his understanding of moral standards. The abusive legalist will reflect knowledge

FIGURE 1

TYPOLOGY OF POLICE ROLE IDENTITIES

Master Identity (Ideal Type)	Orientation Mode	Distinguishing criteria		Differentiating Characteristics
Abusive Legalist	Enforcement of own ideology	A.	Moral standards	A. Considers role as involving the enforcement of moral standards
		B.	Relationship to power structure	B. Law enforcement is perceived as a means of protecting certain vested interest/ power groups
		C.	Authoritarianism	C. Reflects the authoritarian personality in its extreme
		D.	Discretion	D. Utilizes considerable discretion to enforce particular standard; can become abusive when mocked or threatened
		E.	Community perception	E. Knows the language of the community for defensive purposes, but does not understand

FIGURE 1

TYPOLOGY OF POLICE ROLE IDENTITIES (continued)

Master Identity (Ideal Type)	Orientation Mode	Distinguishing Criteria		Differentiating Characteristics
Task	Enforce the law	A.	Moral standards	A. Considers role as involving the enforcement of the law and will not question or enlarge upon the moral premises underpinning the law
		B.	Relationship to power structure	B. Believes the law represents the will of the majority, thus own role is that of serving the majority
		C.	Authoritarianism	C. Probably the least authoritaian of the police types; authority rests within the law not individuals
		D.	Discretion	D. Law should be enforced equal without regard for race, class, etc.
		E.	Community perception	E. Knows the language of the community in order to facilitate law enforcement but does not understand

FIGURE 1

TYPOLOGY OF POLICE ROLE IDENTITIES (continued)

Master Identity (Ideal Type)	Orientation Mode	Distinguishing Criteria		Differentiating Characteristics
Community Service	Help people	A.	Moral standards	A. Belief in high moral standards underpins the role; there are ideals to be inculcated into culture, but not enforced
		B.	Relationship to power structure	B. Sees self as helping people, particularly the have nots
		C.	Authoritarianism	C. May be quite authoritarian; indignant about unfair laws
		D.	Discretion	D. Where moral standards fail to support the law, the law may be disregarded; law should be restrained when handling people who cannot control own situation
		E.	Community perception	E. Knows and understands the language of the community

of the language of the community, because such knowledge is needed for defensive purposes. This does not mean that he will actually understand the community.

2) <u>Task Officer</u> The task officer is the officer who attempts to be the objective legalist. The role is essentially performed by those officers who believe that they are enforcing laws established by society with which they themselves have little power to tinker. Although all policing is somewhat discretionary, the task officer is the least willing to use discretionary powers. Morality will not be a major guiding principal either, in fact, there is a tendency for the task officer to hope that the courts will remove the semi-crimes such as gambling and prostitution from the purview of law enforcement agencies. However, until such court or legislative action to redefine such acts as noncriminal, the task officer feels obligated to enforce those laws. Explicit class demands are not crucial for the task officer nor will he score extremely high on authoritarian scales. The officer operating within the task mode knows the community language since such knowledge is regarded as necessary for adequate enforcement of the law. However, since the law is to be universally enforced, there is no need to understand the language or style, such understanding would create a tendency to justify specific deviant modes of behavior. In sum, the task officer considers himself to be a straight, honest cop trying to do an assigned job the best he can.

3) <u>Community Service Officer</u>. The community service role identity has certain orientations in common

with the abusive legalist although the direction of
behavior is generally polar opposite. Officers within
this category also appeal to moral standards as the
essentials which are needed to underpin the law; where
such standards are lacking, however, the law may be
disregarded. For example, the community service officer
is interested in helping people; this necessitates not
only knowing the language of the people, but also under-
standing the language. Knowledge and understanding of a
locale and its language may generate an acknowledgement
of gambling as an act which breaks up the monotony creating
an interest which is otherwise lacking. The moral standards
which the community service officer appeals to may in fact
permit the officer to overlook certain areas of semi-crime
such as gambling, prostitution, and soft drug use. On the
other hand, he may be more angrily aware of such white-
collar crime as high rents, lack of service, etc.

This police role identity typology will be operationalized
and used for analytical purposes in Chapter V.

b)   Perception of Others. How one sees himself will
in turn effect how one sees certain other persons. And,
perception of others will at least in ideal situations
affect how one will interact with others. It is assumed
that citizens who are unfavorably disposed toward police
will avoid interacting with them and that when interaction
involving such citizens is necessitated it will be somewhat
strained. Similarly, police officers who are unfavorable
to certain groups will have strained relations with those

groups. In order to understand the police officer perceptions
of others it will be important to consider his perception of
1) the community which he serves, 2) minority groups, and 3)
his general field of law enforcement. It will also be
interesting to compare officers with different perceptions
of these three sets in terms of the role identities previously
developed.

This description of the dimensions and factors which
compose the police-citizen interaction model should alert
the reader to some of the major contingencies of police-
citizen interaction. Even as the dimensions and factors
were being described the importance of seeing the relation-
ships among the variables was also stressed. However, to
more adequately depict the dynamic process of police-citizen
interaction and the model's capacity for describing much of
that process the next section will focus directly on the
dynamic qualities of the police-citizen interaction model.

4. Dynamic Qualities of Model. Figure 2 depicts the
process of the police-citizen interaction model as well as
summarizes the factors within each dimension. As the arrows
suggest, the model is in a state of fluidity. It is the inter-
action among the various dimension components which codetermine
a given police-encounter outcome. The outcome of an encounter
consists of much more than the specific, official disposition
of the case. Because the purpose of this study is to
analyze the police-citizen interaction as one component which
enables a better understanding of police-community relations,

FIGURE 2

VARIABLES WITHIN THE POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL

Perception Factors

Perception of Self - Role Identity
Perception of Others
       Police Perception of Citizens
       Citizen Perception of Police

Situation Factors

Age of Interactant
Sex of Interactant
Race of Interactant
Class of Interactant
Presence of Significant Others
Force Potential
Time of Day
Location
Prior Experience
Victimization
Community Orientation
Power of Interactant

Exchange Factors

Deference of Interactant
Demeanor of Interactant
Cumulative Effect of Previous
      Encounter

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perception of self and perception of others are arbitrarily considered the principal encounter outcomes. What effect does the encounter have on one's perception of his own role identity? Does it support the person's master identity? If an officer who sees himself as a tough and able defender of the law becomes involved in a fight with a citizen while attempting to apprehend him, will the experience be supportive of his identity? Are the role taking opportunities conducive for building positive or negative immages of others? Are bystanders for example encouraged to see police in a positive light?

While perception of self and perception of others represent the principal encounter outcomes, the police-citizen interaction model does not end with a cross-sectional analysis of one encounter. The model indicates that these outcomes will in turn provide inputs which will influence succeeding encounters. How does this happen? A concrete example will serve to explain. Police officers are called to a disorderly. The officers are white, the citizens black. Only normal hardware, baton and revolver, is available to the officers. The determination to call for additional hardware may result from the officers' perception of black men fighting. In addition, the determination to use the hardware may result from the citizens' response to the police officers' presence and the officers' assessment of the actual exchange occurring. Availability of hardware may serve as a catalyst which touches off a conflict, or it may simply shape citizen perception of police as either fair

or unfair. For example, excessive display of fire power may encourage citizens to also use arms, or the display may prohibit actual conflict but leave the citizens with the feeling that they are being unjustly threatened. Furthermore, it is expected that the actual exchange between citizen and police will shape the images which each has of the other. And the latter may have influenced the general tenor of the whole encounter. Thus, the police-citizen interaction model can be seen as depicting a dynamic process to account for developments within encounters and feedback from one to another.

Where the researcher breaks into the process to begin a detailed description of that process is determined principally by the nature of the available data and to some degree by logic. Survey data will not usually permit the flexibility represented by the whole model, but such data are quite useful for describing intra and inter dimensional relationships, e.g., relationships between race and experience with police, relationships between race of citizen and exchange factors, relationships between age of citizen and perception factors. From the survey data one can get a handle on the skeletal framework of the model. Observation data are more helpful in studying the dynamic process and may be used to breathe life into the skeletal framework. Combining survey and observation strategies to analyze the police-citizen interaction model with its three major dimensions, composed of a number of factors each, should provide answers to some of the following questions.

Will individuals with prior experience be more
unfavorably disposed toward police than persons
with no prior experience?

Will black citizens be more unfavorably disposed
toward police than whites?

Will younger citizens be more unfavorably disposed
toward police than older citizens?

Will persons who have had poor exchange encounters
be more unfavorably disposed toward police than
persons with good exchange encounters?

Will citizen evaluation of exchange quality be
more powerfully associated with perception of
police than will the situation factors?

Will white police officers be less favorably
disposed to minority people than black police
officers?

Will white police officers be more favorably
disposed toward keeping outsiders out of the
law enforcement field than black police
officers?

Will suburban officers be less favorably disposed
toward minority people than urban officers?

Will policemen who are more satisfied with their
work be more favorably disposed toward minority
persons than are policemen who are less satisfied
with their work?

Will prior conflictual encounters influence
succeeding encounters?

Will officers be able to cope with the tragedy
of their work without jeopardizing police-
citizen interaction?

Will officers who share specific role identities
react differently to citizens?

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

A. GENERAL METHODOLOGICAL STRATEGY

The methodological approach used for analyzing police-citizen interaction is shaped by the theoretical position employed, in this instance, symbolic interaction and more specifically role analysis. The process qualities of the police-citizen interaction model afford the opportunity to consider an interactionist methodological strategy.

Thomas P. Wilson has differentiated two paradigms which have been used to handle interaction and which render specifications for methodological strategies.[49] The normative paradigm is contrasted with the interpretive paradigm. A normative analysis of interaction stresses the idea that social action is governed by role-expectations and actors' statuses. It assumes an underlying cognitive consensus concerning definitions of situations and appropriate actions. The interpretive approach stems from the theoretical construct role-taking. Within this framework, it is assumed that social interaction is a process where actors are engaged in continual redefining and reinterpreting of roles. In other words, the first paradigm emphasizes the static qualities of interaction and the latter paradigm stresses the process nature of interaction.

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49. Thomas P. Wilson, "Conceptions of Interaction and Forms of Sociological Explanation," _American Sociological Review_, 35 (Aug. 1970), 697-707.

Although each focuses on a differing aspect of interaction and each requires different methodological approaches, the writer believes that they are not totally disparate and may in fact be coupled, providing a broader methodological scope than is possible by utilizing either one singly. The normative paradigm necessitates indicators of static role positions, attitudes, and role expectations. The interpretive paradigm requires documentation of interaction processes, forcing the researcher toward a field approach. The first paradigm and its typical methodological strategies may be useful in circumscribing the actual boundaries of interaction, while the second paradigm traces the process of interaction. For more than a casual understanding of police-citizen relations, it seems apparent that both the structural and the processual qualities of interaction need to be handled.

If one is willing to operate from both paradigms, his research hypotheses and findings will be guided by both deduction and induction. Various theoretical role constructs permit the deduction of hypotheses, e.g., role identities, roles played, role behavior, encounter outcomes. At the same time, however, due to the process nature of interaction, the possibility of sensitizing concepts is considerable.[50]

50. Sensitizing concepts are generally contrasted with definitive concepts. The latter is a precise reference to things as on the basis of demonstrable bench marks. With sensitizing concepts, there are no agreed upon bench marks; thus, the concepts provide a general posture for approaching the subject matter. These sensitizing concepts are tested and refined by empirical analysis of the natural world. Herbert Blumer, "What is Wrong with Social Theory?" American Sociological Review, 19 (Feb. 1959), 7-9.

This inductive approach is in the tradition of Lindesmith, Cressy, and Turner.[51] McCall has explained the process when one utilizes participant observation as a technique.[52] In his terms, a study will have a number of central propositions constructed prior to field work which guide the overall effort; 'mine-run' propositions may also be discovered while in the field -- these propositions result from pin-pointing operations which attempt to further develop some of the researcher's loosely constructed ideas about the subject matter. The third variety of propositions are those discovered after the data collection is completed. Thus, there is the possibility for continued efforts at refining or sensitizing concepts, and for generating new concepts to further explicate the interactionist methodological approach, it may be useful to consider Denzin's seven interactionist principles.[53] These will be paraphrased and interpreted as to their import for the present study.

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51. Alfred Lindesmith, Opiate Addiction, (Bloomington: Principia Press, 1947); Donald R. Cressey, Other People's Money, (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953); Ralph H.Turner, "The Quest for Universals in Sociological Research," American Sociological Review, 18 (Dec. 1953), 604-611.

52. George J. McCall, "The Problems of Indicators in Participant Observation Research," in Issues in Participant Observation, G. J. McCall and J. L. Simmons (eds.) (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1969), 237.

53. Norman K. Denzin, The Research Act, (Chicago: Aldine, 1960), 19.

1. To make an investigation complete, it is necessary to relate symbols and interaction. For example, attitudes toward police and police-community relations must eventually be related to specific types of interaction.

2. The investigator must take on the perspective or "role of the acting other." Depending on the situation, in this study, the investigator must be able to take on the perspective of both citizens and police. By doing so, one can better understand some of the fears of police, and perhaps become sensitive to some of their rather formal, authoritarian precautions.

3. Definitions and concepts shared by subjects must be related to significant social relationships and groups which generated them. How does one define the police? The answer is partially determined by knowing whether or not the individual is a Panther or a member of the Police Boys Club. Or, does police perception of citizen vary according to policeman's place of residence?

4. Situations in which behavior emerges must be recorded. Are interaction outcomes related to such factors as the incident's occurring in daytime or nighttime, with crowds present, or in private or public places?

5. Research methods must get at the process as well as static behavioral forms. The actual nature of exchange must be recorded. Such recording can be done by a qualitative participant observation approach.

6. Conducting research is an act of symbolic interaction. That is, the investigator defines and shapes his subject matter, and this defining and shaping is a conscious act.

7. The interaction approach allows for the sensitization of concepts throughout the research process; the theory is formal and propositions become interactional.

As we begin to analyze police-citizen interaction from an interactionist perspective, it becomes quickly apparent that no single technique or data base achieves the desired

level of interpretation. Although multiple operationalism

has had a rich tradition, Denzin provides one of the more

cogent discussions of the idea under the descriptive

title, "triangulation."[54, 55] The principal rationale

for triangulation is that there are a variety of aspects

of empirical reality which need to be tapped in a given

study by combining multiple data bases, multiple theoretical

positions, multiple observers and multiple methods.[56]

For example, the principal unit of study in this project

is police-citizen interaction. Three dimensions of such

interaction have been delineated for study: situational

and exchange and perception factors. Each dimension

necessitates a unique data base such as perceptions of

police-citizen interaction, recording situational conditions,

and documenting the process of interaction for a descriptive

analysis of police-citizen interaction. A general level

of triangulation on the perception of police-citizen

interaction is achieved in this study by looking at the

citizen perspective, the police perspective and by field

observation. Superimposed on these various data bases

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54. Matilda W. Riley, et. al., "Interpersonal Orientation
in Small Groups: A Consideration of the Questionnaire
Approach," American Sociological Review, 19 (Dec. 1954), 724;
S.W. Cook and C. Selltiz, "A Multiple-Indicator Approach
to Attitude Measurement," Psychological Bulletin, 62 (July
1964, 36-55; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Evidence and Inference
in Social Research," Daedalus, 87 (1958), 103.

55. Denzin, Research Act, 26.

56. Ibid., 301.

is yet another means of triangulation, that is, data

bases can be differentiated according to time, location,

and persons.[57] The process of documenting empirical

reality as conceived in this study is not a one-shot

cross-sectional event, but occurs over time, in a great

number of locations, and with a large number of persons.

The triangulation posture is also achieved by merging

various theoretical positions for conceptualizing the

research problem. As stated earlier, tenets from symbolic

interaction and role theory underpin our theoretical

model. Interviewing will be conducted by a number of

persons familiar with the local community. Triangulated

methods refer to the combining of such techniques as

interviewing, participant observation, survey questionnaires,

unobtrusive measures and other methods for gathering data

on similar issues. In some instances, a highly-structured

questionnaire may be optimal, while in other cases a

concerted effort at observation may be the most meaningful

approach. In this study, structured interviews and

questionnaires will be devised to discover existing

attitudes or perceptions concerning police-citizen inter-

action. Although the information gathered in this manner

will be very useful in determining predispositions and

will make some contributions to the understanding of

situational and exchange factors, the latter two sets

of factors may be handled quite well via observation in

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57. <u>Ibid</u>., 302.

the natural setting. Furthermore, interviews are used
to handle exchange and situation factors; and observation
also obtains some complementing information on perception
factors in order to bring the triangulation process full
circle.

A second rationale underlying triangulation is to
enhance validity.[58] Data gathered on similar dimensions
and measured by a number of techniques, via a number of
data bases, by a number of observers, and from a number
of theoretical positions serve to verify existing relation-
ships. To illustrate, one may measure perception of police-
citizen interaction during interviews and resubstantiate
the perceptions via observations. Or, through the question-
naires, one may gain insight concerning critical situational
factors to be later documented by observation as important,
leading the analyst to consider the relationship between
situation factors in question and encounter outcomes as
valid. In other words, if various approaches yield con-
sistent data, one may be more confident that his findings
are valid reflections of empirical reality than if the
same findings were yielded by a single test or approach.[57]

In sum, a combined approach incorporating the normative
and interpretive paradigms will guide the overall study.

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58. Ibid., 27.

59. Validity as utilized in this sense is similar to the
quest for credibility emphasized by Glaser and Strauss.
Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, The Discovery of
Grounded Theory, (Chicago: Aldine, 1967), 225.

The general procedure for generating data is one of triangulation which produces, at least in the case of the present study, both quantitative and qualitative data.

B.   THE SETTING

Data for this study were gathered within the Third Police District, one of several police districts in Washington, D.C.   Figure III presents the geographical area served by Third District officers.

Approximately 100,000 persons reside in this area located in the lower section of the Northwest quadrant of the District of Columbia.[60]   The area is bounded by Harvard Street on the North, by Rock Creek Park on the Northwest, by Connecticut Avenue on the West, by L Street on the South, and by Seventh Street, Rhode Island Avenue and Fourth Street on the East.   Figure III is a map of the boundaries of the Third Police District.

Citizens of the area present an interesting cross-section of an urban community.   In the Northwest section

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60.   All population statistics within this section are based on the 1960 Census of the Population.   Because the boundaries of the Third Police District do not perfectly coincide to census tracts, three out of twenty tracts in that area overlap with other police districts.   On the assumption that the overlapping portions of these three tracts are not too unlike the other 17 tracts, statistics reported here include all persons within the twenty census tracts.   U.S. Bureau of Census, U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960, Census Tracts, Final Report PHC(1)-166, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), 19-21 and 52-57.

FIGURE III

BOUNDARIES OF THE WASHINGTON, D.C.
THIRD POLICE DISTRICT
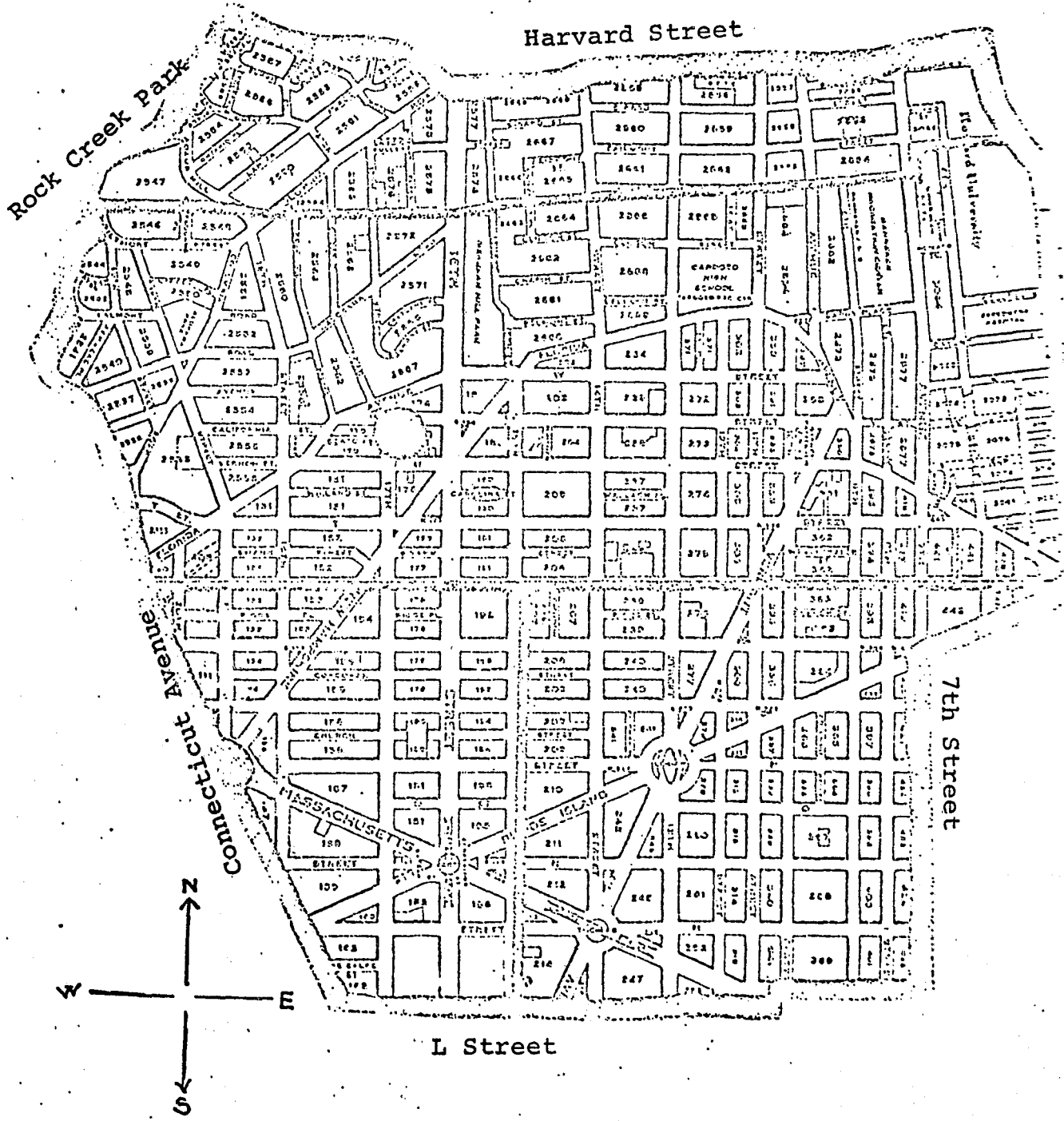
are foreign embassies, residences of white middle class citizens, and some of the better hotels in Washington; in the Southwest are businesses and night spots which cater to the middle class of the metropolitan area; the character of the East side ranges from a black working class community to the deprivation of a ghetto; Howard University is also located in the Northeast section. In addition a number of major arteries, Connecticut Avenue, Massachusetts Avenue, Florida Avenue, Georgia Avenue and Fourteenth Street pass through the Third District. Fourteenth Street is noted for its tough bars, strip joints, and street walkers and is the focal point for much police surveillance and action.

The race composition of the Third District is sixty-nine percent black and thirty-one percent white. Nearly forty-five percent of the population is male compared with fifty-five percent female. The average median age for males is 33.6; for females it is 41.4. The average median family income is $4,391.

Statistics on complaints of crimes against persons for 1970 provide a picture of the extent of such crime in the Third District.[61] For that time period, seven hundred and forty complaints were received from whites contrasted to fourteen hundred and thirty-seven complaints

61. The statistics on complaints of crimes against persons were obtained from the research division of the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department.

reported by non-whites. Complaints were quite evenly divided between persons under thirty-five and persons over thirty-five. Approximately two-fifths of the complaints were reported by females, compared with three-fifths by males. Within both race groups, males over fifty, females over fifty, and males between the ages of twenty-five and twenty-nine, in that order, yielded the greatest number of complaints. Robbery, aggravated assault, and purse snatching without force, respectively, were the substance of the bulk of the complaints.

C.   THE PRINCIPAL DATA SOURCE

The principal data source for this study was the research arm of the Third District Pilot Project located in the Third Police District of Washington, D.C. The project, more commonly known as the Pilot District Project or PDP, was a city financed citizen group with a directive to encourage better police-community relations within the Third District. Stated more precisely, the overall purpose of PDP was to "develop innovative ways to get the police and the community to come together in unstereotyped and positive reactions toward one another."[62]

This purpose would be achieved by four major thrusts: 1) developing community services, 2) police operations and procedures, 3) community liason, 4) and police training.

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62. Marion Barry, The Third District Pilot Police Project: A Proposal for the Third District Citizens and Police of the District of Columbia, (March 23, 1970), 1.

The total effort would be augmented by ongoing research. In particular, a community opinion survey was conducted as well as a police opinion survey. In addition, a Citizen Rider Project was devised whereby citizens and research staff were permitted to ride with and observe police-citizen behavior. This project was originally regarded as a major research data gathering device.

Although the principal focus of the project was social action, at its conception sound research was regarded as an essential component enabling rational, decision-making. Both the citizen and the police surveys were conducted during that phase of the project under the direction of Dr. Derek Roemer, Research Director. At a later point in the project's history it became apparent that research interests were to become subjugated to social action interests.

Through an informal contact, Dr. Roemer had been pro-vided with the preliminary research proposal for this study. He made the initial contact with the writer. After several discussions an agreement was negotiated whereby the survey and observation data gathered by PDP would be used as data supporting this study.[63] In turn, the writer would provide technical assistance on additional

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63. The data resulting from the Citizen Rider Project was rejected for purposes of this study because after discussion with the director and a number of the citizen riders and after thoroughly looking through a month's reports, it became apparent that the citizen riders were primarily social action agents seeking out incidents of police abuse. In addition, the data did not reflect the kinds of interaction variables considered important within the police-citizen interaction model.

planned surveys and of course provide any findings which would result from the specific police-citizen interaction analysis. It was understood, then, that the writer would act in the capacity of a nonpaid consultant whenever feasible.

By January, 1971, Dr. Roemer had left the project and the status of the project was being seriously questioned by the Citizen's Board and the city government. Further research efforts were not funded. Therefore, the two early surveys and observations completed by the writer remain the major sources of data on which the police-citizen interaction model is analyzed.

Basically the PDP was chosen as the principal data source because it presented an opportunity to overcome some of the obstacles to doing research on police-citizen inter-action. First, access to police departments for research purposes is quite difficult, particularly if that research goes beyond observation. Second, access to a community with a sizeable black population is increasingly difficult. Third, the police-citizen interaction model could best be utilized with police and citizens who work and/or live within the same police district; at least one has some basis for thinking that the subjects are reflecting attitudes about each other as they respond to interviews and questionnaires. Fourth, when the negotiation was first made it was expected that the research emphasis would continue and that a survey of encounter interactions would be conducted.[64]

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64. The proposed survey of encounter interactants was not accomplished due to the departure of Roemer and diminished

(continued)

D.   DATA COLLECTION

Analysis of the police-citizen interaction model is based on three data sources: a survey of citizens residing within the Third District, a survey of police officers who work in the Third District, and field observations of police citizen encounters occurring with the Third District. Both of the surveys represent secondary sources while the observation was carried out by the writer.

1.   Citizen Survey. The citizen survey was completed in the summer of 1970. The original goal was to obtain approximately a one percent sample of the total community. A total sample number was set at one thousand persons.

Each residential dwelling (apartments, rooms, etc.) was given a unique identification number. Addresses were randomly selected to be within the sample. Furthermore the sample was stratefied by age and sex and quotas were established for the various age sex cohorts. Derived quotas were based on available census data. The interviewer would then receive a number of addresses on a given block; each address would have a preference as to the sex and age of the person to be interviewed. If the preferred person did reside at the address but was not then at home, the interviewer was instructed to set up an appointment or return at a later time. If no such person resided at that

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64. (continued)   research funds. And it was believed that only PDP with its community access and black interviewers would be able to successfully complete such an effort in that community.

address, the interviewer would ask for the second preference and so on.

All of the interviewers resided within the Third District. Most were college students, and most were black. Each interviewer participated in a four day training session at which time he was instructed in techniques of interviewing and had an opportunity to try out the schedule by interviewing other interviewers. At the end of the inhouse training session, each interviewer conducted three sample interviews under the supervision of a group leader. Those interviewers evaluated as inadequate received additional training.

As is the case in many community surveys, the research team was unable to obtain their goal of one thousand, but instead derived five hundred and thirty-two useable interviews. However, the age sex balance was maintained fairly well. And nonresponses seemed to occur fairly evenly across the district with the exception of flop houses where the return rate was quite low.

The interview schedule consisted of a series of questions on citizen perception of the Pilot District Project, citizen understanding of community problems, citizen contact with police, citizen evaluation of police contact, citizen perception of police, and citizen demographic data. The instrument went through two pretest phases in the Spring of 1970. Only a few items were actually selected for purposes of this study. Those items were selcted due to their theoretical import and

the sufficient number of responses which rendered them useable.[65]

2.   Police Survey.   The police survey was conducted in the Fall of 1969.   Questionnaires were either administered at roll calls before going on duty or during PDP training sessions.   The goal was to question all officers on a typical work day.   Therefore, the total number represents officers of the Third District working on a given day.   Third District officers not included in the survey include those men who would normally have had the day off, men on sick leave, and a disproportionate number of higher ranking officers.   Because the survey had not been previously announced it may be assumed that the absences were unrelated to the administration of the survey and that the selection of men represents a fairly typical crossection of men working on a typical day.

The instrument was composed of a number of items designed to get at allocation of time by police to particular segments of the community, police perception of citizens, police perception of own role, and background information. Again, only selected items were analyzed for the purposes of this study.   The criteria for the selection of specific items were theoretical import and methodological rigor.

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65   It may be noted that many items used in both the citizen and the police survey were items reported by Al Reiss in the field studies for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice. Data collection instruments appear in the Appendix.

3.   Field Observation. The observer monitored police-citizen interaction in the field while riding in police scout cars. Approximately one hundred hours were spent in the field. The observation took place within the thirteenth precinct of the Third District. This was one of two precincts in that district; it was selected because it housed the District Headquarters and had a larger roster of men. Randomization of observation by officer or cars was immediately scrubbed by the Inspector, however, he and his men were very cooperative in every other way. After speaking with the Inspector about research concerns, the observer was permitted to begin immediately. In order to prevent milk runs, it was decided to stay with one unit, that is the group of men who work one shift. These units would rotate on the following hours: 8:00 a.m.-4:00 p.m.; 4:00 p.m.-12:00 a.m.; 12:00 a.m.-8:00a.m. .The observer stayed with C unit throughout the observation period; it was believed that since the unit had not been selected for him by the department that it would be as representative as any other in the field. It was also hoped that by staying with one group of men rapport would be enhanced and the observer would not be seen as a "spy" or as one to be feared.[66]

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66. It is believed that this strategy did pay off. The unit had a very good grape vine. After a few periods in the field, the observer was able to engage in some inside jokes, was referred to simply as the professor, and at least a couple of times was sought by particular officers because they believed that they could show him something about law enforcement. It may also be the case that the observer was not

(continued)

During the course of the observation period, the observer rode at least once on every given night of the week, but emphasis was placed on the weekends. Two weekdays were also included. Even without the rigorous aid of randomization the observations seemed to be rather representative for the following reasons. Of the non-transport scout cars, the observer rode in each. The cars, not the officers, are assigned to specific territories within the precinct. The officers are assigned to cars at each shift. The senior officer in each vehicle may be assigned regularly, but because of summer vacations and staggared days off repetition of riding with one officer was not a great problem. This occurred twice. The observer, then, became familiar with each territory. More time was spent in the high crime areas. This was accomplished by the fact that he was assigned to these cars more often and to the fact that officers who are assigned to low crime territories cruise throughout the precinct increasing the likelihood of responding to calls by virtue of being close to the location from which the call was issued.

There were some restraints on the observer concerning his free movement while on call. He was permitted to get

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66. (continued) as threatening as other riders which included law students through the District Court and Pilot District Project Riders; the latter were regarded as spies. The observer's introduction was simply that of Ph.D. candidate in sociology gathering data on the extent to which citizens cooperate with police.

out of the car and follow officers into private buildings
or anywhere with the exception of calls described as "man
with a gun."[67] Given the overall scope of the observation
procedures, approximately one hundred hours were logged in
the field with direct contact with twenty-four officers in
scout cars, many more officers at the scene of crimes, and
again many more officers at the station house both in
change of shifts, handling routine matters of the station
house, and while questioning suspects.

E.   GENERAL STRATEGY FOR DATA ANALYSIS

The major focus of the data analysis is description of
the interaction process and isolation of relationships among
the model dimension factors. Because of the nature of the
data only selected linkages of the model can be presented
at any time. For instance, the citizen survey has yielded
data which permit analysis of the police-citizen interaction
model from the citizen perspective; the police survey
allows for analysis of the police-citizen interaction model
from the police perspective; and the observation data provides
the best opportunity to describe the dynamics of the process
of interaction. Because of these more or less logical uses
of the data sources three analysis chapters have emerged --

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67.   The observer also used considerable discretion in
other situations where his presence might either impair
the police function or unduly embarrass citizens. It is
believed that this discretion did not go unnoticed and
probably contributed to the general level of acceptance
of the observer by the individual officers. It also should
be stated that the observer did not have to be encouraged
to remain in the car on "man with a gun" calls.

the police-citizen interaction model: the citizen-perspective;
the police-citizen interaction model: the police perspective;
and the dynamics of police-citizen interaction: the observer's.
perspective.

In order to preserve continuity in the overall analysis
the same basic analysis strategies will be employed throughout
the first two analysis chapters. This will entail cross-
tabulation of variables within model dimensions, where appro-
priate, and between dimension variables. Percentage differences
and gamma matrices will be used to assess association among the
variables. Once the original relationship is found to merit
further analysis that relationship will be broken down by con-
trolling on any third variable which is related to the first two.
After examining a large number of tables from both the citizen
and the police data it was decided that gammas of .20 or greater
were indicative of association which would yield useful descriptive
information. The .20 gamma is utilized throughout the study to
insure consistency and comparability.

The observations are reported and analyzed by selecting and
discussing the major interaction patterns observed in the field.
When possible the observation data are used to support or expand
discussion which emerged from interpretation of the survey data.

Among the data sources the citizen data will most aptly
fit the police-citizen interaction model because there are
adequate indicators for each dimension. The police data
is quite weak on the exchange dimension. Of course the
observation data is strongest on the exchange dimension

and it will therefore focus on patterns of exchange. Taken together the three data sources provide a fairly good data base on which to evaluate the model. The concluding chapter will pull together the various contributions and illustrate how the data as a whole have supported the police-citizen interaction model.

POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION: THE CITIZEN PERSPECTIVE

A.   THE POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL: EXPLORATION OF
     DIMENSION INDICATORS FOR THE CITIZEN PERSPECTIVE

In order to utilize the contructed interaction model
as a means for describing police-citizen interaction from
the citizen perspective, it will be necessary 1) to docu-
ment the critical situation factors which tend to impinge
upon encounter outcomes, 2) to ascertain the citizen's
evaluation of previous police contacts or exchanges which
reflect upon police deference toward the citizen, and 3)
to discern the citizen's generalized perception of police
which is both an outcome of the police citizen encounter and
a factor influencing the outcomes of succeeding police-citizen
encounters. Each of these concerns will be discussed separa-
tely in terms of the situation, exchange, and perception di-
mensions. As the discussion flows from one dimension to an-
other, interdimensional relationships within the model will
be demonstrated. Using the model in this manner should yield
a descriptive portrayal of police-citizen interaction from the
citizen perspective.

A number of variables have been selected to operationalize
these three interaction dimensions: situation, exchange and
perception. Those operational indicators are described below.

1.   Operational Indicators for the Situation Dimension.
The situation dimension is further conceptually

divided into three components: citizen social characteristics, citizen prior experience with police, and citizen community orientation.

a) <u>Social Characteristics</u>. Social characteristics include age, race, and sex. Previous studies have indicated that all three variables may be of importance when studying police-citizen interaction. Particularly as youth culture and minority group issues impinge upon these relations and bring about differential responses from police. Age becomes a dichotomized variable in this study with under thirty-five and over thirty-five age cohorts. Race is divided into black and white. Sex is represented by male/female categories.

b) <u>Prior Experience with Police</u>. The experience factor refers to past experience with police. The empirical indicator of the experience component is a question asking whether the person has talked to a policeman within the year preceding the survey. The responses are dichotomized "no" or "yes."

c) <u>Community Orientation</u>. Community orientation is operationally defined by a single indicator. The item reflects whether the citizen considers his neighborhood to have a bad name relative to other neighborhoods in the District of Columbia. Responses are dichotomized "no" or "yes."

2. <u>Operational Indicators for the Exchange Dimension</u>. The second dimension of the police-citizen interaction model is that of exchange, that is, description of the quality of

FIGURE 4

OPERATIONALIZATION OF DIMENSION FACTORS WITHIN THE CITIZEN PERSPECTIVE

Interaction Dimensions	Operational Indicators	Category Responses
Situation		
Social Characteristics	Age Race Sex	Under 35-over 35 black-white female-male
Experience	Talked to police during past year	no-yes
Community Orientation	Neighborhood bad name relative to other neighborhoods	no-yes
Exchange		
All citizens	Police Ability to get along with citizens	worse about the same better
Citizens with experience	How police handled situation	Poor O.K. Good
	How police treated individual as a person	Without respect O.K. With respect
Perception		
All citizens	Type of job police do	Not too good Fairly good Very good

the interpersonal relationships which actually occur between actors in an encounter. Although the indicators of exchange depend upon the citizen's perception of either past personal experience or perceptions of other persons' experiences, it should not be confused with the third dimension, perception. While the latter dimension represents the image of police efficiency and effectiveness shared by citizens, the exchange dimension more specifically focuses on citizen assessment of interpersonal police-citizen relations.

Because one's knowledge of the quality of police exchanges with citizens is either first hand or based on second hand experience, one indicator was chosen to reflect the general attitude of the citizens toward the exchange dimension without regard to experience. Two indicators are experience focused and reflect assessment of personal exchange. The process of exchange analysis will always proceed from the more general item to the experience specific items.

For the general assessment, citizens were asked to assess police ability to get along with citizens in their neighborhood relative to other neighborhoods. The response choices were worse, about the same, and better. The first indicator of the specific encounters was a question requesting the citizen to indicate how he felt the police had handled the situation (his experience encounter) -- with response categories poor, fair, and very well. The second experience exchange item was even more pointed. It requested the citizen to indicate how he felt the police had treated him as a person. Response choices include without respect, O.K., and with respect.

3.   Operational Indicators for the Perception Dimension.

The perception dimension, that is, image of police efficiency
and effectiveness shared by citizens, is measured by the
responses to the question "what type of job do police do?"
The citizen was asked to evaluate the police as doing not
too good a job, a fairly good job, or a very good job.

These dimension indicators are summarized in Figure 4
Together they provide the interaction model with some empirical
foundation. They illustrate the testability of the model. Each
will be used to describe this sample in terms of the model
dimensions and dimension factors. Having operationally defined
the sector of the model appropriate for the citizen perspective
of police-citizen interaction the analysis may now proceed.

B.   A GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL
      FROM THE CITIZEN PERSPECTIVE.

Because analysis of variable relationships generally
require looking at only a few variables at a time, it is
helpful in the early stage of analysis to conceptualize the
model as the whole of its interlocking dimensions and variables
in order to fully appreciate the gestalt of the model. Looking
at the global layout of the model provides direction for
further detailed multivariate analysis.

Figure 5 pictorially presents the citizen variables within
the police-citizen interaction model which are to be analyzed.
The variables are grouped according to the dimension which
they represent. The arrows indicate the linkages between
dimensions which can be studied by utilizing the available

FIGURE 5

VARIABLES OF POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL TO BE ANALYZED FROM CITIZEN PERSPECTIVE

Perception Dimension

Type of job police do

Situation Dimension

Age

Race

Sex

Talked to policeman

Neighborhood bad name

Exchange Dimension

Ability of police to get along

How police handled situation

How police treated person
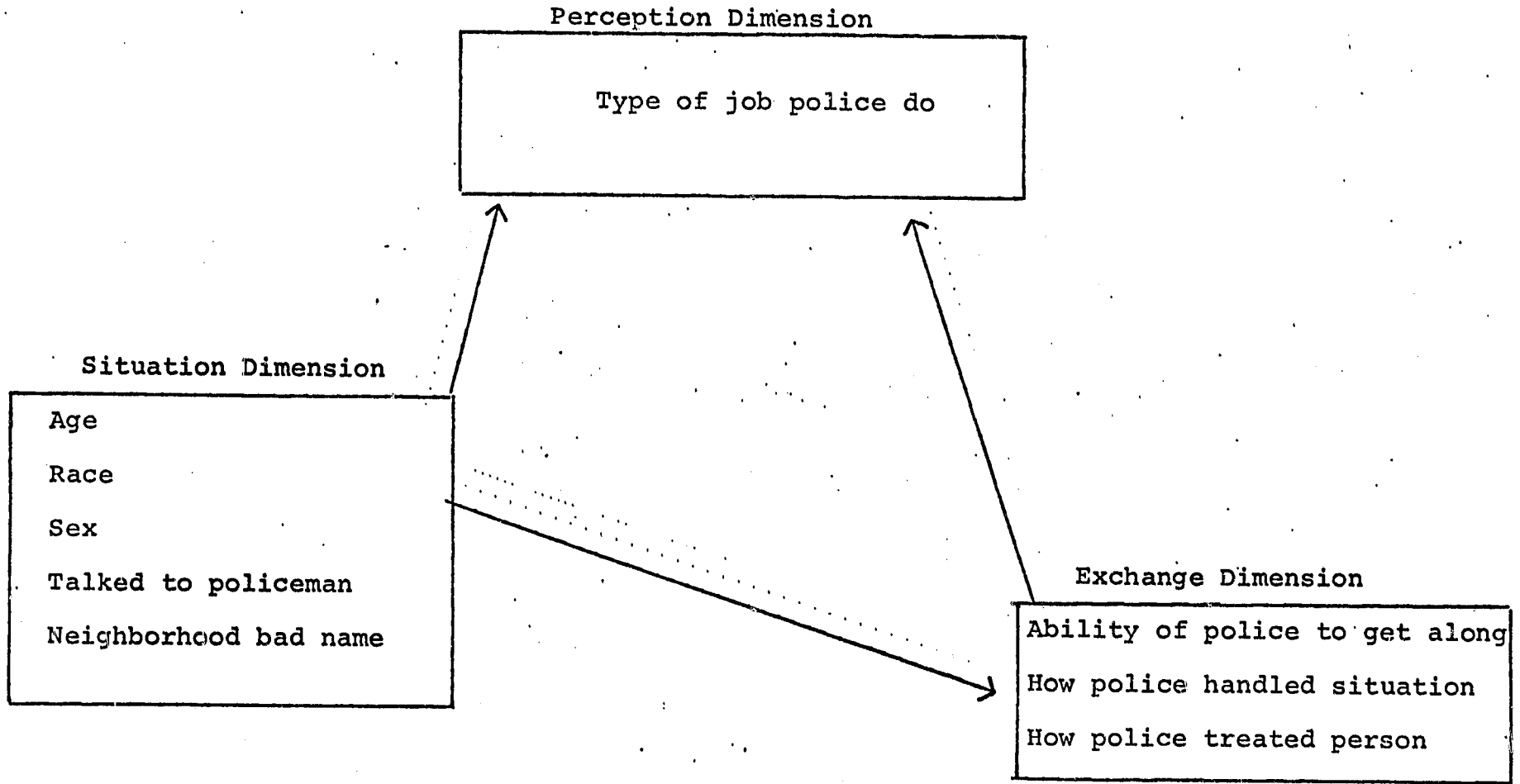
citizen data. These data permit analysis of situation effects
on exchange and perception factors, and exchange effects on
the perception dimension, but they do not provide a basis
for analyzing the feedback effects of perception on new
encounters.

In addition to Figure 5, the global relationships within
the model are further described by the gamma matrix (Table 1).
Zero order relationships between the dimension factors are
recorded in the matrix. This matrix along with Figure 5
provide direction for the more detailed analysis to follow.
The choice of independent, dependent and control variables may
be made by examining the matrix in the light of the figure.
As was indicated in Chapter III only zero order gammas of .20
or higher will be taken seriously for additional analysis.
The general pattern for choosing appropriate variables for
analysis can be illustrated by considering age, "ability
to get along," and "type of job police do." Age, as can be
seen in the matrix, is related to "ability of police to get
along" at the acceptable level; both variables are related
to "type of job police do." From the figure we know we
need to predict type of job from "ability to get along."
Age, because of its relationship to both "ability to get
along" and "type of job police do," will be treated as a
control variable for further analyzing the relationship
between "ability of police to get along" and "type of job
police do." An exception to this pattern occurs for the
social characteristic factors age, race and sex. Because
of the stratifying procedures utilized in gathering the

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1 OF 3

TABLE 1

GAMMA MATRIX FOR POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL
FROM CITIZEN PERSPECTIVE

	Situation Dimension				Exchange Dimension			Perception Dimension
	RACE	SEX	TALKED TO POLICEMAN	NEIGHBORHOOD BAD NAME	ABILITY TO GET ALONG	HOW POLICE HANDLED SITUATION	HOW POLICE TREATED PERSON	TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO
Age	-.13	.00	.27	-.09	.36	.28	.10	.24
Race		.03	-.18	-.21	.26	-.45	.53	.33
Sex			.02	-.04	.10	-.38	-.42	-.12
Talked to Policeman				.22	.19			-.21
Neighborhood Bad Name					.09	-.20	-.04	-.34
Ability to get along								.55
How police handled situation								.55
How police treated person								.53

data which may blur any relationships among these three factors, each of these factors has been used as a control factor when two of them are related to the same dependent variable. Sex yielded only negligible results while age and race provided some interesting findings and are reported when appropriate.

Given this global picture of the citizen data as they apply to the model, the more detailed analysis of dimension relationships will proceed.

C. FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS AND RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SITUATION FACTORS.

In order to have a better appreciation for the make-up of the citizen sample, it will be helpful to describe the sample by referring to the frequency of responses to the situation factors. Table 2 summarizes these response frequencies.

Over half the sample is comprised of members of the age cohort thirty-five and older. Blacks represent sixty-nine percent of the sample. Females are slightly more represented than males.

The sample is fairly evenly divided between persons who have had experience with police during the year preceding the survey and those who have not. Of the fifty-three percent having had at least some casual experience, seventy-eight persons indicated that the substance of that experience had been in the form of issuing a complaint, twenty-seven persons indicated involvement in traffic violations, twelve in other

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF SITUATION FACTORS WITHIN
THE CITIZEN SAMPLE

Situation Component	Percent
Social Characteristics:	
Age	
Under 35	(242) 47.0
35 and over	(272) 53.0
Total N	(514)
Total %	100.0
Race	
Black	(346) 69.1
White	(131) 25.9
Other	(28) 05.0
Total N	(505)
Total %	100.0
Sex	
Female	(291) 55.7
Male	(231) 44.3
Total N	(522)
Total %	100.0
Experience:	
Talked to Policeman in Past Year	
No	(239) 47.0
Yes	(269) 53.0
Total N	(508)
Total %	100.0

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF SITUATION FACTORS WITHIN THE CITIZEN SAMPLE (CONTINUED)

Situation Component	Percent
Community Orientation:	
Neighborhood has Bad Name	
No	(274) 57.1
Yes	(206) 42.9
Total N	(480)
Total %	100.0

minor charges and eleven in other major charges. The remaining one hundred and eighty-one encounters were merely described as "other." These experience breakdowns suggest an unwillingness on the part of citizens to disclose the nature of their police encounters. Thus, in order to use experience as a meaningful variable for analytic purposes only the breakdown between those citizens having had some experience and those having none will be utilized.

For the last situation factor, community orientation forty-three percent of the sample believe that their neighborhood has a bad name relative to other neighborhoods.

These situation factors provide the basic contingencies which are later related to the exchange and perception dimensions. But before investigating those relationships it is necessary to consider any association patterns among the situation factors themselves. Because race and age are often related to the same dependent variable or are related to other independent variables and the same dependent variable, they are used as conditional variables. This controlling procedure provides a more detailed description of how the situation factors are related to the interaction process.

The first relationship to be handled is that between age and prior experience with police while controlling for any racial effects. Within the race cohorts whites indicated a higher proportion of encounters than do blacks. Nearly sixty percent of the younger cohort and forty-six percent of the older cohort indicate that they had had some experience with police officers in the year preceding the survey.

TABLE 3

EXPERIENCE FACTOR BY AGE CONTROLLED FOR RACE

| | Race and Age | | | |
| | Black | | White | |
Experience Factor	Under 35 %	Over 35 %	Under 35 %	Over 35 %
Talked to police-man in past year				
No	42.8	56.7	32.2	44.1
Yes	57.2	43.3	67.8	55.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(152)	(178)	(59)	(59)
Gamma	-.27		-.25	

The relationship between age and experience probably can best be explained by recognizing that young people are generally on the streets more and are more readily visible to the police than are older persons who have a variety of private places in which to carry out any quasi-deviant acts. Due to the society's concern for the socialization of the young and due to its understanding of juvenile delinquency, a concerted effort directed toward youth may be expected by police departments. Much of this intervention does not concern actions of a delinquent or criminal nature, and consists of warnings or orders to move on.

The apparent difference between age affects on experience by race can also be explained. It is possible particularly in a racially divided community served by a police department which has a higher percentage of whites than the actual population of the community, that young whites are singled out for closer observation, as an attempt to thwart any drift toward delinquency. Some white police officers may, in fact, due to racial affinity, perceive themselves as protectors of young whites. It may also be the case that the white adults and black adults do not share similar definitions of delinquency, thus whites may tend to make more reports than blacks, again increasing the rate of personal experience with the police. Other alternative explanations include 1) differences may be due to unwillingness of blacks to respond to the question, and 2) blacks may actually observe much more crime than whites,

TABLE 4

COMMUNITY ORIENTATION FACTOR BY RACE CONTROLLED FOR AGE

	Age and Race			
	Under 35		Over 35	
Community Orien- tation Factor	Black %	White %	Black %	White %
Neighborhood bad name relative to other neighborhoods				
No	(80) 55.2	(42) 68.9	(86) 53.4	(35) 61.4
Yes	(65) 44.8	(19) 31.1	(75) 46.6	(22) 38.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(145)	(61)	(161)	(57)
Gamma	-.29		-.16	

but crime for whites because of its relative rarity is more salient.

It should be noted in passing that females tend to have a few more encounters with police than do males. This finding seems to be understandable when it is realized that the complainant will often be a female either because she is more likely to be home during the day or because there is a greater likelihood in the black community for her to be the head of the family.

Social background characteristics do not seem to be particularly related to community orientation. (See Table 4) There is very little response difference between the age groups in either racial group. However, young whites are the least likely group to believe that their neighborhood has a bad name. Older blacks are the most likely group to view their neighborhood as having a bad name. In neither racial nor age grouping, however, do over half the respondents believe their neighborhood to be of bad character.

Prior experience with police is related to the perception that the neighborhood has a bad name. When the two variables are considered by themselves, nearly forty-eight percent of those having had experience with police believe their neighborhood to have a bad name while thirty-seven percent of those persons with no experience responded in a similar manner. When the relationship between two factors is controlled by age, (Table 5), experience retains some explanatory power but that power is somewhat reduced. Within the young cohort, forty-six percent of those with experience responded that their neighborhood

TABLE 5

COMMUNITY ORIENTATION FACTOR BY "TALKED TO POLICEMEN" CONTROLLED FOR AGE

	Age and Talked to Policeman			
	Under 35		Over 35	
Community Orientation Factor	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %
Neighborhood bad name relative to other neighborhoods				
No	68.5	53.8	59.5	50.5
Yes	31.5	46.2	40.5	49.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(89)	(130)	(126)	(107)
Gamma	.30		.18	

had a bad name while only thirty-two percent of those
without experience responded in like form. In the older
cohort the experienced agreed at a rate of fifty percent
while the inexperienced agreed at forty-one percent. The
original gamma, .22, can be compared with the young cohort,
.30, and the older cohort, .18. It is apparent that age
does not explain away the original relationship between
experience and neighborhood bad name, but it does provide
additional explanatory information. The relationship between
prior experience and perception of neighborhood as having a
bad name is accentuated within the young cohort. Those
individuals with experience are consistently more negative
toward their own community and the older persons within
experience cohorts are consistently more negative than
younger persons.

Further analysis of the two variables while controlling
for race suggests that whites are more positive toward their
community: seventy-five percent of the whites having no
experience do not consider their neighborhood to have a
bad name while fifty-seven percent of the blacks do.
Experience for the whites brings about a greater spread of
responses. Less than two percentage points separated black
experienced persons who feel that their neighborhood has a
bad name while twenty percentage points separate the white
experienced persons. And, nearly fifteen percent more of
the experienced whites were willing to indicate a "yes" response
than non-experienced. Experience, then, particularly for the
whites, is associated with the persons' community orientation.

TABLE 6

COMMUNITY ORIENTATION FACTOR BY "TALKED TO POLICEMEN" CONTROLLED FOR RACE

Community Orientation Factor	Race and Talked to Policeman			
	Black		White	
	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %
Neighborhood bad name relative to other neighborhoods				
No	57.4	50.7	75.0	60.0
Yes	42.6	49.3	25.0	39.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(155)	(152)	(44)	(71)
Gamma	.14		.32	

Given the above relationships within the situation dimension it is apparent that age and race will be the most significant situation variables to be used as controls in the analysis of situation factors in relation to exchange and perception dimensions. Experience, community orientation, and sex are somewhat secondary in importance as controls, but certainly not insignificant.

D. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SITUATION AND EXCHANGE FACTORS.

The exchange dimension of police-citizen interaction is handled both as a dependent and as an independent variable. It is the latter when the exchange dimension is related to the overall perception dimension. These relationships will be considered at a later point in the chapter. Presently, the exchange dimension is of interest as a dependent variable. Because it has been recognized that the younger person generally regards the police less favorably than his older counterpart it is of some interest to note whether or not this difference of opinion is based on his evaluation of exchange factors. That is, does the younger cohort regard the police as less able to get along than do the older cohorts? If so, the analysis of the relationship between the exchange dimension and the perception dimension, which will be examined later, must include consideration of the influence of age and the other situational variables.

A cross tabulation of the general exchange item, "ability of police to get along with citizens in this neighborhood relative to others," with age and race yields

TABLE 7

EXCHANGE FACTOR ("ABILITY OF POLICE TO GET ALONG") BY AGE CONTROLLED FOR RACE

| | Race and Age | | | |
| | Black | | White | |
Exchange Factor	Under 35 %	Over 35 %	Under 35 %	Over 35 %
Ability of police to get along with citizens in neighborhood relative to other neighborhoods				
Worse	17.1	8.5	8.2	2.7
About the same	68.5	63.4	61.2	64.9
Better	14.4	29.1	30.6	32.4
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(111)	(134)	(49)	(37)
Gamma	.40		.11	

partials which suggest that there is considerable agreement between age cohorts among whites. For this group, the police ability to get along is generally regarded as the same or better than in most neighborhoods. Approximately thirty percent of each age group believed the exchange quality to be better than in most neighborhoods. Within the black cohort it is found that older blacks reflect the attitudes of the white responses rather consistently. However, less than half as many young blacks indicate that exchange quality is better than other neighborhoods and seventeen percent indicate that it is worse than in most neighborhoods. Analysis with this general exchange item, then, suggests that most individuals, regardless of age or race, believe the quality of police interaction to be about the same as in other neighborhoods, but that the young blacks are more likely to perceive unfavorable interaction than are the other age race groups.

Two of the variables are experience specific that is, only persons who have encountered the police in the year preceding the survey are able to respond to these items. The items are designed to allow the citizen to evaluate his personal exchange experience. The first variable, "how police handled situation," is a general assessment of how the police officer handled the encounter. It is apparent that the major difference in evaluation stems from the racial categories rather than from the age categories (Table 8). Only a little more than twenty percent of the whites of either age category describe the police handling of the situation as poor while nearly sixty percent of the young blacks and forty percent

TABLE 8

EXCHANGE FACTOR ("HOW POLICE HANDLED SITUATION") BY AGE CONTROLLED FOR RACE

| | Race and Age | | | |
| | Black | | White | |
Exchange Factor	Under 35 %	Over 35 %	Under 35 %	Over 35 %
How police handled situation				
Poor	59.7	37.7	22.6	21.9
Fair	20.8	20.8	29.0	12.5
Very Well	19.4	41.6	48.4	65.6
Total %	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0
Total N	(72)	(77)	(31)	(32)
Gamma	.61		.19	

TABLE 9

EXCHANGE FACTOR ("HOW POLICE HANDLED SITUATION") BY "NEIGHBORHOOD BAD NAME" CONTROLLED FOR RACE

| | Race and Neighborhood Bad Name | | | |
| | Black | | White | |
Exchange Factor	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %
How police handled situation				
Poor	47.1	50.0	12.5	42.1
Fair	24.3	18.6	20.0	15.8
Very Well	28.6	31.4	67.5	42.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(70)	(70)	(40)	(19)
Gamma	-.01		-.50	

of the older blacks respond within the poor category. While there is moderate response variation by age within the white group, there is considerable variation within the black group. The older black is twice as likely to describe the situation as handled very well than is the young black. Within age groups it is apparent that young blacks are more likely to describe the police handling of the situation as poor than are young whites; sixty percent and twenty-three percent respectively. Similarly, older blacks are more likely to indicate that the situation had been handled poorly than are older whites; thirty-eight percent and twenty-two percent respectively.

From the original gamma matrix "neighborhood bad name" was seen as being related to "how police handled situation." Table 9 depicts the relationship between the two variables while controlling for race. It is apparent that the original relationship all but disappears for the blacks and is accentuated for the whites. Among blacks there is little association between assessment of "how police handled the situation" and how the community is perceived. For the whites, however, there is a tendency for experienced persons who did not feel that their encounter had been handled well to perceive their neighborhood as having a bad name. "Neighborhood bad name" notwithstanding it is still apparent that blacks are more inclined to describe police handling of the situation as poor than are whites.

The second experience specific exchange variable, "how police treated person" is more directly focused on

TABLE 10

EXCHANGE FACTOR ("HOW POLICE TREATED PERSON") BY RACE CONTROLLED FOR AGE

Exchange Factor	Age and Race			
	Under 35		Over 35	
	Black %	White %	Black %	White %
How police treated person				
Without respect	43.9	6.3	24.0	6.7
O.K.	24.4	43.8	48.0	40.0
With respect	31.7	50.0	28.0	53.3
Total %	100.0	101.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(41)	(16)	(50)	(15)
Gamma	.51		.54	

police deference. Race is strongly associated with the citizen's perception of how he was treated even when age is controlled. Consistent with results from previous tables, young blacks are particularly prone to indicate that police treat them without respect (forty-four percent), while whites regardless of age are least likely to feel mistreated (less than seven percent) and older blacks fall in between (twenty-four percent). A more striking dissimilarity is discovered by contrasting the overall racial response. Only thirty percent of the blacks believe that they had been treated "with respect" compared with over fifty percent of the whites.

E. RELATIONSHIPS OF PERCEPTION TO SITUATION AND EXCHANGE FACTORS

The third interaction dimension, perception, is considered here as a dependent variable. Although it is recognized that the perception dimension may have feedback effects upon situation and particularly exchange factors, due to the scope of the citizen data this analysis is limited to handling perception as a dependent factor.

The first task in this section is to isolate associations between situation factors and the perception dimension. The second task will be to look at relationships between exchange factors and the perception dimension while controlling for appropriate situation factors.

Table 11 shows the response pattern to the item "what type of job police do" by age and race. An age cohort

TABLE 11

PERCEPTION FACTOR BY AGE CONTROLLED FOR RACE

	Race and Age			
	Black		White	
Perception Factor.	Under 35 %	Over 35 %	Under 35 %	Over 35 %
Type of Job Police Do				
Poor	24.4	15.8	14.0	8.8
O.K.	60.0	61.8	54.4	42.1
Very Good	15.6	22.4	31.6	49.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(135)	(165)	(57)	(57)
Gamma	.23		.31	

difference is to be noted within both racial subgroupings.
The younger cohorts are less apt to respond positively and
more likely to respond in the "not too good" category than
the older cohorts. There is greater variance within the
white racial category even though it is once again noticeable
that both white age cohorts are more positively inclined toward
police than are the black age cohorts. Whites are more than
twice as likely to respond that "the police are doing a very
good job" than blacks.

The experience component, as measured by "talked to
policeman," is also related to the perception item "type
of job police do." The two variables "talked to policeman"
and "type of job police do" are negatively related, that is,
people who have had experience with police are more likely
to believe that police do a poor job than persons who have
had no experience. Twice as many persons with experience
were inclined to say that police do a poor job. Nearly
twenty-two percent of those persons with experience responded
in the poor category compared with eleven percent of those
without experience. Subclassifying this origianl relationship
on age indicates that the under thirty-five cohort is con-
sistently more negative, but the experience factor retains
a position of explanatory value, for in each age cohort
the experience category is nearly twice as negative as the
non-experience category.

The community orientation factor, "neighborhood bad
name" was earlier observed in the gamma matrix as related
to the perception factor, "type of job police do." The

TABLE 12

PERCEPTION FACTOR BY "TALKED TO POLICEMAN" CONTROLLED FOR AGE

	Age and Talked to Policeman			
	Under 35		Over 35	
Perception Factor	No %	Yes %	No %	Y: %
Type of job police do				
Poor	13.6	27.2	9.8	16.2
O.K.	61.7	56.0	59.3	55.0
Good	24.7	16.8	30.9	28.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(81)	(125)	(123)	(111)
Gamma	-.30		-.11	

TABLE 13

PERCEPTION FACTOR BY "NEIGHBORHOOD BAD NAME" CONTROLLED FOR RACE

| Perception Factor | Race and Neighborhood Bad Name | | | |
| | Black | | White | |
	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %
Type of Job Police Do				
Poor	12.4	26.7	8.2	16.2
O.K.	64.1	60.0	47.9	54.1
Very good	23.4	13.3	43.8	29.7
Total %	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0
Total N	(145)	(135)	(73)	(37)
Gamma	-.36		-.29	

TABLE 14

PERCEPTION FACTOR BY NEIGHBORHOOD BAD NAME
CONTROLLED FOR "TALKED TO POLICEMAN"

Perception Factor	Neighborhood bad Name and Talked to Policeman			
	No (name)		Yes (name)	
	No %	Yes %	No %	Yes %
Type of Job Police Do				
Poor	8.9	14.9	14.0	30.0
O.K.	59.3	63.5	56.1	54.5
Very good	31.7	21.6	29.8	15.5
Total %	99.9	100.0	99.9	100.0
Total N	(123)	(74)	(114)	(110)
Gamma	-.24		-.39	

original relationship has been subclassified separately
on race and talked to policeman. Table 13 indicates that
a relationship does exist even while controlling for race.
Within the black cohort only thirteen percent of those
persons who believe their neighborhood to have a bad name
also indicate that the police do a very good job while
twenty-three percent of those persons who do not think their
neighborhood has a bad name consider the police to do a very
good job. For the white cohort the percentage responding in
the very good category is thirty percent for those believing
their neighborhood has a bad name and forty-four percent for
those not believing their neighborhood has a bad bame.
Twenty-seven percent of the blacks responding yes and sixteen
percent of the whites responding yes indicated that the type
of job police do is poor.

When controlling for the experience factor, "talked to
policeman," it is again apparent that the relationship is
maintained. In general, persons who see their neighborhood
in a positive manner are more likely to feel that police
do a good job than are persons who see their neighborhood as
bad. Persons with experience who see their neighborhood as
bad are particularly likely to say that police do a poor job.
And persons who have had no experience and do not view their
neighborhood as bad are most likely to see police as doing a
very good job.

To this point perception factors have been related to
the major situation factors e.g., race, age and sex.
Relationships between these situational factors and exchange

factors have also previously been described. The task now is to determine the relative importance of situation and exchange factors on the perceived police image. Exchange factors are crosstabulated with the perception dimension while separately controlling for race, sex and age. Tables 15-23 result from this crosstabulation. As has previously been the approach when considering exchange factors, the discussion will move from the more general assessment of exchange quality by the total citizen sample, to the more specific assessment by persons who have had experience with the police within the year preceding the survey. A number of patterns can be observed within these factor relationships. A table of gammas (Table 24) summarizes the tables and highlights the resulting patterns.

The array of gammas indicate a rather strong relationship between the exchange dimension and perception dimension. The range of gammas is from .30 to .87, with an average gamma of .48. Thus even while the major situation variables are controlled a significant portion of the relationship between exchange dimension and perception dimension is explained by the exchange factors. This result indicates that how police are perceived by the public is quite dependent upon how the public evaluates the quality of police interaction with citizens. In each instance where 'ability to get along' is related to "type of job police do" and that relationship is controlled for race, sex, or age, the association is smaller for the whites, females, and persons over thirty-five. Compare for example the partial association for persons under thirty-

TABLE 15

TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO BY ABILITY TO GET ALONG
CONTROLLED FOR AGE

| | Age and Ability to get Along | | | | | |
| Perception Factor | Under 35 | | | Over 35 | | |
	Worse %	About the Same %	Better %	Worse %	About the Same %	Better %
Type of Job Police Do						
Poor	52.2	16.7	9.1	40.0	11.9	5.8
O.K.	39.1	67.6	48.5	50.0	64.4	48.1
Very Good	8.7	15.7	42.4	10.0	23.7	46.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
Total N	(23)	(108)	(33)	(10)	(118)	(52)
Gamma		.55			.32	

TABLE 16

TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO BY ABILITY TO GET ALONG CONTROLLED FOR RACE

| | Race and Ability to get Along | | | | | |
| | Black | | | White | | |
Perception Factor	Worse %	About the Same %	Better %	Worse %	About the Same %	Better %
Type of Job Police Do						
Poor	52.0	15.8	5.5	40.0	9.3	7.7
O.K.	40.0	67.7	58.2	60.0	55.6	42.3
Very Good	8.0	16.5	36.4	0.0	35.2	50.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0
Total N	(25)	(158)	(55)	(5)	(54)	(26)
Gamma		.47			.40	

TABLE 17

TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO BY ABILITY TO GET ALONG CONTROLLED FOR SEX

| | Sex and Ability to Get Along | | | | | |
| | Female | | | Male | | |
Perception Factor	Worse %	About the Same %	Better %	Worse %	About the Same %	Better %
Type of Job Police Do						
Poor	60.0	14.7	4.7	38.9	13.4	8.7
O.K.	40.0	66.3	51.2	44.4	64.9	47.8
Very Good	0.0	18.9	44.2	16.7	21.6	43.5
Total %	100.0	99.9	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0
Total N	(15)	(95)	(43)	(18)	(134)	(46)
Gamma		.62			.41	

TABLE 18

TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO BY HOW POLICE HANDLED SITUATION CONTROLLED FOR RACE

Perception Factor	Black Poor %	Black Fair %	Black Very Well %	White Poor %	White Fair %	White Very Well %
Race and How Handled Situation						
Black			**White**			
Type of Job Police Do						
Poor	39.1	17.2	12.2	46.2	25.0	3.0
O.K.	50.7	65.5	70.7	53.8	66.7	30.3
Very Good	10.1	17.2	17.1	0.0	8.3	66.7
Total %	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(69)	(29)	(41)	(13)	(12)	(33)
Gamma		.40			.87	

TABLE 19

TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO BY HOW POLICE HANDLED SITUATION CONTROLLED FOR AGE

| | Age and How Handled Situation | | | | | |
| | Under 35 | | | Over 35 | | |
Perception Factor	Poor %	Fair %	Very Well %	Poor %	Fair %	Very Well %
Type of Job Police Do						
Poor	44.9	29.2	13.3	33.3	4.8	8.2
O.K.	49.0	62.5	56.7	52.8	71.4	46.9
Very Good	6.1	8.3	30.0	13.9	23.8	44.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(49)	(24)	(30)	(36)	(21)	(49)
Gamma		.51			.54	

TABLE 20

TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO BY HOW POLICE HANDLED
SITUATION CONTROLLED FOR SEX

| Perception Factor | Sex and How Handled Situation | | | | | |
| | Female | | | Male | | |
	Poor %	Fair %	Very Well %	Poor %	Fair %	Very Well %
Type of Job Police Do						
Poor	42.5	22.2	8.3	37.3	10.0	15.0
O.K.	47.5	63.0	53.3	53.3	70.0	45.0
Very Good	10.0	14.8	38.3	8.5	20.0	40.0
Total %	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(40)	(27)	(60)	(45)	(20)	(20)
Gamma		.58			.52	

TABLE 21

TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO BY HOW TREATED PERSON CONTROLLED FOR AGE

| | Age and How Treated Person | | | | | |
| | Under 35 | | | Over 35 | | |
Perception Factor	Without Respect %	OK %	With Respect %	Without Respect %	OK %	With Respect %
Type of Job Police Do						
Poor	61.1	18.9	20.0	50.0	10.7	10.0
O.K.	33.3	68.8	55.0	50.0	64.3	50.0
Very Good	5.6	12.5	25.0	0.0	25.0	40.0
Total %	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(18)	(16)	(20)	(14)	(28)	(20)
Gamma		.52			.59	

TABLE 22

TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO BY HOW TREATED PERSON CONTROLLED FOR RACE

Perception Factor	Race and How Treated Person					
	Black			White		
	Without Respect %	OK %	With Respect %	Without Respect %	OK %	With Respect %
Type of Job Police Do						
Poor	53.6	16.1	22.7	100.0	9.1	6.2
OK	42.9	74.2	59.1	0.0	36.4	43.7
Very Good	3.6	9.7	18.2	0.0	54.5	50.0
Total %	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
Total N	(28)	(31)	(22)	(2)	(11)	(16)
Gamma		.46			.30	

TABLE 23

TYPE OF JOB POLICE DO BY HOW TREATED PERSON CONTROLLED FOR SEX

| | Sex and How Treated Person | | | | | |
| | Female | | | Male | | |
Perception Factor	Without Respect %	OK %	With Respect %	Without Respect %	OK %	With Respect %
Type of Job Police Do						
Poor	64.3	9.1	16.1	50.0	18.2	11.1
OK	35.7	68.2	48.4	44.4	63.6	66.7
Very Good	0.0	22.7	35.5	5.6	18.2	22.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(14)	(22)	(31)	(18)	(22)	(9)
Gamma		.54			.52	

TABLE 24

A TABLE OF GAMMAS FOR PERCEPTION DIMENSION BY EXCHANGE FACTORS CONTROLLED FOR SELECTED SITUATION FACTORS

Perception Dimension	Exchange and Situation Factors					
	Ability of Police to Get Along					
	Black	White	Female	Male	Under 35	Over 35
Type of Job Police Do	.47	.40	.41	.62	.55	.32
	How Police Handled Situation					
	.40	.87	.58	.52	.51	.54
	How Police Treated Person					
	.46	.30	.54	.52	.52	.59

five, .55 and for persons over thirty-five, .32.

A number of plausible explanations seem apparent. It may be the case that although these groups consider the police officer to have some difficulty in adequately inter- acting with citizens, the groups regard the complexity of the policeman's job to be so great that interaction problems are inevitable. It may also be the case that whites, females and persons over thirty-five explain the interaction difficulties by indicating that these difficulties arise out of the context of the situation in which the officer works. The problems may be explained as resulting from disrespect on the part of teenagers or minority persons. For either of the above reasons, the citizen would feel justified in regarding the police as doing a good job under very trying conditions.

Another factor which the whites, females and persons over thirty-five have in common is the extent and nature of their experience with police. These groups are less likely to interact with the police when the latter is performing as an adversary than are blacks, males, and persons under thirty- five.

Previously prior experience with police as indicated by the item "talked to policeman" was seen to be related to the citizen's general perception of police. It was discovered that experienced persons tended to be somewhat more unfavorably disposed toward police than individuals without experience. It will now be the task to determine the nature of that experience and how it is related to the citizens' image of police. Because the quality of the

experience as assessed by the citizen is another way of
defining the police-citizen interaction model exchange
dimension, the principal indicators are "how the situation
was handled" and "how the person was treated."

The discussion will begin with "how handled the situation"
because it is the more general assessment of the experience
encounter. Again, the gammas which result from the partialling
of the original tables will be compared. It is apparent that
the nature of the experience generally has a greater impact
upon the perception of police frr whites, females, and persons
over thirty-five, than for blacks, males, and persons under
thirty-five. The most dramatic indication of this pattern
is the comparison of .40 gamma for blacks and the .87 gamma
for whites. There is a greater likelihood that whites will
rely upon their encounter experience as a means for evaluating
police than will blacks. Blacks, on the other hand, may rely
on generalized stereotypes compatible to their group
expectations.

When the more specific descriptive item on the nature
of experience, "how person was treated as a person," is
considered a similar pattern emerges with the exception
of race. Females and persons over thirty-five are influenced
by the specific encounter more than males and persons under
thirty-five. The pattern breaks down however for the race
factor. In this instance blacks, .46 gamma, rely on how they
were treated as the basic means of evaluating police to a greater
degree than whites, .30 gamma. This exception can be explained
in part by the level of sensitivity in minority relations around

the issue of respect.

The above effort to present the three dimensions of the model simultaneously has suggested some limited generalizations concerning the dimension relationships. At the most general level, when citizens are asked to evaluate the type of job police do there exists a strong relationship between the perceived ability of police to get along with citizens with the citizen general assessment of police. However, this relationship is strongest for blacks, males, and persons under thirty-five, i.e., it is strongest for persons who probably have more experience or a higher probability of experience with police when the police function as adversary. When the factor of experience and more importantly, the citizens evaluation of the nature of the experience is focused upon, it is found that whites, females, and persons over thirty-five tend to evaluate police on the basis of their specific experience to a greater extent than do blacks, males, and young people with the exception of blacks and how they see themselves being treated as persons. In general, the assessment or perception of police by whites, females and persons over thirty-five is more experience oriented while the perception by blacks, males, and persons under thirty-five tends to be somewhat less experience centered and may therefore in part represent a reflection of the group's generalized attitudes toward police. For example, nearly half of the whites who believed their situation had been handled poorly also indicated that police do a poor job while only thirty-nine percent of the

blacks who believed their situation had been handled poorly also indicated that police do a poor job, and ten percent believed that police do a very good job. Of those whites who believed that their situation had been handled very well, two-thirds indicated that police do a very good job while only seventeen percent of the blacks who believed that their situation had been handled very well also believed that the police do a very good job, and twelve percent stated that the police do a poor job.

There appears to be a tendency for blacks, persons under thirty-five, and males to more closely reflect the generalized attitudes of their race, age and sex groups even with experience accounted for, than white persons under thirty-five and females. Because in general, the latter groups are more favorable toward police than are the former groups, we are saying that a "good experience" will do less to change perceptions of the former group than a "bad experience" will do to change perceptions of the latter group.

F. SUMMARY

The data presented within this analysis of the citizen viewpoint of police-citizen interaction has provided some interesting insights into the efficacy of the theoretical model. Throughout this study, it is realized that we are dealing primarily with perception of motivations to act rather than with actions per se, thus any interpretation must allow for action to be predicated not only on perception but

also on whatever situational constraints which may be present. Analysis of observation data may demonstrate to some extent how these factors interact. However, perceptions do provide us with a picture of police-citizen interaction even with this recognition of possible distortion. It has been pointed out that consistent with previous findings, age and race, two situational variables, tend to be strongly associated with experience and perception of police. People under thirty-five have more experience with police; whites report more experience; the younger cohort is less favorably disposed toward the police; the white are by far the most favorable toward police. Particularly negative are young blacks. It was also noted that having experience with the police was somewhat associated with unfavorable perceptions of police. However, when the exchange dimension was incorporated into the analysis it became apparent that a general assessment of the type of job police do is related to the citizens evaluation of the quality of interaction with police from his own experience or from the perceived experiences of others. The data suggests that if one knows certain social characteristics of the citizen such as race and age and how he perceives he has been treated, prediction of his perception of police will be enhanced.

CHAPTER V

POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION: THE POLICE PERSPECTIVE

A. THE POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL: EXPLORATION OF DIMENSION INDICATORS FOR POLICE

Because the theoretical model describes police-citizen interaction as a set of reciprocating actors, it would be insufficient to consider only the situational, exchange, and perception dimensions which impinge upon citizens as described in the previous chapter. It is also necessary to consider these dimensions as they constrain and shape police perception and action. Therefore these dimensions will be considered once again in this chapter, this time as they affect police orientations toward police-citizen interaction.

1. Situation Dimension. Five situational factors have been selected as the major independent variables to be correlated with the exchange and perception variables. These situation variables include race, experience, education, job satisfaction, and place of residence.

Race is simply dichotomized as black or white. Experience is measured by the number of years on the force. Its categories were 1950 and prior, 1951-65, 1966-67, 1968, and 1969. Education is measured by the highest educational level attained; it is categorized as less than high school, high school, some college, and college degree. Job satisfaction is obtained by looking at response to the question, "Do you like police work;" since nearly everyone responded in the

categories "yes" and "yes very much", the sample is dichotomized with the "yes very much" becoming the high" and the "yes" and remaining responses as "low" on satisfaction. Place of residence is dichotomized as residing in the District of Columbia and residing in the suburbs.

2. Exchange Dimension. The exchange dimension, which is probably the most difficult dimension to explore by questionnaire is indirectly measured by obtaining from the policeman an estimate of the extent to which specific population groups tend to cooperate with him as he performs on his job. The police were provided with fourteen population groups including such groups as shop owners, teenagers, and prostitutes. Each policeman then rated on a scale of 0-100 the amount of time that that particular group cooperates with him. While the list of groups may appear quite comprehensive, any estimate of cooperativeness is at best an indirect indicator of exchange quality. It is contended, however, that those groups which receive favorable scores from the police aggregate present the fewest exchange problems and those that receive unfavorable scores create the bulk of the exchange problems from the police perspective.

3. Perception Dimension. Operationalization of the perception dimension is discussed by first considering the police officer perception of others, and second the officer's perception of his own role. A series of Likert-type perception

items are used to describe police perception of others.
The items are grouped for analysis purposes into perception
of the general community, perception of minority group
issues, and perception of law enforcement and related issues.
A statement about one of these areas is presented, and the
officer has the opportunity to agree, to disagree or to
remain undecided. If a picture representing the world as
police see it can be reconstructed then why they react as
they do in specific situations may be better appreciated.
The general perception items focus on how the police view
citizen responses to police and how police explain the
causes of riots. For example, specific items include
"people in the community don't understand what policemen
have to put up with" and "the major cause of riots and
disorder is disrespect for law." The second set of perception
items are directed at police attitudes of minority groups.
Since much of the crime which the patrol officer encounters
is perpetrated by and against minority group persons, his
explanation of why there is the overrepresentation of crime
among minority groups may suggest how he, the policeman, will
react to minority group members. Specific items within this
set include, "It doesn't do any good to talk things over
with people from minority groups because all they under-
stand is force," and "If people in poverty areas were pro-
vided nice homes they would soon turn into slums." The
third set of police perception items indicate police attitudes
on law enforcement and related issues. Whether the police-
man welcomes public scrutiny or prefers to be secretive may

be related to the way in which he views his role on the beat. Items within this set include "people from outside the police profession can tell police little or nothing about how to do police work," and "in order to preserve police morale and effectiveness, all members of the department should close ranks to protect one another from all outside criticism."

As the model was described previously, perception can be divided into two areas, perception of others and perception of self. At this juncture we will attempt to operationalize police self perception by considering the police role identity typology. The writer urges the reader to recall that the data being analyzed are secondary data and were not originally gathered for the particular theoretical model being developed, therefore selection of appropriate indicators is not as clear-cut as desired.

Police perception of own role is measured by asking each officer what is the most important police responsibility: enforcing standards of decency, enforcing the law, or solving people's problems. Each of these possible responses was paired with each of the other responses; officers were requested to indicate their preferred choice for each pairing. Because there were three pairings, three preferred choices may be considered. By considering the three preferred choices one can make some inferences about each officer's police role identity. A major interpretation problem occurs in trying to interpret the intent behind the selection of enforcing standards of decency. Such standards will be

determined by the individual officer's underlying morality system. These standards may be seen as being embodied in the law; if so, the law may be seen as a means of enforcing the morality system of the majority upon minorities. Standards of decency may also refer to a morality system which is seen as superseding the law, for example, the right of the individual to determine his own destiny notwithstanding the will of the majority. The former more accurately portrays our abusive legalist, and the latter our community service officer. The ideal type role identities discussed earlier, abusive legalist officer, task officer, and community service officer are operationally defined in the following manner.

One can establish a hierarchy of preferred choices. The response chosen twice is obviously the most preferred, the response chosen once is second, and the response not chosen is least preferred. Eight response sets are feasible. These sets appear in Figure 6; they are labelled according to the role identity which they describe, and the number of officers responding by identity type is also indicated.

The abusive legalist officer is indicated when enforcement of the law is the preferred and when the direction of the enforcement, as indicated by the second preference, is enforcement of standards of decency, the inference is that the law is considered to be a means for enforcing particular moral standards.

The task officer is indicated by the second set when enforcement of the law is preferred and when the direction

FIGURE 6

OPERATIONALIZATION OF POLICE ROLE IDENTITY TYPOLOGY

Role Identity Response Sets	Role Identity Types	Number Officers Responding by Type
I Enforcement of law Standards of decency Problem solving	Abusive Legalist Officer	47
II Enforcement of law Problem solving Standards of decency	Task Officer	58
III Problem solving Enforcement of law Standards of decency or **IV** Standards of decency Enforcement of law Problem solving	Community Service Officer	43
V Standards of decency Problem solving Enforcement of law or **VI** Problem solving Standards of decency Enforcement of law	"Activist" (Not included in Typology)	12

FIGURE 6

OPERATIONALIZATION OF POLICE ROLE IDENTITY TYPOLOGY
(continued)

Role Identity Response Sets	Role Identity Types	Number Officers Responding by Type
VII Standards of decency Enforcement of law Problem solving Standards of decency or **VIII** Problem solving Enforcement of law Standards of decency Problem solving	"Intransitives" (Not included in Typology)	5

of the enforcement is helping solve people's problems.
This officer is not interested in enforcing particular
standards of decency, but does believe that he is helping
people solve their problems as he enforces the law.

The community service officer is indicated when the
law enforcement responsibility is secondary and when the
primary responsibility is either helping solve people's
problems or enforcing standards of decency. In the latter
case, standards of decency are not embedded in the law but
probably reflect a morality system which is perceived as
superseding the law.

Sets five and six are not used in the typology for
analysis purposes because of the small number of officers
(twelve) responding within these sets. But, it can be seen
that enforcement of the law is the least preferred re-
sponsibility while enforcing standards of decency and
solving people's problems are preferred. It may very well
be the case that these officers are the real activists
of the police department who seek to reconstruct the
community even if that means specific laws must be dis-
regarded.

Sets seven and eight are intransitive not providing
consistent indication of any one preferred ordering of
responsibilities. The five officers responding with these
responses are not included in the typology; however, the
small number of officers responding in this manner indicates
a strong tendency that most officers are quite consistent in
their assessment of role responsibilities and therefore role

FIGURE 7

VARIABLES OF POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL TO BE ANALYZED FROM POLICE PERSPECTIVE

Perception Dimension

```
Police Perception of Community
      - General Community
      - Minority Issues
      - Law Enforcement Issues
Perception of Self - Role Identity
```

Situation Dimension

```
Race

Place of Residence

Educational Attainment

Experience

Job Satisfaction
```

Exchange Dimension

```
Police estimate of
amount of time citizen
groups cooperate
```
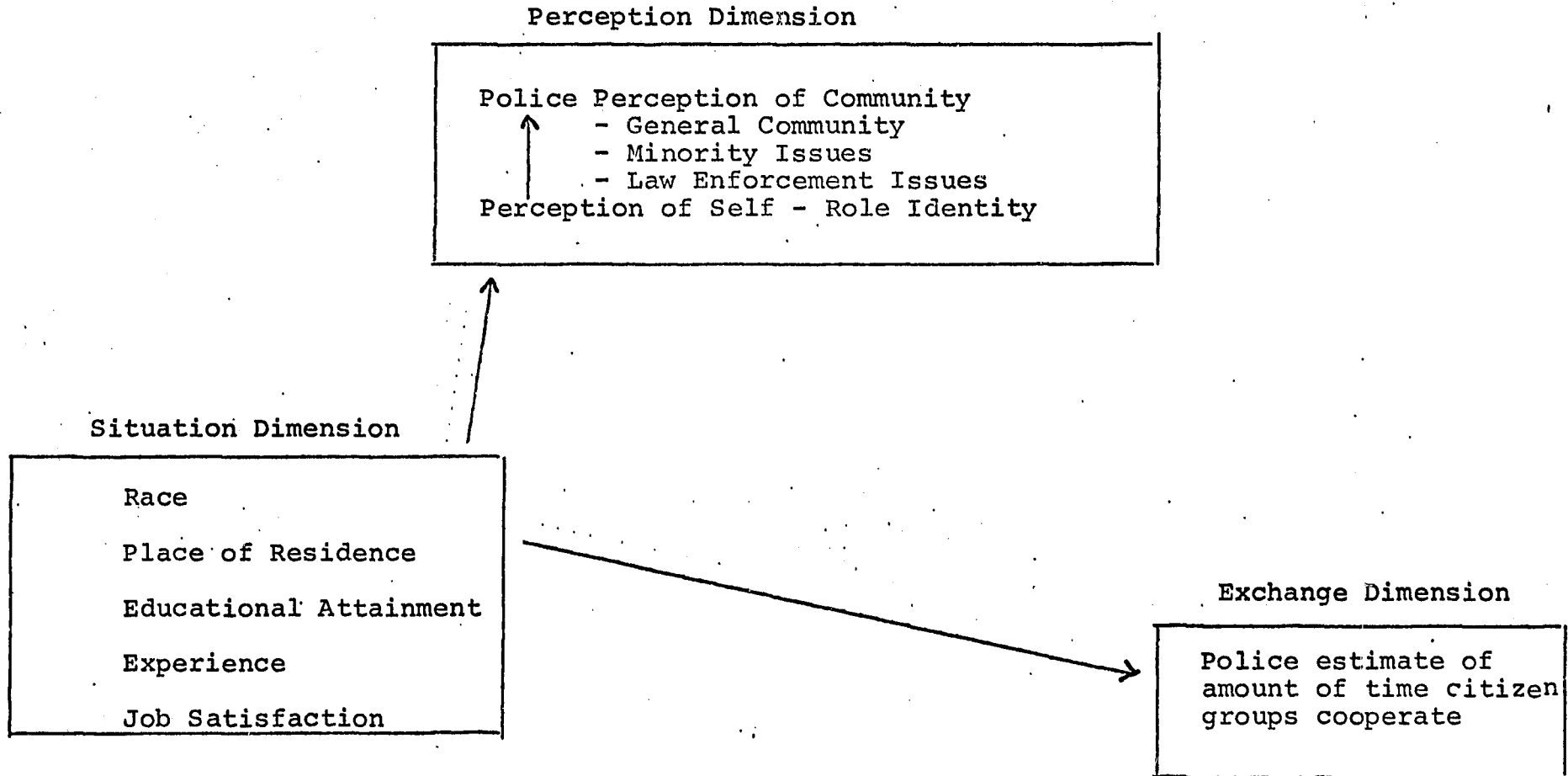
identities.

The typology as developed here has considerable explanatory capacity as will be seen when it is used to analyze perception data later in this chapter.

In Figure 7 the linkages within the police-citizen interaction model and the dimension factors which are included in this analysis of police-citizen interaction from the police perspective are summarized. The arrows indicate that relationships between situation factors and the exchange dimension will be described. The exchange dimension will be discussed in terms of police estimates of citizen willingness to cooperate with police. Attention will also be directed at relationships between situation factors and perception factors. Much of the analysis will be devoted to an analysis of police perception of the community and related issues; also within the perception dimension the officer's perception of his own role will be considered, and the link between role identity and perception of the community will then be analyzed. The analysis will begin with a look at relationships among the situation factors.

B. FREQUENCY AND RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SITUATIONAL FACTORS

The situation factors provide an overall description of the policemen in the sample. Later, when the perception dimension is analyzed, these factors will be regarded as independent variables. Table 25 indicates the frequency with which the situation factors occur, and the gamma matrix (Table 26) depicts the interrelationships among the variables.

Over sixty percent of the police officers are white, and nearly thirty-nine percent black. Various efforts have

TABLE 25

SITUATION FACTORS OF POLICE

Situation Factors	%
Race	
Black	(70) 38.5
White	(109) 61.5
Total N Total %	(179) 100.0*
Place of Residence	
District of Columbia	(63) 35.2
Suburbs	(117) 64.8
Total N Total %	(180) 100.0
Educational Achievement	
Less than High School	(10) 5.6
High School	(133) 74.3
Some College	(28) 15.6
College Degree	(8) 4.5
Total N Total %	(179) 100.0

TABLE 25

SITUATION FACTORS OF POLICE (CONTINUED)

Situation Factors	%
Year Appointed	
1950 and prior	(5) 2.8
1951-1965	(24) 12.9
1965-1967	(53) 29.8
1968	(53) 29.8
1969	(44) 24.7
Total N Total %	(179) 100.0
Job Satisfaction	
Low	(79) 43.9
High	(101) 56.1
Total N Total %	(180) 100.0

*   Percentages are based on number of respondents indicating a particular characteristic rather than total sample which has an N of 180.

been made in recent years to increase the number of black
officers. Approximately sixty-five percent of the officers
reside in the metropolitan suburbs as contrasted with thirty-
five percent of the officers residing in the District of
Columbia. Very few officers, less than six percent, have
less than a high school education. Most of the sample have
at least a high school education while nearly sixteen percent
have had some college and over four percent have completed
the college degree. Over half of the officers have been
appointed in the last two years, and more than fifty percent
of the sample express high satisfaction with their work.

With the above profile of the sample in mind the
relationships among these situation variables can be demon-
strated. Because race is notably related to more of the
other variables than any other single variable, race becomes
the most appropriate place to begin the analysis.

In the gamma matrix we see a strong relationship between
race and place of residence. There is a high negative gamma,
-.88, indicating the strength of the relationship. The
police officer living in the suburbs is much more likely to
be white than black. It is apparent that in further analysis
between place of residence and any dependent variables race
may be a critical confounding variable.

Race is also related to educational achievement (gamma
.42). It may be surprising to note that black policemen are
somewhat better prepared academically than are their white
counterparts. However, this finding may not be too puzzling
if one realizes that the black candidate has probably been

TABLE 26

GAMMA MATRIX OF ASSOCIATIONS AMONG POLICE SITUATION FACTORS

	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	YEAR APPOINTED	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	JOB SATISFACTION
Race	.88	−.18	−.42	−.07
Place of Residence		.13	.15	−.07
Year Appointed			−.20	.23
Educational Attainment				−.05
Job Satisfaction				

discriminated against while seeking alternative employment positions and that the position of police officer may in fact accrue more status for the black than for the white.

No meaningful association exists between race and experience or between race and job satisfaction. Both gammas are under the .20 level. As one might expect, however, the more experienced officers are white. No discernible tendency is apparent between race and job satisfaction.

Experience, measured by year appointed, is also related to education. With the emphasis on professionalization in police departments today, persons recruited in the late sixties are more likely to have completed high school and are more likely to have had educational training beyond high school than officers appointed prior to 1965. Experience is also slightly related to job satisfaction. The new recruit indicates higher satisfaction levels than does the older, more experienced officer. More than half the officers with three or more years experience indicate lower job satisfaction levels, while more than half of the officers with two or fewer years experience indicate a high satisfaction level. It is probable that the cynicism referred to by Niederhoffer is also manifest in this sample.[68] Within a three-year period, the pre-recruitment zeal is eroded and a cynical, and perhaps more realistic, assessment of the job emerges. It may also be the case that the individual who had wanted

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68. Arthur Niederhoffer, Behind the Shield, 105.

to wage a war against crime realizes that most of his work does not focus on crime fighting, but on paper work and service functions. And, the individual who had hoped to help people overcome their problems becomes overwhelmed by ubiquitous community apathy which thwarts achievement of his personal goals.

As Table 26 indicates, place of residence is not related, at the .20 or above level, to any of the other situation variables with of course the exception of race which was previously discussed. It can also be concluded from the three tables that job satisfaction is not associated with any situation variable with the exception of prior experience. All other gammas are under .10.

In sum, over half of the police officers within this study are white; the black officer is somewhat better educated than the white; the black officer most likely resides in the city while his white counterpart resides in the suburb; the more experienced officer is generally the least educated; and the more experienced officer is more cynical and less satisfied with his job than the less experienced officer.

C. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SITUATION AND EXCHANGE FACTORS

An oblique method to gain insight into police assessment of citizen response and police expectations of citizen roles involves discovering which kinds of people tend to cooperate with the police most of the time. To this end, a number of citizen groups were selected such as drug users, professionals, and teenagers. The cohorts are not necessarily mutually

exclusive. Each police officer was asked to indicate, on a scale of 0-100, how often the group tended to cooperate with him. For purposes of brevity, the data is reported as willingness of cohort to cooperate over sixty percent of the time. Aggregate officer ratings are indicated in Table The groups are ranked in descending order from most to least cooperative by the percentage of policemen estimating that the specific cohort cooperates over sixty percent of the time. The data are presented in aggregate form without differentiating among various situational factors such as race and education, since, on the whole, police perceive the cooperation of citizens cohorts in about the same manner regardless of background characteristics.

These data provide a general police evaluation of past citizen exchange experiences, that is, where encounters are relatively supportive of police a high estimate of percentage cooperation is expected. The data also provide a basis for projecting future encounter outcomes. Where estimated cooperation is low it may be inferred that police probably share negative role expectations concerning that particular group and chances are good for poor future relations with members of that group. For example, if it is believed by police that militants do not cooperate with them, it may in turn be expected that police would approach militants very cautiously and by doing so shape the outcome of the new encounter.

The data in Table 27 indicate that the most cooperative citizen group is composed of the elderly while the least

TABLE 27

WILLINGNESS OF CITIZENS TO COOPERATE AS ASSESSED BY POLICE

Citizen Group	Percent Police Indicating Group Cooperates 60-100% of the time
Elderly	73.9
Clergymen	69.7
Professionals	68.5
Shopowners	60.0
Foreign speaking people	47.9
Civil leaders	42.5
Landlords	39.4
Working class citizens	29.2
Operators of bars	20.6
Ex-convicts	7.9
Teenagers	5.4
Militants	5.4
Prostitutes	2.4
Drug users	1.2

cooperative is comprised of drug users. Nearly seventy-four percent of the officers considered the elderly to be highly cooperative while only one percent of the officers regarded drug users to be cooperative over sixty percent of the time.

To facilitate comparison between groups, the above range may be arbitrarily divided into thirds. Thus a willingness to cooperate scale is constructed: one-third and below becomes the low cohort, one-third to two-thirds becomes the middle cohort, and two-thirds and above becomes the high cohort.

The low cohort, those groups least willing to cooperate, consists of prostitutes, militants, teenagers, ex-convicts, and operators of bars. Each of these groups is prone to experiment with various forms of deviancy. Drug users, prostitutes, militants, and ex-convicts by definition are or have been deviants. Operators of bars may or may not be deviants, but are in a position to support a deviant clientele. Teenagers are at a stage of socialization where experimentation with deviant behavior patterns is common, and where respect for authority figures is low. Because of the relative youthfulness of persons filling these roles, police officers may sense a greater threat of physical danger when interacting with members of those groups. Both the sense of physical threat and the overt efforts of deviants to thwart police detection and handling of crime serve to explain the low police estimation of the cohorts willingness to cooperate.

The medium cooperation cohort consists of the following

groups: working class people; civic leaders, and foreign

speaking people. Police officers are rather ambivalent

in their assessment of this cohort's willingness to co-

operate. While the bulk of persons within these groups

are probably supportive of police efforts the majority

of citizen complaints probably also ensue from this cohort.

Increased contact in effect means that the citizens are in

a position to evaluate the capacity of police officers to

prevent, detect, and solve crime. If dissatisfied with

police effectiveness, persons within the medium cohort

have considerable resources for issuing complaints and for

bringing about change. This is particularly the case for

landlords, and civic leaders who share positions of economic

power and political responsibility. These two groups often

function not only to marshall support for police but also

to bring forces against prized police interests such as

requiring contingencies for use of fire arms by police,

disallowing police discrimination such as verbal abuse,

and attempting to control police unionization. The other

two groups represent, to some extent, marginal groups.

That is, marginality in the sense of proximity to deviancy.

The working class is permeated with norms which tend to

support deviant roles, e.g. toughness, smartness, and ability

to beat the game.[69] Foreign speaking people may be regarded

as playing deviant roles simply because their lifestyles

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69. Walter B. Miller, "Lower Class Culture as a Generating
Milieu of Gang Delinquency," Journal of Social Issues, XIV
(1958), 7.

are not readily understood by police. These subcultural
enclaves are often regarded as maintaining strong normative
behavior systems which are at least tacitly supportive of
police roles, however, when confronted by police, foreign
speaking people may choose not to cooperate because they
would rather handle the deviancy themselves or they may
in fact become encumbered by language barriers.

The cohort which is considered to be most cooperative
by over two-thirds of the officers is composed of shop owners,
professionals, clergymen, and the elderly. Shop owners,
due to the nature of their work, depend upon police assistance
and may therefore be more helpful and less willing to criticize be-
cause it is their interests which are being protected. Actual
contact between professionals and police are probably few in
number. Professionals commit fewer "serious crimes" than do
many other occupation groups, and to some extent have fewer
crimes committed against them. Most clergymen pose little
direct threat to the police. Although some are renown
for their civil libertarian beliefs, most are probably
regarded as either supportive or at worst apathetic toward
police affairs. It may also be the case that police appreciate
the possibilities for crime prevention in neighborhood projects
operated by local churches and clergy. The elderly probably
present the least threat to police officers and have the
smallest power base from which to hold individual officers
accountable for their actions.

With the evaluations and role expectations reflected
by the data, it may be projected that in future encounters

police will be more cautious and suspicious when interacting
with the citizen groups included in the low cohort. Because of
the physical threat to police and the lack of legitimate
power base available to this cohort to hold police account-
able, it may be expected that police abuse would be con-
centrated in encounters with members of the low cohort.
The middle cohort brings about considerable ambivalency
on the part of the police. Suspicion may very well be the
guiding mode for handling this cohort. The officer will
generally not be able to treat individuals within the cohort
in an overt discriminatory manner, for many of these individuals
do wield the power potential necessary to seek and gain redress
for any police abuse. The high cohort will probably be handled
with considerable deference. However, when abused, the
majority of the cohort's members may be unable to organize
to make the police department accountable.

D. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SITUATION AND PERCEPTION FACTORS

It is generally acknowledged within sociological circles
that man acts on the basis of his definitions of situations,
objects, and persons. Role taking is one means by which
individuals define the role of the other. Knowing how police
officers perceive the community and its residents would
contribute to the understanding of police-citizen interaction.
It is assumed that the police perception of the community will
have a tendency to shape interaction patterns.

A series of Likert-type items which indicate police
community perceptions are analyzed in this section. Thirty-

nine items are grouped into three conceptual sets: perception of the general community; perception of minority groups; and perception of law enforcement and related issues. The first set provides a picture of how police perceive the stresses and strains operating upon the total community or society; the second set depicts police perceptions of minority issues; and the third set illustrates how police view their own profession. The perception items are grouped as follows:

Police Perception of General Community Issues

1. People in the community don't understand what policemen have to put up with.

2. Most people have no special feeling, positive or negative, about the police.

3. Anyone willing to work can get a suitable job today.

4. A few professional agitators are causing all our social unrest. If it weren't for them there would be no trouble.

5. People with different social backgrounds can hardly be expected to understand or get along with each other.

6. Most people respect policemen and appreciate the work they do.

7. Generally speaking, there are two kinds of people; respectable citizens and lawbreakers.

8. The community always blames the police for whatever goes wrong in their area.

9. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

10. Human nature being what it is there will always be riots and civil disorder.

11. The major cause of riots and disorder is disrespect for law.

12. People in the community have no understanding of the duties and responsibilities of a police-man.

Police Perception of Minority Group Issues

1. You have to judge the behavior of people living in poverty areas by different standards than those living in better parts of the city.

2. People in poverty areas don't really care about how they live or having a nice home.

3. When minority groups complain, they just want to gripe and make trouble.

4. If the truth were known about poor people it is that they are lazy and don't really want to work.

5. One of the main causes of poverty is lack of moral strength and will power.

6. People living in poverty areas deserve as much respect and kind treatment as anyone else.

7. Most of the time I can't understand why people from minority groups behave the way they do.

8. As many laws are broken by people living in well-to-do neighborhoods as in poverty areas.

9. Well-to-do citizens have few complaints about police behavior.

10. Most of minority group members are satisfied with their way of life.

11. The greatest percentage of criminals comes from minority groups because minority group people are criminally inclined.

12. Juvenile delinquency is mostly found in lower-class, minority groups.

13. Demands now being made by minority groups for more jobs and equal treatment under the law are not justified.

14. It doesn't do any good to talk things over with people from minority groups because all they understand is force.

15. It is all right for a respectable citizen to possess a gun, but unwise to let people in poverty areas have them.

16. If people in poverty areas were provided nice homes they would soon turn into slums.

17. All people in poverty areas want is a handout without working for it.

18. People live in poverty areas only because they are lazy and unwilling to help themselves.

Police Perception of Law Enforcement and Related Issues

1. All the laws should be enforced in the same way for all persons, without regard to type of community, circumstances or racial and cultural differences.

2. People from outside the police profession can tell police little or nothing about how to do police work.

3. Sociology and social research are not relevant to police work.

4. In order to preserve police morale and effectiveness, all members of the department should close ranks to protect one another from all outside criticism.

5. Kind and considerate treatment of the criminal only encourage further law-breaking.

6. Charges of police brutality are raised only by criminals and lawbreakers who want to avoid punishment for their own behavior.

7. Very few real problems exist between police and community in this district.

8. Most of all this country needs more respect for law and order.

Together these sets provide an indication of the way in which policemen view the community and how they would prefer to handle some of the critical areas of police-community

interaction. Obviously, these tendencies to act will be blunted by the contingencies of given situations.

These Likert-type items had an original scale of five response categories, but the categories have been collapsed to yield three responses: agree with statement, ambivalent, and disagree with statement.[70] Because of the large number of tables generated by the analysis and because the bulk of police response is contained within the disagree response category, a composite reporting scheme has been devised whereby only the disagree category is presented. That is, all percentages which appear in the following tables reflect the amount of police disagreement with the specific perception item being considered. The condensation and consolidation of tables permits presentation of zero order and three variable relationships simultaneously. The gamma which appears at the bottom of each column refers to the relationship depicted in the column and was calculated from the uncondensed table in which all three response categories: agree, ambivalent, and disagree were included.

To facilitate interpretation of existing relationships between situational variables and police perceptions, the perception sets will be considered set by set with the assumption that situational variables are the independent and perception items the dependent variables. Since relationships among the situation variables have already been

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70. At one point, the possibility of creating scales for each perception set was considered. However, it was believed that the descriptive quality of the discrete items outweighed the advantages of scales.

described, it is assumed that an apparent association between an independent and a dependent variable with no third related variable to be a sufficient explanation of the relationship with the added assumption that all other variables are randomly related to x and y. When mutual relationships exist between two independent variables and a third dependent variable, the logical independent variable (z) will be controlled in order to expand the explanation of the zero order relationship. For example, education (x) is related to race (z) and both are related with the item (y) "If people in poverty areas were provided nice homes they would soon turn into slums." In this case, because education cannot influence race, race becomes the control factor.

1. Relationships Between Situation Factors and Perception of General Community Issues. In Table 28, relationships between race and general community perception items are depicted.[71] Within this set, it can be seen that race is related in a simple two variable relationship with two items, "people with different social backgrounds can hardly be expected to understand or get along with each other," and "most people respect policemen and appreciate the work they do." In both instances the black police officer reflects a more favorable perception of the community. Twenty-three percent more blacks disagree

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71. Because race is often a confounding variable between other situation variables and the perception items only those cases where race is solely related to the perception items will be discussed at this point. Race is discussed as an important contingency when the other relationships are described.

TABLE 28

POLICE PERCEPTION OF GENERAL COMMUNITY ITEMS
BY RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Perception of General Community Items	Race	Total Relationship %
People with different social backgrounds can hardly be expected to understand or get along with each other	Black	(53) 75.7
	White	(56) 52.3
	Gamma	.41
Most people respect policemen and appreciate the work they do	Black	(9) 13.2
	White	(28) 25.9
	Gamma	-.24

with the idea that people from different social backgrounds could not get along with each other. White officers are more hesitant to indicate disagreement. Blacks are also less likely to disagree with the statement "people respect policemen." The percentage difference, although only twelve percent, suggests that black officers sense a more positive relationship with community residents than do white officers. The two items illustrate a tendency for black officers to look with less suspicion upon the community than do whites. The black experience may be one explanation for this discrepancy in police opinion. The fact that the black is now a policeman in a predominately white police department and in a predominately white political structure may document for the black policemen that persons with different social backgrounds can at least function together. This does not mean, and officers of both races admit this, that they have to really like all white officers or all black officers. It does suggest however that in most instances they do respect and depend upon the abilities of each other. Too, blacks are probably more likely to trust sectors of the community which seem very foreign and possibly hostile to the white policemen. The black is more familiar with the current argot of the street world and is less likely rebuffed or isolated when such language is used.

Job satisfaction is a situational variable which although related to several perception items is not related to any other situation variable utilized in this study. The analysis of job satisfaction and the perception items may be carried

TABLE 29

POLICE PERCEPTION OF GENERAL COMMUNITY ITEMS
BY JOB SATISFACTION: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Perception of General Community Items	Job Satisfaction	Total Relationship %
Most people respect police-men and appreciate the work they do	Low	(24) 30.8
	High	(14) 14.1
	Gamma	.44
A few professional agitators are causing all our social unrest	Low	(39) 49.4
	High	(63) 63.0
	Gamma	-.25
Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn	Low	(16) 20.3
	High	(17) 17.5
	Gamma	.36

out in two variable tables. Job satisfaction is related
at the .2 gamma level to three of the general community
perception items. Twice as many officers in the low job
satisfaction category disagree that most people respect
police than do officers in the higher satisfaction range.
A .44 gamma suggests that the relationship is rather strong.
Men who express   low job satisfaction ratings have little
awareness that their work is being appreciated by the people
whom they serve.

Furthermore, the officers with high job satisfaction
scores are less likely to agree that social unrest is due
to a few professional agitators. The low satisfaction officer
is more likely to accept the outside agitator conspiracy
theory as the cause of unrest. Lack of support for this
conspiracy theory by the high satisfaction officers would
suggest that they see social unrest as caused by a number
of conditions present within the community. And, the last
item may provide one such condition. The highs more
strongly support than do the lows (gamma .36) that obedience
and respect for authority are the most important virtues
children should learn. One might suggest that for the highs,
if such virtues were lacking, this breakdown in the socialization
process would be more significant for understanding social
unrest than would professional outside agitation.

It is interesting to note that race accounts for much
of the association between education and the general community
perception items. This is particularly true for whites on
the following two items: "people in the community understand

TABLE 30

POLICE PERCEPTION OF GENERAL COMMUNITY ITEMS BY
EDUCATION CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

General Community Perception Items	Education	Race Black %	White %	Total Relationship %
People in the community do not understand what policemen have to put up with	Less than High School	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0
	High school	(4) 9.1	(5) 5.7	(9) 6.8
	Some College	(2) 11.8	(1) 9.1	(3) 10.7
	College Degree	(1) 20.0	(1) 33.3	(2) 25.0
	Gamma	-.25	-.03	-.25
Anyone willing to work can get a suitable job today	Less than High School	(2) 66.7	(1) 16.7	(3) 33.3
	High School	(24) 54.5	(11) 12.6	(35) 26.5
	Some College	(12) 70.6	(2) 20.0	(14) 51.9
	College Degree	(4) 80.0	(0.0) 0.0	(4) 50.0
	Gamma	-.32	-.02	-.32

TABLE 30

POLICE PERCEPTION OF GENERAL COMMUNITY ITEMS BY EDUCATION CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE
(continued)

General Community Perception Items	Education	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
People in the community have no understanding of the duties and responsibilities of a policeman	Less than High School	(3) 100.0	(2) 28.6	(5) 50.0
	High School	(10) 22.7	(11) 12.5	(21) 15.8
	Some College	(7) 41.2	(2) 18.2	(9) 32.1
	College Degree	(4) 80.0	(1) 33.3	(5) 62.5
	Gamma	-.23	-.15	-.24
A few professional agitators cause all our social unrest	Less than High School	(2) 66.7	(3) 50.0	(5) 55.6
	High School	(12) 77.8	(35) 39.8	(70) 52.2
	Some College	(35) 70.6	(7) 63.6	(19) 67.9
	College Degree	(5) 100.0	(3) 100.0	(8) 100.0
	Gamma	-.07	-.40	-.37

TABLE 30

POLICE PERCEPTION OF GENERAL COMMUNITY ITEMS BY EDUCATION CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE (continued)

General Community Perception Items	Education	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn	Less than High School	(1) 33.3	(1) 14.3	(2) 20.0
	High School	(11) 25.6	(26) 10.5	(21) 16.2
	Some College	(4) 23.5	(2) 27.3	(7) 25.0
	College Degree	(3) 60.0	(0) 0.0	(3) 37.5
	Gamma	-.32	-.23	-.32

what policemen have to put up with" and "anyone willing to work can get a suitable job today." In both cases an overwhelming majority of whites fail to disagree with the statements regardless of educational background. It is also true for black officers responding to the item "a few professional agitators cause all our social unrest." In this instance, most blacks disagree with the item. However, in the other cases, higher educational achievement is fairly consistent with increased favorable perception of the general community.

The introduction of the third variable, race, is of particular importance as one considers the relationship between place of residence and general community perception items. In several instances, the original zero-order relationship reflects a negative gamma implying that officers residing in the city are more positive toward the community than officers residing in the suburbs, however, when controlling for the influence of race it is discovered that due to the disparate number of blacks in the suburbs and whites in the city negative associations occur and that when controlled, these associations take on positive values. That is, white and black officers living in the suburbs, tend to view the general community more favorably. However, in all cases, the black police officer is more favorably oriented than his white counterpart.

For instance, given the perception item, "anyone willing to work can get a suitable job today," none of the white officers living in the city disagreed, while fifteen percent

TABLE 31

POLICE PERCEPTION OF GENERAL COMMUNITY ITEMS BY PLACE
OF RESIDENCE CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

General Community Perception Item	Place of Residence	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
Anyone willing to work can get a suitable job today	District	(28) 57.1	(0.0) 0.0	(28) 45.2
	Suburb	(14) 70.0	(14) 15.1	(28) 24.6
	Gamma	-.18	-.49	.36
The main cause of riots and disorder is disrespect for law	District	(32) 66.7	(3) 21.4	(35) 56.5
	Suburb	(18) 85.7	(31) 33.7	(49) 43.0
	Gamma	-.53	-.27	.21
People in the community have no understanding of the duties and responsibilities of a policeman	District	(18) 37.5	(2) 14.3	(20) 32.3
	Suburb	(6) 28.6	(14) 14.7	(20) 17.1
	Gamma	.11	-.15	.21
A few professional agitators are causing all our social unrest. If it weren't for these there would be no trouble	District	(35) 71.4	(6) 42.9	(41) 65.1
	Suburb	(19) 90.5	(42) 44.7	(61) 52.6
	Gamma	-.59	-.09	.23

of the white officers in the suburbs did disagree; and, the
gamma for the entire table is .49 suggesting indeed that
white city officers did agree with the statement. On the
other hand, fifty-seven percent of the black officers
residing in the city disagree with the statement while
seventy percent of the suburban blacks disagree reflecting
some difference due to place of residence, but also a very
significant difference due to race.

A similar relationship is found between place of residence
and the belief that riots are caused by disrespect for the law.
The suburban officers are less willing to agree with that
statement, and blacks are almost three times as likely to
disagree than whites. Gammas of -.27 and -.53 suggest that
place of residence is also a critical situational variable.
When the issue of professional agitators is raised a different
pattern emerges. Approximately forty percent of the white
officers disagree with this conspiracy theory regardless of
residence. Among black officers, over seventy-one percent
living in the city and ninety percent in the suburbs disagree.
And, the gamma -.59 is indicative of a strong association between
suburban residence and disagreement with the professional
agitation theory of social unrest. It is probably significant
to note that nearly half of all the officers disagree with
the statement. Thus, there is a tendency to look for under-
lying causes of social unrest beyond the convenient idea
that professional agitators or outside forces create unrest.
It may certainly be the case that such forces serve to amplify
the unrest, but attributing to them the role of principal

cause seems to be unmerited from the view of these police.

It is difficult to explain the differential responses among black officers. On one hand, the city officer is closer to reality and may in fact be more aware of the impact of professional agitation. Perhaps by living in the city he can recount more experiences where citizens are channeled by professional agitators toward a state of unrest. The black officer living in the suburbs may remember the level of professional agitation existing at the time in which he lived in the city, if he ever did. Or, it may be that the black city officer is simply more aware of the extent of professional agitation, that is, professional agitation will effect both kinds of officers when on the job, but the officer living in the city is unable to extricate himself from the situation as easily as the officer from the suburb.

The one general community perception item which is inconsistent with the pattern that suggests suburban officers are more positive toward the community is the statement "people do not understand police responsibilities." For this item black officers who dwell in the city are somewhat more prone to disagree with the statement. Again this difference may be explainable by the closeness to their community. The city officer has opportunity for a variety of informal off-duty contacts with citizens either from his own police district or at least within the boundaries of the metropolitan police boundaries. For the most part, the suburban officer must have these feelings about citizens within the police district reinforced while on the job,

and in most instances his work directs him away from individuals who strongly support the police.

The data describing the police perception set of the general community suggest that race is the single best predictor of how the community will be perceived by the officer; that place of residence is generally an added factor in the sense that suburban officers are somewhat more favorably inclined toward the community; that the greater one's satisfaction with his work the more positive he will be toward the community; and in many instances education did not appear to be a viable predictor, however, when it is associated with the dependent variable the higher educational levels tend to be more favorably inclined toward the community.

2.   Relationships between Situation Factors and Perception of Minority Group Issues. With the above portrayal of police perception of the general community in mind, it will now be the task to analyze police perceptions of minority group issues. Because many of the encounters which officers of the Third District are involved in are with minority, impoverished persons, consideration of the officers' perceptions of minority groups should provide useful insights facilitating the understanding of police-citizen interaction. Again, the basic assumption is that perception of others will indicate how one might relate to the subjects without regard for situational constraints such as significant others being present and departmental regulations.

Tables 32 and 33 depict the relationship between perception of minority group issues and the situational variables, race and job satisfaction. These associations are not confounded by other situational variables within this study.

Race is strongly related to such items as "poor people don't care" and "minority groups only understand force;" in both instances the gammas are rather large, .64 and .58 respectively. Thus, by simply knowing the police officer's race one can reduce the amount of error in predicting whether the officer will disagree with the statement that "poor people don't care" by sixty-four percent. Nearly seventy-six percent of the black officers disagree with the statement while thirty-seven percent of the whites disagree. Similarly, twenty-four percentage points separate the racial categories when asked to respond to the statement that "minority groups only understand force." It is obvious from these examples that blacks are less likely to view minority groups in an unfavorable manner.

Less dramatic differentials result when job satisfaction is used as the independent variable. In response to the statement "poor people are lazy," over fifty-six percent of the lows disagree while over sixty-eight percent of the highs disagree. Using "minority groups only understand force" as the dependent variable sixty-eight percent of the lows disagree compared with nearly seventy-one percent of the highs. While these differences are not particularly large, the pattern is the same, that is, the higher the job satisfaction the less likely an officer is to perceive minority groups

TABLE 32

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Minority Group Perception Items	Race	Total Relationship %
People in poverty areas don't really care about how they live or about having a nice home	Black	(53) 75.7
	White	(40) 37.4
	Gamma	.64
The greatest percentage of criminals comes from minority groups because minority group people are criminally inclined	Black	(54) 78.3
	White	(76) 70.4
	Gamma	.23
It doesn't do any good to talk things over with people from minority groups because all they understand is force	Black	(62) 88.6
	White	(69) 64.5
	Gamma	.58

TABLE 33

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY JOB SATISFACTION: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Minority Group Perception Items	Job Satisfaction	Total Relationship %
You have to judge the behavior of people living in poverty areas by different standards than those living in better parts of the city.	Low	(23) 29.9
	High	(13) 13.0
	Gamma	.41
If the truth were known about poor people it is that they are lazy and don't really want to work.	Low	(44) 56.4
	High	(68) 68.4
	Gamma	-.25
It doesn't do any good to talk things over with people from minority groups because all they understand is force.	Low	(54) 68.4
	High	(78) 78.8
	Gamma	-.25

unfavorably. We are probably working in a vicious circle at this point. Higher job satisfaction may be related with more favorable reactions to the minori y community; favorable reactions may bring about positive responses from the community; positive responses boost job satisfaction.

Place of residence and educational attainment will now be considered with race explored more fully as a control factor. Table 34 indicates that place of residence tends to be related to several perception items. As before, in the general community, perception of race is a confounding or intervening variable. Thus, controlling on race will provide a framework for recognizing under what conditions residence is indeed associated with the dependent variables. Selected perception items tending to minority relations will be discussed.

The data reflect some inconsistent patterns, for at times when controlling on race, the relationship between place of residence and the perception item disappears and at other times it is intensified. For example, the zero order relationship between place of residence and "minority groups complain" indicates that sixty-nine percent of the city officers disagree with the statement compared with fifty-three percent of the suburban officers who disagree; the resulting gamma is .30. When controlled for race a more exacting picture emerges. Within the white racial category, residence does not tend to be related with the perception item; the gamma drops to -.05. However within the black category, residence is quite illustrative of the existing

TABLE 34

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Minority Group Perception Item	Place of Residence	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
When minority groups complain they just want to gripe and make trouble	District	(38) 77.6	(5) 38.5	(43) 69.4
	Suburb	(19) 90.5	(40) 44.0	(60) 53.1
	Gamma	-.43	-.05	.30
If the truth were known about poor people it is that they are lazy and don't really want to work	District	(40) 81.6	(6) 42.9	(46) 69.4
	Suburb	(17) 81.0	(48) 52.2	(66) 57.9
	Gamma	.06	-.30	.28
One of the main causes of poverty is lack of moral strength and will power	District	(31) 63.3	(3) 21.4	(34) 54.0
	Suburb	(13) 61.9	(23) 24.7	(37) 32.2
	Gamma	.14	-.08	.44
People living in poverty areas deserve as much respect and kind treatment as anyone else	District	(2) 4.1	(0) 0.0	(2) 3.2
	Suburb	(0) 0.0	(2) 2.1	(2) 1.7
	Gamma	.27	.25	.31

TABLE 34

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY PLACE
OF RESIDENCE CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE
(continued)

Minority Group Perception Item	Place of Residence	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
As many laws are broken by people living in well-to-do neighborhoods as in poverty areas	District	(10) 21.3	(6) 42.9	(16) 26.2
	Suburb	(8) 38.1	(57) 60.0	(66) 56.4
	Gamma	-.12	-.34	-.46
Demands now being made by minority groups for more jobs are equal treatment under the law are not justified	District	(36) 73.5	(7) 50.0	(43) 68.3
	Suburb	(17) 81.0	(41) 44.1	(59) 51.3
	Gamma	-.23	.06	.27
If people in poverty areas were provided nice homes they would soon turn to slums	District	(24) 49.0	(2) 14.3	(26) 41.3
	Suburb	(11) 57.5	(9) 9.7	(20) 17.7
	Gamma	-.19	.20	.52
All people in poverty areas want is a hand-out without working for it	District	(18) 77.6	(5) 35.7	(43) 68.3
	Suburb	(15) 75.0	(52) 55.3	(68) 59.1
	Gamma	.08	-.31	.20

TABLE 34

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE
(continued)

Minority Group Perception Item	Place of Residence	Race Black %	White %	Total Relationship %
People live in poverty areas only because they are lazy and unwilling to help themselves	District	(42) 85.7	(6) 42.9	(48) 76.2
	Suburb	(15) 83.3	(49) 52.7	(65) 58.0
	Gamma	.13	-.15	.39
Most of the time I can't understand why people from minority groups behave the way they do	District	(31) 63.3	(4) 28.6	(35) 55.6
	Suburb	(13) 65.0	(30) 32.3	(43) 37.7
	Gamma	-.05	-.05	.31

relationships; the gamma is -.43. Over ninety percent of the suburban black officers disagree with the perception statement while seventy-eight percent of the black city officers disagree. These figures can be contrasted with the thirty-nine and forty-four percent white officers in respective residences. Thus, although the overwhelming differences appear between racial categories, at least with the black category residence becomes an important explanatory variable.

Another example of the shifting influence of residence can be seen by regarding responses to the statement "poor people are lazy." The original relationship reflected sixty-three percent city officers disagreeing and nearly fifty-eight percent suburban officers disagreeing with a gamma of .28. When controlled for race, approximately eighty-one percent of the black officers disagree with the statement regardless of place of residence. Within the white category a gamma of -.30 results with nearly forty-three percent of the city officers disagreeing and fifty-two percent of the suburban officers disagreeing. Again, the major explanatory variable is race, but knowledge of the officers' places of residence provides additional predictive powers.

It could be argued that in general the suburban officers, regardless of race, are somewhat more favorably inclined toward minority groups as reflected by officer explanations of how individuals become enmeshed within such groups and how individuals might extract themselves from poverty conditions. It is obvious that blacks are more favorably

inclined than whites. The pattern of percentage disagreement
is consistent with this tendency for the following items:
"minority groups complain," "cause of poverty is lack of
moral strength," "middle class break laws," "I do not under-
stand poor people." In the instances where a within racial
category percentage pattern is reversed, that is, where the
city officers are more positive than suburban, only in one
case ("Nice homes turn to slums ") is the resulting gamma
equal to our arbitrary level of .20.

These findings are particularly interesting when one
realizes that many citizens believe that the police should
live in the police district which they serve; the fact that
police officers live in the suburbs is often most discon-
certing to the precinct residents. The data presented here
would suggest that police officers living outside the boundaries
of the police district are more favorably disposed to the
residents of poverty areas and minority groups. This tends
to be the pattern even across racial categories.

These apparent differences may be due to the liberal
images of poor people which are sometimes harbored in
suburban circles, that is, minority persons are viewed as
being caught up in a vicious circle, a circle which is most
difficult to break.

Perception of the minority groups by city officers may
not represent overt prejudice. Quite to the contrary, city
officers may be reflecting reality, i.e., the contraints which
operate upon minority groups residing within the city.
Because of their total emersion into the community, they

may be in a better position to evaluate the realities of the community's structure. These perceptions may reflect honest, realistic estimates of community conditions. Even a black policeman can be affected by the hunger of children, by the villainous creatures, white or black, who feed upon the poor, the uneducated, and the gullible and by the general hopelessness of the ghetto. To a very real extent the city police officer and particularly the black officer stands with one foot in the door of the world of riches represented by the middle class, suburbs while the other foot is engulfed in the struggle of the inner city.

A second independent variable related to minority issues for which race needs to be controlled is education. Again, it is most interesting to look for patterns in the police responses. This task is somewhat more difficult since the number of categories have expanded rapidly making it possible to have some large percents representing a small number of persons at the extremes.

Exploration of Table 35, suggests that education tends to be related to perception items regardless of race. There is the situation where race is a major differentiating variable with education effects operating within race categories. For example, when looking at education as it relates to "minority groups complain" the zero order relationships reflect a gamma of -.44 with fifty-six percent less than high school, fifty-three percent high school, seventy-five percent some college, and one hundred percent college degree disagreeing with the statement. When

TABLE 35

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY EDUCATION CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Minority Group Perception Item	Education	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
When minority groups complain, they just want to gripe and make trouble	Less than High School	(2) 66.7	(3) 50.0	(5) 55.6
	High School	(34) 75.6	(34) 40.5	(68) 53.1
	Some College	(16) 94.1	(5) 45.5	(21) 75.0
	College Degree	(5) 100.0	(3) 100.0	(8) 100.0
	Gamma	-.65	-.19	-.44
One of the main causes of poverty is lack of moral strength and will-power	Less than High School	(1) 33.3	(1) 16.7	(2) 22.2
	High School	(28) 62.2	(21) 24.1	(50) 37.6
	Some College	(11) 64.7	(2) 18.2	(13) 46.4
	College Degree	(4) 80.0	(2) 66.7	(6) 75.0
	Gamma	-.13	-.28	-.29

TABLE 35

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY EDUCATION CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE (continued)

Minority Group Perception Item	Education	Race Black %	White %	Total Relationship %
People living in poverty areas deserve as much respect and kind treatment as anyone else.	Less than High School	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0
	High School	(2) 2.0	(1) 1.1	(3) 2.3
	Some College	(0) 0.0	(1) 9.1	(1) 3.6
	College Degree	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0
	Gamma	.25	-.65	-.29
Most of the time I can't understand why people from minority groups behave the way they do	Less than High School	(1) 33.3	(1) 16.7	(2) 22.2
	High School	(25) 68.0	(30) 28.7	(55) 41.7
	Some College	(9) 52.9	(6) 54.5	(15) 53.6
	College Degree	(4) 80.0	(2) 66.7	(6) 75.0
	Gamma	.02	-.49	-.33

TABLE 35

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY EDUCATION
CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE (continued)

Minority Group Perception Item	Education	Race Black %	White %	Total Relationship %
As many laws are broken by people living in a well-to-do neighborhood as in poverty areas	Less than High School	(1) 33.3	(6) 85.7	(7) 70.0
	High School	(16) 37.2	(46) 52.3	(63) 47.7
	Some College	(1) 5.5	(9) 81.8	(10) 35.7
	College Degree	(0) 0.0	(2) 66.7	(2) 25.0
	Gamma	.57	-.16	.31
Most minority group members are satisfied with their way of life	Less than High School	(1) 33.3	(3) 50.0	(4) 44.4
	High School	(32) 74.4	(41) 47.1	(74) 56.5
	Some College	(12) 70.6	(8) 72.7	(20) 71.4
	College Degree	(5) 100.0	(2) 66.7	(7) 87.5
	Gamma	-.26	-.29	-.34

TABLE 35

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY EDUCATION
CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE (continued)

Minority Group Perception Item	Education	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
Demands now being made by minority	Less than High School	(3) 100.0	(2) 33.3	(5) 55.6
groups for more jobs and equal treatment	High School	(33) 73.3	(37) 42.5	(71) 53.4
under the law are not justi- fied	Some College	(13) 76.5	(7) 63.6	(20) 71.4
	College Degree	(4) 80.0	(2) 66.7	(6) 75.0
	Gamma	-.01	-.36	-.30
It's all right for a respons- ible citizen	Less than High School	(3) 100.0	(6) 85.7	(9) 90.0
to possess a gun but unwise to let people	High School	(41) 91.0	(73) 83.9	(115) 86.5
in poverty areas to have them	Some College	(15) 88.2	(6) 54.5	(21) 75.0
	College Degree	(5) 100.0	(2) 66.7	(7) 87.5
	Gamma	-.04	.47	.26

TABLE 35

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY EDUCATION
CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE (continued)

Minority Group Perception Item	Education	Race Black %	White %	Total Relationship %
If people in poverty areas were provided nice homes they would soon turn into slums	Less than High School	(2) 66.7	(1) 16.7	(3) 33.3
	High School	(20) 47.5	(9) 10.3	(29) 22.1
	Some College	(9) 52.9	(1) 9.1	(10) 35.7
	College Degree	(4) 80.0	(0) 0.0	(4) 50.0
	Gamma	-.19	-.08	-.28

CONTINUED

2 OF 3

controlled for the interactive effects of race, it can be
seen that within the black category the resulting gamma is
-.65 with a percentage pattern as follows: less than high
school sixty-seven percent, high school seventy-six percent,
some college ninety-four percent, and college degree one
hundred percent. Within the white category the relationship
between education and "minority groups complain" drops
considerably with a gamma of -.19 and percentage pattern:
less than high school fifty percent, high school forty-one
percent, some college forty-six percent, and college degree
one hundred percent.

In other words, tendencies to disagree with the state-
ment are more likely to be related to education within
the black category than in the white. The higher the
educational level attained the greater the probability that
one would disagree with the statement. However, in the
case of the whites, education was not as significant. This
tendency is also reflected when considering the item "cause
of poverty is lack of moral strength." Education is some-
what more related to the statement within the white category
than the black. Again, blacks as a whole are more favorably
disposed toward the minority group. It is of interest however
that as the educational attainment lowers black officers tend
to believe that the negative implications of the statement
are in fact true. One explanation of this phenomenon would
suggest that the poorly educated black police officer has
recently raised his status within the black minority group.
And, some may look with contempt on those individuals who

have not made it. An explanation for his own success is moral stength, perseverance, dependability, and will power, thus those individuals who remain entrapped are weak in each of these characteristics.

Education is an interesting explanatory variable when regarding perception of the working class or middle class capacity for breaking the law. The zero order relationship is -.31 with a percentage breakdown of twenty-five, thirty-six, forty-eight and seventy indicating that fewer well educated police officers disagreed with the statement that "middle class individuals break as many laws." Blacks in general are more likely to expect middle class persons to break the law as often as lower class. Blacks disagree with the statement at a rate of two times the white officers. Education is rather strongly related (.57 gamma) within the black category. White officers may be reacting only to the kind of crime generally considered under the guise of law and order, that is, assaultive and property crimes. Blacks on the other hand may be considering, in addition to the assaultive and property such crimes as white collar crime and organized crime including such an array of violations as breaking building codes, income tax evasion or inflated price fixing. The black experience may be such that awareness of middle class crime is enhanced. While the whole issue of middle class crime may be somewhat circumspect to the lower class white who aspires to middle class standards, his black counterpart may have more directly witnessed the brunt of middle class disrespect for law.

Apparently education is a vehicle by which blacks are made aware of middle class impingements upon their environment. Besides the didactic knowledge factor, there is the closer contact with the white middle class achieved by the better educated black. For example, the college-educated black is more likely to gain acceptance in middle class circles at which time he is able to document to his own satisfaction the extent to which whites violate or ignore the law. He becomes increasingly aware of how the system works for the white middle class, e.g., tax breaks for corporations, flexibility for side stepping judicial process, or power of the political figure to mismanage public affairs for personal gain.

While education for white officers is usually somewhat related to the way they perceive minority groups, the pattern of the relationship is sporadic. Although favorable perceptions of minority groups usually increase with the higher educational levels, the interaction of race seems to have more predictive power for estimating white officers' responses to minority issues than educational achievement.

3. Relationships Between Situation Variables and Law Enforcement Related Issues. Consideration of how officers view law enforcement and related issues should also provide some insights concerning expected outcomes from police-citizen encounters. Those officers who are interested in closing the ranks or in isolating the department from the community's view will probably be less likely to willingly

work in community relations programs, will depend more heavily on technological innovations for handling crime, and will share less understanding of the broad social psychological underpinnings of crime and delinquency.

Zero order associations with no discernable intervening third variable will be discussed first followed by an overview of the three variable relationships.

Experience appears to be related with the statement "few police community relations problems exist." The percentage profile of officers who disagree with the statement suggests that newly recruited officers see fewer problems than do the more experienced officers. The data suggest, however, that cynicism sets in at an early stage in the officer's career. After two years experience, the disagreement rate more than doubles the first year rate with fifty-eight percent responding in the disagree category. The most experienced officers are four times as cynical as the least experienced officer. The young man's expectations of police work may be quickly shattered by experiencing the realities of the crime control task. It may also be the case that the experienced officer has a better sense of reality in terms of what it does take to reduce or at least handle crime. These officers may indicate that the handling of crime depends, to a large extent, on citizen cooperation, citizen understanding if not appreciation of what the police department is really about, and community recognition that crime is a detriment to the community and not merely an entertaining game to watch in which police

TABLE 36

POLICE PERCEPTION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT ITEMS BY SITUATION FACTORS: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Law Enforcement Perception Items	Situation Factors	Total Relationship %
	Year Appointed	
Very few real problems exist between the police and community in this district	1950 and prior	(1) 20.0
	1951-1965	(14) 58.3
	1966-1967	(41) 78.8
	1968	(36) 72.0
	1969	(36) 81.8
	Gamma	-.28
	Education	
All the laws should be enforced in the same way for all persons, without regard to type of community, circumstances or racial and cultural differences	Less than high School	(1) 11.1
	High School	(29) 22.0
	Some College	(8) 28.6
	College Degree	(3) 37.5
	Gamma	-.36
	Race	
Kind and considerate treatment of the criminal only encourages a further lawbreaking	Black	(35) 50.0
	White	(31) 28.7
	Gamma	.43

TABLE 36

POLICE PERCEPTION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT ITEMS BY SITUATION FACTORS: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE (continued)

Law Enforcement Perception Items	Situation Factors	Total Relationship %
	Race	
The community always blames the police for what goes wrong in their area	Black	(25) 36.2
	White	(20) 19.0
	Gamma	.20
	Job Satisfaction	
Most of all this country needs more respect for law and order	Low	(8) 10.1
	High	(9) 9.1
	Gamma	.26
Sociology and social research are not relevant to police work	Low	(48) 60.8
	High	(74) 74.7
	Gamma	−.30
Charges of police brutality are raised only by criminals and law breakers who want to avoid punishment for their own behavior	Low	(25) 31.6
	High	(48) 49.5
	Gamma	−.22

play a major role.

The young officer may also be socialized into a system
which shares certain cynical expectations about the public
at the possibilities for preventing and handling crime.
These expectations generated by the system may be an un-
conscious way of side betting. The responsibility for
increased crime is placed on other people and other conditions
which constrain and restrain the officer and his work.

Education is associated with the item which suggests
that the law should be equally enforced regardless of type
of community. While most of the officers do not disagree
with the statement, the higher educated officers are dis-
proportionately represented in the disagree category. These
officers seem to be more willing to exercise discretion
according to racial and cultural differences. Only eleven
percent of the officers without a high school education
disagree while approximately thirty percent of those with
more than a high school education disagree.

This finding seems quite consistent with the inter-
pretation being developed which differentiates among police-
men by their means of explaining crime. As indicated in earlier
discussions of education, it was shown that on the one
hand higher education levels seemed to be associated with
a broad understanding of community and minority issues that
would allow for situational and cultural impingements upon
citizen behavior. On the other hand, officers with lower
educational levels appear to opt for a free will explanation
of social behavior. With these interpretations as a backdrop,

it is certainly not unexpected to discover that higher
educational achievement is related with increased dis-
cretion. In situations where individual responsibility
is subjugated to environmental constraints, these officers
may believe that individuals should not be held as account-
able as in other circumstances. For example, it is more
repugnant for some police officers to watch suburban whites
working the prostitute route than to watch the inner city
resident do the same thing. Prostitution may be regarded
by the officer an an opportunity which provides a break,
for both buyer and seller, in what is otherwise a dull
routine. Use of discretion may also create an image of power
for the police officer. He is no longer an automan reacting
in prescribed ways when a law is broken.

Within this perception set of law enforcement and related
issues, race is related to two items. Blacks are more likely
not to disagree that "considerate treatment of criminals,
encourage further law breaking, gamma .43, and, blacks are
less likely to believe that "police are always blamed for
wrongs." Again, black officers take a more enlightened
approach to handling the criminal, and are less likely to
share a persecution complex than white officers.

Job satisfaction is also related to some of the law
enforcement issues. The highs are less likely to agree
with the statement "social research is not relevant to
law enforcement." Nearly seventy-five percent of the highs
disagree while sixty-one percent of the lows disagree.
Officers who reflect higher levels of job satisfaction are

apparently more willing to encourage outside help particularly in the form of social research. As indicated by another item, "charges of police brutality are raised only by criminals," these officers are also more willing to acknowledge police faults or misbehavior such as police brutality. These two perception items suggest that the more satisfied officer is less fearful of social research because he, himself, recognizes the shortcomings of some of his fellow officers. Social research may in fact be a means by which some of these problems can be highlighted and corrected.

To further explore police perception of law enforcement and related issues, Table 37 indicates that place of residence is slightly related with the isolationist tendencies discussed above. When considering the statement, "social research is not relevant" approximately sixty percent of the white officers disagreed with no meaningful difference accounted for by place of residence. However, the black officers not only disagree to a greater extent, but within that category ninety-five percent of the black suburban officers disagree compared with nearly seventy-eight percent of the black city officers. The resulting gamma is -.70. When asked directly to agree or disagree with the statement "police should close ranks," the residence differences drop out entirely leaving only racial differences as plausible explanations for variance. Approximately sixty percent of the black officers disagree with the statement compared with about forty percent of the white officers.

The racial differences are particularly explainable due

TABLE 37

POLICE PERCEPTION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT ITEMS BY PLACE OF
RESIDENCE CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Law Enforcement Perception Items	Place of Residence	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
Most of all this country needs more respect for law and order	District	(4) 18.4	(0) .0	(9) 14.3
	Suburb	(9) 20.0	(4) 4.3	(8) 7.0
	Gamma	-.10	-.23	.47
Sociology and social research are not relevant to police work	District	(38) 77.6	(9) 64.3	(47) 74.6
	Suburb	(19) 95.0	(56) 59.6	(75) 65.2
	Gamma	-.70	.07	.21
In order to pre-serve police morale and effectiveness, all members of the department should close ranks to protect one another from all outside criticism	District	(28) 58.3	(6) 42.9	(34) 54.8
	Suburb	(12) 60.0	(33) 36.3	(45) 40.2
	Gamma	-.03	.08	.24
Charges of police brutality are raised only by criminals and law breakers who want to avoid punishment for their own behavior	District	(28) 57.1	(2) 15.4	(30) 48.4
	Suburb	(13) 65.0	(30) 32.3	(43) 37.7
	Gamma	-.11	-.41	.20

to the black experience which suggests a theoretical model explaining social behavior on grounds other than free will. Blacks may also be more willing to make the police force more accountable to the community which it serves. At minimum, blacks are less likely to view the community as a totally evil territory devoid of hope and promise. Blacks may see some good along with the evil. Whites, particularly lower educated whites, may view the community in stereotypical images as being either all good or all evil. The black who has made it in the suburban setting do have something to contribute to the larger society. These perceptions of community dictate the kind of police department which is desired. If the community is to be feared and controlled, then a tight isolationist para military model is best fitted to perform the task. If some constructive aspects of the community are recognized, police officers may seek to accentuate the positive and take a more active role in strengthening alternative community resources for social control. In this light, social research can be regarded as both making the department accountable and as forcing the system to accommodate change.

Black officers are also more willing to acknowledge the existence of police brutality than whites. It may simply be the case that brutality is perceived to be perpetrated against blacks or other third world people with whom black officers have some modicum of identification. Black officers may also believe that white officers instigate brutality more often than blacks and are then more reticent

about acknowledging its existence. For whatever reason, blacks disagree with the statement thirty-three and forty percent more often than do whites. Furthermore for blacks no strong relationship by residence exists while for whites a gamma of -.41 suggests that white suburban officers are more likely to disagree with the statement than white city officers.

Education presents, when controlled for race, another mixed picture of police perception of law enforcement. Again, it is necessary to note that the size of N for less than high school degree and college degrees are particularly small. Within educational levels, blacks tend to be somewhat less isolationist than whites. Only within the white category while considering "social research not relevant" does education become a very meaningful consistent explanatory variable, with a gamma of -.36. Of particular interest is the percentage difference between "high school degree" and "some college" which is sixteen percent compared with six percent differece within blacks. In general the most that one can say is that officers with higher levels of education are more likely to disagree with the perception items, but officers with lower education achieved do not necessarily disagree least however their importance is inflated by small N.

Crosstabulation of situation factors with the three perception sets 1) perception of general community issues, 2) perception of minority group issues, and 3) perception of law enforcement and related issues provides a fairly detailed picture of how police officers perceive others;

TABLE 38

POLICE PERCEPTION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT ITEMS BY EDUCATION CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Law Enforcement Perception Items	Education	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
Most of all this country needs more respect for law and order	Less than High School	(1) 33.3	(0) .0	(1) 11.1
	High School	(7) 15.9	(3) 3.4	(10) 7.5
	Some College	(3) 17.6	(1) 9.1	(4) 14.3
	College Degree	(2) 40.0	(0) .0	(2) 25.0
	Gamma	-.17	-.36	-.33
Sociology and social research are not relevant to police work	Less than High School	(2) 66.7	(4) 66.7	(6) 66.7
	High School	(36) 81.8	(50) 56.8	(86) 64.7
	Some College	(15) 88.2	(8) 72.7	(23) 82.1
	College Degree	(4) 80.0	(3) 100.0	(7) 87.5
	Gamma	-.17	-.34	-.36

TABLE 38

POLICE PERCEPTION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT ITEMS BY EDUCATION CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE (CONTINUED)

Law Enforcement Perception Items	Education	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black %	White %	
		(1)	(2)	(3)
People from out-	Less than	33.3	33.3	33.3
side the police	High School			
profession can		(24)	(26)	(50)
tell police little	High School	54.5	29.5	37.6
or nothing about				
how to do		(8)	(6)	(14)
police work	Some College	47.1	54.5	50.0
		(3)	(2)	(5)
	College Degree	60.0	66.7	62.5
	Gamma	-.01	-.38	-.28
		(2)	(2)	(4)
In order to pre-	Less than	66.7	40.0	50.0
serve police	High School			
morale and		(25)	(31)	(56)
effectiveness,	High School	58.1	36.0	43.1
all members of the				
department should		(8)	(4)	(12)
close ranks to	Some College	47.1	36.4	42.9
protect one another				
from all		(5)	(2)	(7)
outside criticism	College Degree	100.0	66.7	87.5
	Gamma	-.10	-.17	-.20

it will now be the task to consider how the officers perceive themselves and their role as law enforcement officers. This is accomplished by using the role identity typology which has been discussed earlier.

E. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN ROLE IDENTITY TYPOLOGY AND SITUATION FACTORS

As was indicated in section A3 when the identity typology was operationalized, forty-six officers compose the abusive legalist officer type, fifty-eight officers compose the task officer type, and forty-three compose the community service officer type.

It will be helpful to begin analysis of the role identity typology by considering relationships between these master role identity and the situation factors: race, place of residence, year appointed, job satisfaction and education.

Race seems to be the situation factor which is most strongly related to the role identities (gamma -.55). Blacks are over-represented in the community service role and whites are over-represented in the abusive legalist role.

It is apparent from Table 39 that the abusive legalist officers are over-represented in the suburban communities while community service officers are somewhat over-represented in the city. At first glance, this may seem somewhat surprising since suburban officers tended to reflect more positive perceptions of the community in our earlier analysis of police perceptions. However, it may be the case that city officers exhibit a more realistic assessment of the community

TABLE 39

POLICE ROLE IDENTITY BY SITUATION FACTORS

	Police Role Identity		
Situation Factors	Abusive Legalist %	Task %	Community Support %
Race			
Black	19.6	31.0	62.8
White	80.4	69.0	37.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(46)	(58)	(43)
Gamma	-.55		
Place of Residence			
City	21.3	34.5	48.8
Suburb	78.7	65.5	51.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	(47)	(58)	(43)
Gamma	-.39		
Year Appointed			
1950 and prior	2.1	5.2	2.4
1951-65	6.4	22.4	9.5
1966-67	29.8	32.8	23.8
1968	38.3	19.0	26.2
1969	23.4	20.7	38.1
Total %	100.0	101.0	100.0
Total N	(47)	(58)	(42)
Gamma	.00		
Education			
Less than high school	2.1	8.6	2.3
High school	85.1	67.2	67.4
Some college	10.6	20.7	20.9
College degree	2.1	3.5	9.3
Total %	99.9	100.0	99.9
Total N	(47)	(58)	(43)
Gamma	.29		

and yet are still more likely to see themselves as serving the community. Some of the suburban officers may simply express a glib liberal perception of the community and remain less willing to act on the basis of those perceptions.

There is also a tendency for the more recent appointee to be somewhat more represented in the community service category than are the older appointees. Thus there is some additional support for the contention that some officers enter the profession out of service or humanitarian aspirations, but soon experience the feeling that nothing can actually be accomplished to improve the community conditions and thereby become cynical. These early appointtes may over a short period of time move from a community service orientation to the task or even to the abusive legalist orientation. This plausible movement needs to be further studied.

As one might expect, community service officers tend to be better educated than either task or abusive legalist officers. Over thirty percent of the community service officers have had at least some college, while twenty-four percent of the task officers and only thirteen percent of the abusive legalist officers have had some college education.

It is most interesting to note that more task officers indicate a high liking for their job than either of the other types. In the community service and the abusive legalist types, job satisfaction is quite evenly divided. This finding should not be too surprising because the expectations of the task role are much more achievable. If the officer sees his principal function as being enforcement of the law, he has a

greater probability of doing that and therefore being satisfied than if he wanted to enforce particular standards beyond the scope of the law or if he felt a need to eradicate the core of societal problems leading to crime.

F. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ROLE IDENTITY TYPOLOGY AND PERCEPTION OF GENERAL COMMUNITY ISSUES

In order to set forth the descriptive capacity of the police role typology and describe the link between perception of role identity and perception of others, it will be useful to consider the differential perceptions of community and police work role identity. The three perception categories general community issues, minority group issues, and law enforcement and related issues, will be utilized as they were in the earlier sections of this chapter. First, the zero order relationship between the role identity and the particular dependent variable will be considered. Second, a three variable relationship with the introduction of race as a control factor will be regarded. Only race will be handled in this form as the other situation variables tend to be less strongly related to role identity. Again, in order to conserve space and facilitate understanding only the disagree category will appear in the tables. The various perception items have been selected to indicate variation in perception of others by role identity. This variation can be indicated by both the strength of differences and the consistent patterns of aggregate responses.

Three items are incorporated to indicate police

TABLE 40

POLICE PERCEPTION OF GENERAL COMMUNITY ITEMS
BY ROLE IDENTITY CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

General Community Perception Item	Role Identity	Race		Total relationship %
		Black % disagree	White %disagree	
The main cause of riots and dis-order is dis-respect for the law	Abusive Legalist	(5) 55.6	(9) 25.0	(14) 30.4
	Task	(12) 66.7	(14) 35.0	(26) 44.8
	Community Service	(22) 84.6	(9) 60.0	(31) 75.6
	Gamma	-.43	-.32	-.47
A few profes-sional agitators are causing all our social unrest. If it weren't for them there would be no trouble	Abusive Legalist	(5) 55.6	(14) 37.8	(19) 40.4
	Task	(16) 88.9	(17) 42.5	(33) 56.9
	Community Service	(22) 81.5	(9) 60.0	(31) 73.8
	Gamma	-.26	-.27	-.55
Generally speaking there are two kinds of people: respectable citizens and lawbreakers	Abusive Legalist	(2) 44.4	(12) 33.3	(15) 32.6
	Task	(9) 11.1	(19) 47.5	(28) 48.3
	Community Service	(16) 22.2	(8) 53.3	(24) 57.1
	Gamma	.83	-.30	-.30

perception of the general community. There exists a stronger tendency for legalist officers to divide citizens into respectable citizens and lawbreakers than the other two categories. Less than a third of the abusive legalist officers disagree with such a dichotomization of the community while fifty-seven percent of the community service officers were opposed to this dichotomy. The original relationship remains rather constant when controlling for race. Within racial categories the pattern of responses remain in a consistent direction with the abusive legalist officer least likely to disagree and the community service officer most likely to disagree.

Two general community items focus on riots or civil disturbances. Nearly seventy-six percent of the community service officers refuse to accept the statement that riots are caused by "disrespect for the law." On the other hand, less than one-third of the abusive legalist officers disagree with that belief. Some of the variation can be explained by race. Blacks tend to disagree to a greater extent than do whites. However, the pattern of response by role identity remains consistent.

When asked if professional agitators were behind civil disturbances seventy-six percent of the community service officers disagree as compared to fifty-six percent of abusive legalist officers who disagree. Responses to these two items would suggest that community service types are more likely to look beyond conspiratorial and moral deterioration arguments as explanations of community conflict. Those

officers may wish to suggest an explanation which draws

upon environmental, psychological, and sociological

arguments. It is apparent again, however, that black

officers tend to disagree with conspiracy arguments more

sharply than do white officers. Race notwithstanding,

the original relationship between role identity and

professional agitators holds with the slight exception

that within the black category, task officers tend to

disagree slightly more than do the community service

officers.

G.   RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ROLE IDENTITY TYPOLOGY AND
     PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ISSUES

The second perception dimension, minority is also

probed here by three selected items. With the first state-

ment, "poor people are lazy," nearly eighty-six percent

of the community service officers disagree; forty-six per-

cent of the abusive legalist officers disagree to suggest

that the latter have more negative role expectations of poor

people. Given these expectations the officer is more likely

to abuse minority relations. The additional consideration

of race serves to indicate that the responses are also

related to this situational factor. Blacks are more likely

to disagree than whites, however the black abusive legalist

officer only disagrees fifty-six percent of the time as

compared with the black community service officer who dis-

agrees ninety-six percent of the time. The -.75 gamma

suggests that the association between the role identity

TABLE 41

POLICE PERCEPTION OF MINORITY GROUP ITEMS BY ROLE IDENTITY CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Minority Group Perception Item	Role Identity	Race Black % disagree	White % disagree	Total Relationship %
When minority groups complain, they just want to gripe and make trouble	Abusive Legalist	(6) 66.7	(12) 34.3	(19) 42.2
	Task	(16) 88.9	(20) 50.0	(36) 62.1
	Community Service	(24) 88.9	(7) 46.7	(31) 73.8
	Gamma	-.43	-.58	-.40
If the trouble were known about poor people it is that they are lazy and really don't want to work	Abusive Legalist	(5) 55.6	(15) 41.7	(21) 45.7
	Task	(16) 88.9	(20) 50.0	(36) 62.1
	Community Service	(26) 96.3	(10) 66.7	(36) 85.7
	Gamma	-.75	-.17	-.47
One of the main causes of poverty is lack of moral strength and will power	Abusive Legalist	(3) 33.3	(5) 13.5	(9) 19.1
	Task	(12) 63.6	(12) 30.0	(24) 41.4
	Community Service	(21) 77.8	(5) 33.3	(26) 61.9
	Gamma	-.47	-.25	-.50

typology and "poor people are lazy" is particularly strong
for blacks.

A similar response pattern can be found with the
statement "lack of moral strength." Sixty-two percent of
the community service officers disagree contrasted with
only nineteen percent of the abusive legalist officers who
disagree. Race again compounds the picture with blacks
disagreeing at least twice as intensely in each role
category. However, once again, major differences exist
with racial categories. This is particularly the case
for blacks. Within the black category forty-four percentage
points separate the abusive legalist officer from the
community service officer.

In response to the statement "minority groups complain,"
seventy-six percent of the community service officers disagree
contrasted with forty-two percent of the abusive legalist
officer. Race is again a confounding variable with black
officers more likely to disagree with the item than for
white officers to disagree. These racial differences may
once again be explained as a sympathetic response on the
part of blacks who are part of a minority group toward
the plight of other minority members, and an expression of
fear on the part of whites of the threat by the active
movement of minority advancement.

H. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ROLE IDENTITY TYPOLOGY AND LAW
    ENFORCEMENT RELATED ISSUES

The police isolation issue is highlighted here to

TABLE 42

POLICE PERCEPTION OF LAW ENFORCEMENT ITEMS BY ROLE IDENTITY CONTROLLED FOR RACE: PERCENTAGE DISAGREE

Law Enforcement Perception Item	Role Identity	Race		Total Relationship %
		Black % disagree	White % disagree	
In order to pre-serve police morale and effectiveness, all members of the department should close ranks to protect one another from all outside criticism	Abusive Legalist	(5) 22.2	(2) 14.3	(7) 15.6
	Task	(18) 66.7	(12) 45.0	(30) 51.7
	Community Support	(8) 65.4	(17) 57.1	(38) 62.5
	Gamma	-.40	-.42	-.46
Sociology and social research are not relevant to police work	Abusive Legalist	(17) 88.9	(8) 45.9	(25) 53.2
	Task	(24) 77.8	(14) 60.0	(38) 65.5
	Community Support	(11) 81.5	(22) 73.3	(33) 78.6
	Gamma	.09	-.35	-.35
People from out-side the police profession can tell police little or nothing about	Abusive Legalist	(10) 22.2	(2) 27.0	(12) 25.5
	Task	(16) 50.0	(9) 40.0	(25) 43.1
	Community Support	(5) 59.3	(16) 33.3	(21) 50.0
	Gamma	-.30	-.24	-.32

illustrate the usefullness of the role identity typology
for analyzing police perception of law enforcement issues.
Table 42 indicates that the abusive legalist officer is
generally opposed to assistance from outside the police
department while community service officers are much more
receptive of such assistance. Task officers usually fall
in between the other two identity types, but they tend to
be closer to the community support officers. When controlling
for race, a rather strong relationship emerges between the
role identities and disagreement on whether "police should
close ranks." Gammas are blacks, -.40, and whites, -.42.
Within the white category, only fourteen percent of the
abusive legalist officers disagree with the item contrasted
with over fifty-seven percent of the community service officers
who disagree with the item. Within the black category,
twenty-two percent of the abusive legalist officers disagree
with the statement while over sixty-five percent of the
community service officers disagree with the statement,
"police should close ranks."

Responses to the statement "People from outside the
police profession can tell police little," yield gammas,
-.24 for whites, and -.30 for blacks. The direction of
percentages is as expected for blacks: abusive legalist
officer, twenty-two percent disagree; task officer, fifty
percent disagree; and community service officer fifty-
nine percent disagree. However findings for the white
officers are less clearcut with twenty-seven percent of
the abusive legalist officers disagreeing, forty percent

of the task officers disagree, and thirty-three percent of the community service officers disagreeing.

For the item "sociology and social science research is not relevant," the white officer category reflects a very consistent pattern of nearly fifty percent abusive legalist officer, sixty percent task officer, and seventy-three percent community service officer disagreeing, with a -.35 gamma. However, within the black category, distinctions fail to emerge with a gamma, .09. Throughout our analysis, we have found blacks to be very favorably disposed to sociology and social science research, therefore, it should not be used here to detract a great deal from the role identity typology.

On the whole, the data bear out the contention that the typology will differentiate among policemen by their major role identities. Given the officer's perception of his own role one can predict his perception and expectations of others.

I.   SUMMARY

Analysis of the police perspective of police-citizen interaction has emphasized the situation-perception link of the police-citizen interaction model. The exchange dimension was also discussed to a lesser extent.

. Within the latter dimension it was discovered that police indicate that the elderly, clergymen, professionals and shop owners are the most willing citizen groups to cooperate with police, while teenagers, militants, prostitutes,

and drug users are the least willing to cooperate with police.

The perception dimension was divided into police perception of others and police perception of self. In turn, perception of others was obtained by considering police perceptions of general community issues, minority group issues, and law enforcement and related issues. Officers who are black, who reside in the suburbs, who have few years of experience, who have had at least some college education, and who express a relatively high level of job satisfaction are more likely to be favorable toward the community and minority groups, and are less likely to express the desire to isolate the police department from the community than officers who are white, who reside within the city, who have many years of experience, who have had no college education, and who have relatively a low job satisfaction level.

Perception of self was measured by construction of a typology of police role identities. These role identity types were abusive legalist officer, task officer, and community service officer. Police officers in this study are fairly evenly distributed among the three types. The typology was used to describe the link between role identity and perception of others.

This chapter, then, has provided an opportunity to consider how the police officer views his role and the community which he serves.

CHAPTER VI

THE DYNAMICS OF POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION

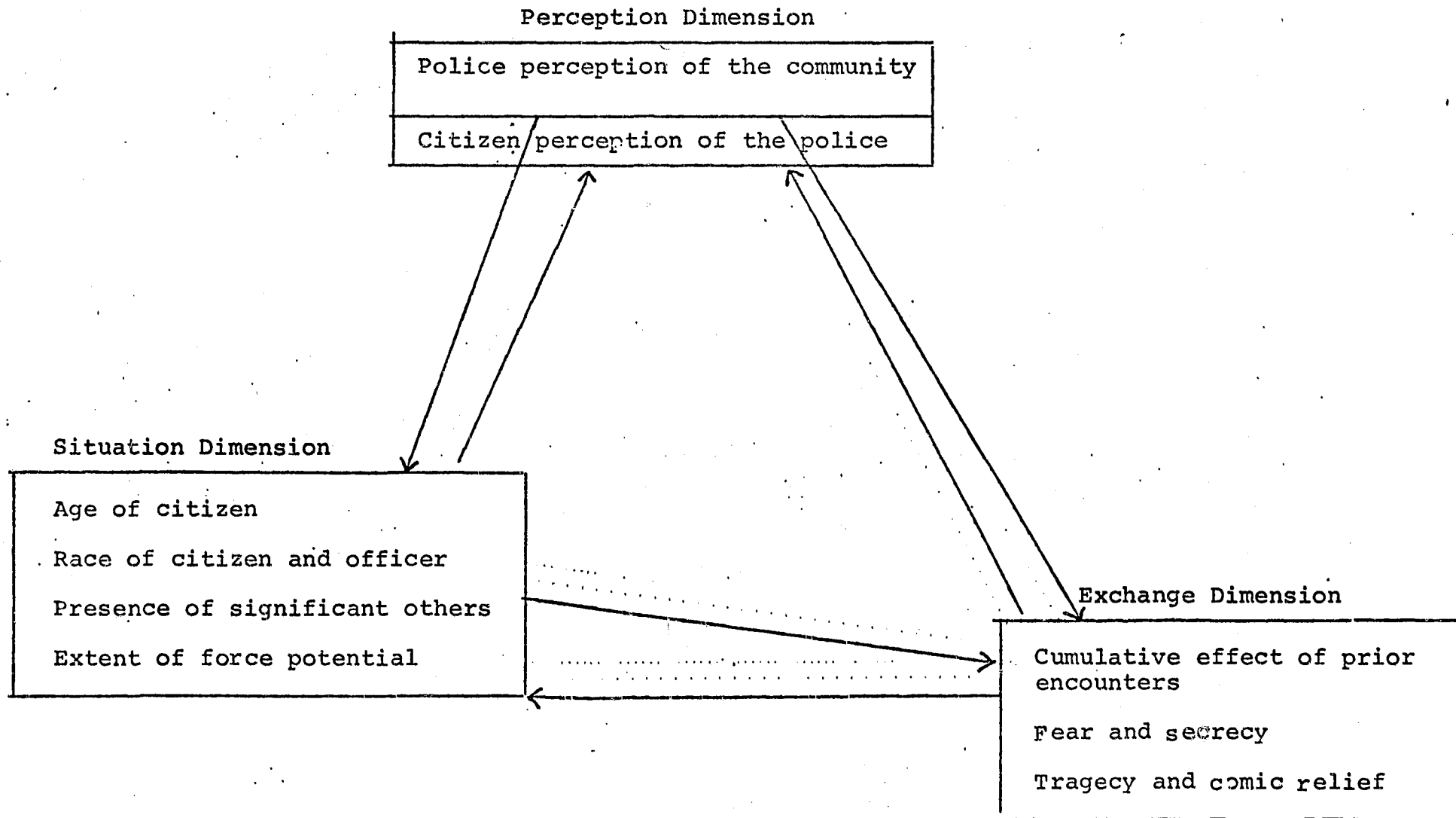A. THE POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL: DYNAMICS OF THE ENCOUNTER

Analysis of the police-citizen interaction model from the citizen perspective and from the police perspective has described a number of dimension factors and interdimensional linkages. Still, there is the feeling that the survey data does not provide an adequate appreciation for the actual on-going, give-and-take of the police-citizen encounter. The principal objective of incorporating an observation data gathering strategy in this study is to further verify or to call into question, if necessary, the findings implied from the survey data and to provide the reader with a more detailed description of the encounter dynamics which was not feasible to obtain through the survey techniques.

Furthermore, analysis of observation data should illustrate the dynamic quality of our theoretical model. To this point, we have been utilizing the model as if it were linear in form, that is, we have moved from the situation dimension to the exchange to the perception dimension. Feedback effects were postulated in the theoretical discussion, but the survey techniques did not permit answers to the question of what effect perceptions ensuing from encounter A would have over time period x on encounter B. Observation data will permit looking at some of the feedback patterns.

The observation data do allow the writer to begin at

FIGURE 8

VARIABLES TO BE INCLUDED IN THE ANALYSIS OF THE DYNAMICS OF THE POLICE-CITIZEN
INTERACTION MODEL

Perception Dimension

Police perception of the community

Citizen perception of the police

Situation Dimension

Age of citizen

Race of citizen and officer

Presence of significant others

Extent of force potential

Exchange Dimension

Cumulative effect of prior encounters

Fear and secrecy

Tragecy and comic relief

a different juncture within the model. One can begin with a general understanding of the officers' perception of the citizens and then move to a consideration of encounter outcomes with considerable emphasis upon situational constraints. We can also return to the dimension of perception, that is, one can follow the effect of previous encounters on further police service and we can infer exchange effects on citizen perceptions of police. Although some indication of citizen perception of police will be developed as specific encounters are described, the perception dimension within this chapter will predominantly refer to police perceptions of citizens and the community. Figure 2 indicates the dimension linkages and factors included in this observation analysis. While most of the links within the police-citizen interaction model are considered at some point the focus of analysis is to simply establish some patterns of relationships concerning the dynamic aspects of the encounter. The observation analysis does not provide a conclusive test of the model.

B.   POLICE PERCEPTION OF THE COMMUNITY RELATED TO ENCOUNTER
      OUTCOMES.

For most policemen, the community is considered to be a turf on which a daily battle is fought between the good guys and the bad guys. The daylight hours are generally controlled by the good guys; the night hours are controlled by the bad guys and the police in an uneasy strain.

It was stated by one officer that the city can be a rather pretty place during the daytime, but that that

condition is only temporary; as darkness falls the real city emerges; the night people come out of their holes to plunder, to struggle for possession, and to generally raise hell!

Other officers advised me to park my automobile as close to the police station as possible for conditions would not be too good as I walked back to it between 12:00 a.m. and 1:00 a.m. Two officers agreed that as far as they were concerned persons on the street after 11:00 p.m. were considered to be either police officers or "people up to no good." Considerable disdain for the people who continued to reside in such a "bad area" was strongly expressed. The assumption seemed to be that if these people lived there, they must be doing so because they profited from crime. Again, as was indicated in the police survey chapter, the dominant explanation of poverty and people living in high crime areas is couched in a free will understanding of man's condition, that is, residents living in the "bad or tough" area of the precinct live there because they choose to do so after considering a number of viable options. These free will notions and disdain for the citizens are accentuated among the white officers, but are nonetheless prevalent among a sizeable group of black officers.

However, a minority of all officers view the community through different colored lenses. They also regard the community as engaged in battle, but the battle is not particularly between good guys and bad guys but rather between the haves and the havenots, neither being wholly good or wholly bad. Several officers felt a need to explain

why conditions were as bad as they were. It was believed
by them that many of the black community were not particularly
supportive of crime, in fact, they were most demonstratively
against violent crime and drug merchants. However, these
persons possessed few power resources to combat crime, and
past experiences with police had led them to distrust the
police department, thus the dominant strategy for handling
crime was to merge into the woodwork, thereby, avoiding as much
victimization as possible. A corollary explanation followed
the argument that living conditions were so meager that
drunkenness, minor assaults, minor drug use, and sexual
permissiveness were only measures taken to overcome the
drudgery experienced during the daylight hours. While the
city may be attractive to some during those hours, those
persons are not the ones residing in the rundown conditions.

Black officers who shared this view of the community
were particularly angered toward the middle class blacks who
had made it but who had quickly forgotten their black brothers.
One particular incident was quite striking in this regard.
The officers were called to a residence to check out a dead
body. An elderly man had died while at the home of some
friends. The home was a two room apartment with rundown
cots for furniture, bare floors and six adults living there
at the time. While waiting for the ambulance to arrive, we
had moved out on to the steps strewen with various forms
of garbage. Across the street a number of well dressed
blacks were observed entering a hotel restaurant. Officer
____, a black, indicated "much of the black man's problem

is due to black fat cats who have it made, but who never look back to see where they came from."

Most police officers shared a feeling that most citizens are apathetic about crime, non-supportive of police, and would display signs of open hostility if given an opportunity. Officers would cite cases of citizens not cooperating, citizens taunting police, and citizens actually plotting to harm policemen. The observer can readily document the feeling of hostility. That is, as one cruises in a scout car in a particular area it is very difficult not to feel the hostility. The car may be moving very slowly down a block; the officers are staring at buildings and people to detect "anything that doesn't seem right;" and the people stare back with faces which only dare the officers to step out of their mobile base to challenge the citizens' presence. In several cases where the stares were more than challenging the officers did stop and question the persons involved. The objective was to probe a situation which somehow looked wrong.

One such incident took place in a back alley. A white male and a black female were washing a panel truck. The windows had been painted over in psychadellic colors preventing anyone from viewing the truck's contents. In this case, the white officer stepped out of the car and started a conversation with the couple about the satisfactory use of the vehicle on the premise   that he was interested in buying such a truck. Eventually the officer worked his way around to the cab and looked inside. This particular officer handled the situation very well; a tense situation ended jovially.

On his return to the scout car, the officer indicated
he had been suspicious that the vehicle had been used to
transport stolen goods. This example, illustrates the ongoing
observation procedures which police employ to detect crime.
Because the public is brought under constant view, it leads
to discomforting experiences; it projects the image that
everyone and every incident is suspect. The result on the
part of the citizen is hostility. The citizen is being
forced to play a role in a game which he does not want to
play. His front porch, his front yard, his alley garage
become public places on which this game is played. His
private and semi-private places are delimited by what is
regarded by many as undue police surveillance.

Each of these general perceptions of the community
provides the officers with a number of role expectations.
The officers who view people choosing to live in his precinct
because they benefit from crime has justified a very legalistic,
coarse, response to individuals. He is justified to be sus-
picious of all outcomes. The majority of these officers do
not like the kind of behavior which they see daily, but for
the most part they correspond to the task role identity
discussed in the last chapter. Those officers who are most
adamant about the community being hostile to policemen
and supportive of crime may fall within the category of
abusive legalist. The following account depicts one such
officer.

A white officer was patrolling the Connecticut Avenue
area one evening, his black partner was doing some paperwork

at the station. The white officer indicated that he liked to work the Connecticut Avenue area because it provided him an opportunity to see how "real people" lived. We had just admiringly observed a couple of scantily clad co-eds. However, he preferred to work the 14th Street area because that was where the action was. He boasted throughout the evening that the previous Saturday he had apprehended an armed robber which involved his shooting the suspect. He further indicated a dislike for working with black officers who only wanted to coddle their own kind. For the most part we did cruise the 14th Street area instead of the Connecticut Avenue area. We were "in search of action."

Officers with the more deterministic explanation of community behavior fall more directly into the categories task and community service. The former are quite sympathetic to community conditions, but use less discretion than do the latter.

C. MAJOR SITUATIONAL FACTORS RELATED TO ENCOUNTER OUTCOMES

Because of the extent of police discretion exercised as to the decision to arrest, oftentimes a situation factor may determine the course of police action taken. Four situation factors seemed to effect encounter outcomes in fairly consistent patterns. These are age, race, presence of significant others and force potential. Each of these relationship patterns will be analyzed separately.

1.   **Age**.   Of particular interest is the officers' relationship with young people.   In many instances police are called to the scene to simply quiet a disorderly, the task is just that, no arrest is necessary.   Generally the youth are asked to move on; if they do, that will be the end of the encounter, however, if they mock the officers beyond a period of time (approximately 5-10 minutes) an arrest may be forthcoming.   In a very real sense then both sets of actors (police and youth) codetermine the outcome of the encounter.   Most officers will follow the path of least resistance particularly when dealing with teenagers, but if antagonized the officer will feel obliged to arrest.

To bait a policeman seems to be a game which many youth enjoy playing.   It becomes a symbol of courage in the eyes of their peers.   For many youth, antagonism for police may represent some thing beyond the elemental level of play.   It may in fact represent an ideological commitment..   Police become for the youth, personifiers of the power which permits ghetto conditions, which preaches equal opportunity but fails to allow all persons to enter the economic race at the same starting gate, and which affords littl opportunity for youth to gain redress for acts committed against the Police in turn become suspicious of youth.   Past experience leads them to be very cautious.   Most policemen do not seem to be openly antagonistic to youth, but most believe that they cannot afford to be pushed too far either.   It is the policeman's belief that youth should be taught to repsect authority, preferably at a young age.

A call requested a checkout be done on a nearby empty parking lot; it had been reported that on the previous evening a car had been stripped and burned out in the same lot. It was suspected that the vandals had been youth. We arrived on the scene at dusk; a number of youth, no older than twelve years of age, were standing on the parking lot when we arrived. The black officer requested that they move on. One young boy resented the request and wanted to force a display of authority. After some ten minutes of debate, and with the imminent threat of arrest for failing to obey a police officer, one of the other boys literally dragged the challenging youth off the lot. In this case, the officer achieved his goal of removing the boys from a private parking lot. And, the rebellious boy did not lose face either for he had had to be dragged from the scene. Although one can only speculate over what may have happened without the friend's intervention, the officer indicated that the boy had been within "an eyelash of a free ride to the station."

Another encounter indicative of problems encountered while dealing with young people occurred at the station. A black youth, approximately 19-20, had been in to pay a fine. The arresting officer was present and the young black was baiting the officer by disclaiming his guilt and indicating that the officer was out to get him. The youth appeared to be rather small for his age but certainly was not afraid of the situation. After much verbal exchange the desk sargeant indicated that the youth

had better move on or he might be staying for a while.
Eventually an older friend convinced the youth to simply
pay his fine and leave.

Many officers go out of their way to talk with children
and to protect them from the criminal justice system. An
example of the latter occurred as two officers decided not
to process a ten year old boy for stealing candy from a
drug store because in their opinion he would be "burned" by
the juvenile authorities. The youth's grandmother was
confronted instead. The officers believed and hoped that
their decision not to officially act would be sufficient
to deter the youth from further attempts at theft.

On several occasions we had the opportunity to show
off the scout car. Oftentimes children were allowed to
operate the siren and loud speaker. The officers indicated
that they believed this informal contact with police might
overcome some of the "hate" propaganda which the children
hear about police. One incident would at least cause one
to question the result of these encounters. On a Friday
night as darkness fell upon the city we were driving the
back alleys and at a stop sign a cute little girl no more
than seven came over to talk to us. After finding out that
I was not a "crook" she indicated that she wanted to talk
into the loudspeaker. Officer ___ asked her what she would
say if they gave her the speaker. Her response: "I want
to warn my friends that Officer Friendly is coming." The
officers were jovial, but the little girl did not have the
opportunity to establish her warning system. This illustration

suggests that the "Officer Friendly" overtures while
certainly not hindering police-community relations simply
become another variable in a favorite game of the community
-- where are the police and what are they doing.

2.   The Presence of Significant Others. The presence
of significant others may have some paradoxical effects upon
the encounter exchanges. Significant others may provide an
audience supportive of increased antagonism toward police;
the example of young boys on the parking lot depicted a group
of boys one of whom became overly antagonistic to the
investigating officers. It may be the case that the boy was
acting out his combative role because it was expected of him
by his audience. One's position in a group may encourage
one to display no signs of fear, to defend his territory,
or to openly invite conflict. The presence of the significant
other may simply be in the mind. The significant other, for
example, may involve membership in a radical organization.
The ideology is ever present and may suffice to shape one's
behavioral response to police whether other members of the
organization are actually present or not. Thus one effect
of significant others is to heighten the level of conflict
between citizen and police.

The obverse may also be true, that is, significant others
serve a tension reducing function. In many instances it is
the action taken by a third person which prevents an arrest
where such police action is inevitable if the citizen were
allowed to continue the exchange with the officer. Continuing

with the above example, intervention by one of the boys
permitted the officer to clear the parking lot without
making an arrest. Another instance occurred illustrating
the positive effect of significant others when officers
were called to a black middle-class section of the police
district on a call that a girl was turning her brother and
his friend in on drug charges. It was apparent upon arrival
that the girl had had a disagreement with the brother's
friend and did not want him back in her house. The boy in
question and his grandmother were observed leaving their
home to go shopping. The officers moved up the street to
confront the boy. They wanted to ask him some questions and
to frisk him for evidence of drug use. Neighbors were looking
on, and the boy did not want to be frisked in public. The
boy became very embarrassed. His grandmother was incensed
over the situation and threatened the officers with a law
suit. After some heated discussion about police right to
question someone "minding their own business" and the right
of a boy to invite his friend into his own home, the black
officer became very irritated. He indicated that the youth
would either be searched there on the street or at the
station. The grandmother seemed to sense the seriousness
of the situation, yielded, and encouraged her grandson to
cooperate. He did, and, no evidence of drugs were found.
The officers warned him to stay away from his friend's
sister and returned to duty. It was considered by the
officers, that the girl for a variety of reasons may have
had an argument with her brother's friend and that she

was trying to use the police as a means of winning the argument. The situation would not have escalated had not the lack of respect and cooperation on the part of the grandmother and grandson existed. However, it was ultimately the grandmother's intervention which prevented more police action.

The effect of significant others on police-citizen interaction seems to be a missing element in many of the current police-citizen interaction studies. And, it may provide a partial answer to the question posed by Reiss which inquired why similar levels of citizen uncivility provoked dissimilar police response.[72] A fairly consistent pattern emerges which suggests that police prefer to handle, at least, nonfelonious acts in an unofficial manner. The mere presence of the officer may evoke uncivility by some civilians; how that emotion is reacted to is quite determined by the presence and action of others. Because the observer was necessarily present in all these encounters, it is impossible to infer what would have occurred if the citizen and officer were to interact in total privacy. It can be said, however, that third persons do influence encounter outcomes. Depending on the strength of their relationship with the citizen, they may enhance or defuse the conflict between the citizen and the officer depending on the significant other's own orientation and sensitivity concerning the threat

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72. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., The Police and the Public, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971). See pages 144-147.

of   risk facing the other citizen.

3.   Race. Race is included here primarily because it
has been seen to be a crucial variable for understanding
citizen evaluation of police and police perception of the
community. As was indicated in the section, perception of
community, within this chapter, a number of officers (black
and white) indicated racial biases, but very few racial
exchange problems were observed during the course of the
field work. And, even these were very covert such as some
officers were observed taking off their hats when entering
middle class white homes while only some black officers
would accord this deferential response in lower class homes.
(To be sure some officers would suggest that such a response
could not be rendered for they would then be out of uniform).

This particular police district has developed an informal
means of reducing much racial tension. When the two-man
patrol consists of a black and a white officer, the black
officer will generally handle affairs with blacks while the
white officer will take the lead when dealing with whites.
One result of this informal strategy is for the initial
conflict, if any should occur, to develop between black
officer and blacks or white officer and whites.

Both the formal and informal policing strategies,
however, accentuate the probabilities of encountering
blacks. The tendency, cited earlier, for officers to
patrol the tough areas may project to citizens that police
are looking harder for suspects in the black community than

in the Spanish or white communities, therefore blacks become involved in more police encounters and are reflected in greater numbers in the crime statistics.

In sum, while only the most subtle forms of inter-personal discrimination was observed, the extensive use of selective law enforcement tended to accentuate encounters with blacks and it is inferred that perception by citizens of such police selectiveness tends to exacerbate encounters with blacks.

4. The Extent of Force Potential and Encounter Escalation. Visual evidence of force potential as reflected by available weapons or number of police officers present also has a rather dramatic impact on encounter escalation. Such force potential whether displayed by the citizen or the police can be an escalating situation factor. When force potential is readily displayed, possibilities for conflict are enhanced. It is obvious that citizens who exhibit weapons present a direct threat to the officer, and the officer will probably respond to the situation with force. The alternatives for handling any given situation are greatly diminished when weapons are present. Presence of police power has more subtle but similar effects upon citizens, i.e., the greater the force the more likely a negative response on part of the citizen. This negative response may not be manifest in the form of direct violence, but more likely will contribute to the community's feeling that the police are using legitimate authority to enforce their own personal standards upon a people.

The awesome omnipresence of police power was acutely in
evidence during the course of observation. The presence
of the SOD and the competition for heavy arrests contributed
to this condition of over policing. Examples of these
kinds of incidents include responses to disorderly, fighting,
man with knife, and man with a gun calls. It was not
irregular to receive such a call, arrive on the scene, and
discover eight to twelve additional scout cars besides old
clothes division and detectives on the scene. Within minutes
most of the scout cars would be dispersed, and it was evident
that the command officers were generally displeased with the
overwhelming response. One might ask why so many people
responded. Several explanations are plausible. If the call
was to a particular area such as 14th and U Street, there
would be so many policemen in the immediate vicinity that
each would expect to arrive on the scene first. Police
saturation of this area was such that often when attempting
to make a left hand turn from 14th on to U the officer would
have to await two scout cars meeting him and then make his
turn, wave at the officer sitting on U Street waiting for
the light to change, and look in his rear view mirror to
see if the scout car following him had made it through
the intersection on yellow. This oversaturation is not
necessarily preplanned. Officers who have a quiet patrol
area will often "drop down" to the more active, colorful
areas. While officers may have nothing but disdain for
the working prostitutes they enjoy watching the action and
are obviously envious of the officers who work that sector.

Much of the manifest citizen response to what would appear to be overreacting is sympathy for the underdog. The writer at this point is not attempting to denegrate policing efforts, however, there does appear to be an optimal response level even for serious incidents both because other sectors of the district need to be serviced and because overresponse tends to alienate citizens. It is almost as if the citizen expects the police officer to play the old western marshal role by facing the man with a gun in a do or die showdown. While contemporary policing need not regress to the former level there is little support for twenty officers to arrive on the scene. The following is an account of one such incident. The call was a man with a gun. Twelve scout cars arrived at the scene. The man had been apprehended by the first two officers arriving. The rest were backup men. A jeering crowd gathered in response to the disturbance. They were ordered to disperse. One lady while walking past me was cussing, "one man with a gun sitting on a car minding his own business and the whole Goddamn police dpeartment has to come. I hate the sons of bitches."

Individual officers are also aware of the subtle effects of the various police power symbols. Officer S_____ on arriving at the scene of a cutting indicated an immediate desire to move on because six other cars had already arrived. His explanation, "if we stay here, we are only asking for trouble. We will draw a crowd. Someone may be tempted to throw a brick, and the riot will be on. I am not that interested in fighting."

A separate incident involved a black experienced officer and a white rookie. Throughout the shift the black officer had indicated to the rookie that he did not need his baton everytime he left the car. At dusk the officers were called to a church to check out a robbery call. Two out-of-town white teenage boys had been held up by four black teenagers. As we drove past the church we could see a group of young blacks standing on and about the steps of the church. As we were getting out of the scout, the rookie reached for his baton; the black officer reacted in no uncertain terms by telling the rookie to leave the "Goddamn night stick in the car before you start World War III. That big stick swinging back and forth on your hip is not necessary. If we get into trouble we still have our guns." It should be noted that other officers would rather use the night stick hoping to reduce the possibility of using the gun. In any case, however, it can be seen that potential force and its affect upon police-citizen relations is recognized by both the citizen and the police. Once the balance is overly weighted the chance for conflict is intensified.

D. PATTERNS OF EXCHANGE WHICH AFFECT ENCOUNTER OUTCOMES

While this entire chapter has focused on the exchange dimension of police-citizen interaction by looking at relationships between police perceptions, situation factors and encounter outcomes, a number of exchange specific issues as they relate to encounter outcomes are discussed in this section. Specifically the effect of previous encounters on

new encounters, the tendency for police to withdraw behind a professional shroud of secrecy, and the need for comic relief during the normal course of facing tragedy will be discussed.

1.   The Cumulative Effect of Prior Encounters. If a sociology professor begins his working day in front of an eight o'clock class and is quickly informed by his irreverent students that his lectures do not reflect the way it is and are totally irrelevant for the context in which they live, one may predict that such an experience would carry over to the next class or to the afternoon faculty meeting. Perhaps our phantom professor stews about his early morning brush with reality for most of the day during which time he manages to alienate many of his friends. By the afternoon faculty meeting his damaged ego is ready to do battle, and he and it take on the department head and full professors over the issue of whether departmental letterhead stationary should remain the traditional $8^1/2$ by 11" or be reduced in size. By the time he arrives home, he is ready for a double scotch and hopes the day will somehow fade into oblivion.

For the sake of argument, the above fairy tale may not be so unreal. And, if it is not so unreal for the sociology professor similar experiences are not really so unreal for persons in other professions. Even the police officer experiences this snowball effect of one encounter's experiences flowing into the next. Recognition of this cumulative affect may make police behavior a little more understandable. At

the very least it will permit insight into the human qualities of the policeman at work.

To illustrate effects of prior encounters, a vignette containing the events occurring on one shift for two officers will be described. This particular vignette neither depicts the most conflictual nor the least con- flictual shift observed. It represents a rather typical shift and illustrates the flow of conflict and non conflict encounters experienced on routine shifts. Both officers are in their middle twenties. The senior officer, Officer S____ is black and has completed some education beyond high school. He recently completed a beginning course in Spanish. He has been on the force for approximately three years. The junior officer, Officer J____, a man who had experienced a number of alternative forms of policing but little patrol experience, is white with some college education and very fluent in Spanish. He has been a policeman for about a year and prefers to walk the beat because it affords him the opportunity to meet people more directly.

The shift was a Saturday, 4:00 p.m. to 12:00 a.m. It became immediately apparent that Officer J____ had a number of problems in adjusting to the scout car situation. Although very conscientious, he seemed unable to fill out the run sheet or handle the radio. After making our first stop, an inconsequential traffic violation, Officer J____ did not insert the information properly on the run sheet. With instructions from Officer S____, Officer J____ scratched

out one entry in order to log the correct information.
S_____ indicated that they would not be able to turn in
that run sheet because the sargeant would not accept the
deleted line. He suggested that it would be best to do
the initial run sheet in pencil to be copied in ink prior
to the close of the shift. After cruising for a while,
we spotted a car running a red light. The man did not
want to pull over; S_____ began cussing that the car had
better pull over soon. The driver finally did and was
out of his car very quickly to complain that he had done
nothing wrong and was in a hurry. S_____ became quite
disturbed that the driver was berating him, and after
indicating that the man had indeed run the light ordered
him to return to his car while S_____ prepared the ticket.
S_____ finished writing the ticket and gave it to the
driver; again a heated argument ensued with the officer
eventually leaving the scene. Officer S_____, on returning
to the car said, "I don't know why people always lie about
traffic violations. I don't stop them unless I actually
see them do something wrong. Everyone wants to get away
with something."

The officers were called to a residence to investigate
a man with a knife. A woman had reported that she had been
threatened with a knife by a man who was visiting next door.
The incident occurred on the front steps and was witnessed
by a number of bystanders. The complainant indicated that
the man had actually drawn the knife. The officers then
walked down a dark hall to a lady's apartment where the man

was visiting. J____ led the way; S____ followed with gun drawn. The middle aged man who had been drinking, was very deferential toward the police officers. He said that the incident had simply been a misunderstanding and that the knife had not been drawn. His story was collaborated by his girl friend. The officers told the suspect not to bother the lady next door again. In turn the man became rather indignant and nearly talked himself into real trouble; his girl friend intervened, calmed the man, and the officers left. J____ questioned some bystanders on the way out. They supported the original story by the complainant. J____ wanted to return to the man and make a bust, but S____ did not concur. The officers returned to the scout. J____ was visibly disturbed with what he believed to be a lack of police action.

The next encounter occurred when a man waved the scout over in an alley to find out how the officers were doing. The subject explained that he would not want to be a policeman. He turned out to be an ex-con and wanted to indicate that he was doing very well as a glass cutter in a local business. He believed the policeman's job to be too dangerous for him. He claimed to know the mentality of the "man in trouble." Discussion centered on a gunbattle which had occurred that week in a local restaurant. The man indicated that if he were involved in a hold up again and saw the blue uniform he would not hesitate to shoot, of course, he would never be involved in that kind of situation again. J____ used the opportunity to congratulate the man for his success and to reinforce his obligation to report to his parole officer.

J____ was very interested in continuing the conversation; after fifteen minutes, however, S____ decided it was time to cruise.

The scout then received a "man with a gun" call. Unfortunately, we were on the wrong side of the precinct. By the time we arrived, the situation was under control. A man had been threatening passerbys. We stopped for a few minutes and then left. Both officers indicated dismay that they had been out of position and could not respond quickly enough.

After some routine cruising, a call was received to handle a disorderly at a theater. The address given did not exist. After a number of recheck calls to the station, we went into a Spanish speaking theater. Both officers had an opportunity to use their Spanish and the explicit nude scenes provided a topic of conversation for the following half hour.

Since it was after 9:00 o'clock it was decided we should eat. We purchased our food and parked in an isolated location. Both officers stated that we were sure to receive a call since we had finally stopped for lunch. A general call requesting any Spanish speaking officers to acknowledge came over the radio. S____ and J____ just looked at each other. The call was reissued about five minutes later. The officers decided they had better acknowledge. Officers in another precinct needed the assistance of a Spanish speaking officer. We indicated that we would assist. We remained where we were however for a while until we had

finished eating. When the scout arrived on the scene,
Officer J____ took charge since he was very fluent in
Spanish. It was ascertained that the woman had been
kicked in the face by her husband (the responding officers
had found her lying in the street and had apprehended the
husband) and was willing to issue a complaint. Officer J____
went to the station to interrogate the husband. A number
of other officers watched but could not understand what
Officer J____ was doing. The man was eventually held.
Officer J____ felt a sense of accomplishment having done
something that the other men could not do. We went back
in service shortly before midnight.

We were actually in route to headquarters to do the
necessary paperwork on the evening's events when we were
called to a shooting. The location boardered the 4th
District. One of their scouts had arrived just before us.
Three men had been playing cards in the yard when a fourth
man appeared wanting their money. One of the card players
had been shot in the leg. The intruder had fled by the time
we arrived. The officers from District 4 obtained the
description of the man and therefore had the responsibility
for issuing a lookout. While preparing to cruise, J____
questioned why the District 4 officers were slow in having
the lookout broadcast on all frequencies. The broadcast
never occurred and J____ was incensed. He believed that
they had stumbled on to a "hot one" and that the man could
have been apprehended. Officer S____ discounted J____'s
concern because it had been a minor shooting. J____ felt

that any shooting was major; besides the man may have been hit in the leg only because the intruder was a poor shot. It was apparent that Officer S____ believed J____ took his job too seriously.

This rather lengthy account of one evening's work for two officers should depict the interlacing effect of various police-citizen encounters. It is apparent here that J____'s lack of patrol experience contributed to several miscommunications between the scout and the station. These errors were disconcerting to both J____ and S____. The resulting confusion led to some tension between the two officers, and between the two officers and the station. At some times, for example, the demonstrative driver and the irritated man accused of threatening the woman with a knife provided opportunities for the officers to redirect any ill feelings toward a third person.

A second point of tension simply emerged from the two oppositional policing styles reflected by S____ and J____. S____ was interested in doing an adequate job, reducing personal risk, and more or less keeping the lid on. J____, however, tended to be much more meticulous. Keeping the lid on was not sufficient. As in the example of the man accused of pulling a knife, J____ wanted to sift out the underlying factors which led to the complaint.

Third, it is apparent from the observations that a citizen could push S____ to a point where he would become quite indignant. If his judgment or right of authority were seriously questioned, he would respond in an excited

manner. If the next interaction occurred soon after the first, excitability was achieved at a quicker rate. For example the disturbing traffic violation was followed by the man with a knife complaint. At the same time, subtle differences were occurring throughout these incidents. The continued communication problems between J____ and the station became rather grating for S____.

As in most prolonged interaction there are balancing factors occurring which tend to support the overall interaction process. In this case, a number of factors permitted a congenial relationship between the two officers beyond the requirement of the job. First, there was the common interest in Spanish. J____ was regarded as the teacher on this subject. Second, S____ was somewhat interested in training the neophyte patrol officer. And, third, J____'s willingness and desire to learn the patrol task complemented S____.

Another condition which reduces the overall escalation of conflict is the individual encounter variances. While a number of encounters resulted in some high escalation of conflict, they were generally spread out over the entire shift. Some jovial or at least low conflict encounters provided the necessary balance. As seen in the prior section, a number of situation factors may codetermine the encounter outcomes. It is apparent from this section that citizen responses to police, police responses to citizens, and police responses to police also interact to determine encounter outcomes.

2. <u>Fear, Secrecy and Misperceptions as they Affect
Encounter Outcomes</u>. A second major exchange pattern which
emerges from the observation data is the unwillingness or
inability of police officers to involve or acknowledge citizen
interest with law enforcement. This tendency may be explained
by the officers' fear of danger. The result of this fear is
tendency of police to become very secretive about police
affairs. Secrecy may also be partially explained by their
inability to distinguish the principal characteristics of
differing life styles. The end result is an inordinate
dependence upon professional argot.

A working assumption which underpins this study is
that, short of a police state, citizen cooperation is necessary
for efficient and meaningful law enforcement. There is need
for citizen involvement in crime detection, reporting and
prosecution. Recognition that the total community has re-
sponsibility for its social control policy and administration
may serve to eradicate the interpretation that police-community
relations implies the existence of an outside force which
seeks to restrain a powerless assortment of individuals
residing within a given geographical space. It is hoped
that most law enforcement officials and most students of
criminology acknowledge the efficacy of a cooperative law
enforcement model. The question remains, what are the
factors which tend to impede actualization of such a model.

In many instances officers consciously or unconsciously
overuse professional argot. The effect is to secret the

officer's knowledge of a situation from the complainant or victim. Four accounts will serve to exemplify this point.

The first case involves a middle-age black male who flagged the scout to a halt as it was cruising. A group of youths had put a stone through his automobile's rear window. The complainant knew the location of the youth who had thrown the stone but did not know his address. The officers followed the man to where the youth lived. In such cases, the scout remains in service because there is no address to be referred to the station. Before arriving at the youth's home, a service call to respond to an accident and transport another youth to the hospital had been received. This meant that the officers would be unable to handle the man's complaint. The officers continued following the man until they arrived at the home of the boy who had allegedly thrown the rock. The mother of the youth came out to talk with the men. She would not pay for the window unless the other youths' parents also paid. Officer B____ then informed the complainant that he would have to go to the precinct station to have the case handled. The officer indicated that he had received another <u>run</u> and would have to leave. The complainant was dumbfounded and upset. He was expressing discontent with the type of service received as the officers walked away.

It would seem that the use of the word "run" with no further explication created confusion for the citizen. The complainant perceived a scene in which he had requested

police assistance, but in which police officers were not apparently meeting their responsibilities. As indicated above there certainly was sufficient procedural justification for the officers to leave the scene, however, conflict and misperceptions could have been diminished had the officer simply said immediately on arriving, "While in route, we received a call to assist a car accident injury. We have requested another officer to come to this location and assist you." Or, "After handling the emergency case, we will return to assist." Thus, the incident is a case in which the professional argot, whether used knowingly or not, precipitated a poor police-citizen encounter and probably had unfavorable impact on the citizen's perception of police. Furthermore, the juvenile and his mother may have been led to believe that enforcement of rule breaking is not consistent and therefore not to be respected or feared.

A second illustration of professional argot becoming a veil between police and citizen results from a service call that a girl had been criminally assaulted. The two officers with whom I was cruising and a detective responded. A paper boy met the officers at the door and wanted to know what they were doing. The officers raced upstairs to the apartment with the paperboy following. The detective took charge and asked the mother if her daughter was home. Her mother indicated that the girl had been gone for two hours and that she was beginning to worry about the girl. Detective ___ indicated that they had received a report of a criminal assault, but that it apparently was not factual. At that

point, the paper boy intervened to collect his money. After much consternation, the officers removed the boy from the scene. The woman was left very abruptly. She was becoming very excited and no explanation of the circumstances nor any reassurance was provided by the officers. The building halls were searched. Nothing was found, and no one returned to the mother to provide any additional information.

Conversation among the officers and the detective made it clear that they suspected the call had been the result of a crank or that the girl, herself, had made the call. The crystalizing factor here for understanding exchange patterns is that the officers had failed to confide in the mother. And, that these basic kinds of information may have reduced the tension for the mother. Follow-up would also have been helpful.

A third example comes from an observation which took place within the police station. Four blacks, one older professor type and three Howard students, arrived to act as witness to brutality. According to them, two police officers had "assaulted" a man in front of a hotel and had then taken him away in a scout car. It was believed that they had brought the man to the station. The witnesses had copied the scout number and license number. It was their desire to relate to the suspect that they were willing to support him.

The Desk Sargeant's response to the situation was two-fold: plead ignorance and "pass the buck." He first indicated that the officers were not Third District men.

The scout number was an SOD (Special Operations Division) and
these men were not under his jurisdiction. After being
pressed further by the witnesses, he indicated that the men
were probably downstairs in the interrogation room, but he
would not call down to verify that point. After considerable
verbal exchange the black man turned to the students saying,
"This simply illustrates routine police action." Thereafter,
the foursome left.

Here, then, is an example of citizens desiring to take
part in making law enforcement responsible. They may have
been in error as far as judging the particular situation as
an example of police brutality. But, no discernible attempt
was made by the police department to inform the citizens of
their right of formal complaint or to provide the group with the
necessary information to refute their initial judgment.

The last example to be discussed illustrates the
operational dysfunction of police distrust and perceived need
for secrecy. The officers received a call to assist a police-
woman who had to check out a child abuse complaint. The
scout arrived at a rather poorly appearing hotel on 14th
Street. At the foyer, two black men with their shirts off
were sitting drinking beer. One of them asked the police-
woman what she wanted. She ignored him and rushed to the
elevator. The man was quite offended mumbling that it was
his job to see what people entering the building wanted and
he would find out what she was up to. On arriving at the
apartment in question, the young lady knocked on the door.
No response. She knocked at the neighbor's door and the

lady answered indicating that she knew nothing. Meanwhile

the man from the foyer arrived. The policewoman asked him

if he knew if Mrs._____ was in. He became very indignant,

"Hell no, I don't know, and if I did I wouldn't tell you.

It's my business to know what happens in this building.

I am the hotel manager. If you hadn't been so uppity I

might have helped. But you do your own thing now." At

that point, he spun around and descended in the elevator.

The policewoman's only response was, "Well."

This example clearly indicates the effect of not

providing citizens with at least minimal information about

what is occurring. If the citizen sees the game as being

their side against the police, he will very likely play

according to those rules.

3.   The Inevitable Tragedies of Police Work and Comic

Relief. Studies of medical doctors (Goffman), clergy (Glaser

and Strauss)[73] and other professionals who encounter tragedy

or potential tragedy as an inherent part of their job, develop

a number of on the job escapes which function as comic relief.

For the doctor there is much joking about intricate surgical

problems or for the clergyman many of the most sacred symbols

are mocked within the privacy of the seminary walls or

among colleagues. In most cases, these indulgences in comic

73.   Erving Goffman, "Role Distance," in Encounters, (New
York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. 1961), 85-152; and Barney
G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss ,Awareness of Dying, (Chicago,
Ill.: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965).

relief occur in backstage areas and tend to be functional, i.e., they provide the professional with a means of balancing and handling semi-tragic experiences without jeopardizing relations with his clientel.

In many respects the police officer faces a similar array of potentially tragic conditions. These conditions may even be more intensified since tragedy may more directly involve himself or his friends. It should be evident then that police officers may benefit from formalized comic relief. It is the contention of this writer that informal mechanisms are employed by the patrol officer some of which occur in private places having little appreciable effect on police-community relations while others although perhaps not particularly harmful to the participants may be viewed by onlookers as being excessively abusive and thereby un-favorably affecting police-community relations.

A rather innocuous illustration of a comic relief mechanism is the "hummer." The hummer can be defined as a questionable bust. Some overzealous officer interested in acquiring court time may make an arrest under uncertain circumstances. For example, one man was arrested for eliminating his kidneys on a dark public street. When the arresting officer called in for his run numbers to indicate disposition of the incident, a humm was heard on the radio. It is common to hear a humm over the police radio, when fellow officers are suspicious of the arresting officer's motivations for making the arrest, hence the "hummer."

Another rather common occurrence is the "homosexual strip," i.e., a male homosexual is forced to strip down at the precinct station on the pretense of search.[74] Station officers and other officers ham up the scene with typical stripper tunes and applause. It is a happy time for all with the exception of the stripper. In addition to the detrimental effect such action may have on the "deviant" potential negative reaction toward the department is great if a citizen should walk in and witness the scene. Even though the "strip" usually occurs in a semi-private place the value of such comic relief mechanisms is highly questionable.

A last example of informal comic relief approximates very closely the nonchalant posture of doctors and clergy when working with dying persons or dead bodies. Police officers response to the man down (drunk) is often seen as an escape from a potentially tragic situation. Usually a man down poses little threat to the responding officer. The incident recounted here occurred in a very "class" area on Conn. Ave. where many respectable citizens are seen at restaurants or night clubs. Police officers were called to respond to a man down. On arrival a caucasion male was found inebriated to the point of unconsciousness. Not being

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74. The observer witnessed such a "strip" only once but a sargeant indicated that such practice still occurs rather often. It should be noted that homosexuals are often described as the most despicable creatures on the street. They are seen as antithetical to most of what the policeman considers to be good, e.g., masculinity.

a transport vehicle, the senior officer radioed for a wagon.
The driver, a huge man, stepped out and immediately said,
"Oh that's old _____. We pick him up most every night."
After trying to arouse the person, the driver simply bent
over picked up the man by his belt and carried him to the
wagon. The whole scene in context was so incredulous that
it was very comical to the officers present. The drunk
certainly was not being physically abused and it was
probably the only laughable event of the evening. However,
the scene was not perceived as funny by passerbys. Many
well-dressed men and women stopped to stare, and one man
ran half a block to inquire whether something was wrong. This
is an example of a rather harmless occurrence, which due to
its public location probably unfavorably affected citizen
perception of police behavior.

It should be understood, then, that the officer's need
for comic relief affects the kinds of exchanges which occur
between him and citizens. On most occasions, he will be most
serious and respectful. At other times, however, he may view
an incident as being quite inconsequential or at least lacking
in threat of danger and will therefore let down his reserve
and make a joke out of the situation. These incidents may,
however, if they occur in public places be misinterpreted by
the public. It should probably be pointed out that the
comic relief mechanism serves to reduce the escalation effect
produced by previous encounters thus the need for structured
comic relief mechanisms may be desirable.

E.   SUMMARY

In this chapter, the dynamics of police-citizen inter-
action have been probed. By observing actual encounters,
it has been possible to make a number of assertations about
the patterns of interrelationships among the police-citizen
interaction model dimensions: perception, situation, and
exchange and encounter outcomes.

Discussion concerning police perception of the community
was quite consistent with the survey data on the same topic
appearing in Chapter V. Furthermore, observation tended to
support the posited relationship between police perception
of the community and the role identity typology. It was shown,
at least to some extent, that officers with a low evaluation
of the public sought out potentially conflictual encounters.
Although not definitively proven within this study, one could
further suggest that persons with these perceptions in fact
tend to escalate many of the encounters in which they participate.
In other words certain officers because of their expectations
precipitate conflict.

Among the situational factors affecting encounter outcomes,
four were highlighted: age, presence of significant others,
extent of force potential and race. Consistent with survey
findings both within Chapter IV and Chapter V, it was discovered
that an inordinate amount of police service is directed toward
the young and blacks. And, citizen hostility toward the police
seems to be highest among the young and particularly black
youth. It has been suggested that these young people play a
sophisticated game with the police -- a game of keeping tabs

on police whereabouts and challenging police officers to take
assertive action. It was also shown that in many instances
the presence of a significant other will influence the out-
come of a police-citizen encounter. As the illustrations
suggested the significant other may encourage or discourage
further conflict between the citizen and the police officer.
The extent of force potential has also been shown to have an
effect on encounter outcomes and citizen perception of police.
Too much force potential precipitates gathering of crowds,
sympathy for the underdog (the suspect), and unfavorable
reaction to police.

Exchange patterns also influence encounter outcomes.
Prior interactions with citizens or police officers may
influence the next interaction. Particularly, conflictual
encounters may create an atmosphere in which the next encounter
is more likely to be regarded in the same vein. It should be
noted that the longer the elapsed time between service calls
the more likely the officer will "cool down." Also, supportive
encounters occurring randomly throughout the shift have a
ening effect upon overall conflict escalation. One of
the underlying results of the perceived dangers threatening
police officers is the chain of response which begins with
fear and leads to increased secrecy, misperceptions of citizen
behavior and reliance upon professional argot. Misperceptions
of citizen behavior and over use of professional argot tend
to create unfavorable encounters and reactions to police.
Due to the constant threat of danger and exposure to tragedy,
police officers like other public service professionals have

a need for comic relief. A number of informal comic relief mechanisms are used by police officers. Some of these are quite useful and have no effect upon police image. Others, however, are quite repugnant to the public and have negative effects upon public perception of police, and, therefore, may lead to unfavorable police citizen interaction.

This chapter, then, has depicted how the dynamics of police-citizen encounter may be affected by a number of impinging factors. How these factors interrelate will do much in determining encounter outcomes.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

A.   THE POLICE-CITIZEN INTERACTION MODEL

A process model has been constructed to describe
police-citizen interaction, and data analyzed to
empirically depict some of the linkages of the model.
Due to the nature of the data all linkages could not be
handled in this work; the process of triangulation,
however, has permitted bringing together a number of data
techniques and data sources which together provide a
fairly comprehensive picture of police-citizen interaction.
Together, the theoretical model and the triangulation
strategy indicate that police-citizen interaction can
probably best be studied as an ongoing process. A number
of variable relationships can be isolated and predictions
made as to encounter outcomes, but the key to those out-
comes are the actual give and take exchanges which occur
on the street.

The police-citizen interaction model consists of three
major dimensions which in turn consist of a number of
factors. The three dimensions are situation, exchange and
perception. Each dimension has been shown to have some
effect on the other two. The major encounter outcome
studied here was the attitude or perception of other
before, during, and after the encounter.

Dimension factor relationships are too numerous to
be specified once again, but the major contributions of

the study can be indicated. First, by far the major thrust of the work has been the explication of police-citizen interaction as ongoing process between citizens and police which necessitates a methodological strategy and a theoretical model that attempt to encompass the breadth of that process. The emphasis upon the process and the rich description which has emerged from handling police-citizen interaction as process will hopefully move additional research away from rather static models toward models of process. Second, the interactionist perspective which has guided the study has depicted the influence of significant others and how they may influence police-citizen encounter outcomes. This acknowledged influence should fill a void which was apparent in previous studies of police-citizen interaction. Third, a typology of police role identities has been developed which suggests that police may be differentiated by their understanding of their own role as law enforcement officers within the community context. Fourth, the citizen's evaluation of the quality of his experience with police is more directly related to his overall assessment of police for whites, persons over thirty-five and for females than for blacks, persons under thirty-five and males. And, fifth, a number of previous findings have been supported or called into question. For example age and race were seen to be principal situation factors influencing encounter outcomes, as expected, while policeman's place of residence, at least on the surface, seems to be related quite differently to to community perception than expected.

B.   RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROGRAMMATIC OR POLICY CHANGES

The original purposes for the study went beyond the desire
to more adequately describe the process of police-citizen
interaction. These purposes also included the hope that some
pragmatic suggestions could be inferred from the findings. It
is recognized that many of the problems of police-citizen inter-
action stem from the structure of the police organization; a
structure which may either support and reward prejudice and
abusiveness on the part of officers or retard such abusive
performances and accelerate community participation in the area
of law enforcement. Therefore the following recommendations are
suggested for implementation by police organizations to facilitate
favorable police-citizen encounters.

1.   Education of Police Officers on Interpersonal
Relations. While a number of departments, and the Pilot
District Project in particular, have embarked on a mission
to educate police on interpersonal relations, much of the
course content has simply focused on minority relations.
This in itself is quite laudable, however, it would appear
that there are some very basic interpersonal skills which
should be requisite for the police officer on the street.
These skills go beyond recognition of one's own or of
other's prejudices. A better understanding of the inter-
action ritual may enable police to avoid conflictual
encounters. Recognition of the positive influence of
significant others might, for example, cause officers to
more actively seek citizen assistance and to more properly
utilize such assistance when offered.

2.   Establish Formal Policy on Communications Concerning
Police Affairs.   If by police-community relations, one implies
some sort of police-community responsibility for crime control
and if it is recognized that meaningful law enforcement is
impossible without community support, some minimal openness
and involvement needs to be offered to the public. A policy
should be established which emplores the officer to communicate
the nature of his buisness in understandable terms, of course,
without jeopardizing his own safety or the safety of others.
The role of the police officer within the community can be
likened to the role of the participant observer. Each needs
certain kinds of information in order to be successful. Each
has a large array of information at his own disposal. It would
be the contention, here, that each has certain nonessential
information which can be used in trade-offs to gain access
to additional, required information without compromising the
research or the law enforcement effort. If the public
apathy is to be eroded, if the veil between the police and
the public is to be lifted, the police must exhibit a greater
willingness to incorporate the citizen into an active,
meaningful partnership.

3.   Establish Policy on Placing Officers in Alternative
Job Tasks After They Have Experienced Conflictual Encounters.
This recommendation is simply a modification of already existing
policy in many police departments. When an officer fires his
revolver in the line of duty he is often suspended until the
incident has been satisfactorily investigated. The recommendation,

here, is to insure that conflictual encounters are not followed by additional conflictual encounters. During the course of a shift a considerable amount of paper work is acquired. Most often this paperwork is completed at the end of a shift. It may be helpful after a particularly conflictual encounter for the officer to return to the station to do some of the paper work at that time providing him with a cooling-off period. It may be the case that both officers are involved, or it may be the case that the scout car can be kept on the street as a one man unit.

4.   Education of Public on Police Tasks and Community Responsibility for Crime Control. The public is often an uninformed partner in crime control. In order to actively involve citizens in crime control, it would be desirable to provide citizens instruction on the multiple functions of police, on the problems confronted daily by police, and on the way in which citizens can not only aide in crime control but can prevent crime by attacking the underlying causes of crime, e.g., poverty, unemployment, and the general reduction of legitimate opportunities within the community. In a very real sense the community has abdicated its role of providing social services to its citizens by expecting the police to be both enforcer and community psychiatrist. A consequence of a heightened awareness of its crime control responsibilities on the part of the community should be increased community participation within the police structure. Focus of this participation should

not only be directed toward reducing police abuse of citizens, but also toward widening the community and police base for eradicating the causes of crime.

5.   Establish Formal Comic Relief Mechanisms. Although it has been shown that persons, such as police, who routinely confront the possibility of tragedy while on the job need some means of escape or comic relief, some of these mechanisms tend to exacerbate police-citizen relations. Comic relief mechanisms should occur in private and should not involve the demeaning of citizens. The "hummer" is an example of the sort of mechanisms which is needed and acceptable.

C. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

1.   Type of Theoretical Model to be Used. Because it is believed that the process and interactionist perspective on police-citizen interaction is a rich, descriptive perspective, it is suggested that additional police-citizen interaction research continue to focus on the process of interaction. Certainly alternative process models could be experimented with.

2.   Generate Additional Data for the Various Links Among the Police-Citizen Interaction Model Dimensions. While alternative models may be developed, it would be worthwhile to generate alternative data bases which could get at some of the links within the police-citizen interaction model which were either left out or handled very generally due to

the nature of the data supporting this study. In particular, it would be most interesting to follow up a sizeable number of citizens after they have encountered the police. One would have the data from the observations, data from past encounter interviews, and the citizen could be followed for an extended period of time to document any further encounters with police. This design would provide the data needed for the construction of a citizen role identity typology, for assessing the feedback of perceptions into overt acts, and for assessing the citizen's acknowledgment of the effect of significant others.

It would also be interesting to conduct a police survey on perceptions of the community and citizen exchange characteristics, and then observe the same police in on-the-street encounters. Again, one would have a better idea of any direct linkage between perceptions and overt actions.

And, last it would be most helpful for generalization purposes to have comparative data on a number of police departments representing city, suburban, and rural departments. Thus, replication of a process study of police-citizen interaction is desirable.

APPENDIX

DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS*

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*   Because the original questionnaires were devised to get at broader community concerns than police-citizen interaction, only those questions actually reported in this study are included here. A very small segment of each questionnaire was actually utilized.

Citizen Survey

1. Have you had any occasion to talk to a policeman in the past year?

      Yes _____
      No _____

2. Can you tell me what it was all about?

      Making a complaint after being victim of crime.
      Getting a ticket for motor vehicle violation.
      Being arrested (minor charge).
      Being arrested (major charge).
      Other (explain: _____).

3. How do you think the police handled the situation?

      Very well.
      Fair, did his job, did what he had to do.
      Not too well, not as good as he should have done it.
      Poorly.

4. How did you feel about the way he treated you as a person?

5. Would you say that in general the police in this neighborhood are doing a very good job, a fair job, or not too good a job?

      Very good.
      Fairly good.
      Not too good.
      Don't know.

6. Compared to other neighborhoods, do things go on here, not only crime but also other things, that give the neighborhood a bad name?

      Yes _____
      No _____

7. Do you think the police get along better, worse, or about the same with the people who live in this neighborhood as they do with people in other neighborhoods in Washington?

    Better
    Worse
    About the same
    Don't know

8. Sex

    Male
    Female

9. Race

    Negro
    White
    Other

10. Appromixate age: _____.

Police Survey

1. Present Residence

    Northeast D.C.
    Southeast D.C.
    Northwest D.C.
    Southwest D.C.
    Prince Georges County
    Montgomery County
    Arlington County
    Fairfax County
    Alexandria County
    Other

2. Year Appointed _____.

3. Race

    White
    Negro
    Other

4.   Highest year of school completed:

        Less than ninth
        Nine years
        Ten years
        Eleven years
        Twelve years
        One year of college
        Two years of college
        Three years of college
        Four years of college
        Some education beyond bachelor degree

5.   Considering police work as a whole, how well do you like it?

        Very much
        Fairly well
        Don't like it too well
        Don't like it at all

Cooperation Items:

        Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how
        willing to cooperate with police would you say operators
        of pool halls, bars and shoe shine parlors are?

        0_____100%

        not willing at all   completely willing

7.   Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how
     willing to cooperate with police would you say other
     shop owners and managers are?

8.   Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how
     willing to cooperate with police would you say professional
     men are?

9.   Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how
     willing to cooperate with police would you say ordinary
     working-class citizens are?

10. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how
     willing to cooperate with police would you say clergymen
     are?

11. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how willing to cooperate with police would you say teen-agers are?

12. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how willing to cooperate with police would you say landlords are?

13. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how willing to cooperate with police would you say civic leaders are?

14. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how willing to cooperate with police would you say prostitutes are?

15. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how willing to cooperate with police would you say foreign-speaking people are?

16. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how willing to cooperate with police would you say drug users and petty hustlers are?

17. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how willing to cooperate with police would you say members of militant groups are?

18. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how willing to cooperate with police would you say ex-convicts are?

19. Regardless of how much contact you have with them, how willing to cooperate with police would you say elderly people are?

Perception Items:

The statements that follow are opinions or ideas held by different people. Some people agree with them and some disagree. We would like to know what you think about these statements. Please circle the one choice for each statement which comes closest to stating your opinions.

20. You have to judge the behavior of people living in poverty areas by different standards than those living in better parts of the city.

strongly agree	agree	not sure probably agree	not sure probably disagree	disagree	strongly disagree

21. People in poverty areas don't really care about how they live or having a nice home.

22. When minority groups complain, they just want to gripe and make trouble.

23. All the laws should be enforced in the same way for all persons, without regard to type of community, circumstances or racial and cultural differences.

24. If the truth were known about poor people it is that they are lazy and don't really want to work.

25. One of the main causes of poverty is lack of moral strength and will power.

26. People from outside the police profession can tell police little or nothing about how to do police work.

27. People living in poverty areas deserve as much respect and kind treatment as anyone else.

28. Most of the time I can't understand why people from minority groups behave the way they do.

29. People in the community don't understand what policemen have to put up with.

30. Most of all this country needs more respect for law and order.

31. Most people have no special feelings, positive or negative, about the police.

32. Anyone willing to work can get a suitable job today.

33. Sociology and social research are not relevant to police work.

34. In order to preserve police morale and effectiveness, all members of the department should close ranks to protect one another from all outside criticism.

35. The main cause of riots and civil disorders is disrespect for the law.

36. As many laws are broken by people living in well-to-do neighborhoods as in poverty areas.

37. Well-to-do citizens have few complaints about police behavior.

38. People in the community have no understanding of the duties and responsibilities of a policeman.

39. Most minority group members are satisfied with their way of life.

40. The greatest percentage of criminals comes from minority groups because minority group people are criminally inclined.

41. Juvenile delinquency is mostly found in lower-class, minority groups.

42. Demands now being made by minority groups for more jobs and equal treatment under the law are not justified.

43. A few professional agitators are causing all our social unrest. If it weren't for them there would be no trouble.

44. It doesn't do any good to talk things over with people from minority groups because all they understand is force.

45. People with different social backgrounds can hardly be expected to understand or get along with each other.

46. Kind and considerate treatment of the criminal only encourages further law-breaking.

47. Most people respect policemen and appreciate the work they do.

48. Generally speaking, there are two kinds of people: respectable citizens and lawbreakers.

49. It is all right for a respectable citizen to possess a gun, but unwise to let people in poverty areas have them.

50. If people in poverty areas were provided nice homes they would soon turn them into slums.

51. Charges of police brutality are raised only by criminals and lawbreakers who want to avoid punishment for their own behavior.

52. Very few real problems exist between the police and community in this district,

53. All people in poverty areas want is a handout without working for it.

54. The community always blames the police for whatever goes wrong in their area.

55. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

56. People live in poverty areas only because they are lazy and unwilling to help themselves.

57. Human nature being what it is there will always be riots and civil disorder.

Role Identity Questions:

In each pair check the one statement that you personally consider the most important of the two.

58. Enforcing the accepted standards of decency _____

   Helping people solve their problems _____

59. Enforcing the accepted standards of decency _____

Enforcing the law _____

60. Enforcing the law _____

Helping people solve their problems _____

Field Observation Recording Form*

Roles played	Deference			Demeanor		
Citizen:	Very de-ferential	Civil	Antag-onistic	Very de-ferential	Civil	Antag-onistic
Complainant						
Victim						
Suspect/offender						
Informant						
Bystander						
Police:						
Adversary						
Peacemaker						
Public servant						
Documentor						

Situation Factors

Age: Child, Teenager, Young Adult, Middle Age, Elderly
Sex: Male, Female
Race: Black, White, Other
Social Class: Lower, Middle, Upper
Presence of Significant Others: Yes, No (If Yes, explain)
Hardware:
Time: Daylight, Dark
Location: Private Place, Public Place

* The forms used in the field were coded by only using one or two letters.

Exchange Factors

	Police	Citizen
Cost	Respect	Respect
	Physical Harm	Physical Harm
Reward	Respect	Respect

Type of Incident: Felony, Misdemeanor, Traffic Violation, Suspicious Person, Non-Criminal Dispute

Initiated By: Citizen, Police

Outcome of Encounter: Arrest, Released in Field

Overall Evaluation of Officers: Abusive Legalist Officer, Task Officer, Community Service Officer

Overall Evaluation of Encounter: Community Service, Routine, Conflictual.

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