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Police Resistance to Police Community Relations: The Emergence of the Patrolman Subculture

Perhaps no introduction to the problems between police and the community could be more appropriate than Max Frankel's introduction to Rights in Conflict [1].

We are known for our violence, we Americans. The creative violence with which we hand down the good for what we fancy as better. The cruel violence with which we have treated red men and black. The intoxicating violence of our music and art. The absurd violence of our comics and cartoons. The organized violence of our athletic and corporate games. The coarse violence of our speech, even our jokes. And now we have come violently to disagree about the nature of our violence in Viet Nam or Dallas or Watts or Hiroshima. We seek the primitive within ourselves and bemoan the failure of affluence to civilize. Our young deplore the violence of the old and are tempted to use violence against them. The old deplore the ferocity of the young and are tempted to use violence to suppress them.

Thus, within the framework of our society and deeply imbedded within our culture, there exist certain needs, wishes, desires, and defects which seem incapable of being addressed through police community relations [2].

Nevertheless, certain responsibilities must be shared by both police departments and citizens. Each must help the other, both require each other and, together, each affects the other. Unfortunately both misunderstand each other to the point of mutual distrust.

Not only are society and the police forces it created progressively becoming alienated, our nation itself is moving toward two societies—one black, one white, both separate and unequal [2].

As the complexities and problems of society increase there is an accompanying demand on government in general, and police in particular, to address these needs. It is problematical as to which government agency can best address society's particular needs. It may well be that society has become so irresponsible that it over-relies on the institutions it created and that soon it will neither have nor be able to create institutions to protect itself from its own actions.

This paper will explore the patrolman's role enactment in police-citizen interactions in a modern urban environment. The two main hypotheses are:

(1) There is a direct relationship between the goals of a police organization and the resistance to police community relations (PCR) manifested in the process of the enactment of a patrolman's role in a municipal police organization.

(2) Enactment of the patrolman's role is more directly related to the emergency nature of a situation than to whether the situation is criminal or noncriminal.

These hypotheses suggest examination of the question that if police patrolmen are more oriented to provide around-the-clock emergency services of a public service nature, as opposed to the more conventional police service, what relationship, if any exists between police resistance to PCR and police conception and enactment of their role? This, in turn, suggests that police policy makers must examine the area of organizationally induced role conflict. With existing organizations the kind of work policemen so frequently perform or should perform is quite different from the work they were recruited to do, and are, in fact, rewarded to do.

Review of the Literature

Examination of the literature on PCR reveals two conceptions of what is considered "appropriate." Law enforcement personnel hold the view that PCR are synonymous with public relations. A second view, held by academicians and others, both within and outside of minority group membership, is that PCR are more accurately referred to as a methodology for police to become more responsive to the needs of their clientele.

The distinction between what each group considers as "appropriate" PCR was described by Michigan State University's National Survey of Police and Community Relations [3].

> Community relations is the two way communication process focusing community resources on problem solving. It involves a recognition of two viewpoints, that of the police and that of the community. Public relations, on the other hand, is basically a one way communication process aimed at gathering support for police procedures and informing the public of department activities. We have found that if distrust among segments of the public is prevalent, the public relations activity will do little to garner public support.

To suggest that public relations activity does not contribute to the understanding between police and the community would not be accurate. However, law enforcement officials should be aware that public relations is only one means of addressing the police community relationship and should not become an end in itself.

It is further suggested that where there is confusion among police departments as to the salient distinction between public relations and community relations that this misunderstanding itself is part of the problem for some of the failures in police and community relationships.

Another dysfunctionality of police departments' overreliance on public relations activities is that, "a program which is essentially public relations in orientation fails to engage sectors of the community, police officials often become frustrated and embittered at being repulsed in their efforts 'to sell' their department" [4]. Consequently, those within the police organization become quite cynical as to the utility of not only reaching but attempting to address the public.

To secure information pertaining to what might be an appropriate PCR concept, or how it may be constructed, the literature was searched for significant material dealing with four topics:

(1) Definition of public relations and PCR
(2) Responsibility for PCR
(3) Functions of a PCR program
(4) Goals of PCR

Definitions

To appreciate the policeman's conception of PCR, the attitudes that shaped many of our police organizations must be examined. A not too typical attitude was reflected by the late Chief of Police, William Parker (Los Angeles, California) in his comments as to why he did not miss the "good old days" and why he disagreed with earlier attitudes of many police administrators on police public relations [5].

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

Unfortunately this attitude has left deep scars on the relationship that exists between the police and the public and is not entirely unchanged in many present administrators or patrolmen.

Smith has stated, ". . . the almost palpable fact remains that city police forces waste a part, and sometimes a considerable good part of that available manpower on performance of unnecessary or so-called 'public relations' assignments" [6].

There may be choices of what are considered proper "public relations" assignments; however, the police are having less and less to say about what activities are proper, or improper. A point of friction occurs when the police are directed to provide these public relations assignments. Their dilemma is that they dare not resist many public relation assignments the public confers on them, because the public has already withheld its esteem or granting of status the police are striving for. Not to cooperate with the public's demands seems only to further exacerbate the difficulty. This dilemma has a profound effect on the officer's conception of appropriate PCR simply because there is little chance of the conflict being resolved in a manner acceptable to the police.

The police officer's conception of what might be appropriate PCR, encounters immediate difficulty by the various definitions of PCR and public relations.

For example, an authoritative text speaks in terms of both PCR and public relations, but classifies both activities as public relations. O. W. Wilson observed that the goal of public relations is to create a favorable public attitude which can only be created through respect and confidence in the police. To achieve this goal, the following items are of prime importance: police appearance, police conversation, telephone manners, attitude, relationship with offenders, relationship with complainant, and finally the handling of offenders [7]. The last four items more clearly relate to police community activities, while the first three are definitely public relations matters. When all are categorized together officers are inclined to ignore the more important area of PCR while concentrating on the more superficial area of public relations.

Not only is the patrolman offended by this general conception of PCR, but the very functions assigned as responsibilities strike the patrolman as "do gooder," "social work" or "softness" qualities, which are antithetical to his self image or role conception.

To further intensify the conflict between the patrolman's self concept and his image of the job, it is observed that communication itself is rather sterile unless it occurs with those members of the community who should be talking to the police. To suggest that police officers talk to militants is antithetical to the police officer's conception of this job, in fact to many officers this suggestion is tantamount to treason [8].

In essence, the functions of a successful PCR program are not likely to be accepted as appropriate by the police. On the other hand public relations or one-way communication is more acceptable in terms of its being more in line with their conception of police work and less role conflict is encountered.

The International City Managers Association delineates the goals of PCR programs in terms of achievement of public support, public understanding, and public confidence [9]. While there is general agreement as to the goals, there is little consensus on how to achieve these goals.

Perhaps part of their difficulty can be traced to police departments' preoccupation with impartiality when dealing with the public. Although there is no question as to the necessity for impartiality, there is a distinction between impartiality and involvement. Excessive impartiality which becomes uninvolvement quickly becomes intolerable to the community.

However, as important as PCR units are, there are many who do not regard a community relations unit as a cure-all. In fact, both the University of California and Michigan State University studies showed that those cities having PCR units are still lacking the confidence of minority groups [10].

In examining PCR, a University of California survey took a novel approach by identifying problem areas that existed in the respective city's police-community relationship. These problem areas were identified on the basis of belief and not fact. This methodology allows one to accept another's conception of appropriate PCR. Thus, if a specific belief is consistently held by persons in the community, then this belief—rather than the fact— becomes operational for the parties involved. The problem areas in PCR that were identified in the Philadelphia study were divided into two main groups, having to do with the general community and ethnic minorities. The problem areas discovered were as follows [11]:

General Community
  1. The general quality of the police department
  2. Corruption
  3. Police and the administration of justice
  4. The "Negro problem"
  5. Police relations with the minority community
  6. Police brutality
  7. Youth problem

Ethnic Minorities
  1. Discrimination and police brutality
  2. Illegal searches and seizures
  3. The mass media
  4. Potential explosiveness in continued conflicts
  5. Police community relations—non-negotiation with real minority leaders

The survey completed by Michigan State University enumerates program assumptions and basic goals underlying the development of PCR [3]:

(1) The police commitment toward bettering the police and community relationship must be formalized by the department and promulgated throughout the community.

(2) Communication channels must be established between the police and the community which are available to all citizens.

(3) The program undertaken by a department to reduce conflict and tension in the community must utilize the resources of the entire community.

(4) The program must utilize those resources through normal channels, even if this should necessitate diverting the police role in new directions.

While these goals and assumptions constitute an appropriate design for PCR to academicians and minority group members, they are not considered as appropriate by many police officers because they carry with them the responsibility for remedial action.

To what extent should the police become involved in community affairs? There are essentially two polar positions on this issue. The first is the "traditional" police view in which the police feel they should confine themselves to "law enforcement" matters only. The second stresses police involvement in the community to the degree necessary to maintain the peace of the community [3]:

> The repression of crime, for years the traditional police goal, can no longer successfully maintain social control in an urban society where the police have become alienated from major segments of the community. Vigorous repression, if carried out in a manner offensive to large portions of the population, will increase rather than reduce community tensions. . . . No matter how effective a procedure or technique is in controlling a specific criminal act, if the community finds that action repulsive they will fail to support the police. Citizens will become tense at the approach of an officer, in effect saying: "If they treat others that way, how will they treat me?" The police on the other hand, operate in such a manner that meets their expectation of client response. These mutual expectations result in widening conflict and distrust on both sides.

It is not proposed that the police act as social workers, but that they must recognize the extent to which they are exposed daily to social problems. Perhaps Turner states the problem even more openly when he says that "most police stubbornly cling to the old concepts of their role. They disclaim any sociological role on the grounds that their mission is solely to enforce existing laws, overlooking the fact that they are *de facto* sociologists [12].

To suggest that the police become more involved in community problems is an extremely appropriate suggestion, especially in considering that whether the police like it or not, many segments of the community are holding the police responsible for community problems. To merely submit that police should not become involved because they are not totally responsible for community problems is to retreat from an opportunity to point out various existing distortions and rectify to some degree various social problems within the community framework.

The Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders states that in many ways the policeman, a symbol of the governmental power structure, symbolizes the deeper problems various segments of our society are exposed to. The policeman is not only a symbol for problems within the community, but also within the entire system of criminal justice [2].

> . . . he [policeman] becomes the tangible target for grievances against shortcomings throughout that system: against assembly line justice in too many lower courts; against wide disparities in sentences; against antiquated correction facilities; against the basic inequities imposed by the system on the poor—to whom, for example, the option of bail means only jail . . . at the same time, police responsibilities in the ghetto have grown as other institutions of social control have lost much of their authority; the schools, because so many are segregated, old

and inferior; religion, which has become so irrelevant to those who lost faith as they lost hope; career aspirations, which for many young Negroes are totally lacking; the family because its bonds are so often snapped. It is the policeman who must fill this institutional vacuum, and is then resented for the presence this effort demands.

The community is not asking, but demanding that police become involved with them. This demand is now structured in sufficient terms that until police accept this cry for help, there is little chance of the community and the police moving closer together.

Methodology

To further explore the problem of police resistance to PCR two principal methodologies were employed to acquire information from two municipal police departments. The two municipal police departments will be identified as Mountainside and Metropolis, and the populations of their municipalities are 50,000 and 750,000 people, respectively. First, a questionnaire was administered to both recruits and a representative sampling of each department's patrolmen. Secondly, a participant observation field study of five-week's duration was undertaken in the Metropolis Police Department.

Questionnaire

The primary objective of the four-cell matrix questionnaire which was submitted to both police departments was to acquire basic data as to how patrolmen conceptualize their role.

For example, each of the 12 four-cell matrices contains police calls that a patrolman could anticipate receiving in the course of his duty. The frequency of some of the calls will be greater than others, but they all represent potential situations the patrolman could encounter.

To test the primary hypothesis that patrolmen respond more to the emergency nature of a situation than they do to its classification as criminal or a non-criminal, each four-cell matrix contains a call representing a criminal-non-emergency situation, a criminal-emergency situation, a non-criminal-non-emergency situation, and a non-criminal-emergency situation. The respondent, not knowing that each call represented one of the four named classifications, was instructed to select the one police call that he would most likely respond to; the call his supervisor would expect him to respond to; the call he thinks the general public would expect the patrolman to respond to; and the call the respondent would prefer to respond to. No attempt was made to "load" the four-cell matrix with calls that tended to support the hypothesis. These calls were selected on the basis of representing situations of a police nature that not only would be likely to occur, but calls that most clearly would fall into the four classifications with an appreciable degree of consensus by a patrolman's definition. Finally, the aspect of choosing a call while not being aware of other circumstances or variables, frustrating as it is, does not greatly differ from the actual practice of police dispatches, when more often than not the officers cannot assess the nature of the situation until they arrive at the scene.
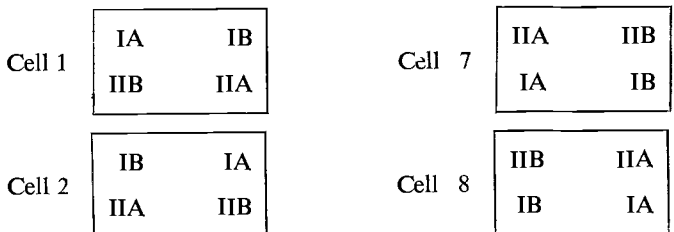
The code for the classification is as follows:

$$I = \text{criminal}$$
$$II = \text{non-criminal}$$
$$A = \text{non-emergency}$$
$$B = \text{emergency}$$

The calls that were selected for use in the four cell matrix were allocated into the following two classifications.

I		II	
A	Check forgery	A	Drunk person
B	Robbery in progress	B	Rabid animal
A	Check a suspicious car	A	Neighbor trouble
B	Homicide	B	Attempted suicide
A	Traffic violation	A	Curfew violation
B	Check ringing burglar alarm	B	Man down
A	Larceny	A	Disorderly conduct
B	Narcotics violation	B	Fire alarm
A	Check open door	A	Dead animal
B	Prowler	B	Auto accident-injury
A	Indecent exposure	A	Auto accident
B	Kidnapping	B	Live electrical wires down
A	Gambling	A	Assist a person
B	Rape	B	Accidental death
A	Shoplifting	A	Family disturbance
B	Aggravated assault	B	Civil rights demonstration—crowd control
A	Auto theft	A	Noisy party
B	Man with gun	B	Auto accident-fatality
A	Malicious mischief	A	Lost child
B	Woman screaming for help	B	Plane crash
A	Prostitution	A	Security check
B	Burglary	B	Body found
A	Kids breaking street lights	A	Signals out—direct traffic
B	Gang fight in progress	B	Child can't breathe, escort to hospital

So that no patterns would be revealed or unintentionally established the calls were altered in their position within the four-cell matrix to assure equal probability of selection and were patterned in the following manner.

Cell 1	IA	IB
	IIB	IIA

Cell 2	IB	IA
	IIA	IIB

Cell 7	IIA	IIB
	IA	IB

Cell 8	IIB	IIA
	IB	IA

Cell 3

IIA	IIB
IB	IA

Cell 9

IA	IIA
IB	IIB

Cell 4

IIB	IIA
IA	IB

Cell 10

IB	IIB
IA	IIA

Cell 5

IA	IB
IIA	IIB

Cell 11

IIA	IA
IIB	IB

Cell 6

IB	IA
IIB	IIA

Cell 12

IIB	IB
IIA	IA

The second hypothesis of this study; that is, that patrolmen respond more to the emergency nature of a situation than they do to a situation's classification as a criminal or non-criminal call was validated by the respondents' answers to the questionnaire. The final question in each matrix asked each officer which call he would personally prefer to respond to. Out of 120 officers, 111 selected calls because of the seriousness, danger, or emergency nature of the call, irrespective of its criminal or non-criminal classification.

Additional support for the validity of this hypothesis is contained in Table 1, which shows that officers most frequently selected emergency type situations. In fact, criminal calls of a non-emergency nature did not approach the frequency of response of officers to non-criminal calls of an emergency nature.

TABLE 1—*Average percent responses compared to expectancies by type of call by group, all cells.*

Response	Emergency, %		Non-emergency, %	
	Non-criminal	Criminal	Non-criminal	Criminal
Total Group				
most likely	50.3	44.5	3.4	1.8
supervisor expected	49.8	44.5	3.4	2.2
general public expected	52.9	39.1	4.8	3.2
own preferred	44.0	49.0	3.9	3.1
Metropolis				
most likely	51.9	44.2	2.7	1.2
supervisor expected	52.0	43.9	2.6	1.5
general public expected	56.8	36.5	4.1	2.6
own preferred	45.7	48.6	3.2	2.5
Mountainside				
most likely	50.4	45.1	2.7	1.8
supervisor expected	47.7	47.7	3.1	1.5
general public expected	49.7	42.1	4.5	3.7
own preferred	43.2	47.0	5.3	4.5
Metropolis Recruits				
most likely	45.2	44.8	6.2	3.8
supervisor expected	45.5	43.5	6.2	4.8
general public expected	44.5	43.8	7.2	4.5
own preferred	40.0	52.1	4.5	3.4

To further document the hypothesis that police officers will respond to an emergency situation before a criminal situation, this study has provided some evidence that officers will respond to a non-criminal emergency before they will respond to a criminal emergency call, again illustrating the degree to which the seriousness or nature of the emergency will potentially preempt a criminal call of either an emergency or non-emergency nature. In the total group of respondents, the average percent responding to a particular category of call in the twelve situations is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2—*Confidence limits of total groups' most likely response.*

Type of Call	Average, %	90 Percent Confidence Limits, %
Emergency, Non-criminal	50.3	42.8 to 57.8
Emergency, Criminal	44.5	37.0 to 52.0
Non-emergency, Non-criminal	3.4	0.6 to 6.2
Non-emergency, Criminal	1.8	0 to 4.6

Although the emergency-non-criminal response is not significantly different from the emergency-criminal response in the statistical sense, the consistency of the answers throughout all groups of respondents suggests that there is a difference.

Closer analysis of Table 1 not only indicates that the total population, but all three sample groups, would select an emergency-non-criminal call more than they would select an emergency-criminal call. However, when each group responded to the call they would prefer to answer there was a clear contradiction in that the majority of respondents preferred to answer the emergency-criminal call. This perhaps indicates the patrolman's role dilemma or a degree of conflict they are exposed to.

Table 3 indicates the difference between the officers' preferred response to those they felt most likely expected by their supervisor and expected by the general public.

TABLE 3—*Average percent of response to emergency-non-criminal and emergency-criminal calls for all cells by each group.*

	Emergency	
	Non-criminal	Criminal
Most Likely Response		
Total	50.3	44.5
Metropolis	51.9	44.2
Mountainside	50.4	45.1
Metropolis	45.2	44.8
Supervisor Expected		
Total	49.9	44.5
Metropolis	52.0	43.9
Mountainside	47.7	47.7
Metropolis Recruits	45.5	43.5
General Public Expected		
Total	52.9	39.1
Metropolis	56.8	36.5
Mountainside	49.7	42.1
Metropolis Recruits	44.5	43.8
Own Preferred Response		
Total	44.0	49.0
Metropolis	45.7	48.6
Mountainside	43.2	47.0
Metropolis Recruits	40.0	52.1

In addition to the incongruity identified in Table 3, the role dilemma of patrolmen becomes more pronounced by identifying the basic incongruity existing between the calls patrolmen would be most likely to respond to, and the calls patrolmen would prefer to respond to. Table 4 indicating the percentage difference existing between the officers' most likely response and preferred response was statistically different in terms of the total officer population. There is an indication of an appreciable amount of conflict existing between preferred responses and most likely responses. Therefore, if officers respond to calls of a preferred nature because these are the most important or serious calls, why do an appreciable amount of officers respond to a different call than their preference? On what basis do they respond to this most likely response call?

TABLE 4—*Average difference in percent responding to twelve situations by type of response by group, most likely response minus perceived expected response.*

	Total	Metropolis	Mountainside	Metropolis Recruits
Criminal-Emergency Most Likely Response				
minus supervisor expected	0.0% pts	0.3% pts	−2.5% pts	13.0% pts
minus public expected	5.4[a]	7.7[a]	3.0	1.0
minus own preferred	−4.4[a]	−4.3[a]	−1.8	−7.2[a]
Non-criminal-Emergency Most Likely Response				
minus supervisor expected	0.3% pts	−0.5% pts	2.6% pts	−0.3% pts
minus public expected	−2.6	−4.9	0.7	0.6
minus own preferred	6.1	6.1[a]	7.1[a]	5.2[a]
Criminal-Non-emergency Most Likely Response				
minus supervisor expected	−0.3% pts	−0.3% pts	0.3% pts	−1.0% pts
minus public expected	−1.3	−1.4	−1.8	−0.6
minus own preferred	−1.2	−1.3	−2.6	0.3
Non-criminal-Non-emergency Most Likely Response				
minus supervisor expected	0.0% pts	0.1% pts	−0.3% pts	0.0% pts
minus public expected	−1.3	−1.3[a]	−1.8	−1.0
minus own preferred	−0.4	−0.4	−2.6	1.7

[a] Significantly different than 0 at the 10% level.

In essence, this indicates a very pervasive role dilemma for patrolmen. It would appear from the data that the explanation for the incongruity can be correlated to the perceived contradictory expectations of the supervisor.

In Table 4 the officers' responses were compared to how they believed their supervisors, the general public, and their personal preference would expect them to respond. The deviations from the responses indicate how much conflict they perceive in discriminating between simultaneous categories of calls. The data tend to indicate that officers answer the calls with the priority that they think the supervisor expects. Conflict arises, though, in how each officer believes the public wants him to react and how he would prefer to react to criminal-emergency and non-criminal-emergency calls.

The public expectancy and the officers' personal preferences tend to deviate from their actual responses in opposite directions. They would prefer to answer fewer non-criminal-emergencies while they believe that the public expects them to answer more non-criminal-emergencies. The converse is true, of course, for criminal-emergencies.

The test for significance utilized in Table 4 was student's t test for dependent pairs.

$$t = \frac{\bar{D}}{\frac{\bar{S}}{\bar{D}}} \text{ with 11 degrees of freedom}$$

where D is the difference in the percent answering each question in each cell, SD is the standard error of the average of the twelve differences, and the degrees of freedom are the number of cells minus one.

Conflicts in role perception can perhaps best be documented and analyzed by referring to Table 5.

TABLE 5—*Number of officers indicating supervisor, general public, or personal preference would be different than actual response.*

	Group							
	Metropolis (72)		Mountainside (16)		Metropolis Recruits (30)		Total (118)	
Cell	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	17	24	5	31	17	57	39	33
2	22	31	8	50	14	47	44	37
3	19	26	8	50	15	50	42	36
4	23	32	8	50	13	43	44	37
5	12	17	1	6	7	23	20	17
6	25	35	5	31	11	37	41	35
7	15	21	5	31	13	43	43	36
8	33	46	8	50	9	30	50	42
9	30	42	6	38	8	27	44	37
10	18	25	11	69	8	27	37	31
11	9	13	4	25	9	30	22	19
12	13	18	7	44	11	37	31	26
Total[a]	58	81	15	94	27	90	100	85

[a] Deviated in at least one cell.

The conflict that a police officer experiences, can be measured by the number of times he believes the supervisor, general public, or his personal preference would deviate from his most likely response to a multiple call situation. Table 5 shows the number of officers who indicated that at least one of these other entities would expect him to answer differently than he actually would.

Table 5 shows that in almost all situations (cells) there is a significant percentage of officers who feel that their most likely response would conflict with some other entity. The last row or total row shows that 104 out of 118 officers experience this conflict in at least one cell. The table emphasizes that very few police officers have the confidence of knowing that their decision is the one that everyone expects of them.

Even more persuasive and significant is the fact that the computer printout sheets for all officers' responses indicate it is not the same group of officers perceiving a conflict in all cells; rather it is an extremely high percentage of different officers who experience some conflict in some cell. For example, Table 5 shows that 81 percent of Metropolis patrolmen, 94 percent of the Mountainside patrolmen, and 90 percent of the Metropolis recruits experienced or perceived some form of role conflict. The three samples together resulted in 85 percent of all officers experiencing or perceiving some form of role conflict.

If only a small percentage of officers varied their responses, then the problem might exist with the selected officers. This type of problem might be addressed by training this small group; however this was not the case. The limits of this problem far transcend mere acknowledgment of retraining needs. When over 80 percent of the officers perceive some form of role conflict, this suggests that the attributed expectations of others and the perceived expectations of self, are clearly contradictory, and thus suggests that the remedial solutions will have to transcend the police organization. The public, as well as the police, lack and need information about the role of the police officer.

Whether the public actually does possess expectations that are contradictory to the patrolman's expectations is immaterial, in one sense because whether the patrolman's perception is real or imagined, this perception must still be addressed. Future studies in which this same questionnaire or a similar questionnaire would be distributed to the general public, would either validate or invalidate the officer's perception of the attributed expectations the general public has of the police patrolman. The utility of this would be to indicate to what degree the remedial action to clarify a patrolman's role properly belongs outside of the police organization.

Analysis of Field Study Observations

The focus of the field study was to empirically observe, if and how police resist PCR. In addition to this, it should also serve as an appropriate forum for a systematic inquiry into what defensive tactics patrolmen adopt to protect themselves from the expectations of their clients.

Finally, the patrolman's role enactment as the dependent variable also aids in systematically evaluating ways in which police resistance to PCR becomes manifested in an everyday or informal basis.

To facilitate in conceptualizing the role enactment of the patrolman in observed police-citizen interactions, the behavior of the patrolman will be couched in analytical terminology and described along the following dimensions:

(1) Organismic involvement
(2) Preemptiveness of roles
(3) Number of roles
(4) Defensive measures employed to protect oneself from the expectations of the client
(5) Resistance to PCR

Two intervening variables that had a profound effect on the dependent variable of the role enactment of the patrolman, and which were not anticipated by the research design of this study, were identified through the participant observation portion of the field study:

(1) The patrolman's use of discretion to resolve role dilemmas, and
(2) The existence of patrolmen as a subculture within a subculture.

Both intervening variables significantly influence the ensuing role enactment of the patrolmen as the following observations will suggest.

By selecting as the dependent variable of this study, the enactment of the patrolman's role, the investigator can select the following as independent variables and systematically observe their effect on the emergence of the patrolman's role, especially as this emerging role is related to PCR.

(1) Role Acquisition
    (a) role set
    (b) role location
    (c) role skills

(2) Organizational Goals
    (a) perceived organizational services as legitimate /illegitimate
    (b) reward structure
    (c) sanctions
(3) Role Expectations
    (a) patrolmen
    (b) organization
    (c) client
(4) Multiple Role Phenomena
    (a) role conflict
    (b) role ambiguity
    (c) role strain
(5) Method of Resolving Multiple Role Phenomena Conflicts
    (a) expectations of the police organization
    (b) expectations of the client
    (c) compromise resulting between police organization and client's expectations
    (d) avoidance of either expectation [13]

By designating role enactment as the dependent variable, this should facilitate systematic observation and appraisal as to how structural and organizational deficiencies intensify police resistance to PCR. In the interest of brevity, only the first independent variable, role acquisition, will be considered here.

The following observations serve to illustrate the relationship between role learning and role enactment. The case presents a classic, both in terms of illustrating police frustration and how the probationary period of the police recruit influences his subsequent role enactment. In this particular instance, one patrolman was in his fifth month of service with the police department while the other officer was a well-seasoned veteran of six years.

A call was received by a Metropolis patrol unit to "see a lady about a lost man." The older officer immediately exclaimed: "Oh no, the bullshit calls start right off the bat." This was the start of this unit's tour of duty. Upon arriving at the address of the citizen requesting help for the lost man, a deteriorating hotel in a lower class area of mid-city, the senior officer again muttered discontentedly about having to help these old drunks find their way home when we should be out doing "real police work."

After talking to the lost man, who was in his late sixties and showed signs of having been drinking, the senior officer reluctantly agreed to try and assist him in finding his hotel. Since the man was new to the city and was not familiar with the streets or the hotels, the situation was exasperating.

The senior patrolman exhibited his frustration by stating, "What's a god-damned old fool like you doing in a strange city without your hotel key or some identification or a receipt for the room rent." The man's reply was, "I left the hotel room just to go for a walk and checked my key in at the desk, and when I tried to return I couldn't find my way and I have stopped in ten or fifteen hotels since. That's when I stopped at this lady's hotel and she tried calling other hotels for about an hour and then she called you gentlemen."

At this point, it was quite evident that the rookie patrolman was very embarrassed by the brusque line of questioning his senior officer was addressing to the citizen. The rookie tried to calm the lost man and talk to him rationally, but as the lost man continued to talk, the senior officer's anger intensified, probably because the lost man's statements were becoming more irrational, and possibly because the rookie's attitude was much different than what the senior officer would regard as proper and acceptable in this situation.

The following portion of this interaction is presented essentially as it occurred in order to illustrate the expectations of the citizen and the officer's response:

Lost Man:	"Well why don't you fellows drive me around town, maybe I can recognize my hotel."
Senior Officer:	"Is that an order?"
Lost Man:	"No, I just thought it might help."
Senior Officer:	"I will tell you what will help, if you will up and remember your hotel. Do you think all we have to do is drive old drunks like you around looking for hotels they think they checked into, hell, we can't even be sure you have enough money to rent a room."
Lost Man:	"Oh, I have a room alright."
Senior Officer:	"Well, then goddammit, where is it?"
Lost Man:	"I don't know."
Senior Officer:	"Well, what in the hell are we supposed to do for you."
Lost Man:	"Do your job, find my hotel room."
Senior Officer:	"For Christ's sake, how in the hell can we find your room when you don't even know the name of the hotel."
Lost Man:	"If you drive me around like I told you maybe I could recognize the hotel."
Senior Officer:	"Yeah, and maybe you couldn't for Christ sake, we have better things to do than drive old fools like you around all night."
Lost Man:	"Well, I don't know what we are going to do then."
Senior Officer:	"Son-of-a-bitch."
Lost Man:	"Well, dammit, if you would do your job and drive me around maybe I could recognize the hotel."
Senior Officer:	"Yeah, and maybe you couldn't but I will tell you one thing we aren't going to play this little game of yours too long."
Lost Man:	"It's no game, how would you like to be lost."
Senior Officer:	"I wouldn't be so god-damn dumb to get lost, and to sit around drinking."
Lost Man:	"I admit I have had a few drinks."

The officers then proceeded to drive the lost man around town trying to help him recognize his hotel. The conversation continued with the lost man getting progressively obnoxious:

Senior Officer:	"Listen, you old fool, can you tell me what the inside of the hotel looked like?"
Lost Man:	"Well, what do you suppose it looked like . . . it looked like the inside of every hotel."
Senior Officer:	"Listen, smart ass, don't you wise off to me or I will throw your sweet ass out of the car in a minute. The question isn't as dumb as you think because if you can tell me where the elevator is, or what side of the room the stairs come down, or what the desk looked like, it will eliminate some of the hotels."
Lost Man:	"Well I don't know how you would expect me to know that."
Senior Officer:	"Yeah maybe it is too much to expect of a god-damn dummy who doesn't even remember the name of his hotel."
Rookie Officer:	"Can you describe the outside of the hotel?"

Lost Man:	"No, . . . well, it looks like any of them."
Senior Officer:	"Oh, what a fucking asshole this guy is."
Rookie Officer:	"Listen, we are going to stop in front of these hotels and you tell us if you think your room is in one of them."
Lost Man:	"Now we are getting some place, that's what I told you a long time ago."
Senior Officer: (turning to observer)	"Do you see what sort of bullshit we have to put up with, put this in your report about police community relations."

As the officers continued to drive the man around the area, the observer noted that the lost man wouldn't even turn his head to look out the squad window when the officers pulled in front of the hotels.

Senior Officer:	"God-dammit, the old fool isn't even looking at the hotels, oh Christ."
Rookie Officer:	"Sir, does this look like your hotel?"
Lost Man:	"Well, maybe, . . . they all look the same you know."
Senior Officer:	"How in the hell are we going to get you back to your hotel unless you help us."
Lost Man:	"I don't know but that is your job."
Senior Officer:	"Oh Christ, what a case."

Eventually the officers located the man's hotel. It took two hours to satisfy the citizen's expectation. However, what is salient about this interaction is both the frustration it presented to the officers and the impact this had upon the rookie's role acquisition. The rookie officer, fresh out of the academy with all the idealism of good PCR, discovers his partner treating the citizen in a manner the academy had definitely portrayed as unprofessional. Thus the rookie is faced with one of the first of many inconsistencies he will observe between how the job is done and how it was taught to be done. Of significance to the role acquisition process is that in this organization the recruit spends twelve weeks initially learning his role and fifty-two weeks being cajoled into what senior officers consider the correct methods of handling police calls. The rookie spends the most time in acquiring his role under the distinct fear of not being accepted by the senior patrolman. Thus he is faced with a role conflict of pursuing calls in the idealistic professional manner the training academy teaches, or acceding to the demands of the senior patrolman. If he follows the former course, he will alienate himself from the rest of the patrolmen, and in effect, become an "odd ball" not accepted by them. His alternative is to comply with demands of his senior patrolman and be accepted as a member of the patrolman culture. This response indicates severe frustration, as he is, in effect, disregarding the initial instruction given to him by the training academy.

This documents the nature of the patrolman group as being a subculture within the larger police subculture. The patrolman subculture has distinct norms, and unless the rookies conform to those norms they will be sanctioned to the degree of being excluded as an accepted member of the subculture. Thus, the role acquisition process has tremendous relevance to the ultimate role enactment the patrolman will choose to pursue.

It is emphasized that the officers reference to this call and others to follow are not presented to evaluate the police department's PCR or second-guess various patrolman's responses to police-citizen interactions, but more to translate patrolman's behavior into various constructs of role theory. These constructs will be useful in describing the resulting role enactments for the position of patrolman.

The number of roles open to the patrolman are, by and large, limited to the law enforcement orientation. For the most part, the repertoire of roles available to the patrolman to meet the police-citizen interactions is limited to one role, that of the law enforcement specialist. However, this one role can be measured in degrees. This generalization, while finding empirical support in the small sample observed, nevertheless, does have exceptions. A patrolman with a large enough repertoire of roles to effectively meet the various role expectations of significant others in police-citizen interactions, is the isolated case which will be addressed later.

The following example is offered to support the proposition that the patrolman's primary role of law enforcement specialist is measured in degrees.

The Metropolis patrol car again contains a senior officer with eight years experience and a rookie officer of 14 months experience. It was observed that the senior officer conceived his role, not only as a law enforcement specialist, but as a law enforcement specialist primarily interested in the apprehension of wanted felons. This was visibly documented by the officer's possession of a "mug shot" file that was so extensive and impressive that the other officers in the same district went to him before they would go to the Identification Bureau whenever they wanted information or a picture of a suspect. There are reasons to account for this. This officer worked in the highest crime district in the city, an area in which one would expect to observe many suspects with warrants outstanding or where many wanted felons might attempt to blend into the area. Since the workload of the officers in this district is so heavy, the other officers go to this man in the interest of saving time and being available for an assist call, as opposed to taking themselves out of the area and district to go to police headquarters for mug shots.

It is interesting to note the degree to which patrolmen can define their law enforcement role. In this case the officer spent all his free patrol time observing citizens in the street or in bars, looking for a potential match, that is, a person who was included in his file of wanted felons. Parenthetically, there were other officers working the same district, and the same detail or shift, who would spend their free patrol time checking the area for stolen cars. This required many hours of exceptionally slow patrolling and frequent identification checks on license plates that would determine whether the car was in fact "hot" or stolen. The point is, these are two different orientations to the role conception of a law enforcement specialist, each, requiring a distinct method of patrolling. More importantly, both influence the role acquisition process of the recruit officer to each squad. For example, the officer possessing the mug shot file did not, as he characterized it, "bother with traffic violations or checking for stolen cars." Consequently the rookie assigned to this patrol car developed the same orientation. This influenced the rookie's role acquisition process so significantly that the rookie has adopted a similar role conception. Perhaps even more significantly, when we observe the enactment of the rookie patrolman's role, there is a high degree of correlation with his role acquisition process, specifically as it was affected by the particular senior patrolman. One wonders if this same recruit would have adopted a different orientation or conception of his role if he was assigned to another patrol unit.

Further illustrating the patented effect this second stage of a rookie's role acquisition process can have on the role he eventually identifies with and eventually enacts, the following situation was observed.

Two officers received a family disturbance call that was quite frustrating. The call involved a marriage situation in which four children were victims of a living arrangement best portrayed by presenting the significant aspects of the officer-citizen dialogue.

Senior Officer:	"Did you call the police, lady?"
Wife:	"Yes, I did, I want you to protect me from my husband."
Senior Officer:	"What's the problem lady?"
Wife:	"I'm afraid he is going to beat me up again and I already have two bruised ribs from the last time."
Senior Officer:	"Is your husband home?"
Wife:	"Yes, he is officer."
Rookie Officer:	"Let's go in and talk to him. Are you the husband of this woman?"
Husband:	"Yes, I am, officer."
Rookie Officer:	"What's this all about you beating up women."
Husband:	"I don't beat women up."
Wife:	"You do too, you god-damn liar, you beat me up."
Husband:	"Oh shut up, you whore."

To quiet the two people, the senior officer suggested that they both shut up at once, and each one tell their side of the story.

Senior Officer:	"O.K. lady, what's the problem here?"
Wife:	"My husband won't give me any money for milk for my babies."
Senior Officer: (turning to husband)	"Is that true, sir?"
Husband:	"No, it is not, officer."
Wife:	"It is too, you god-damn liar, anyways go look in the refrigerator and see all the beer he has."
Senior Officer:	(returning from the kitchen and addressing the husband) "Sir, how come you have so much beer and you aren't buying food for your kids."
Husband:	"You see, officer, it is like this, every time I give her money to buy food for the kids, she spends it on herself and on her boyfriends."
Wife:	"I do not, you fucking liar."
Husband:	"You do too, you god-damn whore."

The dialogue continued in the same vein. Finally the senior officer turned to the wife and suggested the following:

Senior Officer:	"Look, lady, we can't tell who is telling the truth, all we want to know is that those kids will get fed."
Wife:	"Well they won't, not with that drunken son-of-a-bitch of an asshole."
Senior Officer:	"Lady, if you are so unhappy here, why don't you go and get a divorce and the court will order support of your kids."
Wife:	"I can't get no divorce cause we ain't married—we are what you call common law."

At this point, the senior officer became so frustrated that he did not participate any longer in the interaction, and after about ten more minutes of verbal sparring with the husband and wife by the recruit, the senior officer got up without saying a word and walked out of the house. This frustrated the rookie officer because he did not expect this action. He attempted to gracefully exit the house and then confronted the senior officer in the car as follows:

Rookie Officer: "Why did you leave, did I say something wrong?"

Senior Officer: "Hell no, the whole fucking call bothered me. There's nothing we can do for assholes like that."

Rookie Officer: "Yeah, but we can't walk out just like that, suppose they call up and file a complaint."

Senior Officer: "Tough shit, they are not going to file any complaint."

Rookie Officer: "Look, we will probably get another call back here in about ten minutes so why don't we go back and settle this. Anyways, if we don't another one of the cars will get the call and I don't want them to think we can't handle our calls."

Senior Officer: "So what, this isn't even our beat."

Rookie Officer: "Yeah, but . . ."

Senior Officer: "Look, if you want to stay, go ahead, but I am going out and doing (interrupting)   'police work,' not this bullshit. Go on back if you want, I will be back and pick you up in thirty minutes."

Rookie Officer: "No, I guess you're right, let's get the hell out of here."

The rookie officer was confronted with the conflict of how the senior officer handled the call by abruptly leaving without explanation to anyone, a situation clearly inconsistent with the professional orientation of the training academy. He was equally concerned with sanctions that might be imposed by the organization if a complaint was filed. Both these concerns were abruptly repressed when the senior officer gently reminded the rookie that he still was the rookie and that the sanctions of the patrolman subculture would prevail if the rookie wanted to stay there alone and handle the call. The sanction of the patrolman subculture is implicit within the symbolic statement of "Look if you want to stay, go ahead, but I am going out and doing police work, not this bullshit. Go on back if you want, I will be back and pick up in thirty minutes." (In other words, if you, as a rookie, feel this is your idea of the patrolman's role, you will not only handle all these calls alone, but you will, in fact, be alone, in that the patrolman subculture will not accept you. The patrolman's subculture values acknowledge the law enforcement orientation as the acceptable police role, not this other orientation.)

This documents two distinct stages of role learning for patrolmen. The first stage occurs in the training academy, and the second more influential stage occurs in not just the probationary period but in the time the officer is considered as a recruit, or novice. Just when the "rites of passage" occur depends on each individual, however, some definitions as a novice extend far beyond the organizational probationary definition of one year. This is further support for the proposition that patrolmen are in fact a subculture within a larger subculture.

One final observation as to why the previously mentioned senior patrolman received so many requests from other officers in the district for one of his mug shots. It could well be that the other officers were attempting to seek his approval because this patrolman was definitely one of the most influential in the district, if not the entire police department. In this manner perhaps, the chances of their rites of passage would be improved, if not assured, by their tacit acknowledgment that this law enforcement orientation is also their conception of the patrolman's role. There is little doubt in this case that either the acquiescence or rejection by this one officer would be sufficient to either bar or gain entry into the patrolman's subculture.

The second example, to indicate the manner in which the role of law enforcement orientation can be measured in degrees, is illustrated by the following situation.

Again this was a two-man Metropolis squad with the senior patrolman having ten years on the job and a rookie with seven months' experience. The officers received a call that there were prowlers in the area. Much to the amazement of the observer the officers were exceptionally slow to respond to the call, stopping first to give street directions to a pair of young ladies who appeared to be lost. This behavior seemed quite incongruent to the law enforcement orientation and aggressiveness of both officers. When queried about this the senior officer replied that "I have been up before disciplinary charges three times, and personally talked to the chief twice, and not a social call, therefore, I am going to be particularly careful about taking any action that's going to get me back there again."

He further stated that every time an officer does good aggressive police work, "some idiot worried about PCR second guesses you and you wind up with a complaint and a few days off." The few days off, the officer referred to, are in reference to disciplinary action.

He went on to say: "These people interested in PCR don't seem to understand that we can either do police work or we can close our eyes and ride around for eight hours."

This is exactly the attitude of this officer, with respect to the calls he received. In essence, to avoid further complaints, he does very little aggressive patrolling.

While this explained the officer's reluctance to be too aggressive on patrol, it did not explain how he came to accept or rationalize this accommodation. The rationalization was explained by the rookie in such terms that it is evident that he has internalized much more than rationalization, and has had his role learning process materially affected by this senior officer.

> Why should we go out and pick up complaints for good police work if these guys are afraid to let us be aggressive. We will be damn sure to only pick times when we know the internal affairs unit won't harass us.

The rookie officer went on to berate PCR and specifically the Internal Affairs Unit for the poor law enforcement in this country to date. He suggested that were he chief, he would abolish the unit the next day. This was a rookie with only seven months' experience and not one appearance before a disciplinary hearing!

This not only illustrates the impact the role acquisition process has on the enactment of the patrolman's role, but it also shows how the role of law enforcement orientation can be measurably affected in terms of degrees and in either direction.

One final observation of how the independent variable, role acquisition effects the dependent variable of role enactment can best be developed by illustrating the structural nature of placing rookies with senior officers. In this particular police department rookies are assigned to a patrol car, which is in effect, assigning them to two senior officers. The rookie fills in for one "steady man" during his days off, court time, etc., so that both senior officers work with him a portion of each week.

Under these conditions, both experienced officers can compare notes on the rookie's progress, where he has strength or weaknesses, and what they should specifically concentrate their attention on. In short, the situation is structured so that the administration is actually facilitating the patrolman's subculture in terms of patrolman's application of sanctions to induce conformity not only to organizational norms, but also patrolman norms.

One positive outgrowth of this arrangement was observed one evening when two senior officers were discussing the rookie assigned to their unit. Both officers indicated their primary problem with the rookie was his aggressiveness, and when they attempted to offer constructive criticism, he frequently reacted in a manner that was analogous to pouting. One of the officers conceptualized the situation as follows:

Hell, this kid comes on like gangbusters. We have a helluva time slowing him down and you have seen us work tonight. We can be damn aggressive when the situation calls for it. I try to tell this kid, act more calmly and talk very quietly, this way people listen to you.

The point is that, the second stage of the rookie's role learning process is not necessarily dysfunctional to the eventual impact it will have on the dependent variable or the role enactment of the patrolman's role.

It is significant that the role set of the patrolman does not extend much beyond the squad car he inhabits eight hours a day and the people he interacts with in those eight hours. In theory, his role set does extend much beyond the narrow confines of this definition. However, to the patrolman, the role set that conveys the most serious attention and importance is operationally internalized only at the point where he transacts his most important business; and that originates within the confines of his squad car and where that squad car takes him.

Equally significant is the fact that most of the role skills a patrolman learns are attributable to working with older, more experienced officers. This reinforces the rookies commitment to the patrolman subculture. It also allows the patrolman subculture the opportunity to develop its own value structure as to what priority rating role skills should receive in accordance with subculture values.

Theoretical Implications of the Observations

There appear to be two distinct types of police resistance to PCR. The first emerges out of individual resistance while the second results from organizational resistance. Unfortunately most attempts toward improving PCR have been concentrated toward the individual, while completely ignoring the structure and environment within which the individual works. A critical point, and one that has been completely ignored by writers on the subject, is that both factors have a reinforcing effect upon the other.

The organizational resistance to PCR can be described by the role dilemma of administrators, in desiring to improve PCR and still retain control of the police force. The aim of outside pressures toward improving PCR is focused in terms of greater police responsiveness to citizen need and implicit within this is increasing the control and accountability of police officers. However, the police administrator who attempts to introduce a sound PCR approach is immediately vulnerable to losing the one factor necessary and requisite to increasing police responsiveness to citizen needs; that is, control of members of the department, particularly the patrolman subculture. Hence, police administrators have been forced to exhibit cautious, deliberate attitudes, a position which members of the general community not only do not appreciate, but one in which they counter with more intensified demands.

Part of the structural problem of police resistance to PCR lies in the philosophical perception of the concept of "adversary proceedings." Thus, poor PCR are implicitly structured into the role of a police organization by the very nature of its linkage position to the larger administration of criminal justice system. This may be one of the social costs of the community accepting the legal philosophy of our administration of justice system.

Empirical observation of the patrolmen's conceptual notion of PCR does not encourage confidence in meaningful improvement being made in this area, simply because patrolmen are using the concept of PCR as a giant repository for all their grievances and complaints, both real and imagined. To support this contention, the following observations are offered.

Patrolmen in the department observed, systematically and pervasively, were of the opinion that a substantial majority of the suspensions patrolmen received were the direct result of PCR considerations emerging directly from the Chief of Police. This attitude is a gross over-simplification and rationalization perhaps associated with a high degree of emotional immaturity. It may well be that the department has not recognized the utility of changing behavior by a training program as opposed to the far too prevalent punitive philosophies.

Two observations are of interest in respect to this complex matter. The first revolves around the problem of disciplining an officer, yet at the same time, retaining him as a viable member of the organization. The second relates to the organization directly addressing this patrolman's attitude toward resistance to PCR.

While observing with a senior patrolman and a rookie patrolman, the rookie expressed his opinion as to why police resist PCR as follows:

Rookie Officer: "You know if one comes over too strong with this community rela-tions jazz, then people think you are afraid of them, and they will take advantage of your softness."

Senior Officer: "No, I don't buy that statement. Hell, there are some people this community approach works fine with, however, there are a certain portion of the people you have to 'thump' to get their attention. They will listen to talk but until then you are going to have to kick the dogshit out of them."

The senior officer then proceeded to make a point that has a great deal of merit to it and deserves further exploration.

"Hell, don't kid yourself. These citizens resist police community relations as much as policemen because they don't want to see a policeman around period; whether he's an expert on police community relations or simply a very aggressive stern officer."

In other words, the community knows it needs a police force, but it has not decided yet whether it wants one.

In another situation, one officer clearly portrayed the role distance of police in PCR programs. The point he consistently and quite adamantly made was "tell me one thing, does it help fight crime? No. Therefore to me it's not my job. I'm nice to people but I am no preacher." He then proceeded articulately to state what appears to be the chief reason for the patrolman's resistance to PCR:

In my view police effectiveness includes being feared, as well as respected, but police com-munity relations diminishes the fear people should have of policemen and consequently they don't respect police.

Another officer's contempt for PCR emerged because, in his view, while they were in the academy, "they were taught not to get involved with the public." This officer's perception clearly documents both the conflict officers experience and the task that is facing police training academies, namely, distinguishing between proper officer involvement and improper officer involvement. In short, the role acquisition process is crucial to the development of sound attitudes.

Still another officers observation which not only documents the training academy's dilemma but which suggests one of the important consequences of the patrolman sub-culture was as follows:

The training academy is spending so much time on police community relations that it doesn't teach the recruits what real police work is so when they get on the job they are lost. Hell, many of them don't even know where to sign a report. This means I've got to spend all my time teaching these guys what real police work is.

It appeared that a great deal of the police resistance was not resistance to creating good community relationships, but a resistance to accepting more of the responsibility that police believe should be shouldered by the community. However, if this is the case, it is incumbent upon the police to identify this resistance as resistance to accepting the transfer of community responsibility as opposed to strict resistance to PCR itself. In a word, the policeman's resistance to PCR from his point of view is resistance to something he did not cause and cannot cure.

Patrolman Subculture within the Police Subculture

One of the most significant conclusions emerging from the field study is that the patrolmen, as a group, are but a subculture within the larger subculture of the police. This not only facilitates understanding of police resistance to PCR, but it provides a wider base from which police resistance to change may be studied.

While writers such as Niederhoffer [14], Skolinick [15], Banton [16], Bordua [17], and most notably J. Q. Wilson [18] have discussed the police as a subculture, none has distinctly characterized the patrolman as a subculture. Although, Niederhoffer [14] talked of the socialization process of police recruits, his essay was focused more in terms of socialization of a recruit into the general police normative structure, not the patrolman's normative structure.

To conceptualize the police as one subculture of society discourages a number of theoretical postulates and hypotheses. All the fine discriminations that are apparent within a patrolman subculture are lost in the vastness of the more overriding subculture. Observation has disclosed mores, norms, and values that are peculiar to the patrolman group and not generally shared by the rest of the police:

(1) Patrolmen as a group, are confined to the lowest organizational position within the police structure. Accordingly they are considered to have the least skill and prestige.

(2) As a group, they are particularly visible by virtue of being uniformed or in the "bag" as some officers refer to the uniform.

(3) An extremely high percentage of these patrolmen have no route of "escape" from the position of patrolman because very few will be promoted, and even fewer assigned to the detective bureau, the only two routes of advancement for patrolmen.

(4) The element of danger and violence that patrolmen are more systematically exposed to than other occupational subgroups within the police organization develops an *esprit de corps* shared by only other patrolmen.

(5) Patrolmen, more than any other component part of the police organization, are consistently vulnerable to their use of judgment while others within the organizational structure can rely on policy and not be as vulnerable to criticism or disciplinary reprisals. As a result of this, patrolmen do not look to the administration for acceptance but rather to fellow patrolmen. In essence then, patrolmen do not measure their performance by policy standards as much as they look to other patrolmen for their approval, judgment, and acceptance.

(6) While the police administration generally opposes patrolman use of discretion, the patrolman subgroup find it necessary for the effective enactment of their role.

(7) The structural organization of police departments facilitates the emergence of a sub-culture especially because of the hierarchial structure and one-way flow of communications.

(8) Patrolmen as a group, share the common frustration of having their good patrol work go unrecognized. At best they must share their successes with another special unit of the department.

(9) In police organizations, solidarity is developed among patrolmen as a result of a form of reverse role segregation. In normal role segregation the more the incumbents of a role differ from the mainstream of that system the more likely it is that the role is set apart from that system. In police departments, the overwhelming majority of personnel are con-fined to the patrolman position, yet the patrolman's role eventually becomes set apart from the rest of the police organization because the status accorded special units of a police organization is generally higher, thus causing the reverse role segregation.

(10) The police organization relies on senior patrolmen to help train neophyte officers in a form of on-the-job training. However, it is this portion of the role learning process that transfers the most role skills to rookie officers. Implicit within this role acquisition stage is not only the transmission of role skills, but particularly the transference of the patrolman's value structure because street patrolmen rank the skills needed by the re-cruits in terms of priorities that conform more to the patrolman subculture than they conform to the organizational value structure.

Viewing the patrolman as a subculture, as opposed to the more generic term of police-man, will allow students of police organizations the opportunity to further discriminate in their explorations of the police organization. At the same time it will facilitate the police administrators understanding of his own police department, especially as to the value structure, mores, and norms, and as to why some changes are accepted and other changes vociferously resisted.

These are but a small number of areas under which many specific points of resistance to PCR can become manifested. It is hoped that somehow the study has projected both areas for future research, and above all has provided insight into the extreme complexity of the problem of police resistance to PCR.

The problem of police resistance to PCR is simply not that of a group of men who are prejudiced toward minority groups, although this may well be a dimension of the problem. The complexity of the problem cannot be properly addressed by sensitivity training to policemen, although this may possess some remedial value. The problem of police re-sistance to PCR cuts across all lines, and as such will require a total reevaluation of our municipal police departments and their functions and mission. Above all it will require an involvement of the community to such a degree that a complete inventory must be taken of the community's responsibility, not only for the maintenance of order, but more importantly for the reintegration of those less fortunate members of society, which until now have been living in exile within the most affluent nation in all civilization.

This study suggests that meaningful comparisons could be made by surveying super-visors and the public to find what they actually expect as opposed to what the police officers think they expect, or perceive them to expect.

It could be of value to police training to isolate and identify any trends in role per-ception changes that correlate with the number of years of experience. This would begin with the training recruit and progress, say, to the twenty-year man.

It is also recommended that future research should be addressed to what this study has identified as the patrolmen subculture. In what detailed ways does the normative value structure of patrolmen differ from other police officers, specifically those officers that rep-resent the management and administrative value structure? A more sophisticated analysis

is needed of how the police recruit either accepts or rejects the value structure of the patrolman subculture and what impact this has on the role enactment process, especially in terms of patrolman resistance to organizational change.

Finally, additional research on the area of PCR might well consider the question of how police organizations might transfer back to the general community a proportionate share of the responsibility for addressing both real and imagined grievances of the less fortunate members of society. In addition, the concomitant responsibility should be considered for developing strategies that begin to address the causes of so many of our civil disorders and police community strains, as opposed to the too prevalent demand for strategies that do nothing more than address the symptoms of a more pervasive ill, and which have the ultimate effect of confining the responsibility for police community relation improvements solely within the provinces of our police system.

Summary and Conclusions

Police resistance to PCR involves certain areas from which points of resistance originate.

Points of resistance originating in areas under the individual police officer are related to role conception, police-citizen interactions, the patrolman subculture and its consequences, resistance arising from frustrations due to lack of esteem and acceptance by the community, resistance arising because of the confusion over impartiality and involvement, and finally resistance generated from role distance.

Points of resistance arising in areas under the police organization include those connected with administrative styles of management, and orientation to idealogical values and philosophies of the police organization, limitations or organizational and structural deficiencies, the manner in which the police organization recruits, trains, and rewards its members, the departmental identification or absence of specific goals and objectives, and failure of the police organization to define its clientele.

Points of resistance originating in areas under the general community include those connected with the community's failure to accord appropriate prestige status and esteem to the police. The communities' failure to accept co-responsibility for the maintenance of peace. The dilemma of the community admitting to the need of police organizations, but not a favorable expression of a desire for those same organizations. The community's over-reliance on the police department as an agency of social control, and the refusal of the community voluntarily to become involved in the plight of those less fortunate members of society.

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